

Thirty Days in a British Columbia Transition House: Feminist Governance on the Frontline  
of the Settler-State

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Signature Page

**Concordia University**  
**School of Graduate Studies**

This is to certify that the thesis prepared

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Entitled: Thirty Days in a British Columbia Transition House: Feminist  
Governance on the Frontline of the Settler-State

and submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

**Master of Arts (Anthropology)**

complies with the regulations of the University and meets the accepted standards with respect to originality and quality.

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## **Abstract**

### **Thirty Days in a British Columbia Transition House: Feminist Governance on the Frontline of the Settler-State**

Heather Wallman

The goal of this thesis is to elucidate how British Columbia transition houses function through the intersection of the Canadian neoliberal economy and settler-state: do transition houses become an indirect branch of the welfare system that contributes to a Canadian settler-state? Between 2016-2017, approximately seventy percent of women who used Lake House services identified as First Nations, according to demographic statistics we gather during intake. Therefore, I argue that BC transition houses not only give an impression that a neoliberal government is trying to ameliorate violence against women, transition houses play a part in sustaining a settler-state through its policies, protocols and paperwork that co-terminously create and monitor subjects who bolster the neoliberal class divide. Transition houses (in their best intentions) continue to reproduce marginalized subjects whose scarce economic “rights” allow the new neoliberal class, one that is formed by “restrict[ing] in favour of the freedoms of the few” (Harvey 2005: 70), to maintain hegemony through property and land ownership. Consequently, residents of the transition house are left with few housing options: monitored social housing, an unaffordable BC housing market or returning to an abusive situation. Through autoethnography, I plan to unpack my argument from the position of the transition house worker in relation to a woman calling the crisis line (the point of first contact) to her outtake (exit out of the house), parsing the development of “our” (the workers) relationship with her through our policies, protocols and paperwork. Furthermore, I ask the following question about the role of workers in Canadian NGOs: Are we on the frontlines of change or protecting the settler-state?

## Acknowledgments

There are many relationships that support the completion of a thesis. Here, I want to honour by acknowledging all of the relationships that have helped me make this story of the frontlines. First, I want to acknowledge my supervisor Dr. Maximilian Forte. At the beginning of this project, it was unclear to me about which direction I wanted to go. However, with a mix of Dr. Forte's patience, encouragement, empathy and honesty I felt challenged and motivated to leave the familiar behind. In addition, I have much respect for the dedication and hard work Dr. Forte provides his graduate students. Even through his own adversity, he thinks of his students. Thank you to Dr. Mark Watson and Dr. Chris Hurl for their time and energy to participate on my committee. Furthermore, this thesis would not have found its "twist" without the contributions of my colleagues in our writing seminar: Agnieszka Bill-Duda, Jay Marquis-Manicom, Mathieu Guerin, Mari-Margaret Forgette and Dr. Julie Archambault. To Dr. Michelle Walks and Dr. Kim Iles, thank you for your kind words in the references that helped me enter the program. And, to Dr. Ilka Thiessen, who gave me a way to think out of feeling stuck in the world, I am truly grateful for everything (academic and personal) that you have given to me.

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Lastly, I want to thank all of my coworkers at Lake House for their vulnerabilities and encouragement with the thesis. The purpose of the thesis is not to vilify what we do, rather

I want to show other people what we experience on the frontlines. We go to work everyday with a full house of women and children who turn to us for help. We listen to stories about their lives. However, we become very frustrated with how little we *can* do versus how much we *want* to do for them. The purpose of this thesis is to illuminate all of the intricacies that culminate in our frustration. We may not be able to provide women and children with a house and income that supports them in our neoliberal system, but, for now, we give them a place to fall. This is our story and I am grateful to all of you for letting me tell it.

# Table of Contents

<b>Figures</b> .....	<b>1</b>
Figure 1.1 .....	1
Figure 1.2 .....	2
Figure 2.1 .....	3
Figure 2.2 .....	6
Figure 2.3 .....	7
Figure 3.1 .....	8
Figure 3.2 .....	9
Figure 3.3 .....	10
Figure 3.4 .....	11
Figure 6.1 .....	12
Figure 6.2 .....	13
Figure 6.3 .....	17
Figure 6.4 .....	36
<b>Introduction</b> .....	<b>42</b>
<b>Chapter 1: Good Afternoon, Lake House, How May I Help You?</b> .....	<b>52</b>
The Crisis Call .....	53
Screening For Safe Women .....	56
Assessing For The Right Woman .....	60
Protecting The State With Safety .....	64
<b>Chapter 2: Welcome To Lake House</b> .....	<b>65</b>
Lake House Resident Information Sheet .....	68
Limits of Confidentiality .....	73
<b>Chapter 3: Do You Have Any Questions About our House Guidelines?</b> .....	<b>79</b>
At What Time Can I Enact "It"? .....	89
<b>Chapter 4: What Is Your Plan To Move Forward?</b> .....	<b>93</b>
Time Constraints .....	94
First Logging Sample .....	95
Becoming A Neoliberal Feminist in Thirty Days .....	97
Second Logging Sample .....	98
The Ethical Subject of Time .....	99
<b>Chapter 5: It Is Because Of A Cultural Difference</b> .....	<b>103</b>
How Does Neoliberal Feminism Become a Superior Femininity? .....	105
The Politics of Cultural Difference .....	107

Shift Change .....	110
<b>Chapter 6: Have You Heard From Bridget? .....</b>	<b>115</b>
The Homelessness Prevention Program .....	117
Second-Stage Housing, BC Housing and M'akola Housing .....	121
Abrupt Outtake .....	125
<b>Conclusion: Refusal On The Frontlines .....</b>	<b>131</b>
<b>References .....</b>	<b>137</b>

# Figures

Figure 1.1

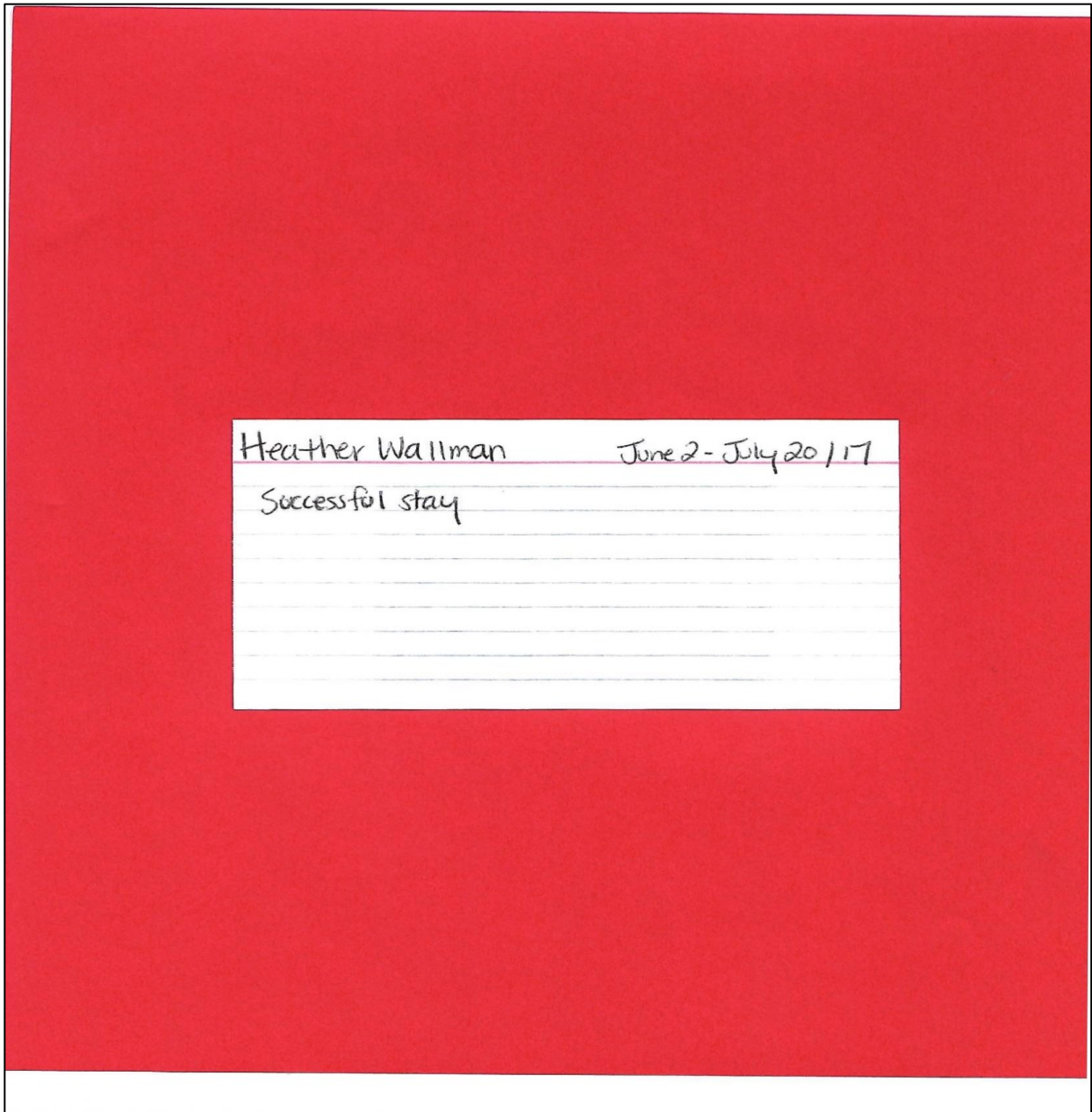




Figure 1.2

**INTAKE INTERVIEW QUESTIONS**

- Callers name
- Is she safe right now (while on phone)?
- Is she hurt/does she need medical attention?
- What is happening for her (why is she calling)?
- What kind of support is she needing (shelter, info, support?)
- Does she want to come to [REDACTED]?
- Has she been in a TH before? At [REDACTED]? If yes, check card. How was any past TH experience for her?
- Discuss Basic House Guidelines below to determine suitability for [REDACTED] stay
- Does partner know location of House?
- Are there children involved? Ages?
- Will children accompany her here should she come?
- Does she or her children have any special needs (mobility, medical concerns..)
- Is she receiving counseling support elsewhere?

**HOUSE GUIDELINES FOR DISCUSSION & ASSESSMENT PRIOR TO INTAKE**

**CONFIDENTIALITY:**

- House location; information about other residents & staff

**COOPERATIVE LIVING:**

- Must be able to live cooperatively with other women
- Usually have own bedroom, when busy may need to share
- Shared bathroom, kitchen.
- Responsibilities around cleaning; own cooking
- No racist or homophobic attitudes; no hitting, yelling etc.

**ALCOHOL/ILLCIT DRUGS:**

- If woman seems seriously impaired or drugged she may need a motel for the night (she can call after-hours), depending on circumstances (i.e. Painkillers from hospital ok)
- Alcohol & illicit drugs or drug paraphernalia are not to be ~~used while staying here or~~ brought onto premises.
- All personal safety devices (i.e. Knives, pepper spray) must be locked in office while here.

**SECURITY SYSTEM**

- Turned on between 10pm & 6 am, residents must be in House
- No smoking while security system is activated

**CHILDREN:**

- Mothers are responsible for their children at all times
- Day care is not provided at House

**MEDS:**

- All medications (incl. Vitamins, etc) must be kept locked in office for safety reasons

**LENGTH OF STAY:**

- Typically up to 30 days but dependant on how stay is going and woman's needs.

**WHAT TO BRING WITH HER IF POSSIBLE:**

- Identification for self & kids; bank statements (needed if applying for IA); any other important papers?
- Comfort items for self & kids (favourite blanket or stuffie; journal, photos...)

A:\desk crisis call cheat sheet.doc

Figure 2.1a

**Lake House Resident Information**

Date in: \_\_\_\_\_ Date \_\_\_\_\_ Out: \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

Name: \_\_\_\_\_ Birth Date: \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

Address: \_\_\_\_\_ Health Care #: \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

Safe Phone Number: \_\_\_\_\_ Email address: \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

Emergency contact name, number & relationship to you:  
\_\_\_\_\_

- Please identify ALL your referral sources to Lake House:  
\_\_\_\_\_
- Have you stayed here before?  No  Yes If yes, when & for how long?  
\_\_\_\_\_

What is the main reason you need shelter?  Safety from current abuse  At risk of abuse   
Homelessness  
Other (describe): \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

Do you identify as an Aboriginal (1<sup>st</sup> Nations, Metis, or Inuit) person of Canada?  Yes  No

Are you an immigrant or refugee to Canada?  Yes  No

Please tell us about your children who are here with you:

Name	Age	Health Care #	School	Health
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____

Concerns/Allergies/Special Needs

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

**Figure 2.1b**

**What, if any, legal guardianship or care agreements are in place?**

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

**Please tell us the gender and age of your children who are NOT with you here:**

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

**Please tell us why they are not with you here:**  With custodial parent  In care  didn't want to come

With family/friends  Don't have custody  Other:

\_\_\_\_\_

- **What supports do you need with your child/ren at this time?**

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

- **What community services or professionals are you currently accessing for support or assistance?**

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

- **What is your source of income at this time (if any)?**

\_\_\_\_\_

- **Do you have medications (prescription or non-prescription)?**  Yes  No (All meds must be locked in office)

- **What substances do you currently use, if any?**

\_\_\_\_\_

- **Do you have a mental health concern we should know about?**

\_\_\_\_\_

- **Do you have an illness or disability that we should know about?**

\_\_\_\_\_

Figure 2.1c

• Do you have any allergies or dietary conditions we should know about?  Yes  No  
\_\_\_\_\_

• Have you had recent problems with head lice or bed bugs?  Yes  No  
*Staff note – if yes, prior to belongings being brought upstairs ensure bed bug protocol is completed.*

Personal items for storage in locked office cabinet:  Jewelry (describe):  
\_\_\_\_\_

Money amount (max. \$400): \_\_\_\_\_  Other:  
\_\_\_\_\_

Do you have any concerns about staying at Lake House that you would like us to be aware of?  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

**Abuser Information & Risk Identification**

Name: \_\_\_\_\_ Relationship to you: \_\_\_\_\_ Length of relationship  
\_\_\_\_\_

Address: \_\_\_\_\_ Phone Number:  
\_\_\_\_\_ Age: \_\_\_\_\_

Hair colour & length: \_\_\_\_\_ Height: \_\_\_\_\_ Weight: \_\_\_\_\_ Race: \_-  
\_\_\_\_\_

Visible tattoos: \_\_\_\_\_ Typical Clothing:  
\_\_\_\_\_

Vehicle Description: \_\_\_\_\_ Place of work/business:  
\_\_\_\_\_

Have you left before, and if so, what happened?  
\_\_\_\_\_

Do they know where you are?  Yes  No

Do they know the location of Lake?  Yes  No

Do you think they will look for you?  Yes  No

Figure 2.2

<p>16. (OPTIONAL) For each stay starting in the reporting quarter, please indicate the woman's status in Canada (self-reported).</p> <p>* Only count stays for women, not children</p>	
Status in Canada	Number of stays for Women
a) Woman was an immigrant or refugee	
b) Woman was <u>not</u> an immigrant or refugee	
c) Other <small>Other, please specify:</small>	
d) Unknown whether or not woman was an immigrant or refugee	
TOTAL Number of Stays for Women (should equal total stays for women in question 7):	
<p>17. (OPTIONAL) For each stay starting in the reporting quarter, please indicate if the woman identified as an Aboriginal person (self-reported).</p> <p>* Only count stays for women, not children</p>	
Aboriginal Identity	Number of Stays for Women
a) Woman identified as an Aboriginal person	
b) Woman did <u>not</u> identify as an Aboriginal person	
c) Unknown	
TOTAL Number of Stays for Women (should equal total stays for women in question 7):	
<p>18. (OPTIONAL) For each stay starting in the reporting quarter, please indicate if the woman identified as having any of the following health conditions. If the woman staying has more than one challenge, please record the stay in all categories that apply.</p> <p>* Only count stays for women, not children</p>	
Health Conditions	Number of Stays for Women
a) Substance use issue	
b) Mental health issue	
c) Chronic health condition (e.g. diabetes, heart condition, cancer, including permanent physical disabilities not requiring a mobility aid)	
d) Temporary health condition (e.g. broken bone)	
e) Permanent physical disability requiring a mobility aid (e.g. wheelchair or walker)	
f) Other	
g) No health conditions identified by the woman	
h) Unknown	
TOTAL Number of Stays for Women (should be equal or greater than total stays for women in question 7):	

(continues on next page →)

Page 8

**Figure 2.3a**

**Limits of Confidentiality & Shelter Agreement**

**Your information is confidential within the limits of the law and with the following exceptions:**

- If we have reason to believe that a child is being physically or sexually abused, is in danger of being abused, or is neglected, we have a legal and ethical responsibility to report concerns to the Ministry of Children & Families. Such concerns will, whenever possible, be discussed first with the resident mother/guardian unless this may cause additional harm to the child.
- If we have reason to believe that a resident might be of danger to herself or someone else we have a legal and ethical responsibility to intervene. This includes driving/intending to drive while impaired by alcohol, illicit drugs or prescription medication.
- If our records are subpoenaed in court, we are required by law to submit them to the court.
- In order to provide consistent support, resident information is shared within the Lake House staff team. When a resident is accessing support from another CWAV program, information may be shared with staff of that program.

**House Rules:**

- The location of Lake House and information about other residents and staff must be kept confidential. This includes on social media and through other technology. Breaching confidentiality may result in an end of stay.
- Lake House is intended to provide safe shelter. Resident behavior must not negatively impact the safety of residents or staff, property or the security of the house. Such behavior will be addressed by staff and may result in an end of stay.
- Intoxication or impairment that impacts safety or security may result in an end of stay. Alcohol and illicit drugs or drug paraphernalia are not permitted on the property of Lake House, and any items found will be disposed of. Room searches may be conducted if we have reason to believe that this rule is being breached. Breach of this rule will result in an end of stay.
- Items commonly used as a weapon (pepper spray; protection knife, etc.) must be locked in the office cupboard.
- Staff reserve the right to enter bedrooms without notice, if required for safety or hygiene reasons.
- All prescription and non-prescription medications, including vitamins, must be locked up in the office. Medications must be properly labelled with your name and taken only by the resident they are intended for.
- Mothers/guardians must supervise and attend to children's needs while staying here. Residents are not allowed to babysit the children of other residents.
- No smoking is permitted in the house, including out of windows. No candles, incense or burning of other items is allowed in the house.
- Lake is a scent-free zone (no perfumes, scented hairspray, incense, etc.).
- Residents may take one night away during their stay. Additional nights may result in an end of stay.

**Resident Signature:** \_\_\_\_\_

**Date:**

**Figure 3.1**

<p><b>SHIFT SECURITY CHECKLIST</b></p> <p><b>Afternoon Shift</b></p> <p><b>Before dark:</b> <span style="float: right;"><b>Staff:</b> _____</span></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li><input type="checkbox"/> All main floor blinds closed (offices, kitchen, family room, women’s lounge)</li><li><input type="checkbox"/> Youth Room (basement) blinds closed</li><li><input type="checkbox"/> Upstairs hall blind closed</li><li><input type="checkbox"/> Outdoor lights on (kitchen and office exits)</li><li><input type="checkbox"/> Check van – all windows and doors closed and locked</li></ul> <p><input type="checkbox"/> 11 pm notice to residents to have last smoke before alarm is set</p> <p><b>Afternoon &amp; Overnight Shift Overlap:</b> <span style="float: right;"><b>Staff:</b> _____</span></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li><input type="checkbox"/> Residents all confirmed in House and documented in daily log (bedroom check if unsure)</li><li><input type="checkbox"/> Security walk-through:<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li><input type="checkbox"/> Basement exit door is locked &amp; bolted</li><li><input type="checkbox"/> Craft room exterior and interior doors are locked</li><li><input type="checkbox"/> Women’s lounge and family room windows closed and locked</li><li><input type="checkbox"/> Kitchen door closed &amp; locked</li><li><input type="checkbox"/> Unoccupied bedrooms checked<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li><input type="checkbox"/> Heat &amp; lights off</li><li><input type="checkbox"/> Windows closed</li></ul></li></ul></li><li><input type="checkbox"/> On security camera monitor departing staff to ensure safety in parking area</li></ul> <p><b>Overnight Shift:</b> <span style="float: right;"><b>Staff:</b> _____</span></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li><input type="checkbox"/> Slide shut bottom bolt on back gate if any residents are still out</li><li><input type="checkbox"/> Office windows locked</li><li><input type="checkbox"/> Office outer doors locked</li><li><input type="checkbox"/> Arm security system and post ‘system armed’ signs on kitchen and craft room doors</li><li><input type="checkbox"/> Check family room for non-child safe items (toy box, floor, etc.)</li><li><input type="checkbox"/> Before retiring for night:<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li><input type="checkbox"/> Turn off all overhead room lights &amp; lamps except main floor stove and hall light, upstairs hall lamp, and crisis desk lamp</li><li><input type="checkbox"/> Slightly open blinds in crisis office (to deter vandalism in parking area)</li><li><input type="checkbox"/> Ensure emergency button and portable phone are in sleep room</li></ul></li><li><input type="checkbox"/> Turn off alarm at 6 am and remove signage from doors.</li><li><input type="checkbox"/> Open slide bolt on bottom of back gate in it was put in place.</li><li><input type="checkbox"/> Return emergency button to top of office desk caddy</li></ul> <p><b>All Shifts:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>▪ <b>Close and lock office windows if leaving premises; sign on office door giving return time</b></li><li>▪ <b>Document all call forward activation/deactivation in log book AND your destination</b></li><li>▪ <b>Keep kitchen door closed unless someone is in kitchen (in summer)</b></li><li>▪ <b>Keep office screen door locked if the door is open (for fresh air)</b></li><li>▪ <b>Do not go out to gate to talk to someone unless you know they are safe. Use intercom.</b></li><li>▪ <b>Be aware of your surroundings in parking area.</b></li><li>▪ <b>Be aware of safety protocols and of high risk situations</b></li></ul>
--

Figure 3.2

<u>Room</u>	<u>Day</u>	<u>Time</u>
GREEN	TUESDAY FRIDAY	5-9 PM NOON-5 PM
BLUE	TUESDAY FRIDAY	9 AM-NOON 5-9 PM
ALCOVE	MONDAY - THURSDAY	9 AM-NOON 5 -9 PM
DORMER	WEDNESDAY	ANYTIME
MAIN FLOOR	MONDAY THURSDAY	5-9 PM 9 AM-NOON

STAFF USE ONLY AT ALL OTHER TIMES

Exceptions to this schedule  
must be discussed with staff.



Figure 3.3



**Figure 3.4**


**Guidelines for Residents**  
To be discussed within 24 hours of intake

1. Do you understand the rules about confidentiality, safety and cooperative living that we covered at intake?
2. Do you remember where the fire extinguishers, emergency exits and house address (for calling 911) are located?
3. Fire Safety – in case of evacuation, the identified gathering place is in the front yard of the yellow house next door.
4. Please be in the house by 10pm and let staff know you are here. The alarm is on from 11pm to 6 am.
5. There are resident-staff morning meetings from 9:30-10:am, Monday to Friday, in the kitchen. Morning meetings help the house to function well. At the meeting, please let staff know what your plans and needs are for the day.
6. Belongings must be kept in your bedroom. Please keep the door locked and don't give anyone your code or invite other residents into your room. We are not responsible for the loss of any personal belongings.
7. Please walk or take the bus whenever possible. Local bus tickets may be available if needed for appointments. Please give notice if you need staff to give you a ride for safety or mobility reasons.
8. We do planning with each resident on Monday and Friday to help identify priorities and to provide information and resources. There will be a sign-up sheet in the kitchen the day before.
9. The house rules do not allow residents to babysit other residents' children. You may, however, agree to watch a child for a few minutes. The mother must be on-site and awake.
10. If you are planning to end your stay, please see staff to complete paperwork. Before you go, we encourage you to take the time with staff to talk about a safety plan.
11. When you are ready to leave, we ask that you remove your belongings, empty the garbage and take your bedding to the laundry room. Any belongings left behind will be kept for 5 days only. It is your responsibility to call and arrange for a time to pick them up at the main office location.

Date completed: \_\_\_\_\_

May 9, 2017

Figure 6.1



Ministry of  
Social Development  
and Social Innovation

## MONTHLY REPORT

**TO CONTINUE TO RECEIVE ASSISTANCE: COMPLETE THIS FORM AND SUBMIT TO THE MINISTRY BY THE 5TH OF NEXT MONTH, OR ONLINE THROUGH YOUR MY SELF SERVE ACCOUNT (MYSELF.SERVE.GOV.BC.CA)**

Notice: Information on this form is collected under the authority of the *Employment and Assistance Act* and Regulation and the *Employment and Assistance for Persons with Disabilities Act* and Regulation and will be used for verification of continuing eligibility for assistance. The accuracy of the information provided on this form will be checked by comparing it against information held by other provincial, federal and private agencies. Collection, use and disclosure of the information is as authorized by the *Freedom of Information and Protection of Privacy Act*. If you have questions about the collection, use or disclosure of this information, contact the ministry.


Declaration: I understand that the ministry may disclose this information to verify continuing eligibility for assistance under the above Acts and Regulations. I declare that all of the information provided on this form to the Ministry of Social Development and Social Innovation is true and complete.

APPLICANT 1 SIGNATURE		DATE	APPLICANT 2 SIGNATURE		DATE
PRINT NAME			PRINT NAME		
TELEPHONE	SOCIAL INSURANCE NUMBER		TELEPHONE	SOCIAL INSURANCE NUMBER	

**NEXT CHEQUE** **ISSUE**

BENEFIT MONTH	TOTAL ALLOWANCE	SHELTER PORTION	INCOME DECLARED	INCOME DEDUCTED	OTHER DEDUCTIONS	TOTAL CHEQUE
---------------	-----------------	-----------------	-----------------	-----------------	------------------	--------------

CASE ID: \_\_\_\_\_ CASELOAD: \_\_\_\_\_



<b>SINCE YOUR LAST DECLARATION:</b>				<b>ARE YOU STILL IN NEED OF ASSISTANCE?</b>			
HAS YOUR FAMILY UNIT RECEIVED OR DISPOSED OF ANY ASSETS? <input type="checkbox"/> YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO				ANY CHANGES TO YOUR SHELTER COSTS? <input type="checkbox"/> YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO			
		Applicant 1		Applicant 2			
ATTENDING / ENROLLED IN SCHOOL / TRAINING? <input type="checkbox"/> YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO				ANY CHANGES IN DEPENDANTS OR PERSONS LIVING IN THE HOME? <input type="checkbox"/> YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO			
		Applicant 1		Applicant 2			
ARE YOU LOOKING FOR WORK? <input type="checkbox"/> YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO				ANY EMPLOYMENT CHANGES? <input type="checkbox"/> YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO			
HAVE YOU MOVED OR ENTERED A FACILITY? <input type="checkbox"/> YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO				ANY OUTSTANDING WARRANTS FOR YOUR ARREST? <input type="checkbox"/> YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO			

**DECLARE ALL INCOME (Submit proof) ENTER "0" IF NONE**

INCOME DESCRIPTION	AMOUNT		INCOME DESCRIPTION	AMOUNT	
	Applicant 1	Applicant 2		Applicant 1	Applicant 2
EMPLOYMENT INCOME			WORKERS' COMPENSATION		
EMPLOYMENT INSURANCE			PRIVATE PENSIONS (EG: RETIREMENT, DISABILITY)		
SPOUSAL SUPPORT / ALIMONY			TRUST INCOME		
CHILD SUPPORT			OAS / GIS		
WORKBC FINANCIAL SUPPORT			CANADA PENSION PLAN (CPP)		
STUDENT FUNDING (EG: LOANS, BURSARIES)			TAX CREDITS (EG: GST CREDIT)		
ROOM / BOARD INCOME			CHILD TAX BENEFITS		
RENTAL INCOME			INCOME TAX REFUND		
ALL OTHER INCOME OR MONEY RECEIVED			INCOME OF DEPENDENT CHILDREN		

PLEASE EXPLAIN ALL CHANGES INCLUDING INCOME

HR0081 (15/06/26) OPC 7530903053 (250/Pk)

Figure 6.2a

CLIENT DEMOGRAPHICS			
(BC Housing) Client ID		Agency Client ID	
Client Restricted	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No		
Client Inactive?	Date _____ <input type="checkbox"/> Cannot contact <input type="checkbox"/> Deceased <input type="checkbox"/> Moved away <input type="checkbox"/> Other, please specify _____		
Last Name		First and Middle Names	
Street Name (alias)		Gender	<input type="checkbox"/> Male <input type="checkbox"/> Female <input type="checkbox"/> Trans <input type="checkbox"/> Unknown/Refused
DOB		Age Estimate (if DOB unknown)	
Aboriginal person of Canada?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/> Unknown	If yes, please specify <input type="checkbox"/> First Nations <input type="checkbox"/> Inuit <input type="checkbox"/> Métis <input type="checkbox"/> Other: _____	
Family status	<input type="checkbox"/> Single <input type="checkbox"/> Couple <input type="checkbox"/> Family		
If Family	Family Size _____ Number of children: _____ Where? (select all that apply) <input type="checkbox"/> in care <input type="checkbox"/> with others <input type="checkbox"/> with client <input type="checkbox"/> other		
HPP Client Type (Select all that apply)	<input type="checkbox"/> Aboriginal descent <input type="checkbox"/> Youth at risk <input type="checkbox"/> Leaving health care system	<input type="checkbox"/> Leaving correctional system <input type="checkbox"/> Women leaving violence <input type="checkbox"/> Other: _____	
Source of Income (Select all that apply)	<input type="checkbox"/> None <input type="checkbox"/> Employment <input type="checkbox"/> Employment Insurance (EI) <input type="checkbox"/> Income Assistance (IA) <input type="checkbox"/> Income Assistance - Persons with Persistent Multiple Barriers (PPMB)	<input type="checkbox"/> Income Assistance - Persons with disabilities (PWD) <input type="checkbox"/> Canada Pension Plan (CPP) <input type="checkbox"/> Old Age Security (OAS) <input type="checkbox"/> INAC band <input type="checkbox"/> Volunteer/work for income top up <input type="checkbox"/> Other: _____	
Homeless Status (at time of intake)	<input type="checkbox"/> Absolute Homeless <input type="checkbox"/> Homeless due to crisis <input type="checkbox"/> Risk of Homelessness <input type="checkbox"/> Hidden Homeless <input type="checkbox"/> Just left reserve <input type="checkbox"/> Unknown <input type="checkbox"/> Neither Homeless nor At Risk		
How long has client been homeless? (at time of intake)	<input type="checkbox"/> <1 month <input type="checkbox"/> 1-6 months <input type="checkbox"/> 6-12 months <input type="checkbox"/> 1-3 years <input type="checkbox"/> 3+ years <input type="checkbox"/> n/a		
How long has client lived in this community? (at time of intake)	<input type="checkbox"/> <1 Year <input type="checkbox"/> 1-3 years <input type="checkbox"/> 3+ years		
In prison in past year?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/> Don't Know		
On probation?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/> Don't Know		

