THE MINISTRY OF SOCIAL SERVICES' COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT WORKERS' INITIATIVE: WORKERS' PERCEPTION OF THEIR PRACTICE

by

RICHARD SINGLETON LAWRIE

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Department of Social Work

The University of British Columbia
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ABSTRACT

Title: The Ministry of Social Services Community Development Workers' Initiative: Workers' Perceptions of their Practice

The start-up of the Community Development Workers' Initiative (CDWI) aims at formally beginning the process of re-establishing community development practice within British Columbia's Ministry of Social Services (MSS). This report's goals are to document the MSS Community Development Workers' (CDWs) perceptions of their practice, challenges, and successes both outside of and within the MSS. These goals are carried out within the context of organizational change theories and models. This research was conducted approximately one year after the start-up of the CDWI.

This is an explorative/descriptive study which garners CDW input from questionnaires and face-to-face interviews. These two measures were utilized in order to yield qualitative data. Qualitative methods and Rothman's framework (three modes of community organization) are employed to extrapolate major themes.

The findings reveal that most CDW respondents report their practice to reflect one or more of the three models described in Rothman's framework. Underlining this trend, the selection of community organizational strategies usually appears to be driven by a process involving the community and

their identified needs and interests. Documentation and discussion also include CDWI community work constructs, the obstacles faced by the respondents, CDW's perceptions of MSS's needs and interests, and the sampled CDW's recommendations surrounding organizational change through the use of a community development approach.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

It was the time that the CDWI workers gave, their level of commitment, and the difficulties of their tasks that kept me trying to explain what the initiative was all about, and where community work fit in the great scheme of things. Their input is undoubtedly responsible for the good parts of this paper.

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DEDICATION

It's freezing on the narrow road
as the district is virtually beating,
swirling, cuffed, kicked and choked
-- & maybe I'm half expecting
... maybe half waiting for
the broken suspension luring dance of a 1956 ford ambulance
casting holy blue light as it passes
to a red stop
idling tailpipe smoke quickly distorts the image
I would walk inside the smoke, then step further as another
image walks, leans against a roped-shut door

A jack rabbit veers pass, leaps as the hi beams glow out, the
heater starts cutting in, I swerve the car in a crooked circle
at a 4-way stop

what remains is in the blurry colour
of a cheap port Ontario summer
and in a still life contained within my brother's duffel bag
that's full of the other signs and messages
left everywhere.

To the memory of Dal Lawrie

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

The Community Development Workers Initiative began with a report entitled "Making Changes - A Place to Start" (Ministry of Social Services, 1992). It was completed by a ten person community panel which reviewed child protection issues in British Columbia by gathering consumer and worker input across B.C. The report lists 264 recommendations for change within the areas of policy, procedures, and legislation. The adoption of community development practice within the institution of Social Services gained support by the report's voicing of the idea that Social Services become more regionalized (decentralized) and community based. The report also calls for community participation in the planning, development, and delivery of services and programs in communities across British Columbia. Should the Ministry effectively implement the spirit of the Panel's recommendations, the emphasis on community-inspired service delivery alone could significantly alter how the Ministry currently conducts its affairs.

Although it is difficult to succinctly articulate what the Community Development Workers' Initiative (CDWI) encompasses, a helpful summary of the CDWI intent taken from a draft section slated for MSS Policy and Procedures Manual comes close:

> From the perspective of the Ministry of Social Services, community development helps the neighbourhoods and communities to become a supportive environment for individuals, families and children. The opportunities for collaboration between Ministry staff and community members are increased when people in the community are able to take ownership of their problems and solutions. Community participation by staff, service providers, client groups and community leaders will result in co-operative planning and resource development. Such a community climate enhances the safety of children by providing supports and structures for families. (Family Services Policy Manual, 1992, Section 6.18.2, dated May 10/94).

Forty new positions, which are committed to community development work, were created in the Ministry of Social Services in 1992. Twenty positions are allotted to special regional projects that focus on community development, while, under the coordination of Patsy George (Advisor to the CDWI), the remaining 20 positions (with an addition of two more positions) employ community development practitioners. The Community Development Workers surveyed and interviewed for this study represented a variety of regions throughout the province.

STATEMENT OF RESEARCH PURPOSE AND AREA OF INQUIRY:

The purpose of this research was to examine the MSS Community Development Workers perceptions of their practice, challenges, and successes both outside of and within the MSS. These goals were carried out within the context of organizational change theories and models.

The measures that were utilised within this research project were both a descriptive mail-away open-ended questionnaire, and a face-to-face interview. Both measures were used to yield qualitative data. Qualitative research methods and Rothman's framework (three models of community organization) were used to elicit in-depth exploration of the workers' experiences and to extract the themes that apply to the research questions. The questionnaire sections that were used in this study cover: descriptions of the communities, the process around community/group engagement, perceptions of the challenges faced by their efforts, the fit (or failure of fit) of their activities into The Rothman Model and a section for the workers to comment on the match between their strategy(ies) employed and the needs, interests, and issues of the communities with which they were working.

As a result of a relatively low response rate to the questionnaire, and the evidence that organizational change activities needed further exploration, CD workers were given the opportunity to participate in a face-to-face interview (see appendix B). Although it was not a condition of being interviewed, the workers who volunteered to be interviewed had not previously completed or returned a questionnaire.

COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT MODELS:

For the purposes of clarity, I will begin with definitions of community and community development. This

section will use Wharf's (1992) definition of community, "...a network of individuals with common needs and issues". Community development is defined as a macro, non-clinical approach to social work practice that focuses on "...broader social approaches to human betterment,...developing enlightened social policy, organizing the effective delivery of services, strengthening community life, and preventing social ills (Rothman & Tropman, 1986)".

Rothman (1968) developed a framework that identifies three approaches to community organizational work: the locality development model, the social planning model, and the social action model. Over the past 20 years, Rothman's practice models have been the most popular and most widely used 'tool' by community organizers to analyze community intervention (Cnaan & Rothman, 1986). The Rothman models are also the only practice strategies that I could find which have empirical test results attached to them. The components of the three models will first be reviewed, followed by a review of the testing results.

The locality development model suggested by Cnaan & Rothman (1986) "...relies on broad, consensual citizen participation." The worker using a locality development model would want to foster a process of self-help within the community to build on community capacity, and would have to make this a key goal. A vital component of building community capacity is the increase of integration ability in order to

be inclusive of "...a broad cross section of people involved in determining and solving their own problems through group discussion and consensus building" (Austin, 1986).

In contrast, the social planning model works from the assumption that solving social problems requires experts in the field of social planning who, "...through the exercise of technical abilities, including the ability to manipulate large bureaucratic organizations, can skilfully guide complex change processes" (Rothman & Tropman, 1987). This model follows more of a task force approach: data from the community is collected and analyzed, and the social problems are addressed by "rational...deliberately planned and controlled change" (Rothman & Tropman, 1987). The worker using this model would usually function within the boundaries of the institution (e.g. MSS); a needed community participation process might or might not be evident (Austin, 1986; Rothman & Tropman, 1986).

Finally, the social action approach to community organization assumes that inequality exists throughout our society, and that those citizens disempowered as a result of an inequitable system need to organize and to demand change. A worker using this model would concentrate on shifting power relationships, and on redistributing resources towards more equitable outcomes. Key goals of such an approach would be "...crystallizing issues and organizing people to take action through conflict, confrontation, ...negotiation,...advocacy, brokering, and political partisanship (Austin, 1986)".

Working towards fundamental organizational change is the specialization of social action practitioners.

The above three examples are models that describe the way in which community development workers apply their practice. A model that contains components of the LD model could comprehensively actualize the CDW Initiative to extend across the MSS institution Rothman's LD model, a developmental model for change that relies on the assumption that community members can be taught to identify and solve their own problems, emphasizes cooperation, democratic procedures and self-help procedures.

TESTING ROTHMAN'S MODELS:

The literature reveals that three separate studies were conducted on Rothman's models of community organization. Wharf (1979) describes and analyzes ten case studies using Rothman's model and finds them useful as a tool, for assessment, and for analyzing the relationship of change initiatives to power. The ten case studies, however, do not provide any evidence that any one particular model is used in its pure form in practice. Friedman (1984), through the empirical analysis of 25 years of literature regarding Community Development workers in Israel, concludes that his findings supports Rothman's models and do reflect the practices of these workers. Cnaan & Rothman (1986) developed a self-administered questionnaire completed by 105 development

workers in Israel, which listed a variety of activities that related to all three community development practices. The authors hypothesize that due to the government control of community organizational efforts, social action would be rated the least common form of intervention. The findings indicate that there appears to be "...a clear locality development factor and social planning factor (Cnaan & Rothman, 1986). Locality development scores significantly higher -- both in the workers' perception of appropriate community organization roles and actual activities performed - than with any other model. Social action scores lowest, especially in relationship to the worker's actual activity. Studies, we can conclude that Rothman's models are a useful way to analyze Social Workers actual practice.

PAST TRENDS CONNECTING THE MSS WITH COMMUNITY WORK

Student activists, feminists, anti-poverty groups - the nebula of social change over the last thirty years - came out of the struggles that occurred among the marginalized members of society (Shragge, 1990; Shragge and Letourneau, 1987). In initiatives to better meet local needs, community development work may, potentially, empower those marginalized members of society, consumers dissatisfied with service institutions. As reviewed, the Making Changes report recommends change within the areas of policy, procedures and legislation and adoption of community development practice within the

institution of MSS. The report expresses support for the idea that social services need to become more regionalized and responsive to consumer's and the wider community's needs. Community Development workers might create and shape networks of social support and action in their community.

Historically in British Columbia, incorporating community development approaches within the delivery of statutory social services has been attempted before. In 1972 the then newly elected NDP moved quickly in response to an apparent outcry for social service change in B.C. The government vision was, partly, to develop a system that allowed for a cooperative collective approach with coalitions of citizens, professionals, government and non-government players working at the local level to holistically improve societal well-being. This vision appeared to become reality with the passing of the Community Resource Board Act in 1974. This project attempted to broaden service delivery by becoming a more preventative system. Through this project the government also hoped to increase the power of both citizens and the community to effect policy (Clague, Dill, Seebaran, & Wharf, 1985). By the end of the NDP term in 1975, the CRB Act established locally elected boards throughout the province, whose tasks were to identify community needs, evaluate services, and to allocate local agency grants. However, the Social Credit government came back into power by the end of 1975 and, by 1977, the resource boards were eliminated.

Since the demise of the Community Resource Boards Act, The Community Development Workers Initiative is the first MSS attempt to potentially address the following goals and issues through the community work approach:

- to utilize and to empower community capacity and resources
- to deal comprehensively with access to services issues
- to play a role in enhancing the quality of neighbourhoods for citizen consumers
- to work on fostering new community based services
- to take stock of how current practice and planning issues are faring with consumers
- to recognize how services can be improved or changed from a consumer community needs perspective.

OUTLINE OF THE CHAPTERS:

Thus far, the introduction has covered the statement of the research purpose and the area of enquiry, the relevance of the enquiry, an outline of the community development models proposed, and a brief look at how the Community Development Workers' Initiative fits into BC's social service evolution. Chapter Two offers a discussion of some problems with liberal idealism in Canada. Part one of Chapter Two presents a Literature Review on organizational change, the parameters of organizations, organizational rigidity, and some models of organizational change. Part Two of Chapter two goes on to discuss topics such as decentralization, the characteristics

of the MSS, and Quebec's attempts to have their social services more community driven. Chapter Three is the methodology section of this paper; it describes the proposed design, the measures, and the method of research analysis. Chapter Four, as the results and discussion section, covers both the questionnaire and the interviews conducted with the Community Development Workers. Chapter Five offers a summary of the CDW's practice and change recommendations. Lastly, the paper discusses this report's limitations and offers suggestions for further study.

CHAPTER TWO: CONTEXTUAL OVERVIEW

INTRODUCTION -- PROBLEMS WITH LIBERALISM:

Community organizational practice in Canada takes place within a liberal paradigm. Modern liberalism, in practice, focuses on individual well-being as an indicator of societal well-being, a focus which Shane Phelan (1989) stresses is the core difficulty with this perspective. The author has particular difficulty with the liberal assumption of the "...inner-directed individual (non-generic) man who is always treated as an end in himself rather than as a means to another's end" (Phelan, p.5, 1989). Speaking from a feminist perspective, Phelan finds that individualism takes us out of the social milieu and "...isolates us from one another, both as objects for analysis and as subjects engaged in social intercourse" (Phelan, 1989, p.5).

Focusing on the individual when diagnosing social problems is justified from a liberal perspective, but unfortunately, this focus ignores the external factors that lead to an individual's plight, and presents the danger of blaming that individual. In The Culture of Inequality (1978), Michael Lewis notes that in government mandated social services agencies 'deficiency explanations' were manifested when assessing clients on their psychodynamic make-up, hindering

the recognition of cultural connections, family background and degree of cognitive and interpersonal skills.

In this examination of American liberalism, Lewis condemns the use of individual wellness as a test for defining and treating social problems. He uses the term "individual-as-central" to explain how liberal society often blames poverty and inequality on a lack of individual effort; individual effort is the key to "success or failure" (1978, p.9). This focus on individualism, according to Lewis, "...minimizes the human serviceability of American society and makes life within it far more troubling than it ought to be" (1978, p.9).

Canadian liberalism, as Mullaly observes, differs somewhat from American liberalism as seen by Lewis. Mullaly (1993) agrees that a liberal ideology follows the 'personal deficiency view' and thereby spends much time focusing on individual failure as a cause for social problems. The Liberal paradigm in Canada extends itself to encompass social problems within various social systems which find themselves "...out of tune with one another." (p. 70). This social disorganization can be fixed in a liberal society by:

> fine tune[ing] these systems and restoring equilibrium. This may involve personal change and/or system change, but in all cases such changes are accommodative to the status quo. (Mullaly, 1993, p. 70)

As will be seen, the CDWI and other efforts or plans to render organizational change do remain accommodative to the status quo. The following literature review considers

organizations and their structures and how the status quo is reflected and maintained within these structures.

PART ONE: A LITERATURE REVIEW ON ORGANIZATIONAL CHANGE

Organizational Structures:

Organizational structure can appear in the most unlikely, seemingly unfettered places. Voyer & Faulkner (1989) studied the interaction of a jazz ensemble and found examples of direct supervision in the form of criticism and leader vision in the form of musical arrangement (Voyer & Faulkner, 1989). The professional bureaucratic notion of 'member skills' was also an apparent device in selecting prominent positions in the ensemble (Voyer & Faulkner, 1989). According to the findings of this study, organizational structure may be a natural occurrence that is necessary in order for groups of people to work collectively.

Although organization structures might be natural, Krackhardt and Stern (1988) argue that effective organizational structures do not naturally evolve in our community, but that conscious and careful effort must be put into the planning of an organization. In six trials of simulated organizations with high and low numbers of external links, Krackhardt and Stern's study concludes that effective structure does not occur naturally but must be designed (Krackhardt and Stern, 1989).