Client Form

Created on February 18, 2015

1

**Figure 6.2b**

On parole?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/> Don't Know
Recent Immigrant/Refugee? (last 5 years)	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/> Don't Know
Canadian Veteran	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/> Don't Know
Special Notes	

**CONTACT**

Contact Number		Extension	
Email			
Name			
Contact Relationship	<input type="checkbox"/> Client <input type="checkbox"/> Employee <input type="checkbox"/> Friend <input type="checkbox"/> Relative <input type="checkbox"/> Worker <input type="checkbox"/> Immediate Family <input type="checkbox"/> Other		
Note			

**HEALTH**

Does Client have any physical health issues?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/> Suspected/Possible <input type="checkbox"/> Don't Know	
Physical Disability	<input type="checkbox"/> Permanent Disability <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> Temporary Mobility Limitation	Describe:
Primary Health Care	<input type="checkbox"/> Acute health care issues, e.g. severe blisters / sores on feet <input type="checkbox"/> Chronic health care issues, e.g. diabetes	Describe:
Other Client Notes		
Other Stated Health Issues (Select all that apply)	<input type="checkbox"/> FASD <input type="checkbox"/> Acquired brain injury <input type="checkbox"/> Developmental disability <input type="checkbox"/> Other	Describe:

**ADDICTIONS**

Does client have any substance use / addiction issues?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/> Suspected/Possible <input type="checkbox"/> Don't Know
Stated Addiction(s) (Select all that apply)	<input type="checkbox"/> Crack <input type="checkbox"/> Cocaine <input type="checkbox"/> Crystal meth <input type="checkbox"/> Heroin <input type="checkbox"/> Alcohol <input type="checkbox"/> Alcohol substitutes <input type="checkbox"/> Marijuana <input type="checkbox"/> Other: _____
Observed/Suspected Addiction(s) (Select all that apply)	<input type="checkbox"/> Crack <input type="checkbox"/> Cocaine <input type="checkbox"/> Crystal meth <input type="checkbox"/> Heroin <input type="checkbox"/> Alcohol <input type="checkbox"/> Alcohol substitutes <input type="checkbox"/> Marijuana <input type="checkbox"/> Other: _____

**Figure 6.2c**


<b>MENTAL HEALTH</b>	
Does Client have any mental health issues?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/> Suspected/Possible <input type="checkbox"/> Don't Know
Stated Diagnose(s) (Select all that apply)	<input type="checkbox"/> Depression/anxiety <input type="checkbox"/> ADHD <input type="checkbox"/> Psychosis with drug use <input type="checkbox"/> Bipolar <input type="checkbox"/> Schizophrenia <input type="checkbox"/> Other: _____
Observed/Suspected Behaviour(s) (Select all that apply)	<input type="checkbox"/> Hallucinations <input type="checkbox"/> Paranoid <input type="checkbox"/> Self harm <input type="checkbox"/> Violent outbursts <input type="checkbox"/> Talking to self <input type="checkbox"/> Other: _____
<b>Other Client Notes</b> _____ _____	
<b>HOUSING BARRIERS</b>	
Was client interested in securing housing?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No
What is preventing the client from obtaining housing? (Select all that apply)	<input type="checkbox"/> Behaviour not conducive to living with others <input type="checkbox"/> Language barriers <input type="checkbox"/> Hygiene issues <input type="checkbox"/> Mobility limitation/wheelchair access <input type="checkbox"/> Active in addictions <input type="checkbox"/> Income/Money/Finance related <input type="checkbox"/> Pets <input type="checkbox"/> Missing identification <input type="checkbox"/> No references <input type="checkbox"/> Other: _____ <input type="checkbox"/> Credit status <input type="checkbox"/> Lack of affordable/safe housing
Notes on housing barriers (individual or systemic)	_____
<b>CASE PLANNING</b>	
See Case Planning tools on BC Housing website: <a href="http://www.bchousing.org/Partners/Operating/CPT">http://www.bchousing.org/Partners/Operating/CPT</a> for paper forms.	
<b>CONSENT</b>	
Client gave consent?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No Last consent date: _____ Expires Date: _____ Withdrawn date: _____
<b>CLIENT REFERRAL</b>	
Date of Referral	_____
We are Referring Client to:	_____
Client Came to Us From:	_____
Worker Name(s)	Worker 1: _____ Worker 2: _____
<i>Client Form</i>	
Created on February 18, 2015	
3	

**Figure 6.2d**

HOUSING			
Date		Worker	
Client Declined Followup	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No	Don't Contact Landlord	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No
Was housing secured?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/> Client has existing housing		
If housing could not be secured, please detail why:	<input type="checkbox"/> Housing not available within maximum shelter allowance <input type="checkbox"/> Client not interested because of standard of rooms/housing available <input type="checkbox"/> Client not willing to move out of the community <input type="checkbox"/> Suitable housing (with supports or appropriate resources) was not available <input type="checkbox"/> Other reason _____		
Client Tenancy Start Date			
Client Still Housed?	<i>(updated automatically based on completion of housing follow-up)</i>		
If no, date left	<i>(updated automatically based on completion of housing follow-up)</i>		
Monthly Rent Amount (\$)			
Building Name			
Landlord Name			
Landlord Phone			
Rental Address		Unit #	
Housing Type	<input type="checkbox"/> Apartment in market housing <input type="checkbox"/> Apartment in market housing with rent subsidy <input type="checkbox"/> Hotel/ rooming house (SRO) <input type="checkbox"/> Moved in with friends/relatives	<input type="checkbox"/> Recovery/treatment program <input type="checkbox"/> Room in a house/apartment <input type="checkbox"/> Secondary suite <input type="checkbox"/> Social housing/supported housing <input type="checkbox"/> Other: _____	
Other Housing Type			

*Client Form* Created on February 18, 2015 4

Figure 6.3a



**The Housing Registry**  
Providing Options,  
Opening Doors.

# Application Form

101 – 4555 Kingsway, Burnaby, B.C. V5H 4V8  
**Phone: 604 433-2218** Toll-Free: 1-800 257-7756 Fax: 604 439-4729

### Purpose of this Form

This form collects personal information in accordance with section 26(c) of the *Freedom of Information and Protection of Privacy Act*.

Your personal information is collected for the following purposes, and The Housing Registry will use your information to:

- determine eligibility;
- assess housing need; and
- determine the housing developments that suit your needs.

If you have questions about your privacy, call BC Housing's Privacy Officer at 604 433-1711 or send questions in writing to 1701-4555 Kingsway, Burnaby, BC V5H 4V8

### What is a Supplemental Application Form?

Some housing providers that use The Housing Registry may give additional consideration to applicants who are:

- homeless;
- fleeing domestic violence or abuse; or
- have a serious health condition that is affected by current housing.

A Supplemental Application Form must be completed by someone who can verify the applicant's situation. For more information or to obtain this form call us or visit our website at [www.bchousing.org](http://www.bchousing.org).

### Eligibility

More information on who is eligible to apply for housing and reasons why an application may not be accepted can be found in the "How to Apply Brochure" or online at [www.bchousing.org](http://www.bchousing.org). If you would like to receive the brochure, call The Housing Registry to ask for a copy.

### Other Important Information

The Housing Registry is used by housing providers to review applications as units become available. Housing providers will gather updated information on all household members, including income and assets, and may complete additional checks to assess a household's ability to uphold the obligations of a tenancy agreement. This may include reference checks, personal interviews and/or reviewing information available from public sources such as Court Services Online and police websites. In addition, some housing providers may ask for consent to perform a credit or criminal record check or to obtain information from other private sources.



Applicants may be contacted for more information, which may involve completing an optional Supplemental Application Form and/or providing supporting documents.

Applicants who are offered and accept a unit must sign a tenancy agreement and may be required to sign tenancy agreement addendums that cover topics such as pets, parking, laundry, smoking, crime free housing, etc.

### Apply On-Line!

If you have never applied to The Housing Registry go to [www.bchousing.org](http://www.bchousing.org) to apply on-line.

For help with this form, please contact The Housing Registry at 604 433-2218 or 1-800 257-7756.



REG01G - Page 1

17



**Figure 6.3b**

OFFICE USE ONLY			
File # _____	Date _____		

**1. Applicant Information**

Last Name	First Name	Initial	Title (please circle)
			Mr. Miss Mrs. Ms.
			Mr. Miss Mrs. Ms.

**2. Contact Information**

You must currently reside in British Columbia to be eligible for The Housing Registry.

Street Address	City	Province	Postal Code
Home _____		BC	
Mailing address, if different from home address _____			

Home phone _____	Work phone _____
Cell phone _____	E-mail _____
Message number (optional) _____	Message person name _____
* Authorized Contact number (optional) _____	Authorized Contact name and relationship to you. _____

\* By providing an authorized contact, you are giving permission to The Housing Registry to exchange information with that authorized contact in order to maintain and update your file. To remove an authorized contact, please contact The Housing Registry.

**3. Household Information**

**3a. List yourself, then all other household members. If required, attach separate sheet for more names.**

Last Name	First Name & Initial	Relationship (to Applicant)	Birth Date (dd/mm/yyyy)	Age	Sex	Born in Canada?
1. _____		Self				
2. _____						
3. _____						
4. _____						
5. _____						
6. _____						
7. _____						

continued on next page...

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For help with this form, please contact The Housing Registry at 604 433-2218 or 1-800 257-7756. REG01G - Page 2

**Figure 6.3c**

**3. Household Information continued...**

**3b. For each person not born in Canada, please provide the information below:**

Name	Date Moved to Canada	Current Status in Canada	Sponsored Immigrants Only	
			Name of sponsor	Date sponsorship agreement started

**3c. Do all of the people listed live with you full time right now?**  Yes  No

**If No**, please provide the following information for all persons not living with you full time.

Name	# days per week	Shared custody?	If not shared custody, why are they not living with you full time?
		Yes/No	

**3d. Do you expect the number of people living with you to change in the next 12 months?** (e.g., pregnancy, family joining, family leaving, child in care)  Yes  No

**If Yes**, please explain and provide expected date of household size change.

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

**3e. Optional: Do you or anyone in your household identify as being an Aboriginal person of Canada?**  Yes  No

**If Yes**, please select the options that best describes your Aboriginal identity.

- First Nations       Métis       Inuit       Other

**↳ Note: Question 3e is optional. Data is collected for planning and reporting purposes and does not impact eligibility for housing. However, housing providers with an Aboriginal focus may give priority to applicants who have identified as being an Aboriginal person of Canada.**

continued on next page....

For help with this form, please contact The Housing Registry at 604 433-2218 or 1-800 257-7756.

REG01G - Page 3

**Figure 6.3d**

**4. Residency History**

**4a. Please provide information on where you have lived for the last five years.**

Rental Address (street, city)	From Date (dd/mm/yyyy)	To Date (dd/mm/yyyy)	Landlord Name	Landlord Phone #	Reason for Leaving

**4b. Have any adults (age 19 or older) listed on this application lived with you for less than two years?**  Yes  No

**If Yes, Please list their name and landlord information for the last five years.**

Name and Rental Address (street, city)	From Date (dd/mm/yyyy)	To Date (dd/mm/yyyy)	Landlord Name	Landlord Phone #	Reason for Leaving

**4c. Have you or any members of your household ever lived in subsidized housing?**  Yes  No

**If Yes, provide the following information for all previous subsidized housing:**

Name on Tenancy	Name and Address of Development	Reason for Leaving?	Money Owing? Yes/No

If there is money owing due to a past tenancy, complete the following:

How much is owing? \$\_\_\_\_\_ Is there a written repayment schedule in place?  Yes  No

**If Yes, please attach a copy of the repayment agreement.**

Reason for debt:

**Note:** Failure to declare past subsidized housing or debts owed to subsidized housing providers may result in cancellation of your application. Past tenants with a debt may be required to either repay the debt or enter into a repayment agreement.

continued on next page....

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For help with this form, please contact The Housing Registry at 604 433-2218 or 1-800 257-7756. REG01G - Page 4

**Figure 6.3e**

**5. Income and Asset Information**

5a. Is anyone in the household receiving income assistance from the Ministry of Social Development and Social Innovation?  Yes  No

If Yes, please complete the table below for each person receiving assistance.

Name	Monthly amount	Category
	\$	<input type="checkbox"/> Person with Disabilities (PWD) <input type="checkbox"/> Employable <input type="checkbox"/> Person with Persistent Multiple Barriers (PPMB)
	\$	<input type="checkbox"/> Person with Disabilities (PWD) <input type="checkbox"/> Employable <input type="checkbox"/> Person with Persistent Multiple Barriers (PPMB)
	\$	<input type="checkbox"/> Person with Disabilities (PWD) <input type="checkbox"/> Employable <input type="checkbox"/> Person with Persistent Multiple Barriers (PPMB)
	\$	<input type="checkbox"/> Person with Disabilities (PWD) <input type="checkbox"/> Employable <input type="checkbox"/> Person with Persistent Multiple Barriers (PPMB)

5b. For all other income sources, list gross monthly income (before deductions) for everyone age 19 and older.

Name	Income Source (employment, EI, pension, etc.)	Gross Monthly Income (\$)
Total gross monthly income for household		\$

5c. For any adult (age 19 or older) with no income, please tell us why there is no income.

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

↳ If any adult child (age 19 to 24) is a full-time student, attach proof of student status to application.

5d. List the current value of all assets held by you and members of the household.

Cash/Bank Balance	\$	RRSPs/Annuities	\$
Stocks/Bonds/Term Deposits	\$	Residential Real Estate	\$
Other Assets (describe)	\$	Other Real Estate Holdings	\$

↳ Proof of income and assets must be sent in with application. See enclosed checklist for details.

continued on next page...

For help with this form, please contact The Housing Registry at 604 433-2218 or 1-800 257-7756.

REG01G - Page 5

Figure 6.3f

**6. Current Accommodation**

Answers to the questions below will help The Housing Registry to assess your current housing need.

6a. Do you:       Rent       Own       Share expenses       Other \_\_\_\_\_

6b. How much is your rent payment? \$ \_\_\_\_\_ Is this:     Monthly       Weekly       Nightly  
Is heat included in the rent?     Yes     No

6c. How many bedrooms does your household have? \_\_\_\_\_


6d. Please describe your current living arrangements

<input type="checkbox"/> House/Townhouse	<input type="checkbox"/> Apartment/Basement suite	<input type="checkbox"/> Motel/Hotel
<input type="checkbox"/> Second-stage housing	<input type="checkbox"/> Manufactured home/Trailer (in park with services)	<input type="checkbox"/> Transition house
<input type="checkbox"/> Housekeeping/Room and board	<input type="checkbox"/> Living with family or friends	<input type="checkbox"/> Emergency shelter
<input type="checkbox"/> Care facility or treatment centre	<input type="checkbox"/> Other Describe: _____	


6e. Do you have a bathroom?     Private       Shared       None

6f. Do you have a kitchen?       Private       Shared       None

6g. Have you received a legal Notice to End Tenancy?     Yes     No  
If Yes, what date do you have to move by? \_\_\_\_\_

 **Attach a copy of the Notice to End Tenancy to the application. This notice must be the Residential Tenancy Branch's Notice to End Tenancy form.**

6h. If you are NOT under notice to move, please tell us why you want to move.  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

 **The Housing Registry may give special consideration to people who are homeless or fleeing domestic violence or abuse. If this applies to you, you may wish to have a Supplemental Application Form completed by a third-party verifier. To get the Supplemental Application, please contact The Housing Registry at the numbers below or download from [www.bchousing.org](http://www.bchousing.org).**

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For help with this form, please contact The Housing Registry at 604 433-2218 or 1-800 257-7756. REG01G - Page 6

Figure 6.3g

**6. Current Accommodation**

Answers to the questions below will help The Housing Registry to assess your current housing need.

6a. Do you:       Rent       Own       Share expenses       Other \_\_\_\_\_

6b. How much is your rent payment? \$ \_\_\_\_\_ Is this:    Monthly       Weekly       Nightly  
Is heat included in the rent?    Yes    No

6c. How many bedrooms does your household have? \_\_\_\_\_


6d. Please describe your current living arrangements

<input type="checkbox"/> House/Townhouse	<input type="checkbox"/> Apartment/Basement suite	<input type="checkbox"/> Motel/Hotel
<input type="checkbox"/> Second-stage housing	<input type="checkbox"/> Manufactured home/Trailer (in park with services)	<input type="checkbox"/> Transition house
<input type="checkbox"/> Housekeeping/Room and board	<input type="checkbox"/> Living with family or friends	<input type="checkbox"/> Emergency shelter
<input type="checkbox"/> Care facility or treatment centre	<input type="checkbox"/> Other Describe: _____	

6e. Do you have a bathroom?       Private       Shared       None

6f. Do you have a kitchen?       Private       Shared       None

6g. Have you received a legal Notice to End Tenancy?    Yes    No  
If Yes, what date do you have to move by? \_\_\_\_\_


 *Attach a copy of the Notice to End Tenancy to the application. This notice must be the Residential Tenancy Branch's Notice to End Tenancy form.*

6h. If you are NOT under notice to move, please tell us why you want to move.

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

 *The Housing Registry may give special consideration to people who are homeless or fleeing domestic violence or abuse. If this applies to you, you may wish to have a Supplemental Application Form completed by a third-party verifier. To get the Supplemental Application, please contact The Housing Registry at the numbers below or download from [www.bchousing.org](http://www.bchousing.org).*

continued on next page....

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For help with this form, please contact The Housing Registry at 604 433-2218 or 1-800 257-7756. REG01G - Page 6

**Figure 6.3h**

**7. Health and Mobility Information continued...**

7f. Do you currently receive home support?  Yes  No  
 If Yes, please complete the information below.  
 Which agencies are providing home support?

Support Type	Hours per week	Agency	Worker	Phone Number

↳ The Housing Registry may give special consideration to people with disabilities or health conditions. If this applies to you, you may wish to have a **Supplemental Application Form** completed by a third-party verifier. To get the Supplemental Application, please contact The Housing Registry at the numbers below or download from [www.bchousing.org](http://www.bchousing.org).

**8. Housing Preferences/Choices**  
 Answers to the questions below will help The Housing Registry match you to suitable units.

8a. Some units in some buildings have been specially modified for seniors and people with disabilities who need some assistance to live independently. Support services such as a daily meal and weekly housekeeping are available for a reasonable additional cost. Would you be interested in living in a unit that includes support services for an extra cost?  Yes  No

8b. Would you live in a ground floor unit?  Yes  No

8c. Would you live on any floor in a high rise?  Yes  No, up to floor \_\_\_\_\_

8d. Would you live in a co-op? (Must be willing to volunteer time to help run the building.)  Yes  No  
 If Yes, how many hours a month will you be able to contribute to co-op activities? \_\_\_\_\_  
 For more information on co-operative housing, go to [www.chf.bc.ca](http://www.chf.bc.ca)

8e. Do you or does anyone smoke in your home?  Yes  No  
 Are you willing to sign a non-smoking agreement?  Yes  No

8f. Would you consider housing without parking?  Yes  No

8g. Do you have any pets?  Yes  No  
 If Yes, how many pets in total? \_\_\_\_\_  
 If you have a dog, is it a seeing eye dog?  Yes  No  
 Provide the following information for all household pets (do not include seeing eye dogs).

Type	How Many	Willing to give up?			
Dog		<input type="checkbox"/> Yes	<input type="checkbox"/> All but one	<input type="checkbox"/> No	Breeds:
Cat		<input type="checkbox"/> Yes	<input type="checkbox"/> All but one	<input type="checkbox"/> No	
Other		<input type="checkbox"/> Yes	<input type="checkbox"/> All but one	<input type="checkbox"/> No	Describe:

continued on next page...

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For help with this form, please contact The Housing Registry at 604 433-2218 or 1-800 257-7756. REG01G - Page 8

**Figure 6.3i**

**8. Housing Preferences/Choices continued...**

**8h. Tell us where you would like to live.**

When filling out this form you will need the Housing Listings. Section 1 of the listings gives information on the buildings that can be applied to using this form. If copies of the Housing Listings were not included with this form, or if you want listings for different areas, contact The Housing Registry or download from [www.bchousing.org](http://www.bchousing.org). There are more people applying for housing than vacant units. Therefore, the time to find housing can be very long. To increase the chances of being offered a place to live, you may wish to select a number of buildings or areas.

**Please note:** If you refuse **two** offers of housing, your application will be **cancelled**. So, please be careful when telling us where you want to live and be sure that you are prepared to live in any of the buildings or areas you list.

**Option #1: Buildings** From the Housing Listings, please record the "Housing Registry Code" for each of the buildings you are interested in. (e.g.: 102, ABD)


_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____

**Option #2: Cities or Towns** From the Housing Listings, please record the cities/towns you are willing to live in. (e.g. Burnaby, Kelowna).

_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____

**Option #3: Neighbourhoods** From the Housing Listings, please record the neighbourhoods you are willing to live in (e.g. Vancouver – West End, North Burnaby, Victoria – James Bay, North Saanich, Kelowna-East).

_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____

 **A maximum of two offers of housing will be made. If two offers are refused, your file will be cancelled. Please make sure you are willing to live anywhere listed above.**

continued on next page....

For help with this form, please contact The Housing Registry at 604 433-2218 or 1-800 257-7756.

REG01G - Page 9



Figure 6.3j

## Application Form Declaration

**I/We declare:**

- this is my/our application; and
- all the information in it is correct and complete to the best of my/our knowledge.

**I/We authorize:**

- The Housing Registry to make any inquiries that are necessary to verify the information given in this application;
- any person, corporation or social agency to release to The Housing Registry any information pertinent to the assessment of my/our application;
- members of The Housing Registry to receive and exchange with credit bureaus and my/our previous landlords credit and other tenancy information about me/us, to be used in the decision-making process to provide me/us with housing;
- Ministry of Social Development and Social Innovation to release information to The Housing Registry regarding my/our income.

**I/We understand:**

- that, in accordance with section 33.2 (a) of the Freedom of Information and Protection of Privacy Act , the information on this application may be shared with other affordable housing providers in order to increase my/our opportunities for rent-geared-to-income housing;
- that this application is not an agreement on the part of The Housing Registry or its members to provide me/us with housing;
- that if I/we refuse two offers of housing, my/our application will be cancelled;
- that if I/we are being considered for an available unit, housing providers will gather additional information in order to assess my/our ability to uphold the obligations of a tenancy agreement and it is my/our responsibility to provide or cause to be provided information requested to assist with this assessment;
- that it is my/our responsibility to tell The Housing Registry of any changes to the information given in this application and to provide any supporting materials required;
- that false information given by me/us may result in my/our application being cancelled from consideration;
- that if I/we have deliberately worsened my/our current housing situation (e.g., terminated a tenancy for no reason) that my/our application may not be accepted or my/our current living situation may not be taken into consideration.


**Application must be signed by everyone age 19 or older.**

Print Name	Signature of Applicant(s)	Date

---

For help with this form, please contact The Housing Registry at 604 433-2218 or 1-800 257-7756. REG01G - Page 10

Figure 6.3k



**The Housing Registry**  
*Providing Options,  
Opening Doors*

## Supplemental Application Form

101 – 4555 Kingsway, Burnaby, B.C. V5H 4V8  
**Phone: 604-433-2218** Toll Free: 1-800-257-7756 Fax: 604-439-4729

### Purpose of this Form

The purpose of the Supplemental Application Form is to collect specific information from a third-party who can verify an applicant's current housing situation or health condition (in accordance with section 26(c) of the *Freedom of Information and Protection of Privacy Act*).

The Housing Registry will use this information to:

- determine eligibility for subsidized housing;
- assess housing need; and
- determine the housing developments that suit an applicant's needs.

### Instructions to Applicant:

#### Who should use this form?

The Supplemental Application Form is optional.

However, some housing providers that use The Housing Registry to fill available units may give additional consideration to applicants who are:

- homeless;
- fleeing domestic violence or abuse; or
- have a serious health condition that is affected by current housing.

Applicants who meet these criteria may wish to have this Supplemental Application Form completed by someone who can verify their situation. The person who fills out this form is called a "third-party verifier."

#### Step #1:

Applicant completes and signs Part One. This provides authorization for the third-party verifier to complete the form and submit it to The Housing Registry.



#### Step #2:

Forward this form to the person you have chosen to verify your current living circumstances.

If you wish to have more than one person provide information to The Housing Registry, you must have each person complete a separate form.

For help, please contact The Housing Registry at 604-433-2218 or 1-800-257-7756.



REG-05B - Page 1

Figure 6.31

PLEASE PRINT OR TYPE CLEARLY

**PART ONE** TO BE COMPLETED BY APPLICANT

**Applicant Information**

Have you already submitted an Application Form to The Housing Registry?  Yes  No  
 If yes, what is your File #? \_\_\_\_\_

If not, please make sure that a completed Application Form is submitted with this Supplemental Application Form.  
 If an Application Form is not received, this form cannot be processed.

Last Name	First Name	Birth Date	Title (please circle one)
			Mr. Miss Mrs. Ms.
			Mr. Miss Mrs. Ms.

Address	City	Province	Postal Code
Home			

Home phone	Work phone
Message phone	Contact person (optional)
E-mail	

I, \_\_\_\_\_, am seeking special consideration of my application for housing  
 (Name)  
 by The Housing Registry because I or a member of my household:

PLEASE CHECK ALL THAT APPLY

is homeless [see Section A and B];

is fleeing domestic violence or abuse [see Section A and C];

has a serious health condition and/or disability that is affected by our current housing [see Section A and D].

I consent to the person named below [my third-party verifier] providing personal information to The Housing Registry in support of my request for special consideration due to the circumstances indicated above.

**Applicant's signature:** \_\_\_\_\_ **Date:** \_\_\_\_\_

Third-party verifier's name: \_\_\_\_\_

Organization: \_\_\_\_\_

**Please forward the entire Supplemental Application Form to the person listed above for completion. Please do not separate this page from the rest of the form.**

For help, please contact The Housing Registry at 604-433-2218 or 1-800-257-7756. REG-05B - Page 2

Figure 6.3m

<b>PART TWO</b> ▶ TO BE COMPLETED BY THIRD-PARTY VERIFIER								
<p><b>Third-Party Verifier Information:</b></p> <p>The applicant named in Part One has applied to The Housing Registry. Housing Registry members offer housing that consists of unfurnished apartments in which tenants must be able to live and maintain a successful tenancy, either independently or with minimal support services that can be provided by community agencies.</p> <p>The applicant is seeking special consideration for housing based on their current circumstances. The purpose of this form is to collect pertinent information from a person who can verify the applicant's circumstances.</p> <p><b>Who can be a third-party verifier?</b></p> <p>A third-party verifier must be familiar with the applicant's current housing circumstances and can not be the applicant's private market landlord or a relative of the applicant.</p> <p>Below is a partial list of accepted third-party verifiers. For a full list of potential verifiers, please contact Housing Registry staff or view online at <a href="http://www.bchousing.org">www.bchousing.org</a>.</p> <table border="1" style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse; margin-top: 10px;"> <thead> <tr> <th style="width: 33%; text-align: center; padding: 5px;">Homeless:</th> <th style="width: 33%; text-align: center; padding: 5px;">Fleeing violence or abuse:</th> <th style="width: 33%; text-align: center; padding: 5px;">Health condition:</th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr> <td style="text-align: center; padding: 5px;">Shelter or Outreach Worker Health Care Professional Police Officer</td> <td style="text-align: center; padding: 5px;">Transition House Worker Police Officer MCFD Worker</td> <td style="text-align: center; padding: 5px;">Health Care Professional Case Manager Social Worker</td> </tr> </tbody> </table> <p style="margin-top: 10px;">↳ <i>The Housing Registry does not reimburse third-party verifiers for completing this form.</i></p>			Homeless:	Fleeing violence or abuse:	Health condition:	Shelter or Outreach Worker Health Care Professional Police Officer	Transition House Worker Police Officer MCFD Worker	Health Care Professional Case Manager Social Worker
Homeless:	Fleeing violence or abuse:	Health condition:						
Shelter or Outreach Worker Health Care Professional Police Officer	Transition House Worker Police Officer MCFD Worker	Health Care Professional Case Manager Social Worker						
<p><b>Instructions to Third-Party Verifier:</b></p> <p><b>Step #1:</b></p> <p>Complete Part Two, Section A – General Information.</p> <p><b>Step #2:</b></p> <p>Complete the appropriate sections in Part Two as requested by applicant on page 2</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Section B – if applicant is homeless; and/or</li> <li>• Section C – if applicant is fleeing domestic violence or abuse; and/or</li> <li>• Section D – if applicant has a disability or serious health condition that is affected by their current housing.</li> </ul> <p><b>Step #3:</b></p> <p>Complete and sign Section E.</p> <p><b>Step #4:</b></p> <p>Return completed form to applicant, or submit to:</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">The Housing Registry 101 – 4555 Kingsway, Burnaby V5H 4V8 Fax: 604-439-4729</p>								
<p>For help, please contact The Housing Registry at 604-433-2218 or 1-800-257-7756. <span style="float: right;">REG-05B - Page 3</span></p>								

Figure 6.3n

**PART TWO** TO BE COMPLETED BY THIRD-PARTY VERIFIER

**Section A: General Information**

Please complete all questions in this section.

A1. Applicant's name: \_\_\_\_\_

A2. Describe the applicant's current living situation: \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

A3. How long has the applicant been living in this situation? \_\_\_\_\_

A4. Is the applicant living in a staffed or second-stage facility (for example, a health-care setting, half-way house, transition house, second-stage housing, emergency shelter)?  Yes  No  
If Yes, what is the name of the facility? \_\_\_\_\_

A5. Is there any length-of-stay deadline in their current living situation?  Yes  No  
If Yes, what is the deadline? \_\_\_\_\_  
Why do they have to move? \_\_\_\_\_  
Why can they not return to their former residence? \_\_\_\_\_

A6. In your opinion, can the applicant independently fulfill their tenancy obligations including:

- Paying rent;
- Caring for their unit (maintaining reasonable health, cleanliness and sanitary standards);
- Maintaining appropriate relations with neighbours.

Yes     No     Yes, with supports

Please explain and describe any supports needed, if applicable: \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

continued on next page...

For help, please contact The Housing Registry at 604-433-2218 or 1-800-257-7756. REG-05B - Page 4

Figure 6.30

**PART TWO** TO BE COMPLETED BY THIRD-PARTY VERIFIER

**Section A: General Information continued...**

A7. In your opinion, can the applicant independently maintain their personal health and well-being in a self contained living unit?

Yes     No     Yes, with supports

Please describe any supports that you are aware of that the applicant is currently receiving: \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

How often do they receive the supports (# hours a day/week etc): \_\_\_\_\_

Please provide the name of the organization providing support services: \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

Are there any barriers to the applicant receiving support services in their current location/housing?  
 Yes     No

If Yes, what are the barriers? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

Please describe any supports the applicant is not currently receiving but in your opinion could benefit from receiving: \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

**Next steps**

Fill out **Section B** if applicant is **homeless**; and/or **Section C** if applicant is **fleeing domestic violence or abuse**; and/or **Section D** if applicant has a **disability or serious health condition** that is affected by their current housing. **Then** proceed to **Section E** and **complete** the **Third-Party Verifier's Statement**.

For help, please contact The Housing Registry at 604-433-2218 or 1-800-257-7756. REG-05B - Page 5

Figure 6.3p

**PART TWO** TO BE COMPLETED BY THIRD-PARTY VERIFIER

**Section B: Homelessness**

If applicant is requesting consideration because of homelessness, please complete the following three questions. Otherwise, please go to **Section C: Domestic Violence** or **Section D: Health Condition and/or Disability**.

**B1. When did the applicant last have stable housing?**

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

**B2. Why did that stable housing end?**

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

**B3. Please describe the barriers the applicant faces in their search for stable housing:**

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

**Next steps**

Fill out **Section C** if applicant is also **fleeing domestic violence or abuse**; and/or **Section D** if applicant has a **disability or serious health condition** that is affected by their current housing. **Then** proceed to **Section E** and complete the **Third-Party Verifier's Statement**.

For help, please contact The Housing Registry at 604-433-2218 or 1-800-257-7756. REG-05B - Page 6

Figure 6.3q

**PART TWO** TO BE COMPLETED BY THIRD-PARTY VERIFIER

**Section C: Domestic Violence or Abuse**

If applicant is requesting consideration because of fleeing domestic violence or abuse, please complete the following questions. Otherwise proceed to **Section D: Health Condition and/or Disability**.

**C1. Who is experiencing the domestic violence/abuse?** \_\_\_\_\_  
Who is the abuser? (name) \_\_\_\_\_  
What is their relationship? \_\_\_\_\_

**C2. If the abuse pertains to children, have the appropriate authorities been contacted regarding the reporting of child abuse?**  Yes  No

**C3. What steps has the applicant taken to permanently leave the abuser?** For example: number of times leaving abuser, number of reports to police, protection order, restraining order, custody order, etc. (please attach documentation, if any): \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

**C4. Is the applicant still residing with the abuser?**  Yes  No  
**If Yes**, what is the reason? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
**If No**, how long have they lived apart? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

**Next steps**  
Fill out **Section D** if applicant also has a **disability or serious health condition** that is affected by their current housing. **Then** proceed to **Section E** and **complete** the **Third-Party Verifier's Statement**.

For help, please contact The Housing Registry at 604-433-2218 or 1-800-257-7756. REG-05B - Page 7




Figure 6.3r

<b>PART TWO</b> TO BE COMPLETED BY THIRD-PARTY VERIFIER		
<b>Section D: Health Condition and/or Disability</b>		
<p>If applicant is requesting consideration because of a serious health condition and/or disability, please complete the following questions. Otherwise proceed to <b>Section E: Third-Party Verifier's Statement</b>.</p>		
<b>D1. Briefly describe (add more names on a separate sheet of paper if required):</b>		
Who is the household member?	What is the disability or health condition?	How long is it expected to continue?
<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
<b>D2. How does the health condition or disability described above affect their ability to function in their current housing?</b>		
<input type="text"/>		
<input type="text"/>		
<input type="text"/>		
<b>D3. Does the applicant need to be near a specific facility to receive ongoing medical treatment (e.g., kidney dialysis; HIV/AIDS treatment; Children's Hospital)?</b> <input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No		
At what locations is the medical treatment provided? <input type="text"/>		
How frequently do they need to access the treatment (daily, weekly)? <input type="text"/>		
Can the applicant appropriately access the treatment from their current location or accommodation? <input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No		
If No, why not? <input type="text"/>		
<input type="text"/>		
<b>D4. Are there any other factors with regard to the applicant's health or disability that should be taken into consideration?</b> <input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No		
If Yes, please describe: <input type="text"/>		
<input type="text"/>		
<input type="text"/>		
<b>D5. Please describe any special requirements or features that the applicant may need in their housing?</b>		
<input type="text"/>		
<input type="text"/>		
<b>Next steps</b>		
Proceed to <b>Section E</b> and complete the <b>Third-Party Verifier's Statement</b> .		
For help, please contact The Housing Registry at 604-433-2218 or 1-800-257-7756.		
		REG-05B - Page 8

Figure 6.3s

<b>PART TWO</b> TO BE COMPLETED BY THIRD-PARTY VERIFIER		
<b>Section E: Third-Party Verifier's Statement</b>		
<b>Third-Party Verifier's Statement</b>		
Please complete and sign the following statement.		
I am not a relative or landlord of (applicant's name) _____ and I have known him/her in my capacity as a _____ for _____ days/months/years.		
I declare that, to the best of my knowledge, the information I have provided on this form is accurate and complete.		
I will assist by providing further information to The Housing Registry as required and requested, in order that the applicant's request for special consideration for housing can be reviewed.		
I understand that in accordance with Section 33(c) of the FOI Act, the information provided will be shared with various housing provider members of The Housing Registry in order to increase the applicant's opportunities for rent-geared-to-income housing.		
Name (please print)	Position	Agency
<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
Address		Telephone
<input type="text"/>		<input type="text"/>
E-mail	Date	
<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	
Signature _____		
<b>Next steps</b>		
Please ensure all questions in Part Two, Section A have been completed and that you have completed either Section B, C or D as applicable. Please be sure to sign your statement (this page).		
Return this form to the applicant or send it directly to The Housing Registry:		
101 - 4555 Kingsway, Burnaby V5H 4V8		
Fax: 604-439-4729		
For help, please contact The Housing Registry at 604-433-2218 or 1-800-257-7756.		REG-05B - Page 9

Figure 6.4a



## FAMILY HOUSING APPLICATION FORM

For the purposes of being eligible for family housing with M'akola Group of Societies family is defined as a minimum of two people including one dependent child.

**Who is considered a "dependent child"?**

A person is considered a dependant when they are under 19 years of age; OR under 25 and registered in full-time school, university or vocational institute which provides a recognized diploma, certificate or degree; OR of any age who, because of mental or physical infirmity, is accepted as a dependent for income tax purposes

**Two types of family housing:**

- Units owned and operated by M'akola
  - For Aboriginal applicants only
  - Must complete M'akola's Family Housing Application form
- Units owned by BC Housing and operated by M'akola
  - For Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal applicants
  - Must complete BC Housing's Application for Housing form

**Family Housing Location Preferences** - see page 2 for housing listings  
Please only select housing where you would actually want to live and select as many options as you like. Once offered housing applicants have two refusal opportunities only. If you refuse the 2nd offer your application file will be canceled.

**Submit your completed M'akola Family Housing Application and BC Housing Application forms to:**

**By Mail:** M'akola Group of Societies, 104-550 Goldstream Avenue, Victoria BC V9B 2W7

**In Person:** Drop off at any M'akola Housing regional office.

**By Email:** applications@makola.bc.ca    **By Fax:** 250-590-0248

**Help and Information**

If you require help completing your application please contact your regional office (see attached for our regional locations) where our staff are happy to assist you.

For additional information about the applications process and/or an update on your live application file you can reach our Applications Department toll-free at 1-877-384-1423 or by email at applications@makola.bc.ca

For BC Housing applications, M'akola's Applications Department will forward your completed application to BC Housing for processing and entry into their Housing Registry Database. Our staff are able to provide applicants with updates but if you prefer to contact BC Housing directly you can do so toll-free at 1-800-257-7756.

**Stay in Touch:**

Once your application is made "live" you will receive a letter from our Applications Department providing you with an application reference number. If and when your contact information or circumstances change, you must update your application at the phone number or email address listed above quoting the reference number. Our office must hear from you at least once a year to keep your application file active.


**Consent of Information:**

M'akola Group of Societies' purpose in obtaining your personal information is to provide you with adequate and appropriate housing opportunities. Your information will be stored and secured in accordance with Canada's Personal Information Protection and Electronic Documents Act (PIPEDA). At anytime you can withdraw your consent and M'akola will terminate your information safely. This also means M'akola will no longer provide you with housing opportunities.

Application for Family Housing | 1-877-384-1423 | makola.bc.ca

1

Figure 6.4b



**M'AKOLA**  
GROUP OF SOCIETIES

**OFFICE USE ONLY:**  
 APPLICATION #: \_\_\_\_\_  
 BEDROOM SIZE: \_\_\_\_\_  
 SURNAME: \_\_\_\_\_

**Family Housing Location Preference**

There are more people applying for housing than vacant units. Therefore, the time to find housing can be lengthy. To increase the chances of being offered a place to live, you may wish to select a number of locations.

**Please note:** If you refuse two offers of housing, your application will be cancelled. Please be careful when selecting where you want to live and be sure that you are prepared to live in any of the sites or regions you list.

Applicant Name: \_\_\_\_\_ Co-Applicant Name: \_\_\_\_\_

Tell us where you would like to live.

<p><b>VICTORIA</b></p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> 1021 Caledonia Ave. 🏠</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> 210/220 Langford St. 🏠</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> 735 Admirals Rd. 🏠</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> 3360 Quadra St. 🏠</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> 413-419 Heather St. 🏠</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> 218/230 Skinner St. 🏠</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> 824-826 Alston St. 🏠</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> 412-418 Powell St. 🏠</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> 3010-3016 Cedar Hill Rd. 🏠</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> 3023 Carroll St. 🏠</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> 3116-3152 Cook St. 🏠</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> 1158 North Park St. 🏠</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> 37 Simcoe St. 🏠</p> <p><b>LANGFORD</b></p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> 731 Station Ave. 🏠</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> 2749 Jacklin Rd. 🏠</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> 2637 Deville Rd. 🏠</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> 554 Goldstream Ave. 🏠</p> <p><b>DUNCAN</b></p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> 640 636 Trunk Rd. 🏠</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> 3214 Sherman Rd. 🏠</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> 3170 Gibbins Rd. 🏠</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> 5848 Chesterfield Ave. 🏠</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> 3258 Sherman Rd. 🏠</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> 264-272 White Rd. 🏠</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> 3278 Skinner Rd. 🏠</p> <p><b>NANAIMO</b></p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> 4421 Wellington Rd. 🏠</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> 3201 Shenton Rd. 🏠</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> 821 Short Ave. 🏠</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> 470 Winchester Ave. 🏠</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> 830 Short Ave. 🏠</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> 298 Howard Ave. 🏠</p>	<p><b>PORT ALBERNI</b></p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> 3777 Argyle Way 🏠</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> 4950 Neill St. 🏠</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> 3737 Bruce St. 🏠</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> 2418 - 2878 4th Ave. 🏠</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> 5120 - 5174 Gertrude Ave. 🏠</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> 4155 8th Ave. 🏠</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> 4502 - 4536 Dogwood Rd. 🏠</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> 4160 - 4190 8th Ave. 🏠</p> <p><b>COURTENAY</b></p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> 2060 Lake Trail Rd. 🏠</p> <p><b>CAMPBELL RIVER</b></p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> 1808 South Island HWY. 🏠</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> 300 Robron Rd. 🏠</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> 530 Rockland Rd. 🏠</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> 391 Westgate Rd. 🏠</p> <p><b>PRINCE RUPERT</b></p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> 1428 Kootenay Ave. 🏠</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> 1251 Hays Cove Ave. 🏠</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> 1306 Summit Ave. 🏠</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> 1031 3rd Ave. W. 🏠</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> 589-701 McKay St. 🏠</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> 1306-1372 Summit Ave. 🏠</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> 1426-1428 Kootenay Ave. 🏠</p> <p><b>TERRACE</b></p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> 2602 Tetrault St. 🏠</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> 2510 Tetrault St. 🏠</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> 2509 Pear St. 🏠</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> 4501 Park Ave. 🏠</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> 4524 Little Ave. 🏠</p>	<p><b>SINGLE FAMILY DWELLINGS</b></p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> 100 Mile House and Area 🏠 🐾</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Alert Bay 🏠</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Bella Coola and Area 🏠 🐾</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Bowser 🏠</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Burns Lake 🏠</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Campbell River 🏠 🐾</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Cedar 🏠</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Courtenay 🏠</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Crofton 🏠</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Cumberland 🏠</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Dease Lake 🏠</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Duncan 🏠</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Egmont 🏠</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Errington 🏠</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Gibsons 🏠</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Halfmoon Bay 🏠</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Hazelton Area 🏠</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Houston 🏠</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Lake Cowichan 🏠</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Lantzville 🏠</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Madeira Park 🏠</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Masset 🏠</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Nanoose Bay 🏠</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Parksville 🏠</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Port Alberni 🏠</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Port Hardy 🏠</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Powell River 🏠</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Qualicum Beach 🏠</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Queen Charlotte City 🏠</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Quesnel and Area 🏠</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Roberts Creek 🏠</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Saltair 🏠</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Sechelt 🏠</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Smithers 🏠</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Telkwa 🏠</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Terrace 🏠</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Tofino 🏠</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Ucluelet 🏠</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Williams Lake and Area 🏠 🐾</p>
--	--	---

🏠 Requires M'akola Application - Owned and Operated By M'akola Group of Societies

🏠 Requires a BC Housing Application - For Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal applicants

🏠 For Aboriginal Applicants Only

🐾 Allows one pet

Application for Family Housing | 1-877-384-1423 | makola.bc.ca

**Figure 6.4c**



**Application for Family Housing**

**APPLICANT INFORMATION**

FULL NAME:					HOME PHONE:
CURRENT ADDRESS:					WORK PHONE:
CITY:			POSTAL CODE:		CELL PHONE:
BIRTHDATE:	MONTH:	DAY:	YEAR:	EMAIL:	
<input type="checkbox"/> ABORIGINAL/FIRST NATION <input type="checkbox"/> NON-STATUS <input type="checkbox"/> NON-ABORIGINAL					

**CO-APPLICANT INFORMATION, IF APPLICABLE**

FULL NAME:					HOME PHONE:
CURRENT ADDRESS:					WORK PHONE:
CITY:			POSTAL CODE:		CELL PHONE:
BIRTHDATE:	MONTH:	DAY:	YEAR:	EMAIL:	
<input type="checkbox"/> ABORIGINAL/FIRST NATION <input type="checkbox"/> NON-STATUS <input type="checkbox"/> NON-ABORIGINAL					


**AUTHORIZED CONTACT PERSON/MESSAGE PERSON**

NAME:	
RELATIONSHIP:	ADDRESS:
CITY:	PHONE:

**EMPLOYMENT/INCOME INFORMATION**

APPLICANT'S CURRENT EMPLOYER:	PHONE:
ADDRESS:	GROSS MONTHLY INCOME:
CO-APPLICANT'S CURRENT EMPLOYER:	PHONE:
ADDRESS:	GROSS MONTHLY INCOME:
OTHER SOURCE(S) OF INCOME:	GROSS MONTHLY INCOME:

**Figure 6.4d**



**Application for Family Housing**

---

**ADDITIONAL HOUSEHOLD MEMBERS**

FULL NAME:	BIRTHDATE:			GENDER:	RELATIONSHIP TO APPLICANT:
	M:	D:	Y:		
	M:	D:	Y:		
	M:	D:	Y:		
	M:	D:	Y:		
	M:	D:	Y:		
	M:	D:	Y:		

Do any of the above, 19 or older who are not a dependents have income?  YES  NO  
 If so, list income source(s) and gross monthly amounts.

---

Do you expect your family size to change in the next 12 months?  YES  NO

**HEALTH AND MOBILITY**

Do any members of your household have health or mobility issues that we need to be aware of in terms of providing you with appropriate housing options? Please explain.

---

**RESIDENCE HISTORY**

ADDRESS:	FROM:	TO:	LANDLORD'S NAME:	CONTACT #:

Have you at any time lived in subsidized housing?  YES  NO


If so, where? When?

---

Application for Family Housing | 1-877-384-1423 | makola.bc.ca

4

Figure 6.4e

		<b>Application for Family Housing</b>				
<b>PRESENT ACCOMMODATION</b>						
At Present, Do You <input type="checkbox"/> RENT <input type="checkbox"/> OWN <input type="checkbox"/> OTHER: _____						
Number of Bedrooms: _____			Number of People: _____			
Type of Current Housing?						
<input type="checkbox"/> House <input type="checkbox"/> Shared		<input type="checkbox"/> Apartment <input type="checkbox"/> Shelter		<input type="checkbox"/> Basement Suite <input type="checkbox"/> Living with family/friends		
<input type="checkbox"/> Weekly/Daily Rental <input type="checkbox"/> No Current Residence		<input type="checkbox"/> Other _____				
Briefly describe your current accommodation:						
MONTHLY RENT: \$ _____		Do you have household pets? <input type="checkbox"/> YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO				
Does rent include heat, hydro, oil, gas or water? <input type="checkbox"/> YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO						
If not included, how much monthly?		HEAT: \$	HYDRO: \$	OIL: \$	GAS: \$	WATER: \$
<b>REASON FOR MOVING</b>						
Are you under notice to end your present tenancy? <input type="checkbox"/> YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO <i>If yes, please include a copy of the legal notice to end tenancy</i>						
Do you have any health and safety concerns with your current residence? Please explain.						
Please explain any other reasons for moving or additional comments: <i>If you would prefer to discuss sensitive issues by phone or in person please let us know.</i>						
Application for Family Housing   1-877-384-1423   makola.bc.ca					5	

**Figure 6.4f**



*Submit completed form to location applying for.  
Refer to front page for contact information.*

**DECLARATION** *Please read carefully and sign this agreement*

**I/We Declare:**

- This is my application; and
- All information provided is correct and completed to the best of my knowledge and belief.

**I/We Authorize:**

- Pursuant to the Freedom of Information and Protection of Privacy Act (FIPPA) and Protection of Privacy Act (PIPA), the M'akola Group of Societies has permission and/or is authorized to make any inquiries that are necessary to verify the information given in this application;

**I/We Understand:**

- That this application does not constitute any agreement on the part of the M'akola Group of Societies to provide me/us with rental accommodation;
- That it is my/our responsibility to advise the Society of any changes to the information given in this application and to provide any supporting materials required for my/our application; and,
- That I/We must update our application and/or indicate our continued interest in housing on an annual basis for our application to remain active.
- That current income information must be provided if/when I am offered tenancy it will be used to determine eligibility and monthly rental amounts.
- That eligibility for housing and rental amounts are partly determined by household income and asset information.
- This application is for M'akola owned units only and does not qualify me for housing operated by M'akola on behalf of BC Housing.

Please initial to acknowledge understanding:	Applicant	Co-Applicant
1. I/We understand I/We must sign a tenancy agreement before I move into this housing.		
2. I/We understand that M'akola requires a security deposit.		
3. I/We will provide income information and financial information for all household members annually OR at M'akola's request including CRA Notice of Assessments.		
4. I/We understand the Society has the right to inspect my unit monthly as per the Residential Tenancy Act.		
5. I/We understand peaceful living conditions is required, and breach of this is subject to immediate end of tenancy.		

**SIGNATURE**

APPLICANT:	MONTH:	DAY:	YEAR:
CO-APPLICANT:	MONTH:	DAY:	YEAR:

**OFFICE USE ONLY**

RECEIVED BY:	MONTH:	DAY:	YEAR:
REVIEWED BY:			



## Introduction

*“It is important that as world we recognize that empowering women, that respecting their rights, is fundamental to building a world in which everyone has a real and fair chance to succeed”*

- Justin Trudeau, March 8, 2017 at The International Women’s Day

*“The missing and murdered Indigenous women and girls inquiry is something that I have long believed in, long supported”*

- Justin Trudeau, October 5, 2017 at Families of Sisters in Spirit Vigil

*“Canada’s Feminist International Assistance Policy is a reflection of who we are as Canadians . . . we need to make sure that women and girls are empowered to reach their full potential so they can earn their own livelihoods, which will benefit families as well as the economic growth of their communities and countries.”*

-Canada’s Feminist International Assistance Policy

As I complete paperwork in the office, the telephone rings. I answer the phone, “Good afternoon, Lake House, Heather speaking.” A woman on the end of the line frantically tells me that her partner abused her and her two children and they now need a safe place to stay for the night. I ask the woman if she is presently safe from her partner and she replies yes. The woman and I agree to meet in person within the next hour at a local coffee shop. I arrive at the coffee shop to find a woman and her two children patiently sitting at a table and intensely catching my gaze to indicate that it is she to whom I had spoken on the phone. I join the family at the table. I listen to the woman briefly describe her situation. I tell the woman that she can access our services, so as she can both learn about, and fulfill, her rights as a woman. She and her children buckle into the transition house van, and I take them to our confidential location where they are safe from the abuse: a house for emancipation.

The woman and her two children complete the intake (the paperwork process that initiates a woman into the house) and I provide them with a house tour, guidelines for the house and their assigned living spaces (bedroom, bathroom, family room). As mandated by

BC Housing (a government institution that primarily funds the program) the woman is granted a 30-day stay to plan her transition into a new emancipated life. Over the course of 30 days, transition house workers teach the resident about her rights as a woman, most importantly her economic rights to earn an equal living that will secure safe market housing and financially support her children. The woman receives the information without hesitation and she soon obtains all the subsequent benefits that knowing-your-rights promises. At the end of the 30-day stay, the woman praises the transition house workers for their feminist sermonizing that now provides the woman with a new emancipated life. The woman leaves the house, settles into her new safe house with her children, and we (the transition house workers) do not hear from her again.

The former story is a farcical tale of the neoliberal government: a woman reaches out into the community for help from her feminist agency who provides her with feminist knowledge for a new emancipated life in Canadian society. Now the woman is *equal*. Now the woman can economically prosper. Today, this prolific tale of women's rights dominates in Canada's new Feminist International Assistance Policy (FIAP, published on the government of Canada's website on October 31, 2017). As to ratify a policy of the UN Declaration on the Elimination of Violence Against Women, FIAP partners with the new Development Finance Institution (DFI) to meet the goals of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development. The contents of the Feminist International Assistance Policy adumbrate Canada's dedication to eliminating international violence against women by taking political action in the following six areas: 1) gender equality and the empowerment of women and girls; 2) human dignity; 3) growth that works for everyone; 4) environment and climate action; 5) inclusive governance; and, 6) peace and security. The ubiquitous message throughout each section of the policy is how economic rights for women will create a prosperous (the language in the policy excessively uses this adjective to emphasize the message) economy, and subsequently, better develop the country. There are fleeting mentions of human rights that gloss over the policy, but its central premise is to emancipate women, which will generate capital, and thus fructify economic growth. Canada's Development Finance Institution is the central proponent to realize FIAP, for FIAP outlines how DFI will prioritize local feminist agencies when allocating grants to NGOs. Consequently, the DFI specifies that it has limited resources, and thus it will act as a trustful

agent (set an example) to build confidence in the private sector to donate money that will not only emancipate foreign women, but also turn a profit for donors.

The Feminist International Assistance Policy gives the impression that Canada is at the forefront of women's rights activism. However, it reproduces public perception that fosters the typical response I receive when I inform people that I work at a transition house: the person tilts their head, sighs an onomatopoeic sound, then reveres me with a statement such as, "...that must be rewarding to help so many women find a new life? We are so lucky Canada has places like that." I always appreciate the comments. However, my coworkers (co-producers of the following thesis) and I (as the writer) are here to tell a frank ethnographic account that debunks this image. The relationship between transition houses and the government is not one of equal power. Transition house workers become indirect government workers in a fragmented welfare system who are told by the government (through contract agreements) the parameters of their service provision. The government praises the work of transition houses in the fight for gender equality while quantifying and qualifying the constituents of the fight.

In February, 2015, I was hired by a local feminist agency in British Columbia to be a transition house worker at Lake House. The feminist agency was founded in 1979 by a group of local women, initially, as a rape crisis center. Over the course of the following year, the agency realized that there was also a need for women and children who were fleeing abuse, and thus the demographic broadened. The center operated an on-call crisis line through volunteers. In 1980, the agency hired its first employee after being funded by, what was then called, The Social Credit Party government. In 1986, Lake Transition House was established as a program to provide emergency shelter to women and children who were fleeing abuse (not just domestic abuse). Today, Lake Transition House continues to receive primary government funding from BC Housing to provide women and children with safe emergency shelter for a mandated 30-day stay.

For ethical and confidential reasons, I cannot identify the exact location of Lake House. However, I can say that Lake House exists in a context where the aftermath of residential schools is trying to reach reconciliation through neoliberal bandages. "Cultural sensitivity" and inclusive politics spread throughout the community by showcasing local indigenous art throughout tourist hubs in the city. At the same time, the government continues to

“repatriate” land by merely replacing the colonial names of landmarks or reservation land to former indigenous names while the government continues to possess and sell land to maximize capital.

After a few months of working at the transition house, the BC “housing crisis” began to ensue. We started seeing women return to abusive situations because affordable market housing was scarce. What happened to the premise of women’s rights under which we operate—one that turns women into powerfully *free* agents in society? We were starting to witness the two faces of neoliberalism that Harvey (2005: 3) describes: a hegemonic discourse that supports human rights logic as the reason to justly treat humanity while at the same time dismisses human welfare for the marketplace. In this thesis, I define neoliberalism as a political economy that guts the welfare system of a state to maximize the accumulation of capital by prioritizing property, land, and resource extraction to sell on an international free market. However, as Harvey describes above, there is a second face of neoliberalism that takes shape as a *hegemonic discourse*. I will unfold this discourse and subsequently the definition of hegemony throughout the thesis, as I show how the power of the state is not a top-down process of control over transition house workers. Rather, we grant consent to state power through our policies, protocols and procedures that lend themselves to government control. Hegemony requires consent to sustain power. I will show how transition house workers provide hegemonic consent through both representative *and* ontological practices.

Women flee to a transition house to experience freedom from abuse. However, in a neoliberal economy freedom under human rights logic is a mask that unveils when we see that freedom,

thus degenerates into a mere advocacy of free enterprise [where] freedom for those whose income, leisure, and security need no enhancing, and a mere pittance of liberty for the people, who may in vain attempt to make use of their democratic rights to gain shelter from the power of the owners of property. (Polyani 1954 as cited in Harvey 2005: 37)

The neoliberal state *recognizes* women's rights. However, the neoliberal state forms a paradox when the ideology of recognition does not manifest in practice. Instead, *recognizing* a woman as equal to man becomes a social apparatus by which the state maintains its power to control bodies. As Audra Simpson (2014: 20) puts it, "although political recognition is a technique of settler governance, it appears as a transcendent and universal human desire that becomes a political antidote to historical wrongdoing." The goal of this thesis is to elucidate how British Columbia transition houses function through the intersection of the Canadian neoliberal economy and settler-state: do transition houses become an indirect branch of the welfare system that contributes to a Canadian settler-state? I define the Canadian settler-state as the patriarchal structures that seek to control and annihilate indigenous peoples to occupy their land, make the land property, generate revenue from the property, import cheap labour to work on the land, and thus maximize the value of the land by producing goods to sell on the free market (Arvin et al. 2013: 12). Between 2016-2017, approximately seventy percent of women who used Lake House services identified as First Nations, according to demographic statistics we gather during intake. Therefore, I argue that BC transition houses not only give an impression that a neoliberal government is trying to ameliorate violence against women, transition houses play a part in sustaining a settler-state through its policies, protocols and paperwork that co-terminously create and monitor subjects who bolster the neoliberal class divide. Transition houses (in their best intentions) continue to reproduce marginalized subjects whose scarce economic "rights" allow the new neoliberal class, one that is formed by "restrict[ing] in favour of the freedoms of the few" (Harvey 2005: 70), to maintain hegemony through property and land ownership. Consequently, residents of the transition house are left with few housing options: monitored social housing, an unaffordable BC housing market or returning to an abusive situation.

The following thesis will take an auto-ethnographic form, as I will draw from my own experiences to tell a self-narrative that, "places the self within a social context" (Reed-Danahay 1997: 9). However, throughout my fieldwork in the summer of 2017, I co-existed with my coworkers and residents in the social context of the transition house. Therefore, the following thesis is a coproduction of knowledge between my coworkers, the residents and myself. My choice to disseminate the knowledge through autoethnography allows me

to contextualize the relationship between the transition house worker and the resident which asks the “readers to feel truth of [the] stories and to become co-participants, engaging the storyline morally, emotionally, aesthetically, and intellectually” (Ellis and Bochner 2000:745). In addition, autoethnography is an accessible ethnographic form that invites multifarious readers, both inside *and* outside of academia. I plan to unpack my argument from the position of the transition house worker in relation to a woman calling the crisis line (the point of first contact) to her outtake (exit out of the house), parsing the development of “our” (the workers) relationship with her through our policies, protocols and paperwork.