After the organization is formed, Sjoberg and Vaughan (1984) suggest that elements exist which bring forth uncomfortable concerns in the relationship between the individual and bureaucracy. These elements are identified as:

1. The use of secrecy (both to enhance the powerful and as a protective act with the lower echelons).
2. Abuses of power to create tensions amongst the superiors and the underlings.
3. Divisions of labour to maintain the authority system, and
4. Emphasis on efficiency. (Sjoberg and Vaughan, 1984)

Sjoberg and Vaughan further explain:

> Moral problems in secrecy systems arise when less powerful groups and individuals are manipulated and their human dignity undermined. Examples of bureaucratic excesses of secrecy in totalitarian regimes are delineated. Triage, the sacrifice of the socially weakest sector, also results from the sacrifice of individuals for the sake of organizational objectives.... Bureaucracy is the major tool for maintaining inequality in modern societies. (Sjoberg & Vaughan, 1984, p. 448)

In summary, although organizations can appear without deliberate planning, once the structure is there, complex relationships begin to form both internally and externally. The next section offers a further examination of this phenomena.

Organizational Rigidity:

Due to the very nature of the host structure, organizations often resist community-based initiatives. Hyman (1983) suggests that traditional organizations, "...seek to manage their environments so as to reduce dependencies and

uncertainties stemming from environmental factors..." (p. 67). One of these environmental factors might be community input in planning and delivering social services. Involvement in and by the community creates uncertainty in the host organizational structure. This uncertainty causes resistance in the organization that is "...aimed at making the interaction predictable and at preserving its autonomy and discretionary participation" (Hyman, 1983, p. 78).

The desire to avoid this uncertainty causes institutions to evolve into structures that seek to maintain rigidity. As Valeria Ugazio (1986) states:

> The formalization of its [the institution's] hierarchy thus inevitably produces an ossification of an organization. It can therefore be said that if all its communication circuits and interrelations fit completely into the formalized hierarchic structure, the institution will be a static system incapable of adaption, and hence of survival (p.141).

Ironically, according to Ugazio, the institution's attempt to remain stable ultimately leads to its demise.

There are many reasons why organizations have difficulty reshaping themselves; Glenn Morgan's book, Organizations in Society, offers a list:

1. An organization's investment in...[as in the Ministry's case] specialized personnel constitutes assets that are not easily transferable to other tasks and functions.

2. Decision-makers in organizations do not obtain anything like full information on activities within the organization or on environmental contingencies facing the sub-units.

3. There are severe political constraints against change in the sense that change may well serve to diminish the power of some groups in the organization and increase the power of others. The resulting conflict may often convince top decision-makers that inertia is preferable to the problems caused by change.

4. Organizations face constraints generated by their own history. Once standards of procedure and the allocation of tasks and authority have become the subject of normative agreement, the costs of change are greatly increased (Morgan, 1990, pp. 158-59)

Two more reasons for organizational rigidity, seemingly applicable to the case of the Ministry, are the cost of seeking of input from the external environment, and the fear of loss of status:

> An organization's previous role may have become so entrenched in the minds of the public that any major adaptation may be seen as out of character and result in a loss of legitimacy. (Morgan, 1990, p.160)

This brief look at the inflexible side of organizations leads into the next section which examines possible counter-reactions within an institution to change.

Resisting Organizational Change:

Obviously, organizational rigidity impairs an organization's ability to effect changes. As one might expect, some of the findings from the CDW's statements suggest that there may be difficulties may exist in implementing change within the MSS organization as reported by the MSS CD Workers. Bellingham, Cohen, Edwards, and Allen (1990) offers a list of change resistance indicators in the Resource

Materials section of The Corporate Culture Sourcebook. For example, internal workers sometimes act as if the prescribed change is either not occurring or not relevant to them, a sign of their resistance (Bellingham et al, 1990). Also, internal workers' expression of confusion around the proposed change is another indication of resistance to institutional change (Bellingham et al, 1990). On a corporate/planning level, a change crisis is revealed by these indicators:

* A vision that is not clearly defined
* Inadequate planning
* Appearance of over controlling
* Appearance of a 'go it alone' mentality
* A fear of failure attitude
* Appearance of short term thinking in policies and procedures. (Bellingham et al, 1990, p.155)

The above indicators act as a guide to analyze internal workers' negative reactions to purposed changes; they also suggest recommendations for adjustments which may be needed at the corporate planning level. The three key elements for effective large scale change, according to Cornell and Herman (1989), are the recognition of the need for change, the involvement of relevant groups, and sustained commitment. To effect change, however, the organization's power dynamics must also be understood. From his chapter on "Management and Bureaucracy in Organizations", Glen Morgan comments that:

> Organizational outcomes, whether we are thinking in terms of strategy or structure, are produced through the actions of individuals and groups within the organizations.... If we are to understand organizations better, we need to understand these power dimensions better. (Morgan, 1990, p. 92-3)

Similarly, Sunesson (1985) asserts that goals and rationality are secondary elements predicting outcome, and suggests that 'power' is a better determinant factor in organizational analysis.

Studies of organizational interdependence yield interesting insight into the requirements for institutional change. Tjosvold (1986) studied organizational interdependence, and his findings suggest, in part, that "...corporate values and interpersonal attitudes form causal loops and mutually reinforce and sustain each other" (p. 536). Springer and Newman (1983), in a study of state-wide intervention to improve productivity. Their findings single out the agency's management and policy makers along with affected personnel as key elements attributed to the program's success. Schilit (1987), in his study of upward influence capabilities of middle-level managers, found that managers generally could influence the upper management in low-risk planning decisions.

The Schilit report (1978) highlights that top-down approval is required for substantial changes to occur within an institution. Salaman and Butler's 1990 study on "Why Managers Won't Learn" adds to this argument. Their findings

suggest that, in some cases, resistance from managers regarding the change process can be addressed by senior executives presenting a genuine effort to assist implementing change within the organization (Butler, 1990).

Substantial institutional change stemming from the CD movement may be possible. From the article, "The Organization Plays a Game of its Own", Mara Palazzoli observes that:

> the organization and the environment, while distinct from each other, are in each other, each in its own way, and their inseparable interactions and mutual relations are complementary, concurrent, and antagonistic". (1986, p. 116)

But, conversely, in the same article, Palazzoli writes that, "in certain sociopolitical circumstances, the organization may create expensive structures simply to promote an appearance of change" (1986, p. 120). Within the Ministry, the change has begun. Whether or not the CD effort will be sustained and allowed to grow through structural and corporate cultural adjustments remains to be seen. Considering what the literature has revealed thus far, the answer to that question seems difficult to predict.

Models for Organizational Change:

Despite a tone of pessimism so far in this chapter, there are theories of organizational change that offer hope for flexibility and adaptation within institutions. The following selected models offer change strategies that would, if

implemented, take into account both external and internal pressures for change in the Ministry of Social Services.

As discussed in the first chapter, a model that could, if adopted, comprehensively actualize the CDW Initiative to extend across the MSS institution is found within Rothman's framework. Rothman's Locality development model is a developmental model that relies on the assumption that community members can be taught to identify and solve their own problems, and emphasizes cooperation, democratic procedures, and self-help procedures. Although direct application of Rothman's model is not evident in the literature, the following discussion describes studies which either reinforce or reflect certain locality development components and constructs.

There are numerous examples in the literature of encompassing community development approaches during organizational transformation periods. Chambers (1982) describes a child welfare agency coming to terms with budget planning problems by considering the community input in the re-evaluation of their services. By the use of a planning committee, the agency found a direction for long-range strategizing. In a related piece, Magura and Moses (1984) tested a measure that asked clients to become service evaluators to uncover gaps in service, client satisfaction rates, and areas of needed improvements within the agency.

In a less 'inclusive' but more operational approach to organizational change, Brager and Holloway (1978) present a model which combines theories of community practice and organizational change to describe a process of modification that includes bottom-up input, an approach that would utilize front line staff and include CDW input if applied to MSS. The model is relatively simple and appears to resemble traditional decision-making theories. The steps are: analyzing the conditions that are pressuring for change, choosing change strategies, preparing the organization for change; beginning the change process, and ensuring actual fulfilment of the change by the institution (Brager and Holloway, 1978).

More expansive models exist for more enthusiastic organizational restructuring. Loughran (1989) proposes a framework for the development of inter-organizational relationships through four apparently simple stages. The steps include establishing the organization's identity, negotiating differences between competing parties, forming an appropriate structure, and administering that structure. This approach would be useful for the adoption of grassroots agencies into the government funding and program planning umbrella.

Lewin's Field Theory (1951) may also be useful in explaining the current process of change within the Ministry. Lewin, like the theorists who discuss organizational rigidity, suggests that there is an inclination for all organizations to move towards stability (Lewin, 1951). In this theory,

change can occur as a result of a force or set of forces that create stress within an organization and upset the stability. As these forces increase, a shift is caused that disrupts the organization's present state (Lewin, 1951), which is followed by a stage of imbalance. Lastly, by representing the forces in a new paradigm, a more dynamic stability becomes present in that organization (Lewin, 1951). In applying this theory to the MSS, the relevant stage is either an imbalance or a shift.

Hadley and Hugman's (1991) examination of the successful structural reorganization of a Social Services department is significant. The model, which draws on K. Lewins' model (1952) denotes three stages:

1) Unfreezing the existing system of interests and relationships,

2) Moving the organization to the planned structures,

3) Refreezing the system in a form that supports its operation. (Hadley and Hugman, 1991, pp. 206-7)

The notion of unfreezing and refreezing an organizational structure is reinforced in Gemmill & Smith's (1985) study. The authors note a process and offer a theory of organizational transformation that includes disequilibrium, symmetry breaking experimentation, and reformation. The authors' findings suggest that retaining stable elements of a system increases the likelihood of a successful transition through turbulent times (Gemmill & Smith, 1985).

Each one of these models represents successful institutional change. Although organizations sometimes fight to remain rigid, adaptation means survival, and these models offer hope for the MSS.

PART TWO

Decentralization

Seeking cooperation between institutions and consumers in order to improve the system is strongly valued in Rothman's LD approach to community development. What is less clear is how a formal institution, such as the Ministry of Social Services, deals with this new set of directives.

As alluded to in the introductory chapter, community work can include the endorsement of strategies which advocate social service agencies becoming less centralized and more responsive to the areas and cliental for which they provide services. This section on decentralization begins with a study that reviews some attempts of agencies to introduce citizen input to the coordination of traditional social service organizations. David Tucker's cross-sectional study of seventeen social service organizations in Toronto is relevant to the discussion. His findings, together with related literature, reveal an inverse relationship between the coordination of service delivery and citizen participation (Tucker, 1980): organizations that rely on the coordination

of services as a means of reform are unlikely to rely on active citizen participation and vice versa.

Tucker cites power and organizational structures as the two most important factors preventing organizations from having both service coordination and citizen input for reform. As well, the actions of one component usually override or offset the needs of the other. Allowing citizen participation is not a choice that an institution would value as a means of reform. Tucker goes on to say that these two features are incompatible in the same social service reform strategy. He suggests that individualism and democratic representation, important values held by citizens, directly conflict with the rationalism and executive leadership valued in the organizations sampled.

Great Britain's experience with decentralization is worth examining in this context. That country's mandated social services experimented with decentralization in the early 1970's, and has implemented it since the 1980's. This movement coincided with the election of a conservative government. Prior to Britain's implementation of decentralization, an anti-bureaucratic, anti-professional and anti-centralized social service movement existed that "...invoked not only to condemn the Social Services departments set up in the 1970's but also to malign Labour and the left" (Croft & Beresford, 1989, p. 101). The authors

noticed, at the same time, a political neutrality with decentralization:

> For all its liberal rhetoric, in one sense at least, Patch [Patch is synonymous with community social work and decentralization of services to small local units/ neighbourhoods] has remained politically neutral. Patch decentralization has been implemented in authorities of all political colours, from right-wing Conservative Wandsworth to Labour-left Hackney. (Croft & Beresford, 1989, p. 103)

Could community social action programs keep more of their integrity by means of decentralization? An interesting outcome of Great Britain's decentralization of Social Services is outlined in Croft & Beresford's essay:

> While Patch decentralization has been promoted as a 'community-oriented' approach to social work and Social Services, the much-vaunted 'community' seems to have had little part to play in its development. We know of no case of Patch schemes emanating from 'the community' in the sense that they were inspired by service users, local residents and community groups. This is hardly surprising. Social Services departments just don't work like that. (Croft & Beresford, 1989, p. 102, 1989)

A partial explanation for how social services in Britain de-evolved may be found in the political process of defining need. An example of how need is defined and how services are shaped in the political arena is often shown when local groups identifying local needs attempt to transform itself into service agencies.

As previously mentioned, the nebula of social change over the last thirty years frequently was born out of the struggles of the marginalized people. These individuals came together to work for political change and the implementation of

individual services -- services that either were not being provided by social work practice in the state run child/family service institutions or not being adequately provided through formalized agencies.

The different organizational structures within these agencies stemmed from the initial organizers' commitment to a democratic, non-hierarchical relationship both among staff and towards the population for whom they were usually providing service and advocacy. Stemming from the community process, as well, was the need for these alternative agencies to be supported by, and receive input from, the people they served and the community within which they were situated; the client became an active agent in the operation of the agency (Shragge and Letourneau, 1987).

These organizations progressed from groups of like-minded and concerned community members to state-funded social service agency alternatives. Eric Shragge presents a three-stage model of development for these community-based organizations:

1. The Free Clinic: This beginning stage is identified by the pursuit of social change, high use of volunteers, minimal organizational structure, and an emphasis on service delivery as well as on political change.

2. The Transitional Stage: This stage is highlighted by increased organizational accountability (to secure funding from both the state and private sector), and the use of volunteers with semi-professional training. The organization remains committed, for the most part, to its original ideology.

3. Mature Alternative: Within this stage the agency begins to use more traditional forms of fiscal and managerial accounting practices. Services are provided by trained professionals, but the service remains committed to meeting the needs of the original client group. (Shragge, 1990, p. 142)

Nancy Fraser (1989) observes that when social action groups succeed in getting the needs of their community addressed by the dominant political forces:

> ..they enter the terrain of the social where two other kinds of struggle await them. First, they have to contest powerful organized interests bent on shaping hegemonic need interpretations to their own ends. Second, they encounter expert needs discourses in and around the social state (p.307).

Although these mature alternative agencies are still able to maintain some control over what they see as appropriate service directions to meet the needs in their community, the power of the funding bodies have, to a large extent, defined and shaped these three stages of development (Shragge, 1990).

As suggested throughout Fraser's article, it is, generally speaking, through the professionalising of community-based organizations that programs with a social action component begin to shift their focus (1989). The professionals "...are [used as] vehicles for translating sufficiently politicized runaway needs into objects of potential state interventions" (Fraser, 1989, pp. 305-6). A community service that becomes professionalised has influences within it that chiefly focus on individualized needs, often personalizing social problems in order to fit the organizations into government proposals. Solutions move from a blend of mutual support, collective

action and non-hierarchical relationships to services that resemble a centralized, hierarchical, state-controlled agency.

In summary, in the process of turning personal plights political, community driven, grassroots movements often have been transformed into organizational structures resembling liberal, state-controlled, centralized, hierarchical organizations. This evolution can change their service and organizational structure (ie. from citing structural problems to focusing on individual care, an example of which is AIDS Vancouver).

Another problem appears: if community development workers' (attached to a state-controlled institution of social services) support these social reform campaigns and alternative agencies and require state social services to consider the diverse interests of the community -- what could be especially challenging is mediating between these oppositional forces so that they work alongside with the state agency. This and other possible areas of tension will be explored further when we look at Quebec's Social Services' attempts at decentralization. Next though, this study will assert that exploring the evolution of British Columbia's social service systems uncovers an example of the dual motivations for decentralization.