In chapter one, I quickly introduce how our government mandate (assigned demographic) makes us hegemonic gatekeepers of government services through the concept of *safety*. Timmer (2010:265) argues that NGO’s create a needy subject on which their services predicate. I unpack how our assessment protocol is a screening process through an asymmetrical exchange of information whereby transition house workers exert their authority—by assessing the woman’s narrative—to decide if the woman is “a fit” (a common phrase workers use when discussing potential residents) for the house. Concomitantly, at this initial point of contact, we begin to create subjects of the settler-state by determining, through our power that the mandate provides, which bodies are safe or unsafe: the decision will either grant or deny the person access to services.

In chapter two, I assess the two documents we use for intake: The Lake House Resident Information and Limits of Confidentiality & Shelter Agreement. First, what is important to impart throughout this chapter is how our funding heavily relies on our efficiency to gather specific statistical information about residents. Consequently, our intake paperwork subsumes settler-state power by mandating information about certain subjects in The Lake House Resident Information. The intake paperwork that we complete are documents that, “are not simply instruments of bureaucratic organizations, but rather constitutive of bureaucratic rules, ideologies, knowledge, practices, subjectivities, objects, outcomes and even the organizations themselves” (Hull 2012: 253). We *are* paperwork, and thus we reproduce the settler-state by creating subjects—through information gathering— on whom the settler-state occupies.

Second, I contextualize how the Limits of Confidentiality and Shelter Agreement constitute behaviours and mobilities of an ethical subject inside the house. Again, as I mention above, paperwork *is* social life. These guidelines are in relation to an infrastructure (house) that creates a hegemonic relationship between woman and worker. However, Lake House's infrastructure, and its contingent guidelines, connects to the house's financial budget and liability, for both of which BC housing is responsible.

I frame chapter three in technopolitical theory to impress how the infrastructure, and the objects (technologies) in Lake House, are onto-epistemic sites of subject-making. In other words, how workers and residents move through specific spaces and use certain objects within the house ascribes a political way of being in the house. By analyzing how Lake House's infrastructure produces a non-discursive political rationality, I can better apprehend how the technological form of the house inculcates into an "apparatus of governmentality" (Foucault 2010: 70). I will demonstrate how the house's infrastructure creates and monitors subjects, as an infrastructure (and their material objects) are not *just* vehicles transporting information, they are sites on which government subjects come alive (Larkin 2008: 329-330). In this chapter, I expand on Althusser's's theory of interpellation to demonstrate how physical objects become a part of governance.

Contingently, I continue telling the story in chapter four through the context of resident logging—a daily journaling method where workers document each resident's activities. As complementary to the previous chapter, I extend the argument further to exemplify how our logging of client "progress" reproduces subject-making, but also how it is a hegemonic process by which we *monitor* an ethical subject. This chapter examines how the capitalist standard of productivity is the grade by which logging takes a discursive form. I show how logging tracks the progress of turning residents into political subject(s) of the government. What seems like a platonic method of communication, only in practice make women wards of the system.

Chapter five expands on Hull's (2012) theory—we are the social relations of paperwork— through staff consultation and shift change. Although we document some aspects of the knowledge we produce in these spaces, I argue that logging, and its subject-making, sets a hegemonic platform for *how* we exchange, and *what* information we exchange, which culminates in our decisions and explanations about a subject's stay in the

house. During shift change and consultation, I often witness what Wolf (2006) labels as *settler humanitarianism*, which is a concept that emphasizes how liberal intervention reproduces the control of the settler-state over indigenous subjects and territory while at the same time promoting “reconciliation” in Canada. Although Lake House does not specifically provide services to just indigenous women, a high percentage (one that I cannot legally share because it is the “property” of BC Housing) of indigenous women access Lake House’s services, which make it an indirect settler-humanitarian intervention: Lake House is a program that, “[leads], therefore, not to annihilation, but rather to new modes of governance” (Maxwell 2017: 975) through the concept of safety. Shift changes and consultations become onto-epistemic sites for settler-humanitarianism whereby the house is a place of *higher* knowledge of safety through which women learn autonomy. It is a place to “teach” women *our* knowledge about, not only abuse, but other “life skills”, such as mothering and/or cleaning. However, through this sensibility, racism can manifest during our shift changes and consultations, most palpably, in our explanation(s)—composed of the information that creates subjects—as to why women attest or contest the knowledge that subsumes our expectations and rationale of behavior both inside and outside of the house.

During shift change and consultation, we witness settler-humanitarianism take two forms in our explanations (rationale of behavior) as to why subjects attest or contest our expectations both inside and outside of the house. First, I reiterate how we often explain such behaviours as devoid of “our” knowledge, “she has not learned this-or-that . . .” Second, I discuss how we produce neoliberal discourses of “cultural diversity” while at the same time commit “differentialist racism” through a cultural explanation (Visweswaran 2010: 16). *Culture* becomes the logic by which we explain a resident’s behavior in relation to our expert knowledge.

I tell three stories of outtake (when the woman leaves the house) in chapter five that describe how neoliberal housing barriers impede a woman’s right to autonomy after leaving the transition house. I argue that neoliberal housing barriers reproduce women at the margins, for their only options fortify settler-state governance. I recount the following three stories: 1) women transition into the community with the support of the Homeless Prevention Program (a temporary housing subsidy program funded by the government); 2) Alternative government programs, such as BC Housing, M’akola Housing or second stage



housing; and, 3) Abrupt outtake. Throughout the stories, I use ethnographic data to map a trail of surveillance whereby I propose a potential corollary (that which strengthens settler-state power through inclusive politics) through Bill C-31 of the Indian Act. I ask if Bill C-31 does the opposite that it is suppose to do? Does it strengthen the power of the settler-state by *including* more women into the *government's* category of "Indian"?

Schuller (2009: 84) argues that NGOs fill the gaps, and provide legitimacy to, "neoliberal globalization". British Columbia transition houses form paradoxical sites that fill one of Canada's welfare gaps. Transition houses attest to the government's feminist propaganda of progress (women's rights for all!) while at the same time controlling the constituents and magnitude of realized "rights". What is ubiquitous throughout all four stories in chapter five is how women who transition through the house cannot obtain a level of "economic rights" that places them on a financially equal ground in society. Instead, transition houses act as intermediaries that recycle women back onto the margins as subjects of the settler-state, and thus they return to at-risk situations by becoming subjects of property and landowners—and a cheap labour market—who decide their fate in the neoliberal housing market.

In the last chapter (six), I unpack Simpson's (2014) theory of refusal—the refusal to provide information that creates and monitors subjects of a settler-state. I spend the majority of the thesis explaining how the transition house fits into the settler-state. However, I do not believe that workers become "brainwashed" acolytes—it is not reductionist—of the system, but nevertheless perform the processes that reproduce it. Simpson's theory provides me with a frame through which I can tell one last story—a story that addresses a subtly conscionable awareness of our role in the system. This is our story of refusal through *undocumentation*. I locate the sites throughout the house on which we as workers refuse to create and monitor subjects of the settler-state. As much as we create and monitor subjects, we inconspicuously subvert narratives and knowledge that fix residents into the system.



## Chapter 1: “Good Afternoon, Lake House, How May I *Help* You?”

When I began training to be a transition house counselor at Lake House, I was first taught our demographic mandate for service provision. As Lake House is primarily funded by British Columbia Housing (BC Housing), our contract describes the mandate on which receiving funding is contingent. British Columbia Housing dictates Lake House’s mandate as the following:

The Women’s Transition Housing and Supports Program (WTHSP) supports women and their children who are At Risk of Violence or have experienced Violence, by providing access to safe, secure and confidential services, including information and supports for decision-making, short-term shelter or housing, referrals to other services and links to affordable housing (Women’s Transition Housing and Supports Program Agreement, capitalizations in original text)

In this chapter, I tell a story of how workers *and* residents relationally define safety throughout the assessment process that place workers in a hegemonic role that reproduces, and protects, a settler-state. The transition house counselor inadvertently becomes what Zinn (1995: 622) calls “guards of the system” as it functions within liberal feminist NGOs that attest to, and produce a veneer of, Trudeau’s progressive politics. In our intentions to help women and children who are fleeing abuse, we become stuck as the “glue” (Schuller 2009: 85) between the producers (neoliberal government) and recipients (women and children seeking government services) of inequality. Lake House’s feminist existence rests upon our ability to both efficiently implement the program (transition house services) set out in the government contract and report specific information to the government. If we can follow the government’s contractual obligations, we then receive a small amount of money from the government to provide services on a fixed budget. Financially, the government chooses how much money it should dedicate to help women and children who are fleeing abuse. Screening for the mandate is our first contractual obligation where we gather information to decide if the person is a safe *subject* or not. Moreover, the assessment is a

process to gather information, and make decisions according to safety, that uphold a settler-state.

I contextualize the story of assessment in the three parts that comprise the procedure. The first part of the narrative addresses how we use the government mandate to create what Timmer labels the “needy subject” constitutive of non-governmental organizations (2010: 264-281). We (workers) protect government services by holding the power to determine if the woman is in *need* of our services. The second part of the story reveals how the assessment questions are safeguards that screen subjects to protect the safety of the house: workers gather information from potential residents to assess their level of risk to the house. We administer an “intake assessment” to decide which bodies are safe or unsafe to the house, and thus who can access services. The third section discusses how workers assign heteropatriarchal gender categories—that which are foundational to a settler-state—to potential residents. During the one-on-one in-person meeting (third part of the assessment), workers protect the settler-state by choosing who is or is not a woman, according to the corporeal knowledge of heteropatriarchy.

### ***The Crisis Call***

The crisis call is the initial point of contact that we (workers) have with a potential resident. We are trained to listen to the woman’s story and ask investigative questions to conclude if she is at-risk of, or presently experiencing, abuse from another person(s)—I want to reiterate that Lake House is not funded specifically for domestic violence. After experiencing several crisis calls, I developed an assessment style via the telephone. The following is an excerpt:

Heather: *(the crisis phone rings and I pick up the receiver)* Lake House, Heather speaking.

Caller: Hi, I am looking for a place to stay with my children.

Heather: Okay. Can you tell me a little more about your situation?

Caller: Yes, the neighbours called the cops on my husband yesterday. I stayed at a friend’s house last night because the social worker said that I will lose my children if I return to the home where he lives. I am not sure what else I can do. I don’t have any money to stay anywhere else.

Heather: That's a tough situation. Can you tell me a little more about why the neighbours called the cops last night?

Caller: My husband and I were fighting loudly. It escalated and we became physical with each other. He is always like this and I don't know what to do anymore. I fear for our safety.

Heather: Are you and your children in a safe place right now?

Caller: Yes, but we cannot stay here for another night.

During this part of the assessment, I ask questions to piece together the narrative in order to decide whether or not the person “fits” the mandate—the expression “a fit” is a neologism that workers use to vet potential residents. This example is an ideal situation where the woman's story clearly satisfies our mandate. However, this type of clarity is rare during a crisis call, especially now during the present BC housing crisis. Timmer (ibid: 265) postulates that non-governmental organizations overemphasize stories that define their demographic as “needy subjects”. Lake House workers consistently use the logic of need to deduce whether the woman's narrative reports an unsafe situation, and thus qualifies her for our government services. Furthermore, we not only create our subjects of need, but we use the logic of *need* to vet which narratives fit the description of the government mandate (safety). We have the power to decide if the woman is in-need of our services by using the government mandate as the qualification, and thus we perform an act of protecting the state by safeguarding its resources through *our* knowledge of *her* safety.

The most contentious vetting of the needy subject is discerning an abusive narrative from a homeless narrative. The contention lies in assuming an aggregation of both stories, as neither exists in isolation. Many women who are homeless have fled abusive situations, which put them at risk of experiencing new forms of violence (Long 2015; Jasinski et. al 2010: 1-16; Roshelle 2017; Williams 2016: 22-28). During our assessment to find “a fit” resident, our mandate compels us to ignore the intersection between violence against women and homelessness by separating them and treating the social problems as incommensurable to each other.

During my position as transition house worker, I have also been (and I currently am) a homeless shelter worker. There were (and still are) many times when I feel like I hold the

power to rank whose safety is more in-need or “fit” with the mandate. My coworkers and I receive many phones calls that depict the following:

Heather: (*the crisis-line rings in the office*) Lake House, Heather speaking.

Caller: Hi, yes. I am feeling unsafe at the homeless shelter and I need a place to stay.

Heather: Okay. Can you tell me a little more about your situation? Has there been an incident that just happened?

Caller: What do you mean?

Heather: Well, as a transition house, we provide services to women and children who are at-risk or fleeing immediate abuse. This is whom we accommodate.

Caller: Okay. Well, I left my abusive partner five years ago and I have been living on the streets for three years because no one will give me a place to rent. I have been camping by the river and couch surfing. I have been staying at the homeless shelter for a few nights, but some of the men have been making me feel uncomfortable and another guy is saying that I owe him money.

Heather: Unfortunately, your situation sounds a little bit more like homelessness, but if you need to talk, please feel free to call our twenty- four hour crisis line.

Caller: But you said you take in women who are at-risk of abuse or have experienced abuse. My husband hit me for years and I right now I am scared of the people around me . . .

Heather: I empathize with your situation, but our resources are for women who are fleeing *immediate* abuse. I encourage you to call back if the situation changes.

Caller: Okay. Thanks.

Although the woman clearly states that she is feeling unsafe and at-risk of abuse, we assess her narrative and exert our power to override her claims of being at-risk to violence by concluding that she is safe. *We* produce the knowledge of safety, and thus she is not a subject in-need nor fit for our program’s services. She is *just* homeless. Lake House staff continuously discusses this issue, as a staff member who “lets in” a homeless-person-who-

does-not-fit-the-mandate can become the spectacle of censure. We toss around the following common phrases when discussing if a woman is homeless or fleeing abuse:

*She has a safe place to stay.*

*We cannot occupy a bed when there may be someone in greater need.*

*If we let in every homeless person, then we won't have room for mothers and children who really need our services.*

*We need to ask about their past accommodations to know for how long and why they are homeless.*

*It sounds like she has a safe place to stay and she is just homeless.*

Our mandate places us in a position of power to generate knowledge of another person's safety, and thus if the person can gain access to our services. The caller's narrative is the platform on which we generate whose safety is *in-need*. Therefore, we create "needy subjects" through a hegemonic relationship with callers that assigns us the power—through government mandate—to generate knowledge about what and who is safe.

### ***Screening For Safe Women***

During several interviews with my coworkers, I introduced discussions about our assessment process. One question I asked was, "Do you think we 'screen' differently for some persons than others?" Although the depth of each person's analysis to the question differed, a ubiquitous premise underscored each answer: *safety*. However, it was a disparate definition than the one that generates from the mandate. In the first section I introduce the beginning of a crisis call and how workers acquire and exert hegemony by deciding whose safety is in-need according to the government mandate. We grant access to services if their narrative "fits" our knowledge of safety. In the second part of the assessment, we ask a series of questions to screen for safety issues that may adversely impact workers and other residents. It is through this process of screening (questions) that

we become a site that reproduces, “individualized pronouncements of public safety and the spectre of threatening bodies” (Brodie 2009: 688). This section tells a story of screening bodies to protect the safety of the house *and* the power of the settler-state.

After we decide if a caller’s narrative qualifies them to receive services, we then ask a series of questions to eliminate them as a safety threat to the house. The caller has to divulge private information to gain access to services that fulfill their individual rights. Caidi and Ross (2005: 670) advocate for an “active citizenship” whereby citizens learn about which information an individual can use to benefit oneself throughout different social contexts. However, our screening process creates a hegemonic relationship between worker and caller through an asymmetrical exchange—and *use* —of private information. Yes, a caller can abstain from sharing information, but they cannot access services without satisfying the questionnaire. In addition, what I have also witnessed and experienced is denying the caller access to services primarily based on their resistance to “work with us”. Meaning, if the caller is reluctant and unwilling to provide us with the information we ask, we predict that such resistance is indicative of future behavior in the house. “Active citizenship” in this context is non-existent because accessing services is obligatory—the transition house is the last option for shelter— not an act of individual liberation as neoliberal rhetoric implies (Harvey 2005: 5). Instead, I can apply Agamben’s (2005: 85-88) conceptualization of Schmitt’s (2006) “state of exception”—when the state suspends individual rights to maintain power through safety during an internal conflict or external threat— to the assessment process, as we (workers of the state) suspend a caller’s “right” to their private information to protect the collective safety of the house. What seems like a process to acquire the caller’s individual rights to government services turns into an act of the state (by workers) to maintain control—during an emergency—of the person’s mobility through the logic of safety; it starts by asking the caller’s name.

The purpose of asking the caller’s name, and if they have previously stayed at Lake House, is to surveil the person’s (potential) historical information on a client card (see Figure 1.1). When residents leave the house we create a client card that records the resident’s “quality” of stay; we scan the historical information for safety reasons. Has the person been a threat to the house’s safety? The information on the card discloses *only* details that flag the person as a possible threat. If the person is not a potential threat to the



house, their card will only read “successful stay”. If the person is a threat, then the information on the card will suggest which areas require more screening during the assessment. The following are direct examples of what could be written on a resident’s card:

*Assess for substance abuse and recovery supports*

*For future intake [d]iscuss nights away, drug and alcohol and what supports are needed to stay on her recovery path*

*Successful stay*

*For future intake . . . staff measure level of safety*

*Brought alcohol into the house and was intoxicated two times however no negative behaviours*

*Was on heavy prescription medication*

*Reiterate responsibilities surrounding cooperative living especially cleaning responsibilities*

*Assess for homelessness*

*Educate on being respectful and tolerant of diversity of women staying in the house*

*Substance abuse issues*

*Ineligible due to mental health issues apparent during one-night stay*

*Assess carefully of drugs and alcohol, discuss communal living rules/ she followed rules, but stated she didn’t like them*

*Assess mental health stability and ability to support*

*Future intake assess if [resident] has accessed drug and alcohol support that would provide a safer stay*

*She has serious drug and alcohol problems/mental health as well has been known to have criminal charges*

*She still has mental health issues that would not be appropriate for the communal living environment of the house*

*Lifestyle seems to be very transient/nomadic; future intake assess if need is housing/homelessness or safety*

The caller is not privy to the information on the card nor can they access it at this point in the relationship. We hold the information to determine if they require further screening for safety. In addition, we have a list of names of persons who require extensive screening or who are restricted from services, tacked to a bulletin board above the crisis office—it is our practice to always consult this list.

When I asked my coworkers for whom we screen more in-depth, many coworkers replied that we screen further for mental health and/or substance abuse behaviours because they are a safety risk. If the person's information on the card indicates mental health or substance abuse issues, we inquire further (emphasizing what is on the card followed by the standard questionnaire) to decide if they are "fit" for the house. If the caller has never stayed in the house we commence with the standard questionnaire (see Figure 1.2). Both avenues of assessment require an asymmetrical exchange of information. The caller whom we flag as a threat now has to disclose her personal information to better inform our decision to grant her access to services. Although I understand the logic under which we decide to screen different persons for safety threats, we are contributing to a prejudice, by essentializing peoples under healthcare identities, which the settler-state has been reconstituting since 1918 (Wong 2016: 18), to restrict mobility and foster surveillance and control of specific populations.

Brubaker and Cooper (2000:6-8) argue that "identity"—in its noun form—essentializes and homogenizes persons into putative groups, such as "addict" or "bipolar". During our assessment questionnaire, we assume that every person who uses an "identity" that signifies mental health or substance abuse is a safety threat, regardless of their other particularities—we assume a *sameness*. We reproduce identities for surveillance by flagging a person who reports mental health or substance abuse as a potential safety threat. French and Smith (2013: 383) provide a working definition of health surveillance in public contexts as, "any tracking or monitoring, whether systematic or not, of health-related information." When we require persons with mental health and/or substance abuse to disclose information to us for our purposes, we *become* the surveillance system used to govern specific populations through health-related "identities". The Canadian medicalization of mental illness and substance abuse ("addiction") pathologize explanations of their existence and configure both health concepts into disease models (Fabre 2016;

Canadian Mental Health Association 2017; Canadian Centre on Substance Abuse and Addiction 2017). I want to note that both websites of The Canadian Mental Health Association (CMHA) and The Canadian Centre for Substance Abuse and Addiction (CCSAA) have subsections that specifically speak to a high percentage of First Nations, Metis or Inuit who experience mental illness and/or substance use, which they substantiate with various statistics. Therefore, when we automatically *assess* mental health and substance abuse issues for safety threats, we aggregate persons into a putative group whose identity—and subsequent information—fuels the settler-state. The act of questioning callers about their mental health and substance abuse issues may seem like a standard practice of the job (and many other “frontline” jobs). However, it is predicated on the logic of safety, which makes it seem like a non-contentious practice, for safety is the purpose of the transition house, it would seem like heresy to question it. What we fail to see is that we are screening for information that will fuel settler-state group-making that is used to control specific peoples and retain the occupation of land. A disease does not exist outside of a person, and thus disease management *manages* people to form a polity (governing system) of populations to serve settler-state endeavours (Bashford 2006 as cited in French and Smith: 386). I expand on this in the next chapter by linking transition house funding to BC Housing protocols of information gathering (also known as statistics).

### ***Assessing For The Right Woman***

The third part of the assessment requires us to meet the caller in-person to detect any unaccounted safety threats before we grant them access to services. In this section, I want to show how we give an impression to society that Trudeau’s gender and sexuality inclusive rhetoric (also known as Lesbian Gay Bisexual Trans Queer rights) is realized through feminist agencies. What actually shows up in these spaces is a heteropatriarchy that fuels a settler-state . . . and it begins at the assessment: the unsafe woman lies outside the gender binary. I want to be clear that my intention in this section is not to engage in a vitriol or castigate my coworkers. I think it is very important for us to parse how we deduce certain women as unsafe during the assessment process. We participate in a myriad of professional workshops that imbue us with political correctness about gender and sexuality. We attend conferences where we seek *awareness* of our gender biases. We have conversations during shift change about the deplorable ways in which the government treats trans-folks.

However, we play a part in marginalizing women when we decide who is or is not a woman during assessment.

In our BC Housing contract, there is a clause under Client Eligibility that reads:

All women and their dependent children, who are At Risk of Violence or have experienced violence and who require services regardless of ethno-cultural background, religious beliefs, physical ability, health, mental wellness, social context, sexual orientation and/or gender identity . . .

During many of my interviews I asked my coworkers how they felt about the clause that requires us to intake trans women. This question stemmed from my time as a permanent staff member, wherein I noticed how many coworkers reduce and essentialize “womanness” through the biology of a vagina. This concept of gender, one that reduces gender to biology and places it in a binary relationship with “manhood”, mirrors the liberal feminism of the 1970s that made Ortner’s *“Is Female to Male as Nature Is to Culture?”* (1972) a “classic” article in anthropological studies of gender. Ortner grounds her argument in the nature-culture divide proposing that female is closer to nature where male is closer to culture, and thus their subsequent power divides (male dominance) are universal. However, almost twenty-five years later, Ortner (1996: 440-441) writes a paper that primarily critiques her renown article, wherein she refutes her claim that male dominance is universal and posits that male dominance manifests from the ways in which culture maps ideas of nature, and thus the power divide between genders is a product of political structures *not* a universal force. Ortner concludes the article by urging anthropologists to research how the linkages between genders *create* power rather than assuming power divides are essentially universal between genders.

Given the subject matter of my thesis research (*women* and children who are fleeing abuse), I would be a negligent researcher if I did not consider the onto-epistemic framework of *woman* on which we (transition house workers) center our policies, protocols and procedures for service provision. Furthermore, we cannot ignore that the concept of woman intersects with a settler-state in which we conduct our work, and thus I agree with

Arvin, Tuck and Morrill's (2013: 9) proposal to attend to the link between heteropatriarchy and settler colonialism in feminist contexts, such as a transition house that runs under a feminist agency. I will subscribe to Arvin, Tuck and Morrill's (ibid: 13) definition of heteropatriarchy: conceptualizing gender as a binary between male (biological penis) and female (biological vagina) whereby the male "gender is perceived as strong, capable, wise, and composed and the female gender is perceived as weak, incompetent, naïve and confused". In other words, according to heteropatriarchy, *natural* gender bifurcates two biological bodies with visible, oral and emotional constituents; anything outside of this binary transgresses the natural order (ibid). It became evident to me during fieldwork that, despite our trans-inclusive clause in our contract, we protect the settler-state by conducting our assessments through a heteropatriarchal lens of woman; we promote trans woman rights through our inclusive clause, but we contradict this clause when we use a heteropatriarchal lens of gender when examining who is a "fit" for the house. Rights rhetoric paints an inclusive gloss of the heteropatriarchy of the settler-state that thrives underneath. If any drastic deviations from the binary arise during assessment, we render the woman unsafe and disqualify them as both a resident *and* a woman.

As I sat with coworkers and asked them about the trans-inclusive clause in the mandate, two apparent responses dominated. Some workers quickly deflected the question by stating that they had little or no experience with trans-folks in the transition house, and thus they did not have an apt response. Other workers provided me with answers that shone with a glossy political correctness—one that emulates neoliberal representative politics that proclaim individual "rights" (Harvey 2005: 41-42)— which became qualified when they described hypothetical scenarios of assessing a *visibly or audibly* trans woman. As to not single-out anyone in particular, the following dialogue is a compilation of many interviews to provide an example of how the gender binary qualifies a (un)safe woman for the transition house.

Heather: What do you think about our trans-inclusive clause?

Coworker: Well, we had someone who was staying here once who very much resembled a man. The look. The sound. It is very challenging to me to be cognizant of my biases. If I just heard the male voice, I would not

think it was a woman. What happens in an unconscious way is responding to male. I think the residents in the house would have a similar response. I think it is important to have the clause, but I think it is also important to think about how that [masculinity] is going to impact the other women in the house.

Heather: So, I do wonder, then, do we let a specific type of woman into the house?

Coworker: Yes! Absolutely. There is a conundrum about assessing someone whose words are trans, but their presentation is very male. We have a whole household to consider. How does one know the cues to indicate if the person is just trying to have access to a woman inside the house. I do not know the cultural cues to pick up on, especially if they are from another culture.

The information that I compile into this example indicates that the transition house assessment is a gendering process through the logic of safety. A safe woman is therefore one that does not transgress the gender binary of heteropatriarchy that supports a settler-state. When we assess for safety, we also assess a type of woman that emulates the smells, sounds and representations that do not signify *man*. Therefore, any auditory, olfactory or visual stimuli that do not fit into the binary definition of woman is unsafe, and thus a trans-person who does not look, sound or smell *enough* like a woman is a safety threat to the house. The only woman who has the *right* to government services is a body that *we* assign as a woman—one that fits into the gender binary.

If I return to Ortner's (1996: 440-441) proposal to parse how cultural ideas of nature create power structures, I can understand our transition house assessment as a naturalizing process of the settler-state. The settler-state provides us with a heteropatriarchal idea of how a *natural* woman is supposed to smell, sound and look. Therefore, when we (as transition house workers) use this idea to screen safe or unsafe women, then we are contributing, and protecting, settler-state governance. The trans-inclusive clause plays to the neoliberal politics of representation. It gives the allure that the government is shifting its gender binaries that were used for colonization. However, in this case, a *natural* woman is safe for the transition house.

### ***Protecting The State With Safety***

In this chapter I have shown how we become guards of a settler-state through the logic of safety. First, we acquire power through the government mandate to decide whose situation is unsafe, thus who can receive government services. Second, we conduct a screening process to vet unsafe callers according to healthcare groups that the government uses to control people and occupy land. The asymmetrical exchange of information places workers in a hegemonic role to decide the person's mobility—whether or not they will move into the house to receive services or find shelter elsewhere. Third, we decide which kind of woman can receive services.

Proclaiming a woman's right to *individual safety* is ubiquitous in the feminist discourse of the transition house—one that replicates the neoliberal government. However, during an assessment, the determinants of the constellation that defines safety are foundational to the political processes (structures) that construct and fortify a settler-state.

I want to be clear that I am not arguing against providing safety to women. I am asking transition house workers to think about how and why we use specific categories and knowledge systems to determine safety. Furthermore, I ask *what* are we doing and *whom* are we making through the assessment process?

## Chapter 2: “Welcome To Lake House”

After I have decided that the woman is “fit” for the house, I lead her to our house van. The doors unlock after pressing the correct constellation of buttons. I open the trunk door. It slowly lifts and we configure her possessions in a manner that best utilizes the grey net that holds everything in place. If the woman is with a child we place the child in the appropriate grey seat and pull the seatbelt down around their body to secure them for the ride. The guardian (usually mother) opens the door, hoists herself up and plants her body onto the passenger’s seat while I do the same on the driver’s side. At this point in the interaction, it is always different, depending on the worker and resident. For myself, I usually follow a standard way of interacting with the woman on our drive to the house. I settle into my seat, turn my head right facing the woman and ask her if she is ready. My van key slides into the ignition switch with a quiet screeching sound of metal rubbing together. I turn the switch to ignite the engine. I can tell it is has started from the penetration of rumbles at my feet. I place my hand around the black gear dial and pull it down to reverse or drive—depending on the location of the van.

The multifarious scenery of outside meets my gaze as it projects through the van windows. Snapshots of green shrubbery, paved sidewalks, gas stations, fast food corporations and residential houses create different frames through various spatial and time dimensions. Often, I stop at a red light and the frame stands still. Sometimes I catch the woman pensively gazing out a window. The soundscapes accompany my gaze in various forms ranging from mellifluous to jarring medleys. I often ask the woman if she wants to turn on the radio. Some women say yes while others reply no, then she commences with a story or anecdote. I listen to the cadence of her voice. Sometimes she talks in a slow whisper with little conviction, as if she is overwhelmed by shock to the present situation. Sometimes she talks in a bombastic tone whereby the cadences fluctuate in small bursts to emphasize a point. Sometimes she sits still. No radio. No small talk. No elaborate story. Quiet. I do not fill the quiet space if this is what she desires. We reach the street on which the house is located and I drive the van into the paved driveway; I stop when my front bumper hits the reflective stick before the picket brown fence. Once again I clasp my hand around the gear dial and push it up to park.