Social Services in British Columbia:

Two helpful models of service provision described by Webb & Webb (1912) are the parallel bars model and the extension ladder model. The parallel bars approach involves a non-government agency providing services similar to those of the government, but to a different population. Overall this type of model was prevalent in B.C. until the 1950's (Rekart, 1993, Clague, 1985). An example of the parallel bars model occurred in the direct service provision offered to the needy or poor as identified by churches and private charities setting their own eligibility standards (e.g. a member of the congregation was eligible). During this period, the provincial government appeared to only become involved when voluntary services were not available.

The Webbs' extension ladder model outlines a second type of relationship between statutory and voluntary agencies. In this model, non-government agencies receive a base-line of direction regarding service provision standards, but are allowed to advocate for, adjust and adapt these services as needed (Webb, 1912). The extension ladder model defines, for example, the relationship that Vancouver's Children's Aid Society (CAS) had with the provincial government after the Infants Act was established in 1901 (Rekart, 1993, Clague et al, 1985). CAS acted on behalf of child welfare and child protection state concerns (chiefly in the Lower Mainland and Victoria) until the 1970's.

From 1900 through to the 1950's, most relationships between the province, the churches and charities, and other non-government agencies were formed in one of the two ways described above. During this same period, B.C.'s non-government and voluntary agencies were either filling in gaps within government social responsibility or, as was often CAS' role, performing the government's statutory duties.

In 1945, B.C. passed the Social Assistance Act and in 1948 amalgamated all welfare services. The Social Assistance Act assured a level delivery of social assistance to all citizens in the province. People experiencing hardships no longer depended on the piece-meal approach to social services through a variety of eligibility tests. This piece-meal approach was most apparent in the smaller communities where, often, only minimal support was offered by the charities, churches, and other philanthropic agencies. In addition, this act "broke new ground by including health services, occupational training and re-training, foster and boarding home care (Rekart, 1993, tbl. 2.2)".

In their efforts to decentralize current social service systems over the last twenty years, the provincial NDP and Social Credit governments have been supportive of increasing the role of voluntary organizations. One motivation suspected by critics for the Government's pursuit of increased contract agency involvement in state dictated social services was to erode the current systems of services (Rekart, 1993, Callahan

& McNiven, 1988). Decentralization activity has the potential (in-line with a neo-conservative agenda) for reducing the role, the costs and the responsibility of the state in the area of social services:

> It is feared that the current trends in contracting may be the first step in 'off loading' - a process in which government first transfers services to the private sector and then gradually withdraws funding altogether. (Callahan & McNiven, 1988, p.35)

Efforts to decentralize, de-institutionalize, and to privatize a range of human services also has the potential to enhance the quality and comprehensiveness of social services provisions. As discussed in this study's Introduction, essentially, when the NDP came to power in 1972, the newly elected provincial government appeared to have a clear mandate to endorse the decentralization of government social services:

> The reform movements of the time clearly sought to humanize the system and to minimize traditional elements of control, punishment and stigmatization.... Thus they argued for more preventive services, for funnelling more public resources into self-help efforts and for public recognition of the role that human services play in raising the quality of life in a community. They came to believe that integration, decentralization, and local accountability were the best means of attaining these goals. (Clague, et al, 1984, p.26)

The NDP's creation of the Community Resources Boards Act of 1974 is an example of their attempts to root decentralization in the community development approach (e.g. a focus on inclusiveness, and broadening service mandates, and a preventative philosophy).

As mentioned in the Introductory Chapter, the Social Credit government eliminated the resource boards in 1977. Michael Clague (1990) notes some of what he feels were the reasons for the CRB failure to sustain itself. Clague feels a lack of involvement between the CRB, the existing Ministry of Social Services, the municipal levels, and the established voluntary associations led to its demise (Clague, 1990). Furthermore, the public eye viewed the CRB as representing:

> [just another] large and complex administrative structure [that was] being built alongside existing systems, adding another layer of a bureaucracy and government to the communities involved (Clague, 1990, p. 16).

The return to more residual social service provision on behalf of government moved rapidly with the Social Credit party's return to power in 1975. Activities and financial support for the more preventative services were cancelled (e.g. programs of family support workers, outreach workers to street youth, child abuse teams and family service coordinators were terminated). During this time, the Ministry also increased internal eligibility requirements and Ministry policy, and made significant reductions in MSS line staff. The organization also began to re-invent the strategy of contracting out current and future MSS resources. For example, Vancouver's government group homes were set to tender and all of the new treatment and assessment centres were tendered or set up in the already existing contracted services. Through a number of Social Credit Ministers of

Social Services, the MSS policies began to 'reframe the nature' of family problems so that they lay outside of MSS' responsibility:

> ...there has been a shift towards defining family problems ... as legal or health problems [this view of social problems] reinforces a private troubles perspective, with government intervening only to get tough with those who do not meet their obligations. (Callahan & McNiven, 1988, p.25)

The shift to the conservative agenda across Canada in the early 1980's purported to reduce the reach and power of state intervention and to de-institutionalize and de-centralize any government service that could be better dealt with in the private sector. It is increasingly apparent (especially in the health care field) that this initiative is continuing and, in contrast to the government ensuring centralized universal social services, these responsibilities are, to some degree, being returned to:

> the community, the family and the private sector to encourage self-reliance and dependence on the market place and the family for...social reproduction...[and] a means of maintaining profitable capital accumulation. (Shragge, 1990, pp. 168, 170)

This strategy obviously returns social responsibility to the individual, the liberal paradigm. Also evident in the literature are cautionary observations about the perception versus the reality of placing social services outside of a government accountable institution:

> Voluntary organizations invoke images of community, neighbour-helping-neighbour, and civic dependability - images which have exerted a powerful influence on popular support of this sector. The contemporary reality, however, is that these organizations are playing an increasing role in delivering social services on government's behalf under purchase-of-service agreements. (Rekart, 1993, p. 143)

The public's general perception, then, is incorrect; they don't realize the implications of purchase-of-service agreements -- they are closer to privatization than to community control.

Currently, most of the family/child support services that the Ministry of Social Services offers are housed in non-government agencies. To use the City of Vancouver as an example, the vast majority of contracted agencies accessed by the Ministry appear to have gradually narrowed their services to parallel the State's vision of social service delivery. Some examples of Vancouver services that appear to be privatized agencies almost exclusively relying on state funding and state direction are Project Parent, Family Services of Greater Vancouver, Nisha, various societies and private agencies that operate the child and youth treatment homes, as well as most of the agencies that supply special services to children and families via a ministry contract and under a government social worker's direction. Examples of three local alternative agencies that have a socially active political component are the Downtown Eastside Youth Activities

Society, Downtown Eastside Residents Association, and End Legislated Poverty.

As previously explored in the discussion on organizations, one feasible argument is to suggest that the Ministry's delegation of policy and programming is actually synchronous with an overly rigid centralized Institution. On the other hand, as evident with the creation of the CDWI, MSS also appears to be on a course towards developing services that are more responsive to the communities they serve. An important decentralized characteristic found in BC's MSS is that their Area Managers receive envelope funding to develop programs within their respective regions. These managers have the potential to make innovative planning decisions and to fund programs for their particular area that need not be reflected in other MSS regions or reflected within the institution's known service approaches. Arguably this funding arrangement can be seen as a potentially positive organizational characteristic when attempting to implement a CD-directed decentralize movement.

An examination of the interesting decentralization process that has occurred within Quebec's social services with its advancements and set backs, that may prove quite relevant to the future planning of our Ministry's initiative.

Social Services in Quebec:

Although Quebec is seemingly more advanced in the decentralization process, the true relinquishing of state run social services appears to be an ongoing struggle. Quebec's services, in some cases, were decentralized and democratized and therefore, arguably, were better able to meet local needs. Other service changes in Quebec, in contrast, appeared only to be privatizing a centralized state service, thereby effecting minor incidental change in those hierarchical, centralized structures and service delivery approaches.

In Quebec, community agencies are directed through paid employees of the Regional Council, which, in turn, is directed by a Board appointed by interested constituencies (e.g. the voluntary sector, socio-economic groups and municipalities, social service centres, Lieutenant Governor representative, etc.). By law, the Board must have a certain number of representatives from users of the services and voluntary organizations. The Statutory powers of the Regional Council are limited to coordinating and advising. The system is not without its difficulties. As Wendy Thomson observes:

> ...the processes going on within the Regional Council are highly 'political' in that peculiar way of bodies with no real power, and are conducted by non-elected officials ...[The Regional Council] is experienced by most managers as oppressive.... [I]t is quite separate from the professional concerns they have about running their centre effectively (1990, p. 48)."

Community-based organizations have their own problems.

In Quebec less than 1% of the total MSSQ budget goes to these innovative programs, many of which "...have pioneered new areas and new approaches to service delivery and have supplemented gaps in the public service...but have never been a government priority" (Shragge and Letourneau, 1987, p. 63).

It has been the province's practice to use these alternative agencies within its planning in order to find inexpensive alternatives to state intervention services (Shragge, 1990). The level of funding received, however, is insufficient for enabling broad-based intervention work. Even with the more established agencies, or those agencies more in-line with state policy, wages, benefits, and job security are rarely on a par with other professionals working in state agencies, and funding is directed and not guaranteed (Shragge and Letourneau, 1987).

This precarious and limited funding arrangement has a constricting effect on the original agencies' agenda to remain innovative, flexible, and responsible to their respective communities (Shragge, 1990). As well, limited funding is usually on a yearly, renewal-is-subject-to-approval basis that prevents these agencies from program security and long-term planning, while increasing their staff turnover, the need for complex record keeping systems, and the need for agencies to quantify their services (Shragge, 1990).

In conclusion, alternative agencies in Quebec struggle with their dependence on government and private enterprise

funding in order to maintain a core stability to the community they serve; at the same time, these organizations struggle to keep their autonomy as a political counter-force capable of facilitating social change (Shragge, 1990).

Decentralized agencies organize: The commitment to decentralization in Quebec is proposed to end the public perception that social services are attached to a mammoth government institution that spends vast amounts of money designing and operating social programs which are not addressing the needs of the community (Kerans and Drover, 1988). Hence it is hoped that decentralized social programs will be cost-effective and will improve services since these non-government organizations will be localized and, therefore, in a better position to be more responsive to the people they serve.

The area of contestability, as far as the government is concerned, lies in handing over state resources and control of government planning to local services. Shragge states that "the government does not want to relinquish its authority to the local groups" (1990, p. 153). The state does not want, in particular, to lose control over the broad-based community organizations that, along with their direct service capabilities, are committed to social and political change. Placing power and a sizable share of the tax grab into the hands of groups formed by and for those who have been, and are

still being, oppressed by society is not a high priority on the government's agenda (Shragge, 1990).

In Quebec, the new decentralised social services chiefly has dealings with regional council employees who are, in turn, answerable to a community board made up of interested constituencies. The state, therefore, in this new 'decentralized' system, insulates itself and avoids much direct public criticism for inadequate or non-existent service delivery of social programs (Thomson, 1990). The official opposition becomes the main venue for alternative agencies to make their demands heard in the political forum. Government funding shortfalls, etc., at least for the short term, then remain to be corrected by the agency, the council, and the community board (e.g. by cutting services and/or reducing staff wages, recruitment of donations and volunteers from the community, etc.).

Shragge asserts that the State, in a sense, needs these local groups (alternative social services) if it is to carry out its programs -- community based agencies "can act to legitimize state action" (1990, p. 172). If community based agencies are to play an effective role in delivering social services to their communities, structural change is required. "Decentralization is a political process"; it requires not only that government give "official sanction" to work being done by community based organizations but also that government alter the inequitable relationship it has traditionally had

by giving the local community "real decision making power" (Shragge, 1990, p. 171). These agencies need stability through 'envelope funding', funding without conditions attached to where the monies are allocated, and staff need to be paid on a par with workers in state organizations. Savings in programming will come out of the dismantling of many of the bureaucracy-laden, administratively top-heavy hierarchically driven state-run and state-controlled agencies.

In Quebec there is a growing movement among the alternative agencies to organize alliances with other alternative social services in the province in order to develop a common strategy with regards to Ministry and regional relationships. These alliances, called Regroupment, represent the specific interests of like-minded service agencies across their province and are growing in their ability to be a minority pressure group to impact funding sources, delivery of services, and state policy within that province. If indeed, alternative agencies legitimize state intervention into its citizens' lives, then Shragge suggests that these agencies, especially if they amalgamate into the Regroupment movement, "...have the power to challenge these state policies and orientation" (p.172).

Thoughts on the Quebec Situation:

Although government can and does enhance people's lives in a way that the private market cannot, government can also

dictate, through means classification, who we are and what we are. In addition, due to the high cost of social services in a centralized state and the need to at least give the appearance of government spending reductions, in an ailing economy, universal programs are being tainted by biases and exclusionary practices. As a result of these factors, systems have been shifting towards allowing community participation in the social service scheme. Governments are saying that this move will create a more explicit, comprehensive, and efficient use of resources.

As well, communities are asking the government to treat them differently from each other -- they want consideration of their needs and a move away from subsistence to autonomy. With civic involvement in social services, interest groups and individual communities will have input into the direction of social programming and the eligibility criteria. And communities hope that decentralization will make social services more accountable to its users, create fairness and due process, and allow communities to define their needs. An obvious conflict exists, however, in Quebec, and in other systems trying to make these changes, between the proactive collective process within the communities wanting a democratized service, and a delivery system of social services that is state-run and accountable to the government.

Arguably, there is a place for stake-holder input within the Social Services, but suggestions for all-encompassing

community-driven service come with a warning, as Wharf (1993) asserts:

> Child welfare... should not be completely controlled by communities. We agree with the recommendations of many reviews of the present arrangements for delivering social services that provincial governments must be responsible for establishing legislation and overall policy, setting budgets and allocating funds to community agencies, establishing and monitoring standards of services and operating specialized services. (Wharf, 1993, p. 121)

In addition, sweeping changes to social services, such as those seen in Quebec, occur with unsettling predictions. Is there a potential lack of equality in the process and will fairness prevail within the citizen councils? The process may unravel social services that were established to redistribute resources to all equally -- including the marginalized members of society. A centralized social service system did at least provide a 'thin needs' layer of accountability to all citizens.

As well, would decentralization present a real chance of interest groups polarizing each other? Unless these groups could arrive at some agreement they will be leaving the community to decide upon service direction and it would be hard to predict the outcome. Another question is whether increased control of program evaluation and service direction for interest groups, self-help groups, and mutual aid organizations entails risks of over de-professionalising the social service?

One may wonder why a responsible government would offer up for grabs the entire social service distribution system, but one must recall that troubles were always inherent in the centralized social service system. This latter system was inefficient and paternalistic, and, client abuse of the system caused its wastes to be much publicized.

In summary, Provincial governments' move towards a more rationalized system of resource distribution, as in Quebec or B.C., creates difficulties. The unsettling questions and the major difficulties with decentralization have been highlighted. Next, this study attempts to explore some answers regarding community-driven social services through the data resulting from discussions with the MSS Community Development Workers themselves.

CHAPTER THREE - METHODOLOGY

We now turn to a description of the methodology used in order to document the MSS Community Development Workers' perceptions of their practice, challenges and successes both outside of and within the MSS. This chapter will explain the relevance of the inquiry, detail the description of the design, including level and rationale of the design, reasons for choosing the design, and the sampling design and size. The measures will also be detailed, as will particulars surrounding analysis.

RELEVANCE OF THE INQUIRY AND ITS IMPORTANCE TO SOCIAL WORK:

To date, a local qualitative study of how community development practice fits into the knowledge and theory base drawn upon by social workers in an institution such as MSS has not been attempted. My study hopes to reveal information on 'how' and 'why' Community Development workers interact with the citizens, groups, and institutions with which they are involved.

This study reflects how B.C.'s MSS strategies and directions for community development work are evolving. The documentation of the Community Development Workers' start-up phase presents positive results, the findings could be a politically persuasive petition should the project's

legitimacy come into question. An interesting note is in the use of traditional top-down policies (i.e. remedies devised by planning experts within an institution) to remedy social problems, methods of service, and Ministry Social Work practice in general.

It is important to increase our profession's focus on models and practices that tend to be more responsive in meeting consumer and community needs (eg. through community development practice). I hope that this study presents a variety of B.C.'s community Social Service needs, and also produces examples of a variety of strategies for meeting these needs -- with initiatives that empower those consumers dissatisfied with service institutions.

DESCRIPTION:

The unit of analysis in this study is the MSS Community Development Workers' Initiative. This research project used both a descriptive mail-away open-ended questionnaire (see Appendix A), and a face-to-face interview (see Appendix B). Both measures were used to yield qualitative data. Qualitative methods of analysis of the data were used to elicit in-depth exploration of the workers' experiences and to extract the themes that apply to the research questions. The reason for choosing qualitative methods is to explore themes and issues stemming from the CDW's experience:

> Qualitative measures describe the experiences of people in depth. The data are open-ended in order to find out what people's lives, experiences, and interactions mean to them in their own terms and in their natural settings. (Patton 1980, p. 22)

Qualitative research methods were chosen also to gain:

> Understanding to the meaning of specific achievement outcomes.... [Qualitative methodology] ...assume[s] that without empathy and sympathetic introspection derived from personal encounters the observer cannot fully understand.... (Patton, 1980, p. 221)

It was found that these goals were achieved by the chosen methodology.

However, results of the pre-test questionnaire (see Appendix E) indicated that some participants were confused by the open-endedness in which the original questionnaire was constructed. Some respondents stated a preference for a clearer 'grounding' of the measure in a theoretical framework. After reviewing the literature, the revised questionnaire contained a section where workers could compare their practice situation to Rothman's framework of community organization (See Appendix A). An opportunity to compare Rothman's framework with workers' experiences was also provided during the face-to-face interviews.

The data obtained from the measures are presented in two parts. The first part of the Results chapter contains the results from the questionnaire and develops a baseline of the components and activities surrounding The Community Development Workers' Initiative. This section relies on a comparison between the workers' statements about their

practice, and Rothman's Community Organizational models. The second section of the Results chapter presents the data from the interviews and deals not only with practice issues, but also concentrates on the CDW Initiative as an agent of organizational change within the Ministry of Social Services. Traditionally, the limited studies on the Rothman Organizational Models have yielded quantitative results. Although these studies have given us an indication of the types of models workers are employing in their community development practice, and how often, little appears to be known about the actual process surrounding these models and how they are received by the populations for which they are employed. What also becomes evident in examining the workers' practice as gathered chiefly through the questionnaire information, are the influencing structural factors. These results made evident the need for follow-up face-to-face interviews which dealt with the issues raised by the data obtained from the original questionnaire.

This form of research design does intentionally limit this investigation and the analysis to the CDWI and to the workers in that program who chose to participate. The reliability of the measured instruments cannot be determined, and the measures were not standardized. Workers were not surveyed twice or interviewed twice (obvious issues of convenience were a consideration). The questions asked both in the questionnaires and the interviews were designed to be

as open-ended and as non-specific as possible in order to allow for differences in workers' styles and practices. With these types of questions, a strong possibility exists that the same question might be answered differently at different times. Only face validity can be assessed, and on the face of it, the design appears to be valid since it targets the information required and involves all the relevant participants. This check was accomplished by pre-testing the questionnaire's scope and intent, and by circulating the results of the questionnaire to the workers themselves to check for accuracy. Lastly, using the information obtained in the questionnaire data, I then designed a list of interview questions and tested these questions on a small sample of CDW workers for face validity.

First, limited previous research in the area to be studied was conducted. At the beginning stage, key informant interviews were held. This background information resulted in the identification of the need for further study in the area of practice of community organizational models. The population to be studied was contacted and a presentation of my research project was given during a MSS Community Development Workers' monthly team meeting (Dec. 16, 1993), after which the questionnaire was developed.

The knowledge provided by the key informants and the knowledge gained through previous research and theory provided the basis for the questions. The questionnaire was pre-tested

in order to ensure that the measure would yield all the desired information (the pre-test was sent out to all 22 CD workers January, 1994). The focus and design of the questionnaire was developed in conjunction with the Ministry of Social Services Community Development Workers. The questionnaire was sent to all 22 CD Workers in February, 1994. Following receipt of the information provided by participants, data was analyzed and significant themes were identified. Results of the Questionnaire were distributed to all Workers in Vancouver, June 6, 1994, at a MSS CDWI meeting. Face-to-face interviews were then arranged and conducted in various parts of the province throughout the month of July, 1994. After the face-to-face interviews, the resulting data was analyzed and major themes were identified.

Sampling Design and Size:

Sampling design is representative in that all 22 Community Development Workers were contacted to participate in the survey, resulting in eight questionnaires being completed and returned. The next step occurred when all 22 workers were present, (or later contacted by mail), at the CDWI team meeting (June 2, 1994). As the result of the relatively low response rate to the questionnaire and the evidence that organizational change activities needed further exploration, workers attending the CDWI team meeting were given the opportunity to participate in a face-to-face interview.

Although it was not a condition of being interviewed, the seven workers who volunteered to be interviewed had not previously completed or returned a questionnaire. The seven workers who were participants in the interviews were not asked to complete a questionnaire. This decision was made because I felt that the same basic areas covered in the questionnaire were evident in the interview guide questions and were covered within the process of the interviews. Between the questionnaire measure and the interview measure, in total 15 of the 22, or a 68 percent response rate was obtained in the data collection portion of this project.

This project has limited information about a profile of the workers in the CDWI (ie gender, ethnic background, age). This researcher left out of both measures, questions that would extract such information because at the time I was unsure of the relevance of such questions to the over-all project. The one exception is found in the questionnaire measure. The question asked in that measure surrounded the length of time the respondent had been employed by the Ministry. The relevance of this question was in finding out previous experience the worker had had with the MSS institution that could possibly assist in working with the change of practice within the Ministry.

The results from that question were: out of the eight respondents, thirty-eight percent of the CDW respondents had previously worked for the Ministry for one to three years; the

same percent of workers had three to five years experience, and twenty-five percent had over five years with MSS. In an over-sight, this same question was not presented to the eight workers who participated in the interviews.

MEASURES:

The purpose of the measure for use within this study is that it will provide data which relate to the research question. Originally, the key focus of this study was to simply find out what this small group of social service employees were doing. The first practical research question developed was, "What are the Directions of Citizen Generated Initiatives as perceived by Social Services Community Development Workers in B.C.?" Next, a list of test questions were sent out to all the twenty-two workers across the province. The purpose was to obtain their feedback on the research question and to solicit their opinions on the proposed questions (questions such as where they practice, what they do, and what, if any, obstacles face them). The feedback from them on these test questions directly stated or implied that a number of the workers felt they needed more guidance to produce information. So I kept the intent of the basic questions but then added the (very accommodating) Rothman's framework against which the workers could compare -- or contrast -- the major themes of practice they were utilizing.

The end-product questionnaires returned by the eight workers were both rich in detail and diverse in approaches. However, as previously mentioned, the information gathered from this measure brought new issues into the foreground. Comparing their practice to Rothman's framework of three models for community organization became a vehicle for obtaining other information. And the most prevalent themes, seemingly both the greatest aspirations and obstacles for this group, were issues surrounding organizational change within the Ministry of Social Services.

As a result, the major focus of this thesis is an examination of the MSS Community Development Workers' perceptions of their practice, and their challenges and successes both outside of and within the MSS. These goals are contextualized by organizational change theories and models.

ANALYSIS PLAN:

Community Development Workers (CD Workers) who completed the questionnaire responded to a five-part questionnaire (see Appendix A). The questionnaire sections that were used in this study cover: the description of the communities of the workers, the process around community/group engagement, their perceptions of the challenges of their particular community development efforts, their activities with the Rothman Framework fit (terms of reference were supplied, please see appendix A), and lastly, the match between the strategy(ies)

employed and the needs, interests and issues of the communities.

When face-to-face interviews were held, (see Appendix B), the goal was, first, to obtain similar information sought from the earlier questionnaire, information which had not yet been obtained from these interviewees. At the time of the interview, a copy of the questionnaire was shown to the worker, the purpose of which was both to review the areas previously covered by the participants of the questionnaire, and to provide a copy of Rothman's framework as a tool of reference for them. The second goal of the interview was to further address those variables that had surfaced from the original questionnaire and which related to the organizational change climate. The face-to-face interview guideline contained the following questions related to organizational change:

* How are you and your program being received within the MSS?

* What have been some of the challenges surrounding the process of engaging CDW strategies with the various players within the MSS organization?

* In what ways do the Ministry's present activities fit or not fit into the CDWI vision?

* Do you have any comments on areas where the MSS and the CDW need to do more to assure the CDWI becomes a catalyst for change within the organization?

The data was analyzed to extrapolate major themes. Open codes were first identified both from within the body of the individual questionnaires or the individual interviews. The

open codes were then summarized and removed from the questionnaires and interview transcripts but still arranged by noting the section, the strategy(ies) employed, the geographical area (non-specific), and the nature of the issues and populations (non-specific). This researcher resisted using the practice of identifying the individual worker's statements with a code or pseudonym in the final report because CDW participants were also promised that all identifying cues would be stripped from the data (see Appendix A). This writer's fear was that by giving workers a code name in the final report, a reader, who could trace the situation or the worker to a series of statements, would be better able to identify the participant and/or other players or situations.

Categories were then compiled and grouped in codes that emphasized the process aspect of community development, action and production activity, community development values either being applied or directly clashing with more traditional approaches to social services, and interferences that hampered the community development activities.

The codes remained in the order that they were found in the questionnaire or in the order the questions unfolded during the interview. The end result of this method was that most codes received more than one category. An example of this double coding is a code such as 'institutional distancing'. This code seemed to suggest two categories: the

implied action on the part of the CDW, and the implication that a formal institution was an obstacle.

The next step taken was to return to the actual data (the original questionnaires or the interview transcripts) for narration that would either support or reject the core concepts utilized (process focus, new CDW Values, Action-Goal driven approaches and encountered interference).

CHAPTER FOUR - RESULTS AND DISCUSSION OF THE RESEARCH

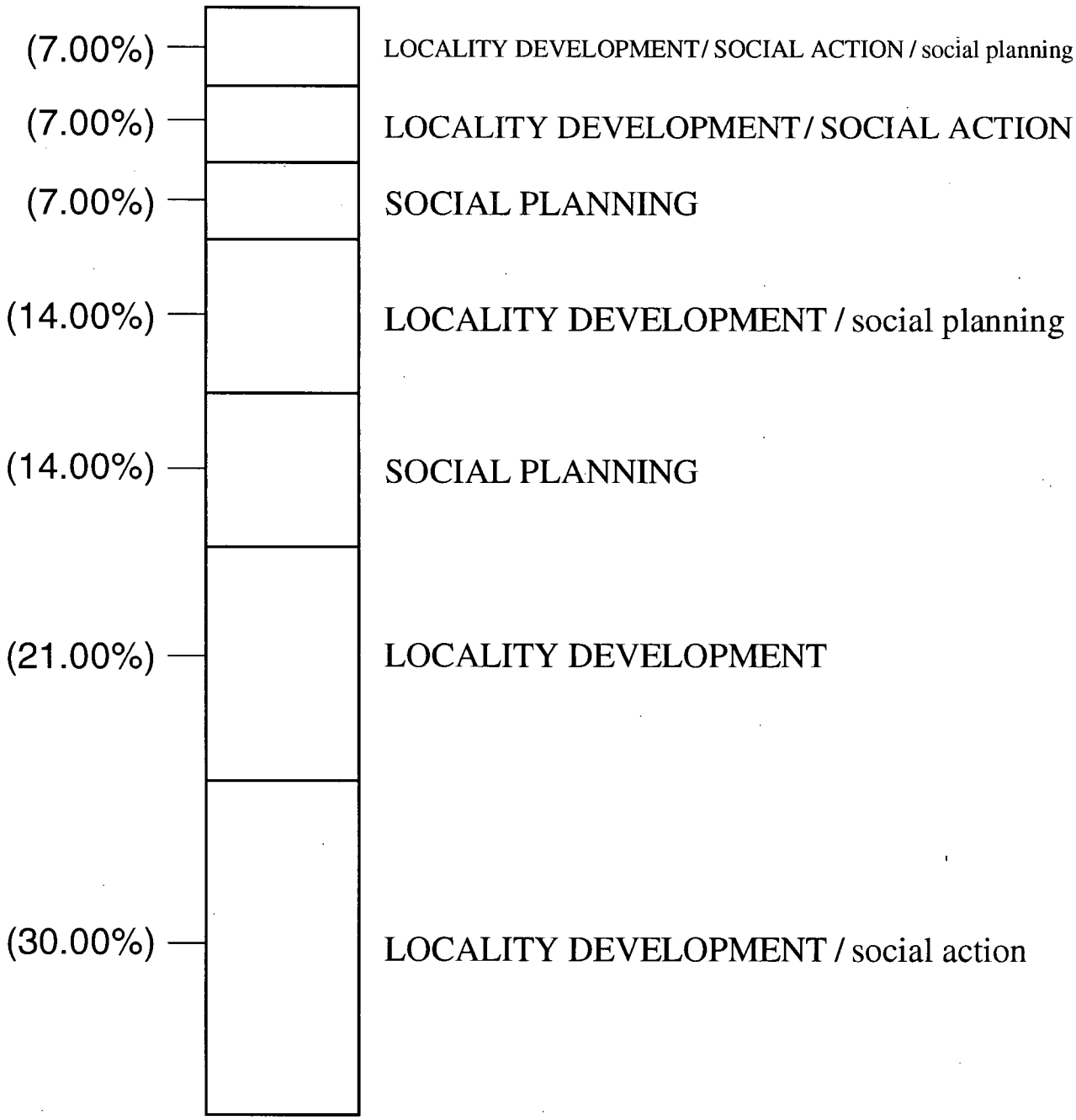
This chapter will explore and discuss, through the use of qualitative methods, themes that were identified and analyzed. Both the questionnaire and interview sections contain practice, challenges faced by CD workers, and in the case of the questionnaires, summaries by examples, or in the case of the interviews, Community Development Workers' recommendations. In Chapter Five, both questionnaire and interview sections will be amalgamated in a detailed summary of the data presented.