We gather her possessions from the van and head toward the gate entrance. I push my fingers onto the metal buttons that precisely configure the numerical code to open the gate. I lead the woman into the house through the staff entrance on the side. This entrance leads directly into the house office (the staff coffee area), and thus I specify that this entrance is only for transition house workers. I apprise her of the appropriate resident entrance off the side of the kitchen, through which she will gain access with the gate code I will provide to her. I direct her to the counseling office—the only permissible space of the office that residents can occupy—to the right of the coffee area. The counseling office greets the woman’s feet with a blue carpet while cedar wall panels delineate its space. There is a computer on top of a small wooden desk facing the wall that separates the staff coffee area from the counseling office. On the adjacent wall to the desk is a large bay window, under which a large, faded leather brown couch sits with its matching chair to the right, in front of the doorway to the resident’s kitchen. I nonchalantly suggest that the woman take a seat in the brown leather chair while I grab the documents for intake.

In ethnographies of bureaucracy, anthropologists have been most attentive to how documents “[construct] . . . subjects and forms of sociality” (Hull 2012: 259). Althusser’s (2001) theory of interpellation is the central theoretical framework of many of these ethnographic analyses, as to understand how documents create ethical subjects for regimes to control. Interpellation is the theory whereby a person is assigned an identity through social and political processes of an institution. Institutions create subjects through the documents that configure their organization. However, Appadurai (1986: 5) cautions anthropologists to not “excessively sociologize the transactions of things”. Meaning, documents and other material objects that help facilitate the power of the state exist outside of exclusive institutions of the state, such as a transition house. Therefore, anthropologists should use ethnographic analysis to collapse the demarcation between state and society, and thus they can illuminate how documents outside of the institution help to maintain regimes of control. However, Hull (2012:259) proposes that anthropologists develop further on the theory of interpellation to better comprehend how the *material* document turns, “*this* person as victim or *this* house as an encroachment [or even *this* as a house].” The document is not only symbolic of classification schemes it is a material object that forms a material relationship to the world by assigning—and

reconstituting— certain people, places and things *as* specific classification (for example, house, resident, victim, woman, First Nations, immigrant). I ground the following chapter in this theoretical framework to analyze how Lake House’s intake documents, *The Lake House Resident Information* (OHRI) and *The Limits of Confidentiality and Shelter Agreement* (LOCSA), turn people, places and things into subjects of the settler-state.

Bureaucratic documents form a network of political and social order, which are not isolated within internal structures of an institution. As a non-governmental organization, Lake House exists outside of government institutions. However, the funding on which Lake House operates, and provides services, is from the government in exchange for client information. Lake House’s funding depends on workers (in this case the supervisor’s) efficiency to submit quarterly statistics about the women with whom we work. In the first section of the chapter, I juxtapose The Lake House Resident Information document with BC Housing’s Transition House Quarterly Data Collection (THQDC) document to pinpoint what type of information the government requires from us to gather in exchange for money. I argue that in exchange for funding, we gather information that generates subjects who sustain the settler-state and fuel the neoliberal economy. By checking a specific box on the document, we form a relationship with the material paper, which assigns women identities created by the settler-state state to police and control populations.

In the second section of the chapter I analyze The Limits of Confidentiality and Shelter Agreement from the same theoretical framework as the first section. However, I demonstrate how The Limits of Confidentiality and Shelter Agreement creates an ethical (neoliberal) resident through a signature. When the woman signs the agreement, she becomes *this* resident and a house becomes *this* transition house. The intake paperwork “make[s] things come into being”(Frohman 2008: 1573). The first section of the document states that the woman is now expected to behave within the parameters of the law, which link to larger structures of power. However, in the second section, it is less evident to see how the house guidelines link to larger structures of power. I unpack this blurry connection to show how the house guidelines are based on cooperative living—communal living whereby the spaces and maintenance of a house are shared amongst the women—which is a way of living that suits government-funding (budgetary) constraints. Together, both sections create an *individual*, who is ethically responsible for behaving in accordance with

the constituents on the document. When a woman signs the sheet of paper she not only becomes *this* resident; rather, she becomes an ethical subject of larger structures of power (the settler-state) by behaving in (what is now) *this* transition house.

### ***Lake House Resident Information Sheet***

The woman takes a seat on the couch while I walk through the staff coffee area into the crisis office. I open the drawer on the left side of the U-shaped oak desk and pull-out a package of papers from the file that is labeled “Intake Packages”. There are seven documents in the package, two of which are specifically for intake. I quickly sort the two required documents for the intake by attaching them to a clipboard and placing the remaining documents in the woman’s red folder. I rejoin the woman in the counseling office. I turn the black (ergonomically structured) office chair around from the desk and sit down to face the woman; I position the pen tightly in my hand ready to fill-out the necessary documentation. To make the intake process less daunting and arduous for the woman, I usually provide the woman with a quick preface that sounds like the following:

Heather: Do you have any questions for me about the paperwork?

Woman: No. (*this is a common response*)

Heather: Okay. Well, if you have any questions throughout the process, please feel free to interrupt me. Some of the information that we ask is for both the safety of you and the house. Some of the other information we ask is required from our funders. I will do the best I can to get through the paperwork, so we can get you settled into the house.

Woman: Okay.

The first document is the *Lake House Resident Information Sheet* (see Figure 2.1). I want to note that the order by which the worker completes the paperwork is at the discretion of the worker. However, it is important for us to fill-out each section, which makes the process of consolidation much easier for the supervisor, who collects quarterly—mandated by BC Housing— the statistics from the women and submits them via online through a database. If I cross-reference the LHRI with the THQDC, the information on LHRI collects the following data for BC Housing:

- 1) Please Identify ALL your referral sources to Lake House.**
- 2) What is the main reason you need shelter?**
- 3) Do you identify as an Aboriginal (1<sup>st</sup> Nations, Metis or Inuit) person of Canada?**
- 4) Are you an immigrant or refugee to Canada?**
- 5) Please tell us about your children who are here with you.**
- 6) Please tell us the gender and age of your children who are NOT with you here.**
- 7) Please tell us why they are not with you here.**
- 8) What substances do you currently use, if any?**
- 9) Do you have a mental health concern we should know about?**
- 10) Do you have an illness or disability that we should know about?**

There are many provocative questions one can ask about the transfer of this information to the government. However, for the purpose of the over-arching argument, I want to pay most attention to questions number three and four. I had conversations (whether formal interviews or in-passing) with my coworkers about the information we gather from the LHRI. I received many types of answers. The following is a compilation of many conversations about text on a piece of paper (the physical paper participated in generating knowledge from this conversation):

Heather: *(I hand a copy of the LHRI to my coworker)* What information do you think is important or unimportant on our LHRI?

Coworker 1: I think gathering information about safety is very important.

Coworker 2: I think knowing about their abuser is very important, as we want to know about the kind of person that might be looking for her. This will help us decide if the woman should leave the community.

Heather: What about the demographic information, such as First Nations, Metis or Inuit?

Coworker 1: Honestly, I feel really uncomfortable asking a woman this question.

Coworker 2: I am not sure why people have issues with it? Shouldn't First Nations, Metis or Inuit women be proud of who they are?

Coworker 3: The government is always about dividing and conquering . . .

Coworker 4: Hmm . . . I haven't really thought about this question. We always have to report this kind of information, so I don't really think about it.

Coworker 5: Yes, I think it can be important to know for when we work with a woman we know what kind of other services she can receive.

Heather: Okay, is it important to know if a woman is an immigrant or refugee?

Coworker 1: Um, ya. Sometimes. I think if we know then we can understand the woman better. Maybe we can teach her some things or redirect her to certain agencies that specialize in cultural awareness, like the multicultural society.

Coworker 2: Not all of the time. I think some women have come here as an "illegal immigrant" and they are scared that we will report them.

Many of my coworkers revealed to me that they are very aware that gathering demographic information is for statistical purposes. However, some mention BC Housing's reasoning for statistical gathering, which is that doing so will then lead to improving transition house programs, and thus more funding. Therefore, it seems like an ethical obligation for transition house workers to gather such information, as it will generate more money in the future. I cannot elide the fact that both demographic questions are "OPTIONAL" (see Figure 2.2). However, I think BC Housing's ethical reasoning to their purpose creates a new ethical practice for statistical gathering: If transition house workers do not collect demographic statistics, then does this mean that we are not helping to improve services for these women? Neoliberalization is a process that guts the welfare system to establish an "ethics of care" whereby the *individual*—not the state—is responsible for "the actions that lead to the development, recovery and maintenance of autonomy" (Wrenn and Waller 2017:501). Transition house workers provide a service of *care*, and thus gathering statistics is an ethical act of helping a woman become autonomous in society. Through this ethical framework, the "optional" statistics become ethically

mandatory to increase future funding. Statistical submission is the primary (and ethical) component that binds us to our present and future funding.

I am skeptical of BC Housing's reason to gather demographic data: Why does the government only want statistics for First Nations, Metis, Inuit, Immigrant or Refugee women? Bowker (2005: 30) argues that governments use databases to gather demographic data not to "[know] about a particular individual, but what it can *should the need ever arise*" (emphasis in original text). The 1891 Canadian census (the first to include British Columbia) was created to link "Indians" with the property they occupied (Hamilton and Inwood 2011: 103). As census enumerators of past years found it difficult to account for anyone who was "Indian", the *government* composed the constituents of the "Indian" identity: "a male of Indian blood reputed to belong to a band, the child of such a person, and any woman who was or had been married to an Indian" (ibid). The 1891 British Columbia census data was used to justify colonial policies, as when the BC government applied for a provincial subsidy grant (based on population statistics), the federal government stated that the population of BC "Indians" was undercounted (Dunae 1999: 236 as cited in Hamilton and Inwood 2011: 107). An increase in "Indians" (under the government's definition) led to more people and land for the government to control and eliminate—also known as assimilation (Department of Agriculture 1892: 85 as cited in Hamilton and Inwood 2011: 108). Moreover, through the trope of "healthcare", statistics Canada has created, and subsequently enumerated Inuit (Stevenson 2014:4-5) and, only beginning in the 1980s, Metis (Andersen 2016: 68) populations to (like the "Indian") control and eliminate. When a person fits the definition of "First Nations", "Inuit" or "Metis" on the census they become a ward of the state, as censuses are made not taken (Hamilton and Inwood 2007: 59), and thus the government makes—not enumerates—populations.

On the THDQC, the question asks for "self-reported" identity of First Nations, Metis or Inuit. When I sit across from a woman and I ask her if *she* identifies as First Nations, Metis and Inuit, the categories that I provide are not of the woman's volition, they are a rearticulation of colonial categories through a neoliberal politics of representation. Simpson (2014) argues that the politics of recognition (recognizing *different* identities based on culture) is a neoliberal nuance of a settler-state, as the categories, and constituents, by which one recognizes "First Nations, Metis or Inuit" belong to the Canadian government.

When you choose to be recognized as “First Nations, Metis or Inuit”, you are recognized *by* the settler-state, and thus become a ward of their settler-state policies.

First Nations, Metis or Inuit are not only identities that the government constitutes. The government also defines immigrant and refugee status, but for other political purposes. The province of British Columbia has been fuelling its neoliberal economy through “transient servitude [in the form of (im)migrant labour]” (Walia 2010: 73). Meaning, the BC government relies on cheap labour to bolster the economy through immigration structures; (im)migrants are *servicing* the economy through their transiency. However, the cheap labour pool also includes refugees. During (what the Canadian media labeled “The Syrian Refugee Crisis”) many Syrian refugees were accepted into Canada, then forced to require work permits (which only generate low-paying jobs) or work “illegally” for independent employers, as government assistance barely affords the basic necessities (Tyyska et al. 2017: 10 working paper). Tracking immigrant and refugees through databases is to maintain control over the cheap labour pool that supports the neoliberal economy.

Through the LHRI document, transition house workers become a part of the neoliberal settler-state constellation: occupying populations and land through the politics of recognition while importing cheap labour to generate capital from the land. However, this process is not just a symbolic act of turning a woman into a government identity, it has material participants. I ask the woman if she self-identifies as any of the five categories. If she replies yes to any of the five identities, I grip my *pen* to meet the appropriate *black-text-box* on the *document*. I press the *pen* onto the document to inscribe a mark. When the intake is complete I use the *three-hole-puncher*, then place the document into the section of the *binder* under the woman’s name. At the end of the woman’s stay we remove her compilation of documents from the binder and place them in a *red folder*. We then file the red folder in the right hand drawer of the *crisis desk* under the title “Ex-Residents”. At the end of each quarter, the house supervisor tallies (*on a different piece of paper*) the demographic data of all residents into the categories (First Nations, Metis, Inuit, Immigrant or Refugee) requested from the THDQC. After she gathers the statistics, she uses the *computer* (mouse and keyboard) to enter the numbers, then via the *mouse* clicks the “send” option to deliver them to BC Housing. Each object in the sequence of events plays a part in mediating how transition house workers make *this* woman into a category made by the

settler-colonial state to occupy land and import cheap labour. In exchange for funding, we provide the government with information that supports the power of this political constellation.

### ***Limits of Confidentiality and Shelter Agreement***

After I complete the first document I introduce to the woman the second document of the intake package: The Limits of Confidentiality and Shelter Agreement (LOCSA). In this section, I show how the LOCSA makes the woman *this* (ethical) resident through her signature. Furthermore, I draw a connection between the constituents on the shelter agreement, to which the woman commits herself as ethically responsible, and Lake House budgetary constraints. The amount of funding we receive from the government constructs the infrastructure of the house, and its contingent guidelines, and thus when a woman signs a shelter agreement, she is signing an agreement to physically interact within an infrastructure that maps an ethically responsible resident of the state.

#### *Limits of Confidentiality*

The first section of the LOCSA is the Limits of Confidentiality (LOC)—see Figure 2.3. I cannot think of a time (besides training, maybe) where I read each limit to the woman, as I think I can better convey these limits to the woman via a conversation, which usually sounds like the following:

Heather: So, your stay in the house is confidential, except for the following four scenarios. First, if we have reason to believe or we have been informed that a child is being abused or neglected we have a *legal* and *ethical responsibility* to report this to the Ministry of Child and Family Development. However, we will never do this without informing you. Do you have any questions about this?

Woman: Okay. No. (*sometimes there are questions, but I have found this as a typical response*)

Heather: Okay. The second limit is if we suspect that you are at harm to yourself or someone else, we have a *legal* and *ethical* responsibility to take appropriate measures of intervention.



Woman: What kind of things? (*sometimes this is a question*)

Heather: For example, if you are driving under the influence of alcohol or any form drug, whether illicit or prescription. Also, if you are expressing suicidal ideation, we have to assess you for risk, and if we believe you are planning to take your life we would talk to you about going to the hospital. If you resisted, then we would have to call the RCMP to aid us in the process of getting you safely to the hospital. Does this make sense to you?

Woman: Yes. I understand that.

Heather: The third limit of confidentiality is if our documents are subpoenaed in court. Meaning, if you are involved in a court case and they want to view the documents from your stay here, we have to provide them with the documents in your file. Is this clear?

Woman: Yes.

Heather: The last limit of confidentiality involves the staff here at the house. We talk amongst each other about your case to provide you with better service. This can also lead to other programs in the agency.

Woman: Okay.

Heather: Are these limits of confidentiality clear to you? Do you have any questions?

Woman: No, everything seems clear.

The first three LOC to which the woman agrees belongs to larger structures of power—the legal system. The LOC tells the woman that her stay is confidential within the parameters of the law. Moreover, her stay is confidential if she does not behave in a manner (outlined in the first two clauses) that *staff* believes is breaking the law (I return to this relationship in the next chapter). What is important for me to show is how legal structures of power supersedes the woman's confidentiality, and thus the woman is required to behave in a lawful way in order to maintain anonymity during her stay. The woman agrees to be an ethically responsible subject of the law. I will expand on this at the end of the chapter.

## ***Shelter Agreement***

At the beginning of each month, BC Housing provides Lake House with approximately (for legal purposes I cannot share the exact number) \$45,000 to provide services to women and children who are fleeing abuse; Lake House is funded for ten beds within a house. British Columbia Housing requires Lake House to spend the money on the following necessities for operation: mortgage (to secure a residence), house insurance, furniture (couches, beds, lamps, kitchen table and chairs), utilities, staff salary (twenty-four hour staffing), van payments and insurance, fuel, monthly food for about ten women (three meals a day), toiletries (toilet paper, tampons, pads, diapers, tooth paste, tooth brush), cleaning supplies (laundry and dishwasher detergent, garbage and recycling bins) and monthly maintenance. The amount of money that BC Housing provides reflects the conditions and expectations of living that constitute safe housing for women and children. The money *affords* a co-operative living style in the transition house, and thus the guidelines to which a woman agrees at intake reflects BC Housing's conditions and expectations.

There are ten guidelines to which the woman must agree (see Figure 2.3; I have switched the original arrangement of the guidelines for fluidity purposes):

- 1) The location of Lake House and information about other residents and staff must be kept confidential. This includes on social media and through other technology. Breaching confidentiality may result in an end of stay.**
- 2) Lake House is intended to provide safe shelter. Resident behavior must not negatively impact the safety of residents or staff, property or the security of the house. Such behavior will be addressed by staff and may result in an end of stay.**
- 3) Intoxication or impairment that impacts safety or security may result in an end of stay. Alcohol and illicit drugs or drug paraphernalia are not permitted on the property of Lake House, and any items found will be disposed of. Room searches may be conducted if we have reason to believe that this rule is being breached. Breach of this rule will result in an end of stay.**
- 4) Staff reserve the right to enter bedrooms without notice, if required for safety or hygiene reasons.**
- 5) Items commonly used as a weapon (pepper spray; protection knife, etc.) must be locked in the office cupboard.**

- 6) All prescription and non-prescription medications, including vitamins, must be locked up in the office. Medications must be properly labelled with your name and taken only by the resident they are intended for.**
- 7) Mothers/guardians must supervise and attend to children's needs while staying here. Residents are not allowed to babysit the children of other residents.**
- 8) No smoking is permitted in the house, including out of windows. No candles, incense or burning of other items is allowed in the house.**
- 9) Lake is a scent-free zone (no perfumes, scented hairspray, incense, etc.).**
  
- 10) Residents may take one night away during their stay. Additional nights may result in an end of stay.**

Guidelines one and two outline the expected behavior of the woman with other residents (maintain confidentiality and show individual respect of another woman's safety). Committing to these two guidelines, the woman also agrees to respect the safety of staff and infrastructure of the house. The third guideline pertains to Lake House's reduced-barrier policy: a policy that allows a woman to enter the house intoxicated or impaired from substances, as long as she is not a danger to herself or others in the house (she is not permitted to use substances on-site); this guideline, again, outlines conditions under which the women should ethically traverse within the house. Transgressing this guideline will result in staff using their power to enter a space (bedroom) allocated for a woman. Guideline four reiterates the power divide between worker-resident within the space of the infrastructure (house). In guidelines five and six the woman agrees to store certain objects (weapons, prescription medications) in specified spaces within the house, for the safety of both women and children. We inform the woman that the reason we lock-up any type of medication or supplement is to prevent a child from accidentally consuming a medication that was dropped or found (*safety*). Guideline seven asks the mother to take an individualistic approach to parenting while guidelines eight and nine informs the woman about which kind of emissions she can release throughout the house's shared airspace. Lastly, the woman agrees to be physically in the house for twenty-nine nights. All ten guidelines map how the woman is supposed to *individually* function in accordance with

other women and objects within an infrastructure (house). The guidelines are a result of cooperative living style contingent on which BC Housing's limited funding.

After the woman verbally commits to the guidelines I hand her the LOCSA attached to a clipboard with a pen. It is at this point where her signature "[signals her] ability to operate in modern spheres of activity associated with the state" (Cody 2009: 359). The paper, on which the woman physically inscribes her signature, is a participant in assigning the woman the title of resident: she is now *this* resident not of the house, but of the state. However, I think it very important that I attend to the type of resident onto which the woman signs. First, I want to ground you in the discourse (and political context) in which transition house workers explain their role:

Heather: How do you see your job as a transition house worker?

Coworker 1: ... to create a safe place for women to become autonomous and move forward.

Coworker 2: To give the woman a place to build self-care skills, so she is capable to make her own decisions when she enters the real world.

Coworker 3: To support the women who come here to make their own decisions; encourage them to have self-care and remind them of their strengths.

Coworker 4: To empower the women to stand on their own psychologically, financially ... emotionally.

The feminist discourse by which we speak about the expectations of the resident mirrors what Rottenberg (2014: 421) explains as neoliberal feminism: "a feminism profoundly informed by a market rationality." Rottenberg (ibid) argues that neoliberal feminism is replacing second wave (liberal) feminism by eliding the power structures that form unequal gender relations and recentering the issue as an individualistic problem. However, the woman can fix the problem by, "accept[ing] full responsibility for [her] own well-being and self-care, which is increasingly predicated on crafting a felicitous work-family balance based on a cost-benefit calculus" (ibid: 42). The woman's signature, in participation with the paper, commits her to enact, onto an infrastructure, like a neoliberal feminist, and thus a *resident* of a neoliberal governing system.

## ***Conclusion***

Bureaucratic documents form a paper network of an organization (Riles 2001). In our contract agreement, British Columbia Housing requires Lake House to create a system of documentation that supports the policies and procedures of the house. However, I argue that BC Housing's requirement is not for their altruist interest of Lake House to better communicate such policies and procedures. Instead, Lake House paperwork is an extension of the network that binds the organization of the settler-state. In exchange for funding, we form a material relationship with the state through our paperwork; this relationship reproduces the political processes that help to sustain its hegemony.

### **Chapter Three: Do You Have Any Questions About Our House Guidelines?**

After the woman and I complete her intake, I schedule a twenty-four hour “check-in” to review the house guidelines with the woman. The word “check-in” refers to an interaction (scheduled or informal) between worker(s) and resident regarding a specific matter—I delve further into this interaction in the next chapter. The 24-Hour Guideline Review was implemented for staff to both clarify the guidelines of the house and address any potential questions from the resident. My coworkers agree that the house has many guidelines that can overwhelm the woman during the house tour, and thus the 24-Hour Guideline Review is a way of reassuring that the woman understands the guidelines of the house.

In the previous chapter, I demonstrated how a woman becomes a resident by entering neoliberal feminist structures via paperwork. I will further develop this idea in the following chapter to show how the infrastructure of the house becomes a site upon which an ethical subject “comes alive” (Larkin 2013: 329-330), and thus culminate in an “apparatus of governmentality” (Foucault 2010: 70). The existence of an infrastructure (house) does not solely rest on its occupation of space and technical functioning; rather, *through* its occupation of space and technical functioning the infrastructure constitutes subjects when people enact a relationship with it (Larkin 2013: 329). The transition house is neither an infrastructure that stands alone on its own volition nor do residents and workers. The transition house is what Navaro-Yashin (2013: 5) terms a “make-believe space” where constituting subjects is not, “singularly to the work of the imagination or simply to the materiality of crafting, but to both at the same time”. In other words, the infrastructure is not a magical entity that turns a person into a symbolic identity nor does the person turn the infrastructure into an ideological construct. Together, the house *and* both the resident and worker’s imagination create a make-believe political space. However, what kind of polity do we make-believe in the house, and which subjects do we, as transition house workers, constitute?

Transition house workers often explain the house as a space to empower and enlighten women about their *right to be free* from abuse. We want to show the woman how to be autonomous in society by teaching self-advocacy. However, it is important to analyze the make-believe space (house) as a technopolitical site where, “infrastructure projects

function as vehicles or expressions of larger political goals and forms of power and . . . foregrounds the materiality of politics and political expression” (Von Schnitzler 2016: 10; also see Barry 2001; Braun and Whatmore 2010). However, infrastructure is not always a visible structure to normative conceptions of state presence (Hirshkind 2001:4). Infrastructure is when small visible technologies (such as faucets, doors, chairs, pots and brooms, to name few examples) converge with invisible technologies (such as pipes, wires, baseboards) into a network, and thus become an “amalgam of technical, administrative and financial techniques” (Larkin 2013: 330). As I showed in the previous chapter, Lake House receives (approximately) \$45,000/month from the government to budget for technical (utilities and maintenance), administrative (staff) and financial “techniques”. The budget connects to the infrastructure of the house upon which both staff and residents enact; staff and residents are not separate entities from the house, and thus government funding subsumes the relationship between infrastructure (house), staff and residents. Furthermore, Von Schnitzler (2016:11) argues that mundane (invisible) infrastructures—such as the water meter—are a part of larger state projects that reinvent older regimes of power (such as apartheid) through neoliberal and humanitarian projects. New infrastructure projects of government “re-program” older registers of power (settler-state) through existing realities rather than destabilize the hegemonic system to match its ideological discourse (Collier 2011). As I demonstrate at the end of the previous chapter, when a woman signs the LOCSA—to commit to house guidelines—she becomes a resident through her commitment to neoliberal feminism (individual responsibility and autonomy within the house). However, I argue that together the residents, workers, and house create a make-believe space of governance that rearticulates settler-colonial projects hidden behind glossy neoliberal discourse. The transition house does not generate a *free* neoliberal feminist of progress; instead, it creates an ethical subject subsumed of older settler-state structures of power.

In this chapter, I will take the reader on a tour of the transition house. I will describe the infrastructure of the room and its contingent guidelines that, with the resident and worker, create a make-believe space that reinvents settler-state governance. The tour will be given from my purview. The descriptions I provide inscribe the relationships of both worker and resident with the house; the worker(s) incorporate particular structures and technologies

of the house's infrastructure to map where a resident can *ethically* traverse. Each wall, corner, faucet, stairwell, and bed that the worker designates for the residents connects to the government through a month grant (money). There are three purposes of the following descriptions: 1) I want to elicit a feeling of *becoming* a resident by showing how house guidelines map her relationship with house infrastructure; every physical component of the infrastructure composes this relationship. These are sites upon which political subjects come into existence. 2) Our (workers) relationship with infrastructure forms through both house guidelines (policing, which I turn to in the next chapter) and upholding security. On the afternoon shift, we complete a "Security Checklist" to secure the safety of the house. The security checklist maps our relationship with infrastructure that constitutes our position of power in the house (see Figure 3.1). 3) In addition, I highlight particular objects to expand Foucault's (2010) "apparatus of governmentality" by showing how infrastructure plays a part in governing residents; residents enact upon infrastructure, and objects within it, to fulfill their ethical commitment to house guidelines. The money we receive from BC Housing funds the infrastructure with which residents form a non-discursive relationship. Therefore, the infrastructure is both a symbolic and ontological site of settler-state hegemony. The funding to maintain the infrastructure of the transition house program (utility payments, staff remuneration, and other infrastructural repairs) symbolizes government power, for it cannot sustain without government money, but when the resident enacts upon the house she incorporates material spaces *and* objects into the "apparatus"; she comes into existence, at the time of engagement, as an ethical subject. I elide affective theories of infrastructure, but I will incorporate them in the fifth chapter.

## **The House**

Heather: *(after I complete the intake I hand the resident a piece of paper with two codes)*  
Here are the codes to the house. The first one is the *gate* code, which is also the code to the *kitchen door* where you will enter moving forward. The second code is for your *bedroom door*. We ask you not to share your door code for safety reasons. Any questions?

Resident: Am I free to leave the house at any time?

Heather: You are *free* to do whatever you please. However, we ask that residents return to the house by **10:00pm**. We activate our alarm system from **11:00pm-6:00am**, so we ask that everyone reside in the house during this



time. Do you smoke?

Resident: Yes.

Heather: Okay, we have a no smoking policy in the house. You can smoke in our designated smoking area, which is outside in the **gazebo**. If it is close to **11:00pm**, it is best to check with the worker about having a cigarette, so she does not activate the alarm.

Resident: Okay, so I can't smoke in the gazebo from 11:00pm-6:00am?

Heather: Ya, that's correct.

### **The Office**

Heather: We have quite a large office space; however, for confidentiality reasons, we ask that residents only hang-out in the **counseling area** (*this is the area I describe in the previous chapter*). In addition, staff have shift exchange from **8:00am-8:30am, 3:15-4:30pm** and **10:15-11:00pm**. The *office door* will be closed and we ask that you only knock in the case of an emergency. During the night, there is a worker who sleeps in the staff bedroom of the office. You can **knock on the door** during the **night** if you have an emergency.

Resident: Okay, no problem.

Heather: Do you take any medications?

Resident: Yes, and some other supplements.

Heather: Okay, we just ask that you store them in the **office medication cupboard** (*a white wooden cupboard closed with a keylock pad*) and whenever you need them you just come to the office. For safety reasons, we ask that you **take the medication in the office**.

Resident: Even my supplements?

Heather: Yes, it is just a way to contain everything to one area. We want to prevent a child from accidentally eating anything that may harm them. Do you have any other questions?

Resident: Not right now.

Heather: Okay, so I will now take you on a house tour. (*I open the office door and lead the resident into the kitchen*).

### **The Kitchen**

We walk through the office door into the kitchen. A wooden door to downstairs appears directly in front of my forward gaze. I pivot right to face the wall that demarcates the office from the kitchen. Humming with a low cadence stands a large white fridge with a light brown wooden pantry to the left. My gaze follows from the pantry the white wall until it combines with the adjacent wall that connects to the outside through three wooden trimmed windows; there are three complementary white shutter blinds hanging from the tops. To the left of the window is the kitchen door—the resident entrance. The microwave, stove and dishwasher follow the adjacent wall of the door into an L-shape where brown cupboards and countertops fit around the appliances, which store dishes, kitchen supplies and food. In the center of the room stands a light oak kitchen table with six matching chairs.

Heather: This is our **kitchen**. You are welcome to use whatever is available, unless another resident has labeled it with their name. If you have leftovers, please **date** them and place them in the **fridge**. (*I point to a chart magnetized onto the fridge door*). This is our chore chart. Every resident is responsible for cleaning-up after themselves (washing **pots, pans, dishes, utensils**, wiping **counter surfaces**); however, the **chore chart** is where each resident signs-up for a **daily** cleaning task. You will find all of the cleaning supplies (**brooms, mops, mop bucket**) outside of the kitchen door on the **deck**. Other cleaning supplies, such as **garbage or compost bags** and **spray cleaners** are located above the **sink**. It is the resident's responsibility to sign-up and complete their chore of the day. Any questions?

Resident: No. It seems clear.

Heather: We ask that you do not use the **microwave, stove** nor **oven** after **9:00pm**. This is to minimize the noise within the house before bedtime.

Resident: Can I make a snack and take it to my bedroom?