PART ONE -- THE QUESTIONNAIRES

The Model Debate:

In the fourth section of the questionnaire, respondents were asked to apply methods to Rothman's three models of community organization. Fourteen examples were extracted from the eight completed questionnaires. The results were as follows:

MODEL SELECTION



What appears evident is that most respondents showed, through self-reported statements, a clear commitment to the Locality Development approach. This finding is in accordance with the Canaan & Rothman (1986) study whose results suggest Locality Development ranks first among Community Development Workers' perceptions of their CD work in Israel. Unlike the Canaan & Rothman findings, in most self-reports, there is a combination of strategies being utilized by British Columbian workers (1968). Also, a noted difference is that the Israeli workers self-reported the use of SP strategies as a second choice, with the SA approach ranking least chosen (Canaan & Rothman, 1968). However, this difference was predicted by the authors, citing tight government control of the Israeli community development agencies to account for SA's low occurrence rate (Canaan & Rothman, 1968).

The CD Workers' comments on the selection of a model reflected a mixture of opinions on the subject. Two workers reported an apparent preference for using a combination of approaches:

> Models vary depending on which part of the community/system that change [is] required at, at a particular point in time.
>
> Each part of the system needs a different approach to allow them [the citizens] to participate.

The comments reflect a repeated sentiment expressed throughout the questionnaires that 'flexibility' in approach

is often required in the process of getting the communities together and their goals met.

Equally prevalent in the workers' comments is the conscious choice not to do any pre-selection of approaches before entering the community:

> I don't think that you can go into an area having previously decided upon a model.... If the changes are truly community driven, then the worker has to be flexible and work at the level that fits the area.

In other words, the community's situation chooses the model. Usually, CD Workers do not state that they had entered a community with a pre-selected model, but strong preferences are mentioned:

> The residents I'm working with say that they are much more excited and positive about their community now - the problems remain the same but their attitude was changed. This is, as I see it the best thing of locality development - the goal is the process and a growth of community. The other models are either negative, directed, or exclusive and though their product is more evident usually over the short run, locality development had in my mind more loftier goals and value.

An apparently important component of CD work is mentioned in this last example: the value of the process of bringing citizens together. A worker who reports a SP approach describes similar positive outcomes as a result of community collaboration:

> Once people felt that they were involved in the process, and had input on how things were done, their solution was similar to those [formally] imposed. However they now feel that things are [now] locally controlled rather than being done to.

The workers consistently report a belief that empowerment of the community will come as a result of utilizing community work practice. A worker, who labels strategy with two particular groups as singular SA approach, notes a need for the groups to have flexibility in their approaches. With this increased range of options, the worker predicts, is a forecast of improvement:

> By experience it is hoped that the community will realize that some strategies will not work while others will. By empowering the community to experience a fuller life with a wide variation of strategies. The members will be (we hope!) in a better and stronger position on their own issues positively with the win-win situation.

The flexibility of the workers is clearly shown by the use of multiple approaches in all 14 examples. A good example of a mixed approaches is summarized by this worker:

> I have mainly attempted to engage in so-called locality development (not a very useful name - ie. let the people define the issues and use my time to help them organize. There is an element of social action because of the lack of services in -----. The task will require organization and demands for change from the powers that be. However it needn't be full of confrontation if we work on consensus building, and take the time to build relationships.

What is underlined in this worker's statement is the occurrence of confrontation in community development work, often chiefly expressed through the SA model. Four workers comment on the SA component of CD work:

> Social action is a major factor in maintaining momentum toward change. Lots of people are talking, but the talking is often encouraged by the presence of advocacy groups and emerging self-help groups who are becoming socially and politically active.

> The overall development goals for the neighbourhood would fit the locality development model, but some of the more specific plans are more like social action.
>
> Their [the group's] ability to use social action effectively is a useful background lever which seldom needs to be used.
>
> Ultimately the need for social action will decrease as the essential element -- the client -- receives legitimacy within the system.
>
> It is fair to say that some of them, somewhere down the way may use social action as a method to try and achieve their goals.

The majority of CDW's self-reports of Social Action activities do match their descriptions of their activities; however, many descriptions could also fit within the LD model.

During the coding and categorizing process of analysis, the overall experiences of the CD Workers showed a consistent pattern of equal parts of process, action, use of CD values/constructs, and encountered resistance. The notable anomalies may be in part due to the populations and the environment in the groups in which workers found themselves.

In summary, there appear to be a variety of opinions about which strategies work, about whether having pre-knowledge of a strategy is an important component to CD work, and about whether an outcome is either approach-driven, dependent on the issue/population, or environment-driven. Two common themes consistently mentioned across examples and strategies within the body of the questionnaires are the need for the CD Worker to be flexible, and the belief in the positive outcome of bringing people together. To explore how strategies were

formed by CDW's, the next section follows the genesis of group beginnings through the process of group formalization.

Need/Issue Identification - Getting Started:

In analyzing workers' perceptions of their community development approaches, a range of circumstances emerged that had initially urged them to become involved with their particular group or community. Most often the involvement began with a referral from an institution or agency:

> Process involved bringing together the _____ women who were championing the need, along with _____. A staff member of the [political office] had told these women that they could get funding and on this basis they opened a small office. They had not obtained society status and had only little focus on what they wanted to do. Further the group was originally a sub-group of a larger group, that by definition already provided services in the area.
>
> The Ministry of Social Services recognized a gap in service to a certain group of children.... The children had unrealistic [low] expectations of themselves.
>
> CD worker assist[ed] Child and Youth committee to reach out to community grassroots involvement and input.
>
> Immediate concern was made with the community centres and Neighbourhood houses. Citizens participation with the centres/houses by and large identified needs.
>
> Parents/agencies identified a need for a Parenting Group.

There are also examples of CD Workers who became involved with a group that had gone through, at least in part, the process of group identification/formation. One respondent for example, worked with a group that was "originally an advisory body to city council"

Workers report that, at times, there was a single initiator who identified the issue and began the process of need/issue identification:

> One day when I was sitting at my desk I got a phone call from ----, a single mom. She wanted to meet me and find out about services. This woman was concerned about the isolation of ----- women and the lack of services for them.

But most prevalent in the smaller centres was a situation in which the CD Worker entered a community to begin a process:

> The neighbourhood within which I am working was identified as having a high concentration of "problems" such as poverty, child abuse complaints, criminal activity and almost no resources and services within the area.
>
> The issue with the residents is that the sky rocketing rate of development hasn't been matched with a similar rate of development of the infrastructure.

The examples received as a result of the questionnaire show that need/issue identification comes from varied sources. Most projects have community involvement, or at least community representation from the onset. And even when the initial need/issue assessment appeared to come from the traditional institutional/agency, the need issue appears to be a concern of both the institution and the community involved.

<u>The Presence of CD Workers' Goals/Values from the Onset</u>:

As noted in the literature review, the community development approach to social services has pronounced objectives:

> Community development [is].... a macro, non-clinical approach to social work practice that focuses on ... broader social approaches to human betterment, ... developing enlightened social policy, organizing the effective delivery of services, strengthening community life, and preventing social ills. (Rothman & Tropman, 1968, p. 3)

In reviewing all fourteen examples of the MSS CDW accounts, I found that many statements reflect CD goals and values:

> I am trying to facilitate citizenship involvement. Trying to bring different people (class, gender, social, etc) together within the community. Trying to get <u>them</u> to identify their issues and perhaps later develop some strategies to implement.
>
> I am trying to help the community come together <u>itself</u> (building capacity) so they can work together in getting what they need.
>
> I began my work (and continue this on an ongoing basis) by getting out into the community and meeting the <u>people</u> and they meeting me.
>
> I have attended a community dance in order to meet more people.

CD Workers continually voice an assurance that their key informant usually is the non-professional stake-holder out there in the community.

The recurring concept of collaboration, however, repeats itself throughout the data, which falls in-line with the high incidence of the CDW's citing LD as a key strategy. One worker describes, in general, their issue-defining stage as: "talking with many people... service providers, citizens, employees...." In many workers' responses there appeared to be a mandate to get all possible stake-holders on board, even

at the earliest stages. Some workers begin the issue-need identification stage by going door-to-door in their geographical community. Meeting people face-to-face is the most noted manner for successfully establishing contact. There were examples of CD Workers' public forums, CDW's utilizing professional networking systems, and CDW's attending collateral government and agency staff meetings. Another approach mentions making contact with the community leaders (this strategy was especially useful with one worker's challenges around cross-cultural barriers). Workers also use surveys which attempt to establish neighbourhood needs and strengths along with the distribution of flyers and the use of public speaking opportunities. Overall, however, workers rated face-to-face communication as the best way of becoming visible in a community.

THE CHALLENGES FACED BY CD WORKERS

The Community:

This section discusses the encounters, obstacles, and resistance experienced by CD Workers in approaching and dealing with the community, and MSS and other formalized institutions.

The most common initial obstacle faced by CD Workers, when meeting a group of citizens, is the Institutional 'label' connected with being employees of the Ministry of Social

Services, an institution most notable for its child-protection mandate and its income-assistance services. Workers comment:

> In their eyes [the citizens] all my ministry does is hand out $ and take kids, there is little understanding of the many services....
>
> [It was] hard for people to figure out where I fit in MSS ie. child snatcher or welfare spy.

Few citizens see CD workers as educators or facilitators from the beginning.

One aspect of the CD Worker's role as 'educator' is spreading the news about what community development is, and what its place is in the broad range of social services. The CD Worker's 'educator role' requires the definition of community development values, its role, and its place within the social services delivery systems and throughout all levels of the system. Defining the role of CD work within the community is a priority, due to the CDW's emphasis on personal accountability.

Another issue that occasionally surfaces in workers' comments is resistance from the citizens in the community. As the literature suggests, this resistance might be due, possibly, to a long history of highly centralized and professionalized systems that were traditionally the key providers of community needs. An attitude that one worker encountered was that "... some (happily a small number) [believe] that government should do it all". In addition to observations that the community sometimes lacks interest in

problem-solving approaches, however, are concerns expressed throughout the questionnaires that reflect workers first discovery of a 'community of individuals' out there:

> The challenge will be to reach the silent ones who do not tend to get involved.
>
> Many people live in real isolation from their neighbours, this could also be under the heading of lack of involvement then leads to ignorance of the community -- I am daily an information source for the neighbourhood.
>
> The community does feel disempowered as many of the individuals have been viewed as being unable to make decisions for themselves.

Ministry CD Workers often appear to be up against multiple causes for isolation and alienation among the groups with which they are involved:

> Literacy is a big problem, but they are able to talk about issues in their own language, and they do know what they want.... The professionals have put their heads together to figure out how to get into this group. We decided that perhaps we should hire [a leader from that culture] to help.
>
> I need to be very creative in bringing people together. The traditional meeting style doesn't work.

Bringing people together is not only a reward, according to CD workers, but also a challenge.

Recurring elements of citizens being isolated often appeared in the CD Workers' testimonies. The next section will address professional or institutional elements that may be adding to this citizen isolation and the occurrence of resistance to community development initiatives.

The MSS Institution:

A consistent task of the CD Worker, as identified by the data, is both to learn their new role and to educate their peers on this new approach:

> All I'll add is that a big part of doing community work within the locality development model is the skill of keeping your mouth shut. Social workers, unfortunately, are regularly pulled into believing they are "experts" and thus need to be involved in both the definition of the issue(s) as well as the solution(s). A regular paternalistic attitude - more social planning attitude.

One of the major themes is 'changing the mind set' of the MSS line workers, and it appears to be a consistent and formidable task for the CD Worker:

> Working with social workers who are accustomed to being reactive when I want to do more preventative proactive activities [is a challenge]. Time is a major factor for many of my colleagues within MSS.
>
> The engagement process therefore consisted of slowing down the social workers' interests and enthusiasm and nurturing interest among one or two young people.
>
> MSS workers need time to review and reflect and be challenged at a thinking and emotional level.

Once again, CD workers are in the role of educators.

This notion of 'changing the mind-set' also appeared to extend to the MSS institution:

> At times it feels as if I am doing a tight rope act trying to accommodate MSS and the community needs. Sometimes I see a situation where a short term investment would have long term gain but there are no funds available.
>
> There's lots of anger in all parts of the system.

When experiencing governmental resistance, one worker comments that, "People feel that government in general is quite removed from the citizens". As is evident from the workers' examples, often this is the time that the components of the SA approach of CD work seems to have some utility:

> Social Action is also used to bring change within government when cooperation is not easily forthcoming.

As mentioned in the literature review, the nebula of the Community Development Workers Initiative stemmed in part from the recommendations of The Community Panel Report. The introduction of community development approaches in the Ministry of Social Services suggests that a change in approach and a change in institutional policy is in the works. Hopefully these changes will make CD Workers' interaction with government less challenging.

Working with Other Institutions:

Schools are often cited as being difficult to approach, and as often appearing resistant:

> Some of the [school] staff members do not have a clear understanding of the role of the community development worker especially the school social workers.
>
> I met with a bit of cynicism -- school personnel are generally too busy to engage in [anything] other than teaching....

> More effort must be put into resisting school staff's efforts to do social planning ie. decide for themselves what the issues are and how to go about fixing them. The problem here is that it seems like less trouble just to problem solve without community participation....Maybe there was quite a degree of cynicism in the change process. Inroads are being made as I attempt to relate to various people for the _____ local schools... This will be a long, slow process of engaging the schools....

Another worker did manage to penetrate the school institution after personally getting to know staff connected with the school, as well as proving the utility of CD work:

> The _____ teacher from the same _____ school invites me to join the monthly _____ meeting to discuss building bridges between the children and the community as a whole [ongoing]. The _____ school got wind of this and asks for the same project. Next year the _____ school will have a base of 'role models' to contact on their own.

So despite some resistance from schools, CD work is becoming known to some of them.

CDW's "inclusive" values and cooperative strategies also enter the collateral service institutions. Some workers note territorial issues between collateral institutions. An example of work by a CDW to resolve the issue occurred when s/he found that in his/her particular situation, once the agencies focused on "....the needs of the people they [the service providers] represent, resolution of the impasse regarding territorial issues was resolved." The worker had both overcome a resource planning dilemma and successfully engineered a locality driven service by "...working locals into the process after the political concerns about service competition were resolved."

Nevertheless,the challenges of the CD Worker when involved with the institutional aspect of social services persists in the workers' statements:

> Working with the mini-bureaucracies within the agencies with artificial barriers [is common].
>
> Dealing with all the players: potential service providers (plus current providers who are located elsewhere) funders, Ministries and other levels of government; volunteers, etc [is necessary].

The lack of cooperation amongst the collateral agents in the community is illustrated by some examples taken from the 'Challenges' section of the Questionnaire:

> The _____ network was in a state of falling apart.... There has been little collaboration -- it has mainly been an info sharing committee....
>
> Coopting the involvement of other funding sources [eg a community agency developing programs] to see the value of the process [is difficult].

Much of the material presented in this section comes from two specific parts of the MSS Community Development Workers Questionnaire: the section that solicited the workers' view of the challenges faced, and the section discussing whether or not their approaches fit the community's needs. Perhaps it was the type of question this researcher selected that led to information that may leave the impression that workers have tasks that are very challenging, if not insurmountable. Fortunately this impression is not implied from the CDW's responses over-all. The majority of the examples report various levels of ongoing success. The next examples give a

snapshot of where some of the workers' projects were left at the time they completed the questionnaire:

> For the most part, people out there are OK and capable -- all I've provided is some initial, short-term support.
>
> The people in the community have strong opinions about the issues and there had been no problem thus far in getting some voices heard.
>
> Awareness leads to change in this case.
>
> They [the group] are now hugely successful and success breeds greater group esteem which encourages more action.
>
> The group is fearless about confrontation and using political influence.
>
> The people have organized themselves into a fairly complex residents association....the degree of consensus around issues has been very surprising for me.

Summary:

The overall results are that the vast majority of workers self-reported taking a multi-dimensional approach, primarily combining aspects of Rothman's locality development model with a social action model component. Social planning is also reportedly utilized by the workers, most often as a component model. Predominantly, workers report that the locality development approach is the core component to their initiatives. However, statements and examples also appear that suggest that the approach utilized needs to fit both the communities' needs and fit the other systems that are involved.

Common CD values expressed throughout the questionnaire are those of the importance of building community capacity, the assertion of consumer and institutional interdependence, belief in community empowerment, the need for solutions that are community-driven, the value of the process, and as mentioned above, the need to adapt approaches of CD to the involved population.

Group building usually follows a route of recruitment and genesis formation, with the CDW taking the role of facilitator, educator and group leadership trainer. Often the process also involves the CDW in advocacy activities, networking activities, finding funding sources, and acting as a go-between between the institution and the community or group -- usually in the interest of service provision.

Some of the challenges mentioned by workers during the group formation stage are citizen apathy, community isolation, and group and community labelling, along with institutional resistance and territorial resource issues. Despite these challenges which occur either structurally, with the populations with which they are involved, or with their own growth as CD Workers, what appears to stand out in the overall body of the questionnaires is the workers' commitment to a set of core values, concepts and approaches.

PART TWO -- THE INTERVIEWS

The need for change, in particular the need for change in the Ministry of Social Services and MSS's collateral agencies, appears to be a consistent theme appearing throughout all of the Community Development Workers' interviews.

COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT WORKERS DEFINE THEIR PRACTICE

Practice Goals:

Many interview participants defined their role of Community Development Worker as that of a link between the Ministry and the community, service providers, and the citizens. One CDW reports, "I'm the person who's building the bridges, rebuilding some bridges and trying to build new ones". This comment seems to be a clear ideological stance on the need to consider all stake-holders involved in the Ministry:

> It's a hybrid again [The CDWI], it's coming from a government agency saying we want you to be involved in what we do. Then we said, 'We'll bring you together, but you set the agenda, you decide how you inform yourselves, you'll decide how you'll operate, when you meet, we'll be part of it but we won't lead you'. My role is a resource person to that group.

Workers hoped (as far as their practice needed) that their organizing efforts would show in the actual generation of activity in the community.

CDW's state clear goals such as, helping the community become motivated, providing support in practical ways, creating of links between people, and using some of the CD

Worker's power (sometimes start-up money) to encourage groups to go and get what they need, and to have a voice. One Worker also adds that community development, among other things, is about educating the people in the formal systems about giving up their power:

> CD is turning the hierarchy upside down, respect to people, helping people get a voice, getting citizens to identify their own needs, assisting ways of expressing their ideas and then going for them [their ideas], building self esteem through that process, CD Workers being facilitators, and having a safe and clean and happy environment in which to live.

This worker's 'vision statement' reflects the intent found in the discussions surrounding the provincial NDP's Community Resource Boards Act of 1974. An interesting impression left with this researcher, especially during the data gathering activities, was that Community Development Workers' visions varied in degrees that seemed to have a lot to do with the individual worker. However, as with Rothman's Community Organizational framework, the MSS CDW's practice appears to accommodate situations that range from the traditional centralized, social planning method of discovering needs, to social action protest movements. But overall (as is evident in the data from the questionnaires) the consistent goal appears to be inclusiveness and awareness of all the stake-holders' needs and agendas.

Practice is Process:

CD Workers comment often on the work being frustrating, and one of the frequent difficulties is that CD does not give workers a clear indication of whether or not they are getting results:

> [As a CDW] you don't get results quickly so you're kind of sitting there and thinking, "well, is this going to turn up something" and anything may turn up to be somebody's stuff to deal with....maybe it's a sign for me to kind of be careful in that I'm still very task oriented and should really kind of move away from that, it's [a] kind of difficult to describe process.

One of the issues discussed both at the CDWI meetings and during the interviews is that workers feel that they are all too task-oriented themselves. As mentioned, the majority of them come from a structured background as a MSS child protection worker. Now that their practice has changed, they are discovering that they need to focus less on the outcome, and instead to concentrate on how the process is unfolding:

> The real thing, for the community developer is there is no perceived outcome, the process is the important thing. Whereas in all kinds of things it's the outcome - that's what you work with and that's where I'm thinking, well how can we do this, what is a successful outcome - what are successful techniques?

This shift in thinking is a major hurdle for CD workers and the institution they're a part of.

As is evident from the questionnaire responses, there was an apparent consensus during the interviews that Community Development is a process driven, principle driven, practice.

CD Workers' Model Selection:

Regarding model selection, the majority of participants describe some form of the Locality Development approach. Some workers take the stance of "whatever works will be okay". Still, some workers comment that they cannot envision using a model such as Rothman's framework, or see the necessity of developing a model through the results of this project:

> When you talk about models, I'm thinking in terms of picking a vehicle to do something. Models don't make sense when we talk about process.

But many participants saw models as a useful way to discuss their practice

As previously covered, many workers either cite a model or describe a practice situation that describes one or more of the Social Planning, Locality Development or Social Action models. However, the interesting aspect of the interview results is that many workers defend components of Social Planning as an effective and useful approach:

> Social planning, it could be considered presumptuous but it's just research to give people an opportunity to build on something. I find when you talk about bylaws, or planning, people feel like "Jesus, I don't know where we're going..." If they see it laid out they can make some decision, they can get involved.

> I do some stuff that could be considered social planning but I would probably call it anticipatory needs.

> I think I'm still working on a social planning model, I am the power, I come up with a plan based on some things I see, write up a proposal - to me that's being a social planner.

A worker who identifies with mostly locality development activities, however, spoke cautiously about Social Planning:

> I think with CD principles, once they [CD Workers] start to drift into the social planning, I think then it's dangerous....I have to keep myself in check, I gotta keep what's pure, I have to preserve the integrity of all these principles because if you don't you can suddenly be used for something other than community development, something more insidious than social planning and all of a sudden it's too late.

The above observation reflects the discussion in the Literature review, especially pertaining to the struggle to preserve the integrity of grassroots initiatives when the process comes in contact with planners in traditional institutions.

Although many workers appear intellectually committed to adhering to the LD constructs, there are noted problems on the practice end:

> I think that the difficulty is that sometimes Local Development sometimes with certain groups doesn't work, but you're feeling that you are taking over, doing it for them.

Difficultly in explaining LD and SA to other organizations was also cited as a challenge:

> People don't know exactly what CD means. They're pretty used to social planning which means we'll get together as executive directors of all these families and pool our genius and figure out what is needed and maybe even consult with the community. To me the CD program is more revolutionary, it indicates social change of the power structure from professionals and so on down to the people they serve so that can be threatening.

However, although most workers saw the Social Action approach as appropriate, some expressed what seemed to be a lack of comfort in the area:

> I see my role as the person who would give them (citizen groups) information. I don't know how comfortable I am in terms of using social action. I have to balance that I work in this office (the worker was located in a MSS office), and I have to be able to work with my co-workers and on the other hand I have to be able to work with the community, it is hard to balance.

> I think if this (the CDWI) stays in the Ministry it will move into more social action because we are finding that our biggest challenge is the place where we come from and I think in the evolution, and that maybe the demise of the program, that if we start causing trouble in the Ministry, they're going to cut us. So it's dangerous.

The last three CDWs' observations are reminiscent of Hyman's assertion that 'uncertainty' counters institutions' preferred state "...aimed at making the interaction predictable and at preserving its autonomy and discretionary participation" (1983, p. 78). Involvement in and by the community is an activity difficult to predict and, conceivably, could create the negative reactions presented in the Resisting Organizational Change section.

WITHIN AND OUTSIDE OF MSS

CDW's Perceptions of Current Front Line Practice within the MSS Organization:

CDWs acknowledge that many line workers take into account factors such as poverty and try to encourage empowerment. Also, acknowledgement is given that much of the line workers'

practice does respect the importance of the social processes surrounding relationship building.

The need for empowerment in line workers' practice, however, is an identifiable theme in the data along with the view of the family as a valuable resource. The conflict between the use of a medical model of illness vs. a model that utilizes peoples' strengths is also cited:

> The thing that gets in the way of relationship building is client deficits. Clients meaning deficits - you've got the whole history.

In other words, clients are viewed according to the medical illness model, a group of individual deficits. Callahan and McNiven, as noted in the section describing BC's history of Social Services, observe that focusing solely on the individual "reinforces a private troubles perspective", where intervention by MSS line workers is often "...only to get tough with those who do not meet their obligations" (1988, p.25).

Often the CD Workers refer back to the cause of these problems as being based in the nature of the MSS's mandate:

> This is the whole change that the Ministry's going through, is trying to change people in ways to do more family preservation, support in child protection is still needed; it's the conflict in child welfare, two halves [protection vs. support].

In many of the cases that the line deals with, CDW's think that the work is usually handled correctly -- especially when evidence exists of physical or sexual abuse. In those

situations CD Workers agree with the need for the line worker to deal with the immediate crises.

Two other trouble areas are contracting out, and the abundance of red tape. The next CD worker comments on an area where the MSS line worker's role causes a clash with consumers:

> People who are being investigated are angry. But a lot of the anger you heard in the Making Changes Report was not only people being investigated, a lot of other people came forth. So when you come to my office, and I'm a Social Worker, I do one of two things, investigate you, or I send you to a contracted service. That's the only two things that the Ministry does. So if people are mad as hell at social services, that's not completely accurate, they are also mad at the contractors.

CD Workers also comment that there is an over-burden of recording and documenting of the Social Workers' activities, and also too little time for rapport-building with consumers. They speak of the line workers' need to "...twist a lot of arms" through controlling and using their power, to 'encourage' people to follow through on tasks and obligations. Admittedly those tasks are very often driven by the child protection mandate. But as one worker points out, there is not a lot of empowerment on either side of the desk:

> So the Social Worker, they're powerful, but they don't feel empowered. The reaction I hear from the clients is that "...the Social Workers don't have time for us, they don't listen to us....", they complain about the power that the Social Workers have.

Building a better rapport with clients is an obvious and much needed mandate of CD.

CDWI: Possibilities of Cross-over Practice with Line Workers:

Line workers need to feel empowered; CD Workers feel that with the support of other agencies and knowledge of their community, the burden of protection work can be eased. Reportedly, line workers don't know what the CDWI program can do for their case work:

> The perception in the offices is that my role as a CDW is to get a bunch of people together who'll give shit to the social workers, ... what I say to these workers is that if CD can be of no benefit to your office then throw it out.

It was suggested that a CD approach in family support issues (not when there is an investigation into child protection) is to use the client as the case manager; in a sense this practice has the consumer as the planner. CDW's answers to practice problems also include looking for more resources, watching for how the collateral agencies come together for the client, endorsing family conferences, and bringing other people in from the community:

> I think every Social Worker would be better off if they used people in the community. They wouldn't be under siege and every day in The Province (newspaper).

Another suggested step for line workers is for them to look more closely at the underlying factors behind the individual's relevant problem(s). Also suggested is a more diligent use of a solution-based approach.

Community work ideally takes away a lot of the power differences between the worker and the consumer. CDW's

usually do not sit behind a desk when they meet the citizens but are often out in the neighbourhood making connections by using a mutual support approach to communicate with people. After spending many years as a MSS line worker, a CDW described another side to the citizens she has recently come to know:

> It is nice to see positive sides to people. Sometimes we are involved with people who have been on our case loads and they've had some involvement with Social Workers and it has a been a situation where the focus is what is not working, and what is missing. But when you are working with them in the community you see what they can contribute and how much they can give, it is quite positive.

This new light has obvious positive implications for the line workers.

CD Workers - Their Adjustments with the MSS Front Line:

The Community Development Workers' Initiative had been in existence for approximately one year when the data was gathered for this study. Many CDW's said that they were still learning this new role -- as were the stake-holders and institutions with which these workers were having contact. Therefore, difficulties in this start-up phase of the initiative detailed in the next two sections should be read with this point in mind.

It is sometimes difficult for the CDW who is situated in a MSS office. One worker says that at times her/his work is

viewed with less priority attached to it than that of the line workers:

> Not that it is being discredited, but when you sit in a meeting and you need consultation, and there are five protection concerns in front of you - your consultation re: how to work with this one group - is not as important, but I am not saying that my work is being discredited.

One CDW's spoke more strongly on the issue, saying that s/he feels like an "outcast" in the MSS organization. CDW's express that although many line workers show interest, they appear to have very little exposure to community work:

> When you talk about CD - because it's so broad a subject, they probably say "Yeah, well we're doing some of that, we are into that". But in fact it can be a very small percentage of community development they're doing.

This uncertainty as to CDW's relationship to MSS is also highlighted when CD Workers refer to the "many forces" in the Ministry that seem to want the CDWI to be more attached to MSS and to be useful in sorting out MSS mandate issues such as assistance in family support or resource finding. One worker comments:

> So there's a lot of tension I think (between the CDW's and the line workers). I don't seem to have the same concerns as the Ministry worker does. I could fully just turn my back on them and not worry about what they say, comments or whatever and let my supervisor, my administrative supervisor, deal with that.

A problem which appears to exist is how difficult it is to explain the CDWI and their role. Surrounding this difficulty, a concern raised is whether it is necessary to give the organization a sense of what the CDWI is doing in the community?

Overall, a theme of isolation emerges from these workers' statements, although the MSS organization has apparently begun a change directive through the CDW Initiative. Also, through these workers' statements, evidence of resistance within the culture of MSS to support community influences beyond traditional mandated practice is present. Returning to the literature, it has been noted, (Bellingham, et al. 1990) note that when a change vision is not clearly defined or when there is inadequate planning in a change initiative, line workers within the institution may have the following reactions:

* The workers themselves may act as if nothing has changed.
* Workers will talk as if changes will only affect others.
* Workers will express confusion.

(Bellingham et. al., 1990, p.154)

CD Workers - Their Adjustments with the Community:

At first, community reaction is often leery, or, with collateral stake-holders, reactions express unfamiliarity within CD practice:

> I say this is who I am and these are my goals. And you get "We don't need you" or "What have you done for us in the past?"
>
> I see professionals and they seem open to CD but they don't know what it means.
>
> The only time that staff in schools tell me they see Social Workers is when they interview a child in a protection case.

Again the problem expressed by the CDWI is how difficult it is in explaining their role. Workers say that until a person

actually experiences community work and learns about the time and the difficulties involved in gaining trust, or even the process of getting people to feel that they want to talk about an issue, the process is hard to articulate; therefore explanations of their work, some feel, seem to fall short.

Interactions with other organizations can yield other problems than resistance. One workers talks of being "pulled into things that you don't feel comfortable with". A part of this dynamic might be related to the distribution of power and resources in non-profit societies (as with the activities in Quebec) where a number of agencies are competing with one another for funding allocations.

Most important for CDW's, however, is being known in the community, and knowing the community is what seems so essential in this practice approach:

> I think there are institutional barriers in the community and then there are my own barriers. I find that it's probably my lack of knowledge. I think it's a big thing...to know what I am doing, I mean like solidly, as far as the area's resources, people, and what they need and all that.