Heather: You can prepare a snack after 9:00pm that does not require the use of the microwave, stove or oven, but we ask that you do not bring food to your bedroom for hygienic purposes. You are welcome to eat in the **kitchen** and **women's lounge**. Now I will quickly show you where you can find other food.

## Downstairs

I lead the resident through the door off the kitchen and down two flights of stairs that round in the middle. We reach the end of the staircase and to our right is a closed doorway into a storage space. In front of us are two freezers. To the left of the freezers is a doorway that leads into a laundry room with two washers and dryers. An embossed L-shaped wall separates the laundry room from the staff bathroom on the left. If I continue my gaze left, I can see a large emergency exit door with three deadbolts tightly securing its place in the doorway. Next to the emergency door is an adjacent wall with a doorway that leads to a youth room. A secured electrical room follows the youth room to the left, which returns me to the bottom of the staircase.

Heather: *(I stand at the bottom of the staircase with the resident, turn to the door on the right and insert my keys into the lock to open it).* This is the **storage room** where we keep **clothes, shoes, purses, diapers, toys, food** and other **miscellaneous items**. It is just a room for workers, but if you need something, let us know and we can check to see if we have it. *(I push in the lock on the doorknob and close the door, then lead the resident in front of the freezers).* We have **two freezers**: one that is always open for residents and one that is locked. If you want to look at something in the locked freezer, then let us know and we can open it for you.

Resident: Okay, that sounds fine.

Heather: Now I'll take you into the **laundry room**. There is a **schedule** on the door that indicates which person is allowed to do laundry (See Figure 3.2). It is according to your room, so just find your room on the schedule and it will provide the **right timeframe** in which you can do laundry. We supply **laundry detergent pods** in the office—just ask staff for one.

Resident: Can I do laundry if no one is doing it?

Heather: Sometimes. It depends on the situation, so just always check-in with the staff if you want to do laundry outside of **your time**.

Resident: Okay.

Heather: *(I walk out of the laundry room into the center of the hallway facing the emergency exit).* This (I gesture to the right) is the **staff bathroom** and over here (I gesture to the left closed door) is the **youth room**—only teens between the **ages of 13-19 years** can occupy the space. Do you have any questions?

Resident: No, none yet.

Heather: Okay, lets go back upstairs and I will show you the rest of the house.

### **The Women's Lounge**

I lead the resident back up the winding stairs. Our feet meet the hardwood floors of the kitchen that extend to the right through an open entry way into a wood paneled hallway. We turn right and walk straight past a door to the right that leads upstairs and a door to the left into the office; we end at the doorway of the women's lounge. Two hardwood stairs separate the women's lounge into two-levels of open space surrounded by light yellow walls where local artwork and self-empowerment posters hang. On the first floor we stand. To our left is a computer on top of a wooden desk, paired with an office chair for sitting. I walk over to the half wall that divides the floors. The resident and I peer over the edge of the wall where we see a couch resting up against it below, across from a television set-up with a cable box and a DVD player. To the left of the couch is a loveseat with a coffee table in the center. Handmaid quilts—donated from the community—of various patterns and bright colourful medleys drape over the couches. There are windows on the front and right wall with blinds for confidentiality (this room looks onto a busy street). To the left is an emergency exit.

Heather: This is the *women's lounge* where only women (**19 years or older**) can reside. You are welcome to use the *computer*. However, we ask that you refrain from any social media websites. We have *cable television* and a *DVD player*. We ask that the shows be rid of any type of violence, as to not trigger another resident's trauma.

Resident: Okay, great. Sometimes I cannot sleep during the night, so I just watch television.

Heather: Unfortunately, the women's lounge closes at **12:00am** and then we ask residents to retire to their bedrooms.

Resident: Oh, okay.

### **Family Room**

We walk out of the women's lounge into a small hallway, then turn left where we reach the Family Room doorway. A large bay window with wooden trim is on the front wall, while two locked closets full of crafts, toys and games are to our left. On the right side sits a large beige leather couch with a coffee table in front, both facing a flat screen television hanging on the yellow wall in front. Supporting our feet is original hardwood with various children's toys sprawled on top.

Heather: The **family room** is welcome to every resident, but it is prioritized for residents and their small children. We ask that only the guardians babysit the children. In addition, the guardian has to be within visible distance of her children both within the family room and the house. We have **two closets** filled with **crafts, toys and games**—just ask a worker and they can unlock the door for you to select what you and your children might want to use. Lastly, we ask that the family room be cleaned before you leave. The family room closes at **12:00am**, as well. However, we ask that all children are in their bedrooms by **9:00pm**. Do you have any questions?

Residents: My children usually watch television past **9:00pm**. This might be a little hard for them to adjust.

Heather: Our policy is to ensure that the children are on a healthy routine while in the house. We have **portable DVD players**, and **DVDs**, you can sign-out daily to use in your bedroom. You just have to ask staff, as they keep them in the office. Both the DVD and portable DVD player have to be returned the **next day** to staff.

Resident: Okay, that can work.

## **Bathrooms**

The main floor bathroom squeezes between the family room and the main floor bedroom. Like the second bathroom on the upstairs floor, which is between two bedrooms as well, the structure replicates a typical 1950s style: beige linoleum flooring, a stand-alone toilet and sink paired with a shower/bathtub.

Heather: There are **two resident bathrooms** in the house, both of which are welcome to every resident, regardless of the location of their room. It is the responsibility of each resident to clean-up after they have used the bathroom. We ask that residents do not take **showers** between the times of **9:30pm-6:30am** to minimize the noise in the house.

Resident: I did not have time to pack any towels.

Heather: No problem. We provide you with a *bath towel, hand towel* and *face cloth*. It is your responsibility to wash them accordingly.

## **Bedrooms**

There are five bedrooms in the house: 1) Main Floor 2) Dormer 3) Green Room 4) Blue Room and 5) Alcove Room. The Main Floor resides on the main floor across from the family room and right to the main floor bathroom. Veering into the main floor bedroom from the doorway there is one double bed that extends length-wide from the left wall with a light wooden side-table to the right. There is a single bed that hugs the corner of the right wall and front wall with a light wooden dresser to the left. There are three windows that open to the outside on the top corner of the front and left wall. Alongside the doorway wall are two closets, one for resident possessions and another locked closet for house linens. I walk a couple of feet forward into the hallway, then take a left where I pass a resident phone on the left sitting on a small table with a lamp. I walk three more feet and to my left is a doorway leading to a second floor via a winding staircase.

At the top of the staircase there is a door that is usually propped open with a stopper that digs into a grey level-loop carpet. The second floor is an open space with a vaulted ceiling and a doorway to each bedroom. To the left is Dormer Room, which is a small bedroom with a single bed nestled under the window facing the doorway with a small desk to the right and closet to the left. The yellow walls brighten the small space that occupies only a single resident. To the right of Dormer Room, on the adjacent wall across from the stairwell entry, is the Green Room. This room is known to workers as “The Family Room”, for it has two single beds and one queen-sized bed, and half bathroom (toilet and sink). The double-door entry welcomes the family into a room where the light hardwood accentuates the green paint on the walls to compose a bright space. To the right is a wooden dresser that stands sideways to the end of a single bed that fits snug under a window with white shutter blinds. There is a half wall to the left of the single bed that continues into an L-shape against which the queen-sized bed fits. There is a side table to the left of the queen-sized bed that sits under a large window that separates it from the single bed that lies under an alcove nook; it shares a wall with the bathroom, which is to the left of the door entry.

I walk straight down the hallway past a small bay window with a single purple-cushioned chair (one that would have belonged to a living room set) facing the window. I stop at the end of the hallway with the Blue Room on my left—next to a locked closet with towels and toilet paper. In front of me is the second resident bathroom, and to my right is the Alcove Room. The Blue Room is a small space nestled into light blue walls, while two single beds—no more than seven-feet apart—rest on white linoleum flooring. Separating the beds is a light wooden nightstand under a small window with white shutter blinds. There is a small closet to the right of the door. The bathroom that separates the Blue Room from the Alcove Room is small, consisting of a bath/shower, toilet and sink. The Alcove Room takes a different structure than the other rooms. The walls are original cedar panels that extend to the ceiling to form two alcoves, one above the queen size bed, which shares a wall with the doorway, and one around the right corner of the room that encloses the single bed into a little nook, where the bed rests against the right wall across from a built-in cedar desk under a large cedar-trimmed window. There are two large closets across from the queen size bed.

Heather: Okay, I will show you which room you are staying in and how to use the **door padlock**. *(I lead the woman to the room we have chosen for her. It is important for me to note that choosing a room for a woman is not by random assignment. The process can take a lengthy amount of time, as workers want to try and “fit” the woman into a room that is both safe for her and other residents. We consider past stays, substance abuse, mental health, physical abilities and emotional safety for others).*

Resident: Okay, sounds good. I hope I can learn how to use the code. No one can access my room without the code, right?

Heather: Nope. Every room has a different code. We ask that you do not share the code with other residents nor host other residents in your room. However, staff can access your room if they think there is a safety or hygiene issue they need to investigate. *(Workers have a universal code that will open any room; the existence of this code is not—in my experience— shared with residents).*

Resident: Do I just push the code in?

Heather: Yes, you push the **appropriate numbers**, then turn the **brass deadbolt** to open the door (see Figure 3.3). *(I demonstrate the action for the woman,*

*then lock it*). Okay, now you try.

Resident: (*The woman presses the correct numbers, then opens the door*). How do I lock it?

Heather: Hold down the small “lock” button on the top, then flip the deadbolt backward to lock. We recommend that you lock your door **at any time** you leave your room—even for shower or baths. Any other questions?

Resident: Not right now, thanks.

Heather: Okay, well, if you have any other questions, please feel free to come to the office and ask.

### **At What Time Can I Act On “It”?**

Throughout the tour of the transition house, I highlight the constituents that create a make-believe space of governance. The resident and workers enact their relationship throughout disparate coordinates of space; however, the power of the worker surfaces when she can exist in both the worker *and* the resident’s space. Through Lake House’s guidelines, the infrastructure of the house embeds a set of political and ethical behaviours from its users (Von Schnitzler 2016: 11): the front gate, kitchen door, kitchen, freezers, staff bathroom, youth room, women’s lounge, resident bathrooms, bedrooms and office inscribe material spaces that map the mobility of a resident and worker. The resident is expected to smoke in the gazebo, eat in the kitchen (not bedroom), use the resident bathrooms, and only occupy their bedroom. The worker is expected to attend to the office, the staff bathroom, the storage space and any other space in the threat of safety or hygiene. However, the infrastructure does not stand alone as a political and ethical site. There is one significant component that helps to configure a make-believe space that generates ethical subjects: Time.

The transition house guidelines use *time* as a tool by which both house (infrastructure) and its technical objects (microwave, stove, washer, dryer, television, for example) become political and ethical sites. Bear (2016:489) shows how, “recent work explores the dialectical interrelationships of techniques, knowledges and ethics of time by locating human action with timescapes.” A timescape is a concept whereby time and space are interdependent (Massey 2005). Bear delineates how researchers theorize techne, knowledge and ethics



separately in capitalist modernity: 1) *Techne*: using time as a tool to, not only maximize capital accumulation, but grade the labour by which one increases their wealth (such as performance evaluations every six months). 2) *Knowledge*: when a bureaucratic, scientific and/or corporate institution provides *techne* (tool) with meaning that explains its use. 3) *Ethics*: actions according to a morally right time-course in life. However, Bear (2016: 497) argues neither social practice of time exists in isolation in the labor in/of time, and thus through this framework, “we trace how human practices of time intersect and affect social and nonhuman rhythms.”

If I parse the transition house guidelines I can unpack how the interrelationship of *techne*, *knowledge* and *ethics* of time compose a governing system. The *techne* is the *30 days* (government mandate) that the woman has to stay in the *house*. Neoliberal feminism constitutes the *knowledge* by which the woman should form a relationship within the house (and its technologies):

*The resident is responsible for keeping the house location and door code confidential.*

*The resident is responsible for entering the kitchen door.*

*The resident is responsible for using the broom, mop, vacuum, cleaning supplies, dishwasher, washer and dryer in the appropriate spaces (according to the chore chart or laundry times schedule) and on the scheduled day.*

*The resident is responsible for leaving the women’s lounge at 12:00am.*

*The resident is responsible for being in the house at 10:00am.*

*The resident is responsible for not smoking between 11:00am-6:00am.*

*The resident is responsible for using the microwave, stove and oven before 9:00pm.*

*The resident is responsible for keeping their children visible at all times.*

*The resident is responsible for not entering the office spaces without permission and to not interrupt shift changes between specific times.*

Whether or not a resident takes responsibility to enact on the house at specific times constitutes the ethic of time. Any deviations from the guidelines can result in an unethical, deviant resident who is “not working with us” (a term often used when a woman does not adhere to the house guidelines or moving forward plans). Our power to produce ethical subjects through time shows up on the security checklist (see Figure 3.1), as it is a part of our safety check to account for all residents on the time of curfew. Residents are expected to enact on the house and technical objects at specific times, which in turn creates a make-believe space of governance that generates an ethical subject.

## Conclusion

The transition house, residents and workers create a make-believe space of governance through spatio-time dimensions. However, such governance does not exist in isolation to the house. Rather, the house is a re-articulation of settler-state governance. The house glistens brightly under neoliberal rhetoric that professes women's rights full of self-empowerment, self-care, and autonomy as an infrastructure for social change in the name of progress (Larkin 2013:332). However, this neoliberal project of "freedom" transgresses the neoliberal idea of independence (autonomy from state power structures). In order for a woman to gain her "freedom" through the transition house, she must enact on and within spatio-time dimensions of hegemony. Therefore, the woman declares her "freedom" through dependence on neoliberal state projects (Lake House), which in turn create ethical subjects of the settler-state. The freedom within Lake House is a system that places its trust and logic in the resident to know what is best for her *at the behest* of hegemonic guidelines. In this chapter, I show how residents form a physical relationship with the house, while the following chapter differs as I parse how transition house workers surveill this relationship . . . a surveillance system we say is transparent (a woman can request logging at any time), but we do not formerly apprise the woman of its existence.

Heather: Come grab a seat in the office and we will do your 24-Hour Guideline Review—it shouldn't take too long . (*I grab the 24-Hour guideline and sit in the chair across from the resident—see Figure 3.4*).  
How are you settling into the house?

Resident: There are a lot of rules to follow, but I am doing my best to learn them all. It has been a struggle with my kids because they are usually allowed to do things at home that they can't do here.

Heather: Yes, cooperative living can be quite the adjustment. Our guidelines are there to help everyone in the house peacefully live together.

Resident: I understand. If I need someone to help me do a few things or watch my children, can I ask staff?

Heather: Staff are here to help you become independent after you leave. We can definitely help you with such things as applying for Income Assistance,

BC Housing and refer you to other agencies that might help you. Sometimes staff can watch the children, but it is not something we regularly do. If it is for a quick smoke, then sometimes it isn't a problem, but always check-in with staff. Any longer than that then we would discuss it amongst staff and you would have to sign a release of liability form. Do you have any other questions about the house guidelines?

Resident: No, I think it is all clear. I'm use to having my family help me with my kids. I guess I am going to have to learn to be independent and follow the guidelines the best I can . . . I don't have anywhere else to go.

## Chapter Four: What Is Your Plan To Move Forward?

When we intake a resident into the house, we create a Word document on our computer for each worker to write about their interaction with the resident. We call this procedure *logging*. The day-shift worker prints off the daily log and puts it into a binder in the section under each resident's name. It is the responsibility of each worker to log about residents. When I trained for my role as a transition house counselor, I was told to write about residents' daily activities from an *objective* point of view. No opinions. No judgments. No assumptions. The purpose of logging is to better communicate case management amongst staff, and thus we can efficiently serve the residents needs. However, I ask the question: What are we managing through logging? I spent many hours during my fieldwork reading logging for past and present residents. There were three dominant topics throughout each log: 1) Income 2) Housing 3) House Behaviour. This is not to say that the other areas are not important, but I cannot simply deduce the prevalence of these categories as a mere coincidence.

In the previous chapter, I conclude by stating that women receive their freedom by depending on the resources of the government. In addition, *time* is a governing mechanism through which the woman and worker form a relationship with the house. If the woman can enact on the house in a timely manner (according to the house guidelines), then she is a sound ethical subject. However, this chapter shows how we as workers monitor and track both the resident's relationship inside (guidelines and cooperative living) *and* outside (transition planning) of the house. Logging tracks the resident's non-discursive relationship with both the present (transition house) and future house. Although we are required to write from an objective, non-judgmental position, I find it very hard to subscribe to objectivity as something attainable when we exist in relation to each other (Strathern 2004: 52). Therefore, our logging takes a similar *direction*. I argue that our logging is a monitoring system, whereby workers grade residents' *progress* to neoliberal feminism by capitalist productivity. I show how Bear's (2016: 491) theory of capitalist time—a triad of *techne* (technology), *episteme* (knowledge) and *proesis* (ethics)—takes shape in the logging as the mechanism workers use to monitor an ethical subject. In addition, I analyze how logging

participates in the transition house's role of inculcating women *back* onto the margins of the settler-state. For residents fleeing abuse, freedom comes with an economic cost.

### ***Time Constraints***

In our shelter agreement, BC Housing mandates a resident's stay to 30 days. So, to put it frankly, the government expects a woman (and potential children) to leave an abusive situation, settle herself (and family) into a cooperative living environment to then find income and housing. It is just this simple. However, my facetious tone expresses the collective sentiment that my coworkers and I have toward this government mandate; it only gives *enough* time for the woman to deal with economic and housing issues. Where does this leave our role as transition house workers? When I initially "workshopped" with my coworkers my outline of the thesis, I presented this chapter's argument. There was a pensive contemplation lingering in the room until a coworker interjected with her comments:

Coworker: The reason we put so much pressure on women to find income and housing is because 30 days is such little time to figure things out. With the housing crisis, it is important for us to make sure the woman has some sort of income and begins to look for housing as soon as possible.

Before I resigned from my position, the transition house was always full—and crisis calls continued. When I interviewed my coworkers during fieldwork, they expressed how the speed at which they did their job was determined by the little time they had to work with the women, which meant that the job of the worker is to attend to the practical matters: income and housing.

Coworker 1: I am always inundated with tasks . . . I'm so task oriented. There is always something to be done. I worry that the women will not have money or housing. I wish I could actually counsel the women, but there is no time to do anything that personal.

Coworker 2: Our job is simply guidance. Guidance in the sense of "Hey! Have you checked the house listings today?" It is clear that we are not allowed to do counseling here. That is not our job. Housing and employment are the concrete basics, but we are with them during crisis where there are so many emotional pieces to consider. But that's not our role . . .

Although we hold the title of “counselor”, our behaviours mirror that of a (in the words of a coworker) “broker”: a person who mediates and negotiates transactions between two parties. We mediate and negotiate the resident’s transactions with the state. Our logging monitors this transaction during the 30 days. Abram (2014: 129-130) states the following:

Planning is in fact a particular form of government technology through which time is materialized, mediated, or brought into conflict. Planning technologies continue to colonize state practice, despite neoliberal principles of minimizing the role of the state; indeed, it appears that as the management of actual services is put out to contract, the role of the state is increasingly bound up in proliferating forms and domains of planning.

The thirty-day mandate is from the direction of BC Housing. The planners of BC Housing project thirty days for women to recover from abuse and transition back into *free* society. However, thirty days compresses the time for women to “figure everything out” turning our jobs as counselors into brokers, for there is not enough time to do “everything”. The thirty-day mandate is a time technique—where it is an evaluative measure of how much one will need to accrue capital (Bear 2014: 492)— to govern (and thus calibrate) what kind of “freedom” and economic empowerment a woman, and worker, can achieve through the services.

The following is a sample of the logging that workers are required to complete during each shift. I tailor the logging sample to provide an apt example of *what* workers include and *how* they include it.

### ***First Logging Sample***

**Caroline Bennett (Jeremy 4 yrs.)**

**Intake: March 5, 2018**

**March 12, 2017**

Housing:

\* BC Housing supplementary form needs to be completed by staff

**Day Shift:**

Caroline attended the morning meeting. Caroline asked for a few rides to several places. As it seems Caroline has been receiving many rides, and she is not high-risk in the community, I encouraged her to walk wherever she needs to go. Later in the shift Caroline presented at the office to chat about rides. Caroline seemed confused as to why we cannot drive her all the time. I informed Caroline that the role of staff is not to drive residents. I acknowledged her frustration, but informed her that we want her to be independent in the community. Our job in the transition house is to give her a safe place to learn some independent skills. Caroline understood my reasoning, then began to cry. She expressed how hard it is to manage her son alone, as she usually has more support from her family. I listened to Caroline and referred her to our free counseling program at the office. At the end of my shift Caroline seemed to be in a better space. We had a brief chat about how she is working hard to do it on her own.

Jodi R.

### **Bridging Shift:**

Caroline and I completed her BC Housing supplementary form. Caroline applied for BC Housing three years ago, but she cancelled her application when she returned to her ex-husband. Caroline seemed very optimistic about receiving an offer for the BC Housing subsidized program. I informed Caroline that it is quite rare for BC Housing to reply to an application within 30 days, so I encouraged her to look at other options for housing. Caroline plans to complete her application for Income Assistance. I expressed to Caroline the importance of applying for Income Assistance, as she will then have a better idea of what her plan could be for moving forward. During this conversation, Caroline expressed how she has already been in the house for a week and she hasn't secured income or housing. Again, I stressed the importance of working on the things she needs (IA and Housing) to move forward.

Caroline spent the remainder of my shift with her son in the family room; I reminded Caroline to clean-up the family room when she is finished.

Tiffany D.

### **Afternoon Shift:**

When I arrived on shift, Caroline was engaged in an argument with another resident (J) in the gazebo. I asked if everything was okay and Caroline replied that J was calling Caroline dirty. I asked Caroline to take her son inside to de-escalate the situation. I consulted with other staff and it was decided that I will have a conversation with Caroline to address some of the cleanliness issues that have risen.

After Caroline put her son to bed, I asked to speak to her in the office about the fight that I witnessed. I listened to Caroline's side of the story and acknowledged her feelings. I told Caroline that this is a safe place for women, so it is not okay when other residents say belittling comments. However, I informed Caroline that this is a cooperative living situation and thus it is very important for everyone to be responsible for her actions. Caroline said she understood, but she is finding it hard. I acknowledged Caroline's position, but let her

know that there has been more than one complaint—and staff have witnessed—many messes left behind after her. Caroline said that she would work harder to better clean-up after she and her son.

In addition, I spoke to Caroline about her earlier behavior with (J) in front her son. I empathized that she is going through a tough situation, but it is not good for children to witness that type of aggression. Caroline seemed contrite, thanked me, then went to bed.

Rachelle P.

### **Overnight Shift:**

I did not have any contact with the resident, as she was in her bedroom during my shift.

Jamie R.

### ***Becoming A Neoliberal Feminist in Thirty Days***

After shift change, every worker is required to read the daily log. By doing so, it informs us of the tasks at-hand to smoothly “work with the women” in a specific direction—progress. We are “meeting-them-where-they-are- at”, which is a common non-profit expression to acknowledge the autonomy of an *individual* to determine the direction of their development. In the introduction, I ask what we manage through “case management”? When we log it is a tool to manage the woman’s “progress” toward being a neoliberal feminist. However, it is not as explicit as it sounds. Neither I, nor my workers, have a blatant conversation with residents about neoliberal feminism. However, a resident’s progress toward neoliberal feminism comes into existence through our relationship with time. Our job is to help women become autonomous, and transition out of abusive situations, in 30 days. Mains (2007: 670) argues that, “both time and space are inextricable from social relationships.” In the transition house, thirty days subsumes the relationship that workers form with women: we have thirty days to find her money and housing. However, the knowledge that fuels the relationship is a combination of both bureaucratic epistemes (Bear 2014: 492) and “local specificity [to support] an understanding of the diversity of experience” (Mains 2007: 670). Our logging monitors neoliberal progress as a way to combat abuse in the local context. When we log about a woman’s progress for 30 days, at specific times of the day, and about specific spaces within the house, we “actualize” (Hodges 2008: 416)—bring into existence—time as a tool for governance. We expect her to *produce*



certain things to *progress* in life as a self-reliant, self-empowered and autonomous woman. Neoliberal feminism is the anodyne for moving forward after abuse.

***Second logging sample***

**Caroline Bennett (Jeremy 4 yrs.)**

**Intake: March 5, 2017**

**March 28, 2017**

Housing:

- \* BC Housing application submitted
- \* Income Assistance approved

**Day Shift:**

Caroline presented at the office about her outtake date on April 2, 2017. Caroline has not found a place to stay and she is worried that she and her son will be homeless. As there has been much talk over the weekend between staff regarding a possible extension staff planned to have a consultation with our supervisor during shift change today. I informed Caroline that we will make a decision regarding an extension during this consultation. In the early afternoon, I had to remind Caroline of her chores, as it seemed like she had not been doing them. Caroline stated that she has been quite depressed and is finding it hard to get things done. I empathized with Caroline's emotional state. However, I reiterated that there are a lot of people living in the house, and thus it is the responsibility of each resident to contribute. When I was doing a security check Caroline's door was wide-open. I noticed that it was quite a mess.

Jodi R.

**Bridging Shift:**

After the consultation with the supervisor, it was decided that we will provide Caroline with a two-week extension contingent on the following things:

- 1) Caroline is to work daily at finding housing and check-in with afternoon staff
- 2) To clean her room and keep it clean (this will be checked every two days)
- 3) To complete her chores daily (staff will verify with Caroline)

If Caroline cannot fulfill these responsibilities, then she will have to find an alternative solution to the house. It was stressed throughout the meeting that Caroline has not been actively looking for housing or cleaning, and thus she needs to both compose a plan to move forward while fulfilling her responsibilities in the house.

I spoke with Caroline about the contingencies of her extension. Caroline seemed a bit annoyed that we are asking her to clean her room, but she understood. She stated that she

really wants to find a place to move forward with her son, but she cannot afford anything in the market listings. I asked Caroline if she is willing to relocate or live with her mother temporarily. She seemed open to the idea of relocating, but stated that she cannot live with her mother because she drinks too much, then becomes abusive. Caroline stated that she will try to work hard to keep a clean space and find housing.

Tiffany D.

### **Afternoon Shift:**

When I arrived on shift Caroline was mopping the kitchen. Caroline and I had a chat about her moving forward plan. Caroline spent the remainder of the evening searching for housing online.

Rachelle P.

### **Overnight Shift:**

No contact.

Jamie R.

### ***The Ethical Subject of Time***

What does logging govern? In the second logging sample Caroline has not been working hard enough to maintain her ethical responsibilities as a resident. She has not been actively looking for housing nor has Caroline been cleaning to our expectations. It is in Caroline's intake agreement that she take responsibility for autonomy moving forward in life, out of abuse. Bear (2014: 494) elucidates how the ethics of time is demonstrating the, "right action that contains accounts of what time is and what it should be used for." When a woman is not progressing at the rate that 30 days allots, the following deductions are sometimes heard amongst staff:

Coworker 1: What has she been doing for 30 days?

Coworker 2: I'm not sure her time here has been productive . . .

Coworker 3: She has been sleeping the whole 30 days. I don't think she has used her time productively.

Although we try very hard (I want to emphasize this) not to impress our expectations onto residents, such expressions as these indicate otherwise. When a woman uses her 30 days to productively work hard to progress her life as an independent woman—through cleaning

and finding both income and housing—she is an ethical subject. Our logging keeps track of the ethical component of time: is she using her time productively to progress her independence? As the sample shows, doing things on a timely matter will secure an extended stay. However, we are not creating an ethical subject of the house, we are creating one of the settler-state.

The knowledge that prescribes empowerment for abuse—as I show in the previous section—is an ideologically efficacious solution. The *actual* role of transition house workers—especially presently during the British Columbia housing crisis—presents a different story. There is much philosophical discussion—and, sometimes, subsequent tension—amongst staff about “how-much-we-do-for-residents”. On one side of the debate, some coworkers argue that we do too much for the residents, and thus this will obstruct her ability to flourish independently in the community. The counter-argument is that the housing crisis has created many obstacles for residents to move forward, and thus workers step-in to try and expedite the process, and thus minimize potential homelessness for the resident. To be candid, I once subscribed to the former position, although I made allowances for the latter argument, depending on the resident’s situation. Presently, I am not too sure that subscribing to either argument changes our roles in the system.

The residents who use our services come from a lower socio-economic position. They are either on Income Assistance at intake or their only option for income is through welfare, and thus we become—as my coworker respectfully put it above—brokers of the welfare system. Whether we take initiative to involve ourselves from near or afar we direct residents to apply for welfare, as it is usually their only economic support for living after the transition house. The issue is so prominent that the transition house has its own designated social worker at The Ministry of Social Development and Poverty Reduction to expedite applications, search for emergency funds or sort out income assistance discrepancies for the residents. However, it is important for me to connect the demographic information we gather during intake to our role as a broker. If a woman self-identifies during the intake as First Nations, Metis, Inuit, Immigrant or Refugee, this identity determines which route we direct her when trying to sort-out her income for the future. If the resident identifies as First Nations we direct her accordingly (on or off reserve assistance). If the resident is an immigrant or refugee we direct her accordingly (sometimes

the resident does not have “legal” status, for which we have to apply and take the subsequent routes for income). We become an intersection in the welfare system, wherein 30 days we provide the residents with various options, depending on their self-identity. Our logging monitors an ethical subject who works hard to take whichever economic route the settler-state provides.