When things go well, workers give optimistic reports. For example, another worker, who feels established in his locality, finds community work puts her/him in a wide range of activities and action:

> It's linking different pieces of the community and that hasn't been happening (in the past). I think it's like I feel like I'm in the centre and I'm able to know what different pieces of the hub are doing.

Summary using Examples of CD Activities:

By the very nature of the CDWI observations, what is being attempted is an enthusiastic restructuring of the relationship the MSS and collateral organizations have with the community with which they are involved. CDW's place emphasis upon the value of self-determination and self-organization. The workers' ideas are evident in their practice and show that they are gaining a clear conception of the place such activity has within the initiative of broadening the MSS's mandate:

> I was talking to Patsy George (CDWI Advisor) and I was telling her that in the _____ Group how we've now started using the daycare, which is part of_____; Patsy said "you know that is an important thing because you have just introduced the parents to using the resource" -- and I wouldn't have thought of it that way, it's wonderful.

The small issues reflect the larger issues in seemingly all of the CDW's activities:

> In our society as a person who does not speak the language, I mean they're not dealing with bottom line issues like poverty (not having macro discussions on structural changes) or whatever. The other groups, the seniors or adults, they are not talking about poverty per se but they are talking about how do we deal with our landlord, BC Housing. So those are sort of the main concerns...very direct...they're not dealing with the underlying stuff.

There are many examples of 'changing the mind set' to be more open to CD work being done within MSS and other collateral institutions:

> We are starting to see it happening here where there are 3 or 4 other (MSS) supervisors that are thinking in the CD approach and they're saying, "Well if I can get public health and I can get mental health and alcohol and drug in on this problem [eg to brain-storm solutions].

> There are some structural things which we've done or I've helped to do. In Making Changes, it talks about service delivery being closer to home and integrated with other ministries, and we're doing that here. I've played a bridging role in that. So we've had no opposition from the community, everyone's been willing to participate with our stuff - with health, nobody's been participating, they're in a crisis.

Similarly, in another community the CDW reports some success with the counter-part initiative Closer to Home (which is an attempt by the B.C. Government to put more local control over the operations of health care in this province):

> One thing we're doing is we are going to join up with health. We are, in our community, broadening the definition of health to include us.

Citizen participation is the key to changing the mind-sets. Projects being worked on by the CDWI often have an underlying component of supporting citizens so they can be empowered to get involved at the planning level:

> We have a community group now that are interested in what's going on in the Ministry and they're seeing that they have a role to play, so we are starting to form linkages with the community and this group is getting ready to go public now, they feel they're strong enough to step forward.

However, sometimes getting citizens to participate in an organization's planning process, (as David Tucker's 1980 study suggests), is a struggle:

> Part of my job when I first came on was to develop a focus group of citizens who used 1 or more of the community's services. Next select 1 or 2 members (citizens) to sit on that committee. The 2 people sat at 3 or 4 meetings and they haven't gone since.

This Worker goes on to reflect on what barriers might exist in setting up community/consumer consultation committees:

> Dialogue was so hard. I don't think the numbers of consumers is big enough that they feel comfortable amongst professionals. They don't have the same economic standard, education, etc. which are big barriers to them. I think to be a truly community consultation, we need probably 50% consumers from a variety of places. (In our committee) there's no _____, no _____, no _____. When you think of all the people I spoke with in reference to develop this focus group, you know 100, why we end up with 5/6 people over a period of time.

Getting involvement from local professionals and other people who hold traditional forms of power can be difficult, but once gained the system needs to be able to use it. CD approaches often work at gaining an understanding through seeing planning through the client's eyes, but this approach is frequently not actively pursued by the professionals to an operational level:

> It's like trying to approach city council of Vancouver around the ward system - that's the kind of response you get, or lip service, but they're not really interested in citizens groups... so there isn't one response to the committee. Other people are in the camp of wait-and-see and that involves our staff, and other agency staff.

According to this workers' statement, the MSS organization has not gone far enough to be friendly towards user-input:

> The way MSS is set up right now, they can't really respond to peoples' needs. The community development aspect is lost in a sense because you have people encouraging people to say what their needs are, but we can't respond to it because our hands are tied because the system is not set up to respond.

Another CD worker's statement concurs with this point:

> It just takes so long and people get frustrated by the process and policies and a lot of the policies haven't changed to allow for community involvement.

To counteract these problems, Loughran's 1989 framework for the development of inter-organizational relationships might be useful for the adoption of grassroots initiatives into the MSS's funding and program planning umbrella. Individual regions and offices could establish a place where citizens' suggestions and initiatives would be identified. A regular committee could be set-up, thereby forming an appropriate procedure to negotiate the differences between citizens' needs and how the MSS can offer support. This effort might also go further to legitimize the CDW's collective action is within MSS.

However, despite the above mentioned barriers and resistance, (and considering that these statements were taken while CDWI was still in the start-up stage of the initiative), the CDWI's early accomplishments are not negated:

> All those things (the various CD projects) are coming into this Ministry building that may have a nucleus of a change in people's thinking about what the Ministry's about.

CD WORKERS' RECOMMENDATIONS

Should the CDWI be Contracted Out or Remain a Ministry Position?:

For the vast majority of the interviewees, being connected to MSS in the way that the CDWI currently attached to MSS is

preferred to contracting out. CDWs report that being attached to MSS was a benefit to their community work:

> There is a connectedness with other agencies (e.g. funding). Because I work for the Ministry it allows me to grease a lot more paths through the community.

However, one worker reports role confusion resulting from his/her attachment to MSS:

> The down-side is that when I first meet people, agencies, groups, the first thought is [I] may be a conduit to funding, or I may be somebody whose doing program evaluations. Or maybe [the community thinks] these sort of people [CDWs] are conduits to the Ministry, to feed information back to.

Having a CDW work out of Ministry office space, however, can be perceived as a deterrent:

> [Citizens] are not comfortable, they are embarrassed to come into a Ministry office, they are worried that people will think they are abusing their children or that their family is drawing income assistance. From the very beginning, it [being situated in an MSS office] is preventing people from becoming involved because [waiting in an MSS office] is a barrier.

The type of approach utilized by workers (Social Planning, Locality Development or Social Action) might be a factor determining whether workers prefer keeping distant from the MSS or prefer to be identified as a component of that organization. This adherence to the founding purpose of the CDWI is discussed by one interviewee while s/he reflects on whether or not the project should be a contracted service (only funded by MSS, not staffed by Ministry employees):

> Here we've looked at trying to change the culture of the Ministry and the relationship between the Ministry and the community....If the purpose was to have true locality development and true community grassroots stuff then you may have wanted to have contracted staff. If you really wanted to have the Ministry do its work differently then I think you need somebody from inside because you need the knowledge of the bureaucracy and government services. It depends on what you want.

As was mentioned in the discussion of the Quebec situation, citizens' issues are often formed out of personal pain or structural problems. Citizen movements often deal with questions of the conduct of institutions, and its responsibilities (de Leonaris, 1993). One CDW reports that:

> They [citizens] are angry at the system because they are feeling powerless, and the CDWs are a possibility for creating a linkage between the people who have no power and the people who have power. I see the CDW's as the only linkage between the different power structures.

Again as suggested in the literature, CDW's can transport these issues into the political, or public arena. However, if a CDW's association with the MSS organization (or an affiliated organization) were at the centre of a consumer group grievance, it might not be possible for a CD Worker to be effective in a consumer advocate movement while maintaining a close association with the institution in question.

CD Workers - Their Change Recommendations and Conclusions:

Because it stemmed from the Making Changes Report, the implementation of CDWI reflects B.C's Social Services work to broaden its mandate. But as this CDW observes, many may still be excluded from the process:

> In terms of the Ministry, unless it opens up to a continuum of supporting society, unless it broadens its mandate I kind of see that new people are left out, so that in very many ways the people who are effective and the people who have a Social Worker or who have need for services now -- they may be the people who will kind of be more involved in the partnership.

The CDWI is committed to having the community involved in planning social services -- if the community wants to be. Above all, the MSS appears to want the CDWI to start asking citizens and consumers for their input; and it is beginning to set in place a system to utilize this input. One CD Worker outlined a fairly comprehensive list of which changes s/he saw as being necessary:

> If people in the existing structures are truly committed to community development, then they will have to change some of their structures to allow citizens to participate in that process. Some examples are: changing the times of these meetings, provide child care, transportation, finding ways of having an ongoing communication process back and forth for change and having a structure in place where communication flows easily up and down, lateral, whatever....[What is needed is] a focal point in the community where people link up with other people of different interests and different power.

Other workers suggest other institutional changes:

> I think that people need to accept CD as a way of practice, but it is hard for me to say that I am hoping to change the Ministry. I think the Ministry needs to be committed to wanting to change and there needs to be training and it really is hard to balance child protection and community development but I think you can use CD in asking people what they want and bring in community to help. I think you can do that but workers have spent so much time doing crisis stuff. I think these positions are a start, but I think there needs to be a commitment through all levels of the Ministry, not just by putting the positions in place, but by making sure they are supporting what is happening and that the policies are sometimes in conflict.

> When you're talking about change, it's moving admittedly to community development.... [Citizens] are not offered any hands-on help to deal with their issues.
>
> When I talk to people, social planning, to prioritize needs in various areas, then I ask agency people and, not surprisingly, the agency focuses on family counselling, individual counselling, that kind of stuff. I talk to people, probably 200 or 300. Very few say "I'd like some counselling". Some recognize that they needed counselling but it is not their priority, it's daycare, housing and employment. So in the family and children's services area we might be providing millions of dollars in support to heal their psychological or emotional traumas but it may not be addressing what are the critical things to them.

These workers are suggesting that really listening to client needs could radically begin to change the system.

A lot of what is discovered in this study surrounds the debate over the utility of the liberal traditional individual-as-the-problem ideas vs. the utility of finding the causation and true solutions for problems. Often the CD Workers' suggestions do not fit into the liberal paradigm of the MSS service delivery system as a system that needs fine-tuning:

> There's lots of institutional barriers, corporate culture, tunnel vision, and task oriented or objective kind of approaches -- you know, one sided. Structural stuff, the organization kind of has this way of a hierarchy and in terms of funding... they provide a certain amount of funding but... people have to be almost acknowledging that they are needing. So they are (the MSS) very need oriented, deficit oriented. So I guess it points back to this attitude thing that they look at clients or society as they would only help when there's a problem.

However, fine-tuning suggestions are made that could perhaps enhance both a front line worker's practice and the community they serve. A CD Worker speaks of dividing case loads. Her/his idea is that MSS workers should have responsibility

for a particular section of the neighbourhood. The suggestion is for each office to have one CD Worker for each segment of the community that the office must cover:

> We've created a system that looks at workload issues from a union perspective, we look at it from a management perspective. We have created a system that divides itself up to do the work without taking into consideration the client and it doesn't reflect the uniqueness of each community. It says all people were created equal and will have the same equal problems. If the Ministry is saying we believe in this stuff [CD] then they have to go that one step further and say we're doing a lot more services than protection [child protection investigations] we can't put everybody in a box.

This suggestion seems to naturally stem out of the basic CD perspective: a focus on client needs.

Along with the above adjustments, one interviewee adds to recommendations that line workers should blend their practice with the CD approach:

> What I would like to see is community development work done by all workers, not necessarily a select group. I think you can have a specialist, if you have a neighbourhood or area that's having a hard time, who can say, "Well have you tried this?"

Change suggested which refer to the failure of the interchange between MSS, collateral agencies and the client recur in workers' statements:

> The change I'd propose is some sort of mechanism for having 3 parties together [client, the contracted agency and MSS representative].... We're still going to have those people at either end who won't cooperate but if 80% or even 60% of all those parties could say "I really feel that I'm heard even if I don't like what they say, I feel like I am a partner" and the contracted agency would say, "we feel we've got a better relationship with the Ministry, not being dictated to, and the MSS workers will say I'm, not having to carry the ball, twist their arms....

> I think the big part [of community development] and the phrase I am using more and more now is quality service... We have a finite amount of money, a lot of the programs we're funding now are not ineffective, it's just that a lot of the people don't want to go to them, and there is no feedback to funders into what exactly is needed creating a place of safety. We've heard a lot from people, for example, someone didn't like the homemaker they were given, but they were afraid to tell the Social Worker because that would be another example of this person not getting along with someone.
>
> So we are trying to overcome that by moving to creating self-sufficient groups. We are making incremental changes, though. Putting in _____ worker to meet the needs of this _____ support group is a wake-up call to that organization and it allowed for some very serious conversations to occur, and that organization is attempting to change and attempting to change its employees. So they're trying, but they've got a long ways to go....So it's interesting because we're doing the same things to our contractors that we're trying to do with our (MSS) Social Workers -- "give up the power Social Workers". Socialized power, a lot of workers are balking that saying, "We can't handle that" but the managers [contracted services] are jumping on it.
>
> The way the system is set up now, the Ministry of Social Services could say to these (contracted) agencies, "We don't want these services we want community development programs". The Ministry could do this.

Working to change contracted agencies is also a component of CD work.

CDW's offer other suggestions: expand the CDWI beyond the 22 workers; ensure that proper money is allocated for organizational change; increase CD training; and commit to a greater change at all levels:

> The Ministry has to show more than putting 22 workers in this province... they have to show some intent, they have to show that we do want to do things differently.

> There has been enough focus on the community support things and it's actually in the laws but I don't know how far they can push it. In a way it's quite blank
>
> [the MSS plan], there's not enough bucks.
>
> Yeah, I think at the governmental level, and the provincial level, there has to be more discussion [with] the Minister and the Deputy Minister, with direction downward to integrate services.

From this last worker's statement we are reminded of what the 1987 Schilit report highlights: that top-down approval is required for substantial changes to occur within an institution. The next two workers' observations appear cautious about the CDWI's future:

> If this government [NDP currently led by the Honourable Mike Harcourt] stays in power another four years, there'll be enough time for the city management people to in fact steer the ship in the right direction. As far as I'm concerned they have brand new management and very little experience at the top end in B.C. which is probably good if you're going to make a change. If it shifts again, we're in big trouble. I think this Ministry more than anything else will suffer a change, who knows what will happen...I think that the chaos will happen.
>
> Our main focus [at MSS] is child protection and [with] any form of cut-back we will be driven back to our primary function, that is the formal process.

The CDWI is part of, yet separate from, the social, political and economic structure of the MSS institution. In practice, this fact means that CDW's must liaise with and gain support from the Ministry while working around many of the inherent constraints of the Ministry. At the same time, CDW's key interest is in working with external forces -- typically groups of citizens/consumers; some might have an underlying

interest in creating progress in some form of a social change movement.

The CDW's statements often stress the need for service delivery systems to utilize the power of the community and to value and support formation and links with local groups to create a two-way communication system. What the CDW's in essence are saying reflects the conclusions that Robert Halpern (1991) comes to in his article entitled, "Supportive Services for Families in Poverty: Dilemmas of Reform":

> There is now a consensus that services have to grow to fit the character and life of the community in which they are embedded, that families' support needs rarely fit the arbitrary boundaries of categorical programs, and that the heart of services is in caring relationships, not rules and procedures. (Halpern, 1991, p. 361)

As the section on organizational change indicates, involvement in and by the community may create uncertainty throughout the Ministry due to the unpredictable nature of the proposed community input (Hyman, 1983). Other possible causes of resistance in the organizational structure of MSS might result from the reluctance of the traditional hierarchy to relinquishing power, and community input running counter to the established practice,culture, and expectations both within the institution and of the public (Morgan, 1990).