### **Conclusion**

Klinke (2012: 686) argues that temporalization is a political act that anthropologists cannot separate from geopolitical analyses. Meaning, when we form analyses about how people occupy, divide and share geographical spaces, we have to include time as a tool of such processes. As I share in the introduction of the thesis, approximately 70% of our transition house residents identify as First Nations, which raises questions about how our 30-day stay (government mandate) factors into maintaining the power of the settler-state? We log about the resident during the day, mid-day (bridging), afternoon and overnight for 30 days. The knowledge behind this time mechanism is to better case-manage both the resident’s behavior within the house (developing domestic skills) and independence (financial and residential) into society. If the resident fails to meet the expectations of working hard to gain independence, she becomes an unethical subject of our services. Time as techne, knowledge and ethics is the mechanism by which we recycle women back onto the margins of society, for it is a tool of the geopolitical constellation of the neoliberal settler-state that provides “independence through the unequal social relations of the system” (Ferguson 2013: 237-238). Income assistance caps the amount of money one can receive for their housing portion, which in turn narrows the possibilities for housing. Through our logging, we are hegemonic time-keepers of a system that flourishes from eliminating people to acquire land and housing, which is then sold on the international market to buyers whose socio-economic status relies on someone existing on the margins (Harvey 2005). Non-governmental organizations fill-in the welfare gaps that neoliberalization creates (Schuller 2009:85). Our logging *manages* the resident’s navigation between welfare gaps that curtail the amount of liberal independence a resident can achieve. Thirty days in a transition house is just *enough* time to keep residents on the margins of the settler-state.

Coworker: (*she releases an emphatic sigh*) Sometimes it is frustrating doing this job.

Most of the time I feel like a warden who just tells people what to do and where to go. It is hard to think that I am doing some actual change . . . I just have to enforce rules and guidelines all of the time. I get to experience those few times where you are a real ally with somebody. It is about weighing which one is heavier. That particular week can make the difference of feeling like it's a *(she looks off to the side and pauses)*. . .  
you are doing something worth while in the world or not.

Heather: So, do you feel like your good intentions are being used by the system?

Coworker: *(she grasps the empty lunch bowl on her lap and looks down, takes a deep breath and looks over to catch my gaze. She pensively stares at me while tears form in the corner of her eyes. She breathes another emphatic sigh.)* Ya . . .

Heather: Let's end there.

## Chapter Five: It Is Because Of A Cultural Difference . . .

Heather: So, what is the transition house for?

Coworker: We are here to teach women the different definitions of abuse. To educate them about healthy relationships, life skills (such as parenting, budgeting and cleaning) and other things that might help them become independent.

When I was sixteen, I went on a Christian mission trip to Mexico to teach the “Word of God” to Mexicans who had not learned of his love. Missionary “work” was traditional on the paternal side of my family—my Grandmother was one of the first Canadian missionaries in Costa Rica. We wanted to help “the needy”. Seven years after my mission trip, and two years after I decided to leave the church, I began working at a homeless shelter. Although I had left the church, I began to notice a heroic sentiment from NGO workers (spread throughout my jobs as a foster-parent, a therapeutic support caregiver, a homeless shelter worker, and a transition house counselor) that mirrored zealot Christians: to help (or save) people on the margins. As I show in previous chapters, many transition house counselors believe their job is to empower women by teaching them skills under the logic of neoliberal feminism: personal responsibility for their autonomy, self-care and (economic and domestic) independence (Wrenn & Waller 2017: 495-499). Although transition house counselors are not analogous to Christian missionaries, I think it is important to address how workers treat neoliberal feminism (in this context) as a higher form of feminist knowledge (a “progressive” knowledge) to teach other women. To be frank, racist tensions linger throughout the halls of the transition house both between staff and residents *and* amongst staff members. I think I would be doing a dis-service to my coworkers if I continue silencing the tension. After many conversations about this sensitive topic, many coworkers most prominently located racism during shift change and/or consultations wherein workers exchange information about residents or debrief about personal lives. In this chapter, I argue that racism manifests during shift change and consultations when workers use culture to explain a resident’s behavior as devoid of neoliberal feminist knowledge. Treating neoliberal feminism as a superior knowledge therefore renders other forms of being a woman as lower (inferior).

An infrastructure can be an ontological site (a place where “things” come into existence) for affective qualities—infrastructure triggers emotional reminders of the past (Navaro-Yashin 2012). Moreover, when a person interacts with certain material spaces, it elicits an emotional response that couches in abject histories. In this chapter, I refer to such “moving forces” (Stewart 2007: 128) as *affect*—the ever-shifting flow of emotion. Furthermore, an “affect” is an emotional encounter whereby “some affective encounters remain trivial, others can be life-changing” (Archambault 2016: 249). Here, I want to discuss how affective encounters of racism in the transition house culminate. I want to shed light on the invisible violence that lingers throughout the infrastructure— a life-changing encounter. Navaro-Yashin draws from Derrida’s (1994: 37 as cited in Navaro-Yashin 2012: 16) theory of sovereignty as, “hegemony still [organizing] repression and thus the confirmation of a haunting . . . which belongs to the structure of every hegemony” to show how material (physical) structures of sovereign power form an affective relationship with persons. The “things” are material spaces that stand as, not only reminders, but reinventions of hegemony when a person emotes to their existence: history comes alive through this relationship.

During my time at Lake House, I have been a part of many conversations about how we can limit guidelines and construct the house in ways that do not remind some residents of residential schools. These reminders are what Derrida (1994 as cited in Navaro-Yashin 2012:16) calls “ghosts” of hegemony. Navaro-Yashin (2012) argues that the abject infrastructure of Northern Cyprus reminds and triggers psychological responses in those who interact with it. The post-war infrastructure reminds the people of the trauma from war, and thus reminds them of the hegemonic structures that configure their confinement and immobility. In the transition house, there are two ghosts that strongly resound: the colonizer and the colonized. It is hard to decipher the ghosts through inclusive, representative politics whereby it is now politically correct (and popular) to deduce social behaviour to *cultural* explanations. However, it is in this exact treatment of “culture” that racist tensions ensue, which illuminates the present hegemony of the Canadian settler-state in the presumptuous era of “decolonization”. In the following chapter, I will unpack how neoliberal feminism takes a superior position when we explain behavior through a culturalist trope. First, I address how neoliberal feminism becomes a superior knowledge.

Second, I explain what I mean by “cultural explanations” and how it can imbue racism in the transition house. Third, I contextualize the first two sections into both a shift change and a consultation in the transition house.

### ***How Does Neoliberal Feminism Become a Superior Femininity?***

Coworker: I know I struggle with [racist] stereotypes, so I am going to guess that others do to. . . it is hard to say that we are not going to have that, considering the institutional racism through Canadian history. I have work to do and I know others do too.

Heather: I think it would be ignorant to say that these racist stereotypes do not bleed into our interactions within the house and our collaborative decision-making. Do you agree?

Coworker: There are questions sometimes about how we make our decisions to fairly address everyone’s circumstances individually. I explain that we look at it with certain criteria we deem fair to everyone. It wasn’t until someone said that they had felt racism in decisions or comments [about residents] that I was aware. How I saw our [decision-making process] is that we apply a lens to fairly make a decision. For me, I didn’t feel like there was [racism], but I didn’t realize it had for others. It forced me to reflect back to see how I was applying [my] lens . . .

In this section, I want to unpack how neoliberal feminism becomes a superior knowledge in the transition house. Moreover, I ask how does neoliberal feminism become a ghost of hegemony? First, I want to draw attention to the last comment from my coworker above. She states that she is applying a lens to a resident’s situation in order to make fair decisions. Her *lens* is the political compass by which she examines the resident’s situation. It encompasses both her position in society and how she sees another woman’s position. Lake House staff is predominantly white with settler backgrounds. Neoliberal feminism professes all women as equal, autonomous persons who can become independent through equal opportunities to flourish in capitalism; everyone is on an equal playing field for economic opportunities. When neoliberal feminist ideals become the rhetoric by which we measure other women’s behavior (the knowledge system), it enters a place of privileged “womanness”, for we are saying that there is a superior way of being “woman” that we (mostly white transition house workers) can teach residents. In this context, neoliberal feminism takes on, what Frye (1992: 152-153) coins, a “whiteness” which is,



a deeply ingrained way of being in the world . . . [that] is connected to institutional racism by the fact that individuals with this sort of character are well-suited to the social roles of agents of institutional racism, but it is a character of persons, not of institutions. [Whiteness] is to [know] what is right from wrong and should be advised, instructed, helped and directed by us.

In other words, “whiteness”, is a way of thinking that their way is *the* way that anyone can attain through the act of teaching. “Whiteness” is the lens that obstructs my coworker’s inability to see how her decisions were racist, for she assumes that every woman exists from her position in order to realize neoliberal feminism. In addition, during my fieldwork, I took note of other comments from coworkers who see themselves as teachers of a superior knowledge to womanness (neoliberal feminism):

Coworker 1: Feminism brought me to this job. I want to give them a different perspective . . . I like doing the education part of it.

Coworker 2: Sometimes people are capable, but complex . . . they need a lot of help.

Coworker 3: We can teach them that they can stand on their own as a woman.

Coworker 4: My feminism is that I want all women to have what I have . . . to be surrounded by strong men and women who are feminists and when they don’t it is not okay, but it is not their fault. Some women [in this house] move their life amazingly forward . . . [they] learn how to get help and move forward. I like to share with the women that I did not always have this life, but now I have choices and opportunities because I choose to get rid of the chaos in my life.

As I show in the comments, neoliberal feminist ideals are held as the highest status of femininity; their job is to *teach* and spread the feminist word that they think will grant all women neoliberal sentiments: choice, progress, opportunity, independence and freedom. However, there are a few coworkers who recognize how transition house workers uphold neoliberal feminism (or feminism, in general) as a superior way for a woman to live:

Heather: What is feminism to you?

Coworker 1: Uhh (*she looks pensively off to the side*) . . . I’m not even sure what that word is you are using. What was it, again? Oh, ya. Feminism. I’m not

even sure what it means, but people use it all the time. It is not a word we were taught growing up . . . I don't relate to it.

Coworker 2: Ya, I always feel like a rebel or out of it because I don't necessarily call myself a feminist like what [almost every coworker] does . . .

Coworker 3: Ya know, Heather. I'm not so much a feminist . . . don't say anything! *(she cheekily looks at me in a devious smile)* I think that women should be free from abuse, but it just isn't as simple as our expectations.

In this context, neoliberal feminism becomes the superior knowledge of whiteness in the transition house, for many transition house workers grade and expect *all* women to be in their white position of power. Houle (2012: 210) states, "for many aboriginal women, the historic whiteness of feminism still exists, and when push comes to shove, feminism has nothing to do with First Nations' struggles within Canada." Lindberg (2004: 342-347) follows Houle's claim by arguing that the feminist movement in Canada assumes a commonality between non-Indigenous women and Indigenous women that simply is not true. As I mentioned in former chapters, many of the women who use Lake House services identify as First Nations. When First Nations women enter a house where white women treat *their* feminism as a superior knowledge, the colonial ghost starts to emerge and tensions (direct or indirect) began to impart amongst the infrastructure (I elaborate on this in the third section). However, the tension is sometimes hard to see when neoliberal multicultural politics obfuscate racism by its allure of inclusive rhetoric. Furthermore, transition house workers do not profess neoliberal feminism. Rather, neoliberal feminism pervasively spreads and deploys through dominant logics and actions that serves settler-state power. I dedicate the next section to addressing how "multicultural" or "culturalist" deductions about both residents and workers play a significant part in re-articulating of settler-state power through institutional racism.

### ***The Politics of Cultural Difference***

When I broached the subject of racism with many of my coworkers, a disquiet fills the space between us. While many trusted me with their vulnerabilities (as I illustrate above), some denied racism's existence, as if I were committing heresy talking about the subject in such a place of modern progress. However, for those who had an honest conversation with

me about racism in the house, there seemed to be a common prescription to expunge its existence. The following conversation is a compilation of interviews to strengthen anonymity.

Heather: Do you think racism shows up in the house?

Coworker 1: Psshht, ya, Heather! Are you kidding? It would be naïve to think otherwise.

Coworker 2: Yes, but sometimes it takes a while for me to realize what someone said was racist. It is, like, so subtle that I second guess myself . . . I guess I am just use to doing that.

Coworker 3: Bahahaha . . . finally, someone wants to talk about the elephant in the room.

Heather: Can I presume your laughter means yes, coworker three?

Coworker 3: Oh, ya, definitely . . .

Heather: Why do you think racism happens in the house?

Coworker 1: It is Canadian history . . . residential schools are still alive in a sense. Everyone is talking about reconciliation . . . What has changed? When First Nations women come into the house, then have a bunch of white women telling them how to act, colonial reminders come back.

Coworker 2: Because racism still happens in Canada, whether we acknowledge that we do or do not do it. . . this shit happens. I don't think some people are malicious, they are just ignorant to Canadian history. They don't really get Canadian politics.

Heather: So, is there a way we can try to stop racism in the house?

Coworker 1: We have to understand that First Nations have a different culture. There is a lot of knowledge that they do not share with the mainstream.

Coworker 2: We need to acknowledge that a lot of people *have* different cultures and knowledge . . . they might not have our knowledge. They might not know that it isn't right to abuse a woman or how they might not know that they *can* be independent.

I think it is important for me to demonstrate how “cultural inclusivity” works to sustain the power of the settler-state in Canada. In 1991, Abu-Lughod (2006: 466) urged anthropologists to stop treating their subject matter “culture” as social units (wholes) with measurable parts. In other words, Abu-Lughod argues that when anthropologists treat cultures as whole things to measure social life, it places people into structural entities which subtexts culture as something essential and static to a person. Furthermore, it centers anthropological focus on comparatively finding social difference within geographical borders, which then anthropologists subsequently deduce as innate, incommensurable qualities of a person “in” the culture. It is a process of “othering” whereby an anthropologist explains differences between people through a culturalist trope; it assumes a static world whereby cultures (and their differences) exist in comparison to each “other” (Gupta and Ferguson 2006: 613). However, this raises many questions about the ways in which we treat “culture” to explain behaviour. On the one hand, if I subscribe to “culture” as a thing of innate difference, essentially born to a person, I am “othering” a woman who professes to belong to First Nations “culture”. On the other hand, if I subscribe to Abu-Lughod’s proposal, I could commit the same colonialism that subtexts Canada today—the erasure of indigenous culture. However, I think there is a difference when we use the definition of “culture” that belongs to the settler-state; it is the same definition of “culture” that Abu-Lughod (ibid) contests (traditional anthropology that served power). The definition of “culture” (as I show below) is that which makes people “others” of a whole. It is a definition that plays to the power of the settler-state by laying foundations to race-making that renders its “people” primitive on a historical timeline of liberal progress. It is a definition that aggregates people through inclusive politics (“cultural rights”), which requires a woman to profess her recognition to the settler-state, and thus she becomes a subject of power. Therefore, I ask the question, whose definition of culture do we use to explain behaviour?

Simpson (2014: 89) argues that anthropological studies of indigenous “culture” in Canada has been a process of “upstreaming”, which Fenton (as cited in Simpson 2014: 89) outlines as a way of analyzing the past through the present by “reading history backward” to understand a “purer” time before white settlement. It is an act of locating “traditions”, and treating them as parts to a whole “culture” (entity) on a progressive (linear) historical

timeline. This is an academic process that grants the discipline of anthropology power over what constitutes culture, which lends its knowledge to “the settler-colonial nation-state that uses anthropological and historical archives to determine legal presence, to adjudicate claims to land” (ibid: 93). Therefore, when the government constitutes *culture* it becomes a “thing” to measure, control and im/mobilize, and thus whomever fits into First Nations “culture” falls under settler-state power through recognition.

As my coworkers express above, acknowledging and including cultural difference seems like the solution to eliminate racism in the house. However, when we use it in the way I describe above—emplacing it in a backward historical timeline and rendering it as a bound and static “thing”—it gives power to the settler-state. I will now contextualize the former two sections in the most common spaces where I witness workers reproduce this power: Shift Change and Consultations.

### ***Shift Change and Consultation: Sharing Knowledge***

As I stated in the previous chapter, shift change happens three times a day. The purpose of shift change is for staff to exchange knowledge about residents; the worker leaving their shift (re)distributes knowledge (usually what happened during their shift) about each resident. The worker who starts their shift has an opportunity to ask questions about residents or crisis calls to plan their shift accordingly. Shift change is different from a consultation, as shift change happens at a specific time each day whereas a consultation is the collaborative process (the ethos of the staff) to formally discuss a matter and find a solution to the issue. The subject matter of the consultation can range anywhere from discussing a resident’s extension to a grammar change on an intake document. For the purposes of this chapter, I am specifically speaking about resident consultations. I will provide examples of how both shift changes and consultations reproduce settler-state power when workers use cultural difference to explain a resident’s deviation from workers expectations. I return to Caroline’s logging from the previous chapter as a reference to the shift change conversation.

### **Shift Change**

Rachelle arrives at the house for her afternoon shift at 3:15pm and witnesses Caroline and resident (J) in an argument. After diffusing the situation, Rachelle goes into the house to have shift-change with Tiffany.

Rachelle: *(she sits down in an office chair across from Tiffany)*  
I just had to break-up an argument between Caroline and (J). How has the rest of the day been, haha?

Tiffany: What happened?

Rachelle: (J) was telling Caroline to clean-up her mess in the family room and women's lounge, then she accused Caroline of not doing her chores.

Tiffany: Ya, Caroline has had some issues around cleaning since she arrived. I had to remind her, again, to clean-up the family room today because there were toys sprawled everywhere and empty juice boxes left around. She seems to be struggling a bit in this area.

Rachelle: Was she receptive when you talked to her about it?

Tiffany: Ya, but she also expressed that she finds it hard to keep up with cleaning while running after her son. I told her I understand that, but it might be good to learn these types of skills while she is here because she will have to do it on her own when she leaves.

Rachelle: Ya, I agree. However, it might be a cultural difference. I think we can really teach her some skills to be independent after she leaves.

Rachelle and Tiffany continue working with Caroline for the next three weeks, but after many issues with Caroline, and her request for an extended stay in the house, a consultation between three permanent staff (the protocol for consultations) takes place.

### **Consultation**

Tiffany: So, how are you both feeling about extending Caroline's stay?

Rachelle: Well, it is hard because she hasn't really been looking for housing and her hygiene and cleanliness has surfaced with other residents quite a few times now. Like today Jodi was doing a security check around the house and noticed the condition of Caroline's room. There were wrappers and Tim Hortons cups all over the floor.

Jodi: Ya, it is pretty gross *(Jodi makes a grimacing face)*. Throughout the days she spends most of her time on Facebook while her son runs all over the place. I think the little guy wants some attention from mom.

Tiffany: Ya, I noticed that, as well. She seems to feed him candy before bed and he is

always awake past 9:00pm. I would be okay if we gave her a conditional extension. What do you think (*she looks at both Rachelle and Jodi*)?

Jodi: Yes, I would agree to a conditional extension of like two weeks. I think she has to be actively looking for housing and check-in with staff daily about her searches . . . (*Jodi sighs*) . . . It is hard to help her move forward if she is not willing to do the work.

Rachelle: I also think she has to clean her room daily and complete her chores. It has been a real issue for other residents who have to clean-up after her.

Tiffany: Okay, so everyone agrees to give her a conditional extended-stay of two weeks?

Jodi: Yep!

Rachelle: Yes. I can talk to her tonight and outline her conditions in the log.

Tiffany: Okay, make sure you are clear with her that if she does not meet her conditions, she chooses to leave the house.

These types of exchanges happen quite frequently during shift change and consultation; we hypothesize explanations as to why residents do or do not adhere to “our” way of seeing the world (as I show in the first section). In this case, Rachelle uses *cultural difference* to explain why Caroline does not know how to clean according to our expectations. Furthermore, Rachelle goes on to say that maybe Caroline can learn skills from the transition house to become a neoliberal feminist (independent woman). Why is this contentious? Rachelle says that Caroline’s cultural difference is the reason she does not know how to be independent, and we can teach her our superior knowledge of womanness. Because Rachelle places neoliberal feminism as a superior knowledge to teach Caroline, it therefore renders Caroline’s “culture” as lesser and incompetent to the highest form of femininity. Culture is the signifier of Caroline’s difference from the expectations of transition house workers. When we use cultural difference as “an ideology which treats culture not only as an integral element in social practices but as the determining element” (Ahmad 2002: 95) we *might* commit what Taguieff (as cited in Viswewaran 2010: 8) calls “differentialist racism”. Differentialist racism absorbs neoliberal rhetoric of multiculturalism, but it treats “culture” as a whole thing, and the people within it, essentially hold the same ideals as each other; people within a culture are innately “this-or-

that way". However, is "differentialist racism" disparate than the "original" racism that is foundational to Canadian colonialism? As I show above, race-making the "Indian" in Canadian colonialism relies on the settler-state definition of "culture", which places the "Indian" in the past. "Their" *difference* from progressive liberalism is because their "culture" fits on a historical timeline *before* "progressive" white settlement. Today, neoliberal rights-based rhetoric forms "multiculturalism" as a way to include indigenous difference; it is a way for the settler-state to continue *recognizing* racial difference (under their constituents) to create, control and monitor indigenous people in Canada. I unpack this debate, as it is prevalent in the literature today. Is racism not already constructed from difference? Is differentialist racism just another form of ethnocentrism whereby one person does not understand another person's "culture"? I argue that the "original" racism manifests in the transition house when we use the settler-state's definition of "culture", which subtexts the "Indian" race, and thus we render it "lower" to progressive neoliberal feminist knowledge.

Caroline does not know how to be independent or clean to *our* standards because of her culture, and thus Caroline can only learn how to become independent and practice superior domestic skills if we teach her, for her culture (bound thing) does not entail such knowledge. In these small (perceptively innocuous exchanges of information) we reproduce the power of the settler-state, for we place indigenous women into a bound "thing" (culture) of the past who have yet to learn about progressive womanness (neoliberal feminism). Their culture is the reason they do not have neoliberal knowledge; their "culture" sits on a historic timeline before modern progress that the settler-state uses to maintain hegemony and control land claims (Simpson 2014). Therefore, when we deduce a woman to their culture we emplace them into the historical timeline that supports settler-state governance. The second ghost of sovereignty surfaces in this domestic space where white women try to teach indigenous women how to be a progressive feminist.

### **Conclusion**

Throughout this chapter, I locate the spaces and conversations where two ghosts of sovereignty come into existence to create racist tensions. However, I have yet to connect the affect of racist tensions to the infrastructure of the house. Navaro-Yashin (2012: 175) proposes that, "theories of affect and subjectivity, as well as of objects and symbolization, demand to be merged," which create the ghosts of present from the past. In other words,



when anthropologists study how people emote to their physical environments, they cannot deduce the elicitation to either subjective or objective triggers, it is a combination of both the person and physical environment, which create the emotional elicitation. The house stands as an infrastructure that “creates a sens[e] of modernity” (Mrazek 2002 as cited in Larkin 2013:337); it emotes the workers’ hope to *progress* women’s rights; and, to help women regain an independent life from abuse. The first ghost is when neoliberal feminism becomes the superior knowledge to teach indigenous women, it becomes a settler in colonial history.

However, a second ghost (“the colonized”) appears when transition house workers assume a resident’s difference to neoliberal feminism is because of her culture; her lack of progressive knowledge. Perry (2003: 588) shows how in British Columbia the government “utilize[d] housing as a strategic window into the colonial encounter.” Meaning, colonialism in British Columbia centralized on changing Coast Salish domesticity and ideals of family (ibid: 592). When indigenous women enter the transition house (a domestic space), then are told by white women how to clean, mother and create independent familial ideals, a resident can elicit an affect of racism from the house. However, like I show with the “progressive” ghost of sovereignty, the ghost of indigenous colonization is both historical and present at the same time; it comes into existence through both subjectivity (historical imagination) and the physical environment (house).

I am not arguing that every worker or resident manifests a ghost. However, I want to address *how* racist tensions can happen in the house and unpack its elusive existence between staff, house and residents. Lastly, I want to stress that I do not think most transition house workers realize how their comments become racist, for the logic of a “multiculturalist” or “culturalist” explanation is to accept and *include* difference—the reputation of Canada. However, I caution my coworkers (and myself) when we use a culturalist trope to explain difference, for it can sustain the power of the settler-state by using the neoliberal rhetoric that masks its hegemony: it can make institutional racism come into existence. Moreover, when we assume every woman wants or *can* gain freedom and independence, we not only assume an essential femininity, we elide how institutional racism creates barriers for non-white women to realize neoliberal ideals.

## Chapter Six: Have You Heard From Bridget?

At the end of the last chapter I concluded by asking my coworkers to think about how our ideas of neoliberal feminism ignore the impact of institutional racism on women in the house. Furthermore, it can greatly obscure how we work with women by placing pressure on them to live-up to our expectations. These expectations come with assumptions about mobility in Canada—where a woman *can* move rather than where a woman *wants* to move. Moreover, it highlights how “independence” comes with submitting to systemic structures that marginalize women in the first place.

The Indian Act in Canada was written in 1876, as a hegemonic device by the patriarchal colonial state to control and eliminate “Indians” (Hamilton 2007: 66-69). It dislodged any indigenous knowledge (at the time) by configuring its content through gender language of a patriarchal colony; Christian patriarchal gender relations were used to decide, not only who possessed land, but who constituted an “Indian” *race* (ibid) and therefore who could possess land. The government of Canada decided—and still decides today—the constituents of “Indian” and thus *who* can acquire land (Simpson 2014). The Indian Act of Canada dispossessed the “right” to acquire land of any First Nations woman who “married out”, meaning, the woman married a non-Indian man (Simpson 2014: 160). However, in 1985 Bill C-31 amended gender discrimination in the Indian Act, and thus granted status “rights” to women who married-out; the settler-state now *recognized* these women as status First Nations. In addition, bands were given responsibility to define membership, whereas the federal government remains in charge of constituting the status of “Indian”, which led to its own political problems (Holmes 1987). However, for the purpose of this chapter, I want to pay particular attention to the paradox between what we (transition house workers) see on the frontlines versus the intentions behind Bill C-31 to correct institutional racism. Does it strengthen the power of the settler-state by *including* more women into the *government’s* category of “Indian”? However, I want to be clear that I am not arguing that First Nations women should not have possession of land. Instead, I question if Bill C-31 does something different than what it is suppose to do.

Simpson (2014: 150) states that,

C-31 is a legal bestowal of the state to rerecognize what they had legally eliminated . . . [it is] a state apparatus of eliminations [through] different citizenship projects that they reveal and that they pronounce in part, through these state-driven attempts to dispossess, to repossess and to govern the content of [First Nations] political orders.

In other words, the new “citizenship project” of the settler-state is to redefine “the Indian”, and strengthen settler-state power, through a rights-based configuration. To gain rights to access state services and its subsequent mobility, the state must *recognize* a person through the *government’s definition* of a status Indian, and thus when a woman declares herself as an “Indian” she concedes to the state. They access rights by becoming citizens of the state. Therefore, when Bill C-31 changed the Indian Act to grant status to out-marriage, the government started a new colonial project under neoliberal multiculturalism, for rights come with recognition and consent to a settler-state (Simpson 2014). Therefore, women who gain status under rights to land, enter a new form of settler-state governance.

Throughout the former chapters, I unpacked various ways in which the house and transition house workers play a part in supporting the settler-state through neoliberal tropes. In this chapter, I argue that neoliberal housing barriers reproduce women at the margins, for their only options fortify settler-state governance. This chapter pushes the analysis about how rights-based logic is, not only a cover for settler-state governance, but rather a new system of governance for First Nations women transitioning out of the house. The government wants First Nations women to recognize, and attest, to their rights, for it cements government control over their mobility. After speaking with many coworkers, and reviewing files of women who left the house, there were two common tracks that we “broker” for women when leaving the house: 1) Homeless Prevention Program; 2) Second-Stage Housing, BC Housing and M’akola Housing. However, I want to show what happens when these options do not realize for the woman, and thus I will tell two stories of abrupt outtakes. The government provides First Nations women “rights” through recognizing them

as status Indians, and thus the government provides *where* they have a right to move in a neoliberal economy. This places the transition house as one stop in the rights-based regime that controls their mobility.

Before I discuss the potential tracks for outtake, I think it is important to discuss where neoliberal barriers intersect with the new settler-state project of recognition: income assistance. As I mention throughout the thesis, most of the women who stay in the house are on income assistance or we help them apply for it. However, the woman applies for assistance according to her location. If the woman is living “on-reserve”, then she must apply through the band office; if the woman is planning to live “off-reserve”, then she must apply through the British Columbia Ministry of Social Development and Social Innovation (MSDSI) (Legal Services Society of British Columbia 2017: 2). The rate amounts (depending on your family status and social barriers) between “on-reserve” and “off-reserve” are not different, and thus I ask why are there different routes to apply according to the woman’s location? When the woman recognizes her status of the settler-state while living on the reserve, she informs the government of her location through her income assistance application. If she moves off the reserve, she, again, informs them of her location. However, if she decides to leave the house and not return to the reserve, she now has the (potential) help of the government for getting into neoliberal market housing through the homelessness prevention program.

### **The Homelessness Prevention Program**

In 2015, Lake House received funding to implement BC Housing’s Homelessness Prevention Program (HPP), which BC Housing describes as,

an initiative aimed at providing individuals in identified at-risk groups facing homelessness with portable rent supplements and support services to help them access rental housing in the private (non-subsidized) housing market. Rent supplements and support services are provided to assist in accessing housing and community-based services. The Homeless Prevention Program operates, in many instances, as an enhancement to the existing [Homeless Outreach Program](#) / Aboriginal Homeless Outreach Programs and targets individuals at transition points that put them at greater risk of homelessness. (BC Housing Homelessness Prevention Program 2018)

Before I delve into the analysis, I want to introduce the purpose of the program in its context:

Coworker: My job is to prepare the women for various things such as how they present themselves to a landlord, to make sure they come prepared with income statements and references. Sometimes they ask about your income and past employment history, so it is about looking organized and prepared. [You] don't want to delay the application because you forgot a reference or something. It makes them look organized and the landlord thinks, "Oh, this person is organized, I am sure they will pay their rent on time."

Heather: Okay, what other things are important for them to know?

Coworker: It is important that I inform them what a landlord can or cannot ask for from the women. Many folks(landlords included) do not know what their rights and responsibilities are and one of the things landlords ask for is copies of identification and they should be asking for it. Some ask for your Social Insurance Number, which they are not allowed to do. Some of them say it is for your Equifax check, but they can get that without your SIN. A lot of them ask for these things.

Heather: Do you think a lot people concede to these demands of the landlord, and thus they are more likely to get housing over others who won't give this type of information?

Coworker: Oh, yeah! I've had many women refuse to provide that information and landlords refused to consider their application. The demand is so high that the landlord can ask whatever they want. They have the power.

Lake House receives (approximately) \$4600.00/month for subsidies from BC Housing for ten "unique" (the word BC Housing uses in the agreement) clients. This means that the average amount of subsidy that a woman could receive is \$460.00/month. However, the amount that each woman receives depends on how much money she receives for her shelter allowance included in her monthly Income Assistance from the government. If the woman receives \$570.00/month (the usual amount for a parent with one child) and she wants to rent a suite for \$800.00, the subsidy can only provide the woman with a "top-up". Meaning, the difference between the rent and her shelter allowance: \$230.00. As I show above, the government tracks a woman's location (on or off reserve) through her

application process. In addition, the woman must report that she is receiving a subsidy each month when she provides the government with her monthly report (see Figure 6.1)—a report contingent on receiving Income Assistance each month. However, this shows that the government curtails how much money a woman receives *for* housing (they determine her options through capital), and thus granting her access to market housing under government terms. A woman is only eligible to receive this subsidy if she is not receiving a subsidy from elsewhere—the pejorative term for using two or more subsidies is “double-dipping”. If a woman is caught using more than one subsidy to supplement her income or housing, then she runs the risk of being restricted from income assistance services. In addition, if a woman is selected to receive the grant, she has to “do the work” to show that she will be able to afford the rental when her subsidy ends. The maximum length of a subsidy is one year; however, the HPP worker can choose to remove the woman from the program under certain circumstances, such as the woman left the rental unit or she was evicted. What are the terms?

Women on income assistance, who are transitioning out of the house, cannot afford to live in market housing. (It is common that when a woman *does* find market housing without a subsidy, it is usually under precarious terms, and thus she continues to be at-risk of abuse in a different context.) The government implemented this program to help at-risk demographics (such as women fleeing abuse) live in market housing. However, it *seems* like an excellent program for women to become “independent” in a neoliberal housing market, but at its core it only allows women to exist in market housing in a way that serves the neoliberal settler-state constellation. As I show in the conversation with my coworker above, property and landowners possess the power in the BC housing market. However, in this conversation my coworker introduced me to a new pejorative term that outlines the role of these subsidies: “mortgage helper”. A mortgage helper is someone who helps land and property owners sustain their investment on the housing market; they help supplement an owner’s mortgage on the home. When a woman receives a subsidy, the government provides her with only enough money to exist as a renter in this competitive market. While the government allots HPP subsidies as a part of the “housing first” (a campaign to house everyone regardless of their barriers to market housing) propaganda, they are creating subjects of the neoliberal housing market that help land and property

owners maintain their power. Government money goes back into feeding the neoliberal economy through rent. Mortgage helpers are the intermediaries of shuffling government money back into the banks.

I have yet to discuss how HPP contributes to the settler-state governance through recognition politics. When a woman becomes a part of the program, coworkers of HPP are required in their contract to gather her information. In chapter two, I demonstrate how transition house workers play a part in settler-state hegemony by gathering, then reporting demographic statistics to the BC government. However, in HPP the statistics that the HPP worker is mandated to report to BC Housing are much more specific in that, in conjunction with Income Assistance, the government can track where the woman lives.

As I point out in chapter two, Hull (2012: 259) urges anthropologists to push the theoretical boundaries of interpellation by analyzing how material documents play a part in bureaucratic processes of governance. BC Housing requires the HPP worker to submit the woman's name and whether she is First Nations, Metis or Inuit (see Figure 6.2) When the woman attests on paper to her status of First Nations, then signs the agreement to HPP, she performs a bureaucratic process whereby the woman recognizes herself (again) as an "Indian" of the settler-state, she is now operating in the sphere of the state (Cody 2009: 359). Moreover, in the words of Simpson (2014: 145), "Indians reside somewhere between ward, citizen and people presumed to be savage who must have their savagery recognized first, in order to be governed." When the government allowed more women to be recognized (in settler-state terms) through Bill C-31, the settler-state created a governing system that *looks* like it is fulfilling indigenous women's rights, but underneath it allowed the government to *recognize* more First Nations women to govern. Furthermore, it (re)creates the constituents of the "Indian" population that the government controls through statistics (Curtis 2002: 38).

One thing I have left to unpack is *how* the government knows a woman's location. The government keeps track (as a means of auditing) the woman's monthly spending (Figure 6.1). As I show above, she has to apply through specific on or off reserve offices. When she initially applies for Income Assistance, she provides the government a record of her name, location and income. Furthermore, her name and "status" is put into BC Housing database under a specific local project (HPP); the government can see where she is receiving the

subsidy, and thus know her approximate location. Two government agencies now know the woman's status, income, and approximate residence. When a woman recognizes her rights to First Nations status, she submits to a surveillance subsidy program that rearticulates colonial projects to control and monitor indigenous women by making them mortgage helpers of the neoliberal housing market. For women and children trying to find housing after fleeing abuse, the corollary of Bill C-31 seems to sustain hegemony, for the government has more control of indigenous women when women recognize themselves while navigating the margins to safety. However, the government decides which and how many rights they receive. It is quite evident through HPP that the government curtails and tracks indigenous mobility through demographic data (recognition). Furthermore, the transition house is just a stop, a place to track, their mobility.

### **Second-Stage Housing, BC Housing and M'akola Housing**

In the following section, I want to return to the concept of being a "broker" of the welfare system. When we work with women in the house, we are trying to exhaust any options for safe housing. However, in this section, I want to illustrate how subsidized housing, is not only a rare option for women, but it contributes to settler-state surveillance *of* women. Perry (2003: 588) argues that, "housing [i]s a strategic window into the colonial encounter", for it has always been a site of friction between First Nations and the settler-state. The transition house is a temporary domestic space, wherein women and children engage with the politics of daily life.

In this section, I show how neoliberal barriers strengthen the settler-state, for the only housing women can afford (without a subsidy for market housing) is that which the government supplies: 1) Second-Stage Housing; 2) BC Housing Registry; and, 3) M'akola Housing. Furthermore, when women apply for subsidized housing, they inform the government of their location, and thus bolster settler-state hegemony through surveillance. The settler-state continues to govern through recognition during a woman and her children's most intimate transitions in life; the settler-state governs the "space between" (Turner 1967 as cited in Cook-Sather 2006: 110) leaving an abusive situation and finding a safe new home. However, by the end of this chapter, I will illuminate how this rite-of-passage to neoliberal feminism falls short for many women.



### ***Second Stage Housing***

On the BC Housing website, it lists thirty Second-Stage Housing providers throughout British Columbia. Second-stage housing is a program lasting (approximately) 6-18 months for women (with or without dependent children) who have recently left an abusive situation. The pathway into a second-stage program is through a referral from a transition house. BC Housing is the primary funder of second-stage housing across British Columbia. To be candid, I cannot speak to the inner workings of second-stage housing, as I have never worked in this particular program. However, I can speak to how it plays a part in where a woman can transition out of Lake House. In my history at Lake House, I have witnessed one woman and her two children move into second-stage housing. The waiting lists can be very long and most of the second-stage houses exist in or around densely populated communities, such as Vancouver or Victoria. If a woman cannot or does not want to leave the community in which there is no second-stage housing program, then she quickly eliminates this option. However, this raises an issue about accessing government programs in a “rural” or lower populated city.

Lake House has been trying to raise money for a second-stage housing, as we have witnessed many women return to abusive situations because they cannot find affordable housing. As I mentioned throughout the former chapters, since I began working at Lake House, we were consistently busy. The government wants non-profits to “show the need” to receive the grant, but we continue to be overlooked when it comes to receiving second-stage housing programs—it is clear that we have “the need”. Instead, the government implements Homelessness Prevention Programs at a lesser cost, which at the same time, advances the neoliberal economy. The decision to implement subsidies to bolster the neoliberal economy rather than spend more money on second-stage housing demonstrates the power of the settler-state to organize housing options for women and children who are fleeing abuse. Depending on their geographical location, finding second-stage housing depends on what the government has to offer; the government maps a woman’s options for housing.

### ***BC Housing and M’akola Housing***

When a woman first enters the house, the first task at-hand is for her to apply for BC Housing subsidized program. This program accommodates both a single person and a

family (parent(s) with a minimum of one dependent child). M'akola Housing (a branch of BC Housing) is a second option for a woman who fits the government's definition of family:

For the purposes of being eligible for family housing with M'akola Group of Societies family is defined as a minimum of two people including one dependent child. A person is considered a dependent when they are under 19 years of age; OR 25 and registered in full-time school, university or vocational institute which provides a recognized diploma, certificate or degree; OR of any age who, because of mental physical infirmity, is accepted as a dependent for income tax purposes.”(M'akola Housing: Family Housing Application Form, 2018; see Figure 6.4)

Perry (2003: 588) purports that the home, “speak[s] tellingly to notions of gender, sexuality and the family . . . homes, like maps, actively shape the way people both imagine and live their social role.” However, when a woman turns to government housing for *home*, her family relations have to constitute that which the government defines (see the definition of family on the first page of the application). Therefore, when she has no other option, she reconstitutes her family relations—and, subsequently gives power to the settler-state—in order to have a safe home.

Furthermore, in both a BC Housing (see Figure 6.3) and M'akola Housing application (see Figure 6.4), a woman discloses her name; present residence (sometimes we use the office location if she does not want to list her past location); her present living arrangements (shared bathroom and kitchen); her family constellation; her health information; her income and history of employment; her “demographic” status (First Nations, Inuit or Metis); and, her desired subsidized residence (the woman is encouraged to think about moving outside her preferred area, as it will increase her chances of receiving a home). On the M'akola Housing application there are housing units specifically “For Aboriginal Applicants only”, and thus when a woman recognizes herself as First Nations, Metis or Inuit, the government provides additional housing options. A government employee enters all of the woman's information into the BC Housing Registry Database. After a couple of days BC Housing provides the woman with a reference number, which indicates her spot on the waitlist. However, in the BC Housing application, we complete a supplementary form to

attest that the woman is fleeing domestic violence or abuse. The supplementary form is supposed to prioritize a woman who is fleeing abuse. However, the government does not offer enough subsidized housing to keep-up with the demand for persons who qualify as “at-risk”(homeless, women and children fleeing abuse or someone with a serious health condition). I have yet to see a woman in Lake House transition into either BC Housing or M’akola Housing.

Meanwhile, through the application process the government now has what I call a “meta-path” of the woman’s mobility. As I introduce in the former section, Hull (2012: 259) argues that anthropologists should examine material documents, not only as symbolic representations of power, but, rather material things that bring into existence subjects of a neoliberal state. When I merge Hull’s theory with Cody’s (2009: 359) argument that signatures are performative actions wherein one enters the sphere of the state, I can conceptualize the role of the transition house as an intersection in welfare surveillance. When a woman applies for government housing, she indicates her name, location, income and (potentially) First Nations, Metis or Inuit status. Every time she signs the piece of paper that recognizes her as First Nations, Metis or Inuit, she enters the body-politic of the settler-state; she brings into existence a racialized and gendered category created by the settler-state to govern and eliminate populations for land (Wolfe 2006; Hamilton 2007: 59). The government uses this data to monitor and control populations that threaten the power of the settler-state, and as Simpson (2014: 156) puts it, “their bodies [carry] a symbolic load because they have been conflated with land and are thus contaminating to a white, settler colonial order.” The government has the information to curtail how much “rights” a woman can realize, and thus the government constitutes who fits where in the neoliberal settler-state constellation. The woman waits a time anywhere from three months to two years for a subsidized home. Meanwhile, the government continues to monitor and control her mobility through these applications, as the government’s “stay-in-touch” policy on the first page reads,

If and when your contact information or circumstances change, you must update your application at the phone number or email address listed above quoting the reference

number. Our office must hear from you at least once a year to keep your application file active.(M'akola Housing Application Form 2018)

### **Abrupt Outtake**

As I introduce at the beginning of the chapter, most women who transition out of the house cannot afford to live in market housing. Therefore, I ask, what happens when a woman does not find housing within her 30-day (and sometimes extended to 60-day) stay at the transition house? In this section, I answer my question by telling the stories of Tracy and Bridget—names, location and any other identifiers have been changed. These stories are two of many that incited this thesis. They do not only represent larger hegemonic structures that govern the woman's life; they show a narrative path that traces the onto-epistemic sites on which both governance and subject "come alive" (Frohman 2008: 1573). The following are the stories of Tracy and Bridget.

#### ***Tracy's Story***

Three months into my job at Lake House I received a call from Tracy:

Heather: Good Afternoon, Lake House, Heather speaking.

Tracy: Hi . . . my name is Tracy . . .*(she began to sob a deep bellow)*

Heather: What is going on, Tracy?

Tracy: My children! They took my children . . . he hit me and they took my children.

Heather: Okay, where are you now, Tracy? Are you safe?

Tracy: Yes, I am in my van . . . I have nowhere to go. The police won't even listen to my side of the story. They said that I was drinking, but I wasn't drinking, so I can't press charges. My eye is swollen *(Tracy began to sob, again)*.

I scheduled to meet Tracy in the parking lot where she was sitting in her van. When I arrived I waved through the passenger window. Tracy got out of her car to join me in the van. She sat down in the passenger's seat, placed her head in her hands and began to cry, again.

Tracy: I told them it wouldn't happen, but it happened.

Heather: What happened, Tracy?

Tracy: The Ministry took my children. I have to meet with the social worker on Tuesday. They looked so scared . . . They just kept screaming Mommy!

After we chatted in the van, Tracy followed me to the house. During Tracy's stay with us, she worked very hard at trying to secure housing. There were no HPP subsidies, but we helped her apply to both BC Housing and M'akola Housing. She searched market housing, but she could not find an affordable place for her five children. The social worker told Tracy that she and her children could no longer live in a home with her husband. Tracy and her husband lived at his father's house on the reserve; he remained in the house while Tracy and her children went elsewhere. If Tracy returned she would lose her children indefinitely and they would be placed into the foster care system. Her social worker told her that she needs at least a four-bedroom unit, as two of her children require a single bedroom because of their age, while the others are young enough to share. If Tracy could not provide a safe and healthy living space that meets her social worker's standards, then she will not regain custody of her children.

Toward the end of Tracy's 30-day stay in the house, we granted her an additional two weeks to, again, find housing. She had not heard from either BC Housing or M'akola, and relocating to a Second-stage program was not an option, as her children were in foster homes in the community; leaving meant she would not see her children, as she could not afford to drive back to the community two or three times a week for supervised visits. In addition, Tracy was no longer receiving her child tax allowance, as her children were in-care of the Ministry of Child and Family Development (MCFD). Therefore, Tracy's rental budget reduced from \$1500.00 to \$375.00, as she then had to declare herself as a single person. In a housing market where \$1100.00/ is an average two-bedroom, it seemed unlikely that Tracy was going to find something in the market that met the social worker's standards.

When I returned to work after being away for the weekend, my coworker told me that Tracy did not return to the house, and thus she had an abrupt outtake. Two months later Tracy called the crisis line and I picked-up. She was crying. She was trying to talk through the sobbing, but all I could decipher is that she was on a corner somewhere in the city. The

call was dropped and she did not call back. That summer I saw Tracy outside of a drug store. She told me she went back to her husband because she had no other option. She never regained custody of her children, but she can still visit with them under supervised visits.

Tracy's story introduces the intersection between the transition house and The Ministry of Child and Family Development (MCFD). Many women who stay at Lake House are dealing with MCFD in some regard. Like Tracy, sometimes the incident that lands them in the transition house has resulted in a social worker taking their children. Whereas other times, they have their children with them in the transition house under the demand of the social worker; they are often told that if they return to "the scene of the abuse" the social worker will remove their children. De Leeuw (2016: 15) argues that, "centering the experiences of women and children—their homes and bodies, their feelings and emotions—is a crucial corrective to theoretical accounts of colonialism that focus solely on the level of lands and resources." The power of the settler-state over First Nations families is quite evident in the transition house. We work with many First Nations women who are fighting the government for their children. We witness what Nixon (2011) coins "slow violence", which is a continuous disruption of Indigenous domestic space (home); the slowness hides the violence and thus renders it invisible.

De Leeuw (2016: 15) posits that settler-state governance through this "invisible" violence relies on recognizing a woman's "Indian" status. As I show in Tracy's story, the social worker had the power to tell her what constitutes a healthy living space. However, when faced with neoliberal barriers that already restrict Tracy's mobility, Tracy realized that she did not have the resources to meet the demands of the social worker, and thus her children remained in custody of the settler-state. Although transition house workers do not work for MCFD, and many of us are reluctant to do their work, we still play to this "slow violence"; we are parts of the system. We are mandated to report (what we deem) child abuse to MCFD, and as I have shown in the previous chapter, sometimes our judgments become racist. Sometimes our ideas of mothering or family mirror that of settler-state expectations. Nevertheless, when women come into the house and they are trying to fight for their children, we work with the women in their fight. We help her meet the requirements of the social worker. Therefore, we pander to the hegemonic structures that

sustain neoliberal settler-state constellation, for we know we are only band-aids within a gutted welfare system; we do not possess enough power to fully destabilize its strength. In the words of a close coworker: “We do the best we can with what we got . . .”

### ***Bridget's Story***

I met Bridget at my first job as an emergency shelter worker. Several years later, I walked into the transition house to find Bridget sitting in our counseling office:

Bridget: Heather!

Heather: Hey!

Bridget: I didn't know you worked here. I was couch surfing at Ronnie's and he was groping me during the night! *(Tears started to stream down her face; my coworker realized that Bridget and I had a rapport, so she went into the other office while I listened to Bridget)*. He kept pulling on my top and my pants and then . . .

Heather: It is okay, Bridge. You don't have to continue.

Bridget: The fuckin' cop won't even let me charge him! Apparently, I have no evidence, even though I went to the emergency for a rape kit. The nurses said that they would make sure the cop gets the evidence, but he said I can't because I was high.

Near the end of Bridget's stay at Lake House she had worked hard to find a safe home, but she could not afford anything in market housing. She did not qualify for HPP, as she was an active intravenous user (she could not confirm if she could maintain rent after the subsidy) nor had BC Housing offered her a subsidized housing unit. On an afternoon shift, Bridget did not return to the house nor did she return in the future. We have a policy of not contacting women when they do not return. This policy is to maintain the anonymity of the woman and keep the power in her hands to make contact with us as she sees fit. A year later I walked into a new job for night shift at a homeless shelter in an adjacent city. Bridget was in the foyer:

Bridget: Well, holy shit! Heather! *(Bridget came running at me)*.

Heather: Hey, Bridge! What the hell is up?! I haven't seen you in a long time.

Bridget: Augh . . . I couldn't find housing so I moved here. It seems worse here! Also, a lot of people heard what happened with Ronnie and they were saying that it was my fault and I shouldn't have been on his couch. The cops wouldn't even charge him, so I don't know why everyone was so mad at me—it's not like he is going to jail for what he did. He continues on with his life. Anyway, I'm doing okay. I'm still waiting to hear from BC Housing. After I left Lake House I went to another transition house, then came here.

Heather: (*I noticed the track marks on Bridget's arms*) Are you using safely, Bridge?

Bridget: Ya, I use with everyone and I have a naloxone kit, okay Mom?! (*she burst out with laughter*).

During the rest of the shift, Bridget and I had many conversations about her life. At the end of the shift, she gave me a hug and thanked me for listening. She said she was doing the best she can in her situation. It was a simple but poignant conclusion to our interaction. The goal of telling this story is not to paint Bridget through a "victimist" framework, where a woman's status is that of *only* victim (Connell 1997: 122). She is a victim of her social structures. However, I do not pose that Bridget has agency in the neoliberal feminism we profess in the transition house: independence, self-empowerment, self-care and a freedom to individual choice (Ferguson 2017: 230). Rather, I think of Bridget through the lens of "victimcy" (Utas 2005: 408), which collapses the victim-agent dichotomy to understand that a woman's, "agency may be effectively exercised under trying, uncertain and disempowering circumstances" of violence. Bridget does "the best she can" to socially navigate the neoliberal structures that the settler-state uses to both mask and uphold its control over her.

### **Conclusion**

The 1985 amendment of the Indian Act has led to new citizen projects that we, as transition house workers, play a part in reproducing. Our participation in settler-state hegemony is not of our volition. We do not go to work to reproduce women at the margins by providing the government with the information that helps curtail their place in a neoliberal economy. We go to work because we see the interstices between neoliberal barriers and the settler-state that continues to put many women at-risk of abuse and violence. However, we have trusted the rights-based logic that masks settler-state power as



the way to restore justice for women. I write this thesis in the founding year of Trudeau's Feminist International Assistance Policy while at the same time the protests of Tina Fontaine's murder take full force in the media. When transition house workers use the language of power (rights-based logic) as a prescription to the problem that derives from, "racism and sexism that exists in Canada and its laws, policies and institutions" (Palmater 2016: 270), we minimize and *individualize* the problem. However, it does not rest in our use of neoliberal discourse. We cannot exist without abiding by the directions of our funder (BC Housing) who choose the monetary worth of women and children who are fleeing abuse. When we pair our neoliberal feminist discourse with settler-state control of how much we *can* "help", we become a mirage in the welfare system. We *appear* to be on the "frontlines" of "progress" and "women's rights", while at the same time we feed the power of the settler-state by trying to fit women into a system that has never made room for them. The amount of money transition houses receive is just *Enough To Keep Them Alive* (Shewell 2004) in a neoliberal market that can only sustain through settler accumulation of dispossessing land and resources (Harvey 2003). The neoliberal settler-state constellation would quickly collapse if rights-based logic became an *actual* form of justice rather than a new neoliberal project of citizenship that *recognizes* subjects of governance. Power cannot sustain if everyone's "rights" are equal.

## Conclusion: Refusal On the Frontlines

When I first thought of the idea to do this research, I was sitting in the Lake House office having a conversation with a friend who I had first met as a coworker in another shelter. We exchanged stories of “clients” from both the transition house and the shelter. We contemplated where our “regular” clients have gone and we respectfully remembered those whom we have lost.

Coworker: I have realized over the years that nothing *really* changes. Power stays the same and women we see here or there do what they can to find shelter. Nothing changes, Heather. I’m tired. I’m exhausted from witnessing it all and I cannot imagine how they feel living it everyday.

The story I projected to tell in this thesis was through the purview of the “frontline” worker. I wanted to give the reader a sense of what happens in these intimate and confidential spaces of the fragmented welfare system in Canada. Simpson (2014: 177) asks the following questions,

How to stop a story that is always being told? Or, how to change a story that is always being told? The story that settler-colonial nation-states tend to tell about themselves is that they are new; they are beneficent; they have successfully “settled” all issues prior to their beginning.

Through this thesis, I want to stop the story that perpetuates a script of solving violence against women through right-based logic; the existence of feminist agencies and transition houses give an impression that violence against women is stopping thereby feeding a story that sustains settler-state power. I am not saying that women and children do not deserve safety. What I *am* saying is that using a rights-based logic to combat settler-state hegemony makes violence against women an *individual* issue rather than one that culminates from a long history of race-making and population control. This story is to destabilize the impression by unfolding how settler-state power turns feminist activism into gate-keeping

the margins. In the former chapters I show how transition house workers become a part of settler-state power through their policies, protocols and procedures that play to hegemonic tropes through neoliberal feminism. Moreover, I show how the transition house is both a representation of colonial history *and* an ontological site upon which settler-state subjects come alive. I have elucidated how the tiny spaces of our policies and protocols are hidden with power, and thus I have shown how trivial spaces are political (Drakulic 1991: xiv). However, it would be unfair to myself, coworkers and other frontline workers to simply reduce our actions and existence in these spaces as robotic agencies to hegemonic powers. If power both represents and comes alive in the intricacies of familiar spaces in the house (as I show throughout the thesis), then I argue that we can resist them, as well.

I want to extend Simpson's (2014) theory of refusal into a NGO context. Simpson (ibid: 185) outlines the theory of refusal as a person who refuses to be recognized as an identity that belongs to the settler-state, and thus "[they refuse] to be enfolded into state logics." A person refuses to attest to the settler-state's definition of "Indian" and thus they refuse to both make and include themselves as a subject of the settler-state, as a race to control and monitor. As I show throughout this thesis, Lake House plays a part in reproducing the tropes that fortify the settler-state's power to create and control status women. At the end of my fieldwork, a coworker asked me if I was going to provide suggestions to the problems I locate in the thesis. At first I told her that I do not think I hold the authority to prescribe a "cure" to an issue that is far more complex than a small thesis can withhold. However, after I listened back to my interviews, I realized that many transition house workers *refuse* to make subjects of settler-state power through, what I call, *undocumentation*. In order for me to unpack what I mean by this term, I want to return to Hull's (2012) theory of documents, which shows how mundane bureaucratic procedures have the power as material things to turn *this* woman into a subject of the settler-state. My coworkers already, unintentionally, resist the hegemonic structures in which we work. The following is a compilation of confidential interviews that I roll into one coworker:

Heather: What do you think about our paperwork?

Coworker: There is a lot of it! It was hard to learn everything . . . especially logging.  
It was hard to learn the "objective" standard.

Heather: What do you leave out of your logging?

Coworker: What do you mean?

Heather: Which details about the resident's daily activity do you *not* record?

Coworker: I leave cleaning remarks out of the logging.

Heather: Why do you leave it out?

Coworker: I think many people here judge the women for their cleaning. I don't think it needs to be put in there. . . I think it is important to some people to be super clean and super organized and that is what they are taught. And, in society, in general [they reproduce] "Indians" as lazy and not clean, and all they do is drink . . . I think this has bit to do with it. That mentality is brought here, then it carries into the log.

Heather: I understand that . . .

Coworker: What about you, Heather?

Heather: What do I leave out of logging . . . ? There are a few things. First I do not like to write about mental health and addictions that can lead to an additional "surveillance", per se.

Coworker: Yes, things can catch wave with coworkers very easily in this place and sometimes we start to look for it.

Heather: Ya, not only that, but sometimes it becomes the only thing that we use to explain someone who isn't "working with us" or has a different opinion. I have caught myself in this trap before, too. I am not innocent in any regard. But, when I sit down and think about it, I have reduced someone to a category and thus I essentialize their behaviour. Like, maybe they just don't agree with us . . . For example (*I hand my coworker a client card that describes a woman's stay*)

Coworker: You look frustrated. What information on the client card bugs you?

Heather: It says that the woman obeyed the rules, but she did not like the rules. I know we hypothesized about her substance abuse as a reason for her "moods", but I also do not think we need to write that she did not like the rules. What are we actually writing when we do this?

Coworker: That is a good point . . . I would say power. And it makes me wonder how we see the woman next time she calls. Are we now going to assume that

she will be deviant toward our rules?

Heather: A deviant who is influenced by substances? Ya . . . it just seems like we are playing to a classification regime of some sort . . .

Coworker: You know what bugs me?

Heather: What?

Coworker: Some of our intake questions. Like, I feel really uncomfortable sitting across from a woman and asking her if she is First Nations, Inuit or Metis.

Heather: Why?

Coworker: I dunno . . . Here is this white woman asking this question. It reeks of colonialism, in a sense. I feel weird, sometimes.

Heather: Ya, I gotta say that I have many times jumped over the question. I left it blank . . .

Coworker: What about other policies we have?

Heather: Haha, uhh . . . what you mean?

Coworker: Like, do you “look the other way” sometimes?

Heather: Uh, yes . . . I am not strident on abiding by time . . .

Coworker: What do you mean?

Heather: If a woman is late for curfew, I do not write it . . . especially if she already has a few complaints against her.

Coworker: Ya, I often go to sleep on my night shift and if the woman is awake in the women’s lounge, I just leave her, especially if she is quiet. Whatever. It isn’t hurting anyone.

Heather: Yes, I get that . . . but I know the idea of a unified front or a team always comes into conversation when staff do things differently.

Coworker: Yes, that is why I don’t document it.

Through these small political acts, we refuse the settler-state *story* by *undocumenting* contextual tropes that serve settler-state power, and thus we refuse to turn *this* woman into a subject. We *refuse* to log or document about things that both represent and bring into

existence subjects of settler-state power. However, I want to be clear that this does not mean we reduce resistance to writing; our resistance is to *not* write about social and physical relationships that make a subject come alive. My coworker refuses to write about a woman's cleanliness in the log; she refuses to document the physical relationship that a woman has within the house that can manifest racism and "Indian" stereotypes, which have their roots in the colonial encounter to civilize the primitive savages (Shewell 2004: 7). I refuse to write about mental health and substance abuse in a way that plays to healthcare tropes through which the settler-state continues to govern (Marshall 2015: 3-4). In addition, I refuse to use time as a governing tool by *undocumenting* when a woman deviates from our guideline expectations, and thus I refuse to make her a subject to govern. I *refuse* to check a woman's status—one that recognizes a woman as a subject of the settler-state—that my supervisor submits into a BC Housing statistical database. When transition house workers refuse to write certain "things", they *undocument* a subject from a trope that makes them a subject of, and strengthens, settler-state power. However, the last part of my conversation with my coworker raises the following questions: Are we on the frontlines of change or protecting the settler-state? Furthermore, *for what* are we a unified front?

As Shewell (2004) shows, the Canadian settler-state foundations of Indian welfare has been a tool to create, control and eliminate "the Indian" through government policies that curtail the amount of help a person with Indian status can receive. Today, neoliberalization guts the Canadian welfare system, and thus the settler-state replaces it with non-governmental organizations that teach *individuals* that they are in charge of governing themselves; they are in charge of their own autonomy and independence . . . they are *free agents*. However, when the only option for a woman to flee abuse rests in the hands of the settler-state, it clearly shows that a woman's freedom to choose belongs to a socio-economic class that does not live on welfare. For women transitioning through Lake House, they are merely navigating through a neoliberal settler-state constellation that fuels its power by keeping them on the margins. At a lesser cost, the welfare system fragments into NGOs that employ frontline workers who inadvertently do "the work" of the settler-state by playing to a rights-based logic that renders its power hidden. Therefore, I argue that refusal must also come on the grounds of the fragmented welfare system: non-governmental organizations. We *refuse* to be gatekeepers of a system that continues to control and

monitor subjects of the settler-state. We *refuse* to partake in a script that today covers Canada's colonial foundations with a rights-based mask.

Heather: Do you think transition houses are a part of reconciliation?

Coworker: No.

Heather: Why not?

Coworker: Because we are still doing things through mainstream standards; we do not *invite* other ways of doing things.

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