There are numerous examples in the literature review of encompassing community development approaches successfully used during organizational transformation periods. Chambers (1982) notes the use of a planning committee. Magura and

Moses (1984) tested a measure that used clients as service evaluators to uncover gaps in service. The Brager and Holloway (1978) model describes a combined process of change that includes bottom-up input. And once again, Loughran's (1989) framework seeks to develop inter-organizational relationships and suggests a path to include other Ministries and collateral services by establishing identity, negotiating differences, forming an appropriate structure, and putting in place a means to administer that structure.

In conclusion, through the values attached to CD practice, the CDWI is attempting to work from a wider perspective that includes an analysis of social problems as the result of economic and political factors. Throughout the interview section, workers gave their descriptions of goals, practice and values and other suggestions as to how they are trying to be effective with the communities in which they work. In discussions about model selection, the workers' responses offer a wide variety of approaches. (Noteworthy in this section is that although most CDWs state a preference for the LD approach, the utility of SP is also discussed). Also included in Part two of the Results Chapter are the CDWs' perspective on working both within the Ministry and outside of the Ministry, along with suggestions by CDW's of the possible application of community development approaches both within the MSS organization and their collateral agencies.

CHAPTER FIVE - CDWI SUMMARY AND IMPLICATIONS

As found in the overall thrust of the Community Panel's recommendations, there are the beginnings of structural change occurring in British Columbia's Social Services, starting with the CDWI:

> We have to change how we view the work and that is where CD work comes in because what I start to do then for the child welfare workers is to identify the strengths of the community and how the Ministry doesn't have to wear this by itself. We (MSS) are in the community with other people and are partners and we can start as a community responsibility production chain, its not just our responsibility, we have to broaden it out. (a MSS CDW)

This chapter will conclude with a section detailing limitations and suggestions for further study; but first, both the questionnaire and the interview data from Chapter Four will be amalgamated in a detailed summary of the workers' descriptions.

CDWI IN PRACTICE

Rothman's Models' Applicability to the CDWI:

The creative efforts and often unique series of explanations and analysis in Chapter 4 suggest a reconceptualization of Rothman's three approaches to community organization.

Throughout the data-gathering exercises there were concerns and dissatisfaction expressed surrounding the

inadequacy of Rothman's framework to articulate the practice objectives of these workers.

Locality Development:

Most workers find utility and direction in the Locality Development approach, especially regarding the goals of inclusiveness, self-help, community capacity building, and the construction of consensual agreement with citizens' participation. Many CDW's feel that the actual process of forming cohesive and operational groups is not properly detailed. Some also assert that either more of a research/planning emphasis is needed in certain projects (Social Planning), or that what is missing is a stronger focus on change/action components to their work than the LD model can accommodate. So some workers either blend model approaches together or utilize practice that is more in-line with social action.

Social Action:

Social Action addresses the inequalities that lie both in the service systems and in other public and private institutions. The SA approach appears especially useful when the underlying causes of problems are identified. (Nonetheless, this assertion does not suggest that the other models cannot address change requirements.) Some workers embrace the Social Action approach. Conceptually, at least, most CDW's would agree that the model's emphasis on change is

a founding conception of the CDWI. Most workers feel a need to address issues of unequal power and have encountered many situations where disempowerment practices by various systems were evident. Again, at least conceptually, most CDW's would agree that all of these are key issues attached to their work. Advocacy and building political awareness are also considered by the CDWI to be useful and often necessary. Not one worker voiced a desire to actually discourage this approach for a group. Many say they would give the citizens information on a variety of strategies including SA. For many CDW's, however, visualizing their actual participation in the demand for change, protest, and confrontational planning components of SA is identified as a possible conflict with their other problem solving, integration, and inclusion activities with the various systems.

Social Planning:

A good portion of the CDWI time appears to be spent on designing inroads to improving the quality of service offered within MSS and the collateral agencies. The CD workers have identified (reluctantly in some cases) some of the constructs found in Rothman's description of the Social Planning method of community development. These SP identified activities range from the CDW's role as "need identifier" to acting as formal service providers. Workers are often involved in a single or combined strategy of service. These strategies

include task forces, inter-ministerial committees, and networking and planning activities with collateral agencies or the Ministry. CDW's often act as community development experts when providing information for traditional planning activities, change of service initiatives, staff training, and new service creation. At the same time, workers' projects require a knowledge of, and an ability to work within, large bureaucratic organizations. Furthermore, CD work requires skills in collecting information, analyzing data, and defining problems. Lastly, in their role as adjuncts to MSS, many of the workers' efforts and values speak to illuminating consumer/citizen group requests. CD workers are frequently advocating for system adjustments or changes while continuing to work within the system. This duel role creates strain as they struggle with institutional boundaries that have already been set in place.

It should be stressed that although the CDW's Social Planning activities have been identified with traditional ways of providing services, they are probably not inherently wrong. The Making Changes report and the over-all wishes of the CDWI are to begin a change in the way MSS conducts its services. This transformation requires the CDWI to be actively working with institutional needs, with technocrats and corporate cultures to contend with, along with mandates and policies that may have been politically or administratively conceived. It appears that some SP components are deemed necessary

activities for this change initiative to successfully occur. The key difference notable with CDW's using SP components is that this approach is usually enhanced by a strong emphasis on:

a) consumer/citizen attendance;
b) planning and education for consumer/citizen participation; or
c) acting as a spokesperson, link, and advocate for consumer/ citizen needs, interest, and input.

CDW's express strong reservations about the traditional assumption that social problems are best defined and addressed solely through the discourse of experts. All feel that consumer/community needs should be taken into account and that, ideally, consumer participation is required in the process of need definition, solution suggestions, and service execution. Some feel that stake-holder participation should be as high as 50% while others feel that many services could be conceptualized, planned, and operationalized by the citizens who require the service.

The Patterns that Developed through the CDW's Accounts:

To grasp a complete and accurate account of this complicated mini-organization that is both attached to and independent of MSS is probably beyond the scope of any one particular study. However, through the use of questionnaires, interviews and CDWI observations, a picture of the values, practice and visions of this program emerges from the data. The following is a re-organization of the key themes

identified in Chapter Four. This exercise further clarifies the CDWI both as a program and a way of practice.

CDWI : The initiative's foundations:

The CDWI data describes values that appear to have essentially humanistic foundations. Overall, the workers' values, goals and tasks reflect a belief in the intrinsic value of the cumulative process that occurs when people work together. The program also proposes a focus on strengths when it comes to practice rather than a focus on the needs of the people.

Integrative practice activities of the CDWI surround the goals and tasks of citizen/community participation, community capacity building, and Inclusiveness.

Change practice reflects: the CD workers' adherence to a focus on the process over the outcome and a preventative approach to practice and programs; the legitimacy in the system of the consumer turned planner; a focus on underlying issues (e.g. poverty, racism, sexism); and expansion of social services to include active involvement in creating and maintaining liveability in the neighbourhoods and communities.

Community empowerment process -- the group:

Step one: Worker/community familiarization: Workers feel that knowing the community is the vital step in grassroots

community work. Also included in this step is the process of trust building and relationship building.

Step two: Group building - genesis: This phase involves facilitating citizen involvement (e.g. the CD worker connects isolated citizens with one another and resources). The CD role may be to facilitate, clarify, or to educate. Other group building strategies reported are motivation building (empowerment) and consensus building activities.

Step three: Group building -- maturity: At this point, group leadership and group direction is expected to come from within the group. The CD workers report that their role is to facilitate linkages between the group and other beneficial systems. The CDW's role might also include being a resource person at this stage. What may emerge from these mature groups is a transformation from self-help activities to social political activities as well as community collaboration with other systems and community problem solving.

CDWI quality of service activities

Laying the groundwork for community-based service: These activities involve building collaboration between all possible stake-holders, increasing local input of service delivery, and planning and increasing integration. Thus, communities are linked with services and vice versa.

Laying the groundwork for practice change: Examples of the goals and tasks of the CDWI are: increasing awareness of

CD approaches to the players in all systems, educating systems players to give up power, changing the paternalistic approaches to case and service planning, changing the deficit model of practice, and working towards getting MSS and support services to recognize the need for CD values and practice.

Planning for institutional change: CDW's reported such activities as data gathering (ground work for community need anticipation), recognizing and reporting gaps in service, and problem-solving and planning activities.

There are often examples of a strong action/change stance by the CDWI. Many workers speak of advocating for changes to the way that traditional services define need (eg. the deficit model of assessment, needs defined by experts, overly psychologically-based support services). Workers feel there is a need to broaden MSS' mandate beyond crises services as well as to increase the communication flow between service structure levels. They also advocate the need to build community accountability into all levels of services.

What becomes evident from the CD workers' reports is that more activities are needed involving changing corporate culture within MSS and other large institutions. Workers report ongoing efforts to try to dilute the resistance to community based practice and service. Many CDW's state the need for increased endorsement of the CDWI at all levels of MSS. Some workers note that MSS requires further policy revisions in order to utilize the community consultative

approach within the institution, and that structural changes are needed to allow for consumer participation.

Other suggestions and observations are: the need to increase the flow of communication in all directions both from within and from outside of the organization; greater use of conferences involving SW/agency/clients to ensure a satisfactory fit between support services and consumer needs; the need for collateral agencies to better respond to community needs; the fact that MSS clients are not being given what they feel they need (SW might offer counselling when the family is saying they need daycare, housing, employment); and the division of line workers' caseloads by neighbourhood (in order to better use the strengths of the community).

Workers state that MSS needs to broaden its mandate. Doing so would help maintain a sustainable community and move MSS away from the provision of crises driven services. It is noted that commitment was missing at all levels regarding the endorsement of the Making Changes recommendations. Ministry policy needs to be more synchronized with community self-actualization activities.

Comments also include a suggestion for the requirement of more CD training within the Ministry. If there is going to be continued community consultation and community driven services, assurances need to be made that the information and structures are in place to sustain and utilize this valuable resource.

LIMITATIONS & FURTHER STUDY SUGGESTIONS:

With this year's upcoming Child, Family and Community Service Act, the MSS will be moving into more of a collaborative planning approach (especially with the provision of family conferences and dispute resolution methods of solving problems). The new act will probably make the CDWI appear more useful to the daily operations of the Ministry line worker. The act will also probably call for an increased need for line workers and managers to be trained in and to utilize CD practice in order to carry out the MSS mandate. However, further study is probably needed to assist the process of change in current policy and legislative mandates affecting social services institutions.

The Ministry and the CDWI is looking for an altered relationship between consumers and the MSS. Further explorative research in this area (e.g. into responsibility sharing, or on the focus on models and practices that have a tendency to be more responsive in meeting needs of the consumers) would be a great challenge and would provide rich content.

The exercise of extracting these workers' particular localities and situations is not fully addressed in this paper. There will thus be, undoubtedly, parts which connect to central themes, problems, and achievements of neighbourhood work not accounted for in this project.

What also is regrettably lacking from this research is acutely expressed by one worker during the interview portion of this study:

> I don't think you can do any research on community development without interviewing the members of the community because you're perpetuating the system you're trying to look at to change. I think what you should do is attach to each worker's section a community response. Then you get a perspective from the worker and the perspective from the people involved.

As well, the way in which the questionnaire was organized made workers feel that the intent was to find out 'What are you doing', not 'How are you doing it'. One future suggestion is to carry out a case study approach to the CDWs' projects. This measure may allow for the importance of community organization being a process-driven practice to be further examined and documented.

Another alternative approach to describing practice could be addressed more dynamically through the use of focus groups as the research measure. This inclusive, cumulative approach could have not only CDW's as participants, but also citizens, collateral and MSS workers, and management personnel. Suggested topics for these groups might include: regionalism, consumer participation, informal network building, greater use of non-professional volunteer time, and a practical and detailed exploration of the way in which close local relations evolve.

Another limitation of this paper is that, similar to the Making Changes Report, little has been written about the pervasive existence of gender discrimination in our society. From policy to alternative agencies' practices, this is an area that continues to be inadequately addressed. Hutchison summarizes:

> The child welfare system cannot be put on course without recognizing that the unequal power structure of the patriarchal society has negative consequences for many children.... the general welfare of children would be greatly enhanced if economically disadvantage and/or dependent women were not assigned sole responsible for their care (1994, pp 155-56).

Although many of the CDW's are involved in developing a range of different supportive relationships with women's needs in mind, it is not clearly articulated in the visions and goals of the program. The CDWI has the potential to be useful for many different community issues and human service organizations affecting women. Both the CDWI and the MSS may need to state more clearly the aim of the CDWI to help women address the problems they continually face. Also needed are properly funded services that are responsive to women and which provide a broader range of opportunities for those who need help or are experiencing difficulties.

Lastly, although not in this study, comparison worker profile (i.e. gender, cultural background and experience background) to (Rothman's) model selection might prove an interesting addition component to a study of the CDWI. An example, with regard to gender issues, might be: are there

differences between female and male workers in their approaches to community development?

These observations do not mean to suggest that the CDW's are not on the right track, or that the CDWI does not have the ability to impact and change the various players in their respective organizations. On the contrary, my impression is that CDW's have been, and continue to be, extremely innovative and effective in making inroads to their individual and collective aims.

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APPENDIX A

Sample of the CDWI Questionnaire

School of Social Work
2080 West Mall
Vancouver, B.C. Canada V6T 1Z2
Tel: (604) 822-2255 Fax: (604) 822-8656

Dear MSS Community Development Worker:

Hello, it's Rick Lawrie again - the social work student who is currently involved in a research project focusing on your program. I am now requesting your participation in the Questionnaire aimed at: The Utilization of Social Planning, Locality Development, or Social Action Models as Perceived by Social Services Community Development Workers in British Columbia.

The questionnaire should take one hour to complete, but it is really up to you what you wish to contribute. Any time you spend on this will be greatly appreciated.

As mentioned in the letter to you dated December 16, 1993, the benefits of your participation in this project will be in having different practice strategies documented and analyzed. It is also hoped that the findings of this project will prove useful for you and your co-workers by linking common strategies of community development to actual community development projects in progress. The findings obtained in this project will be presented in my major paper which compares community development initiatives with community development models.

You have the right to refuse participation or to withdraw at any time without any repercussions whatsoever. If the questionnaire is completed and mailed back, it will be assumed that consent has been given (If you find one of the questions doesn't apply, please write "N/A" beside it.) The data will not be used outside of this study and all information identifying the worker or community will be stripped from the data. When the data is summarized, the workers' names and the communities they were involved with will not be identifiable in the study's findings.

If you have any queries about the questionnaire, the findings of this project, or if there is any other way to further assist you, please do not hesitate to call me (733-6441) or my research class instructor, Gail Zuk (822-2255), Fax #: 822-8656.

As I have limited time to complete the analysis and final report, please try to have the draft questionnaire returned within ten days.

INTRODUCTION:

First, I would like to thank you for your consideration and input on the test questionnaire sent to you in December, 1993. I found the feedback quite useful and I hope the changes made address the suggestions offered.

It has been somewhat arduous developing this questionnaire. The focus of this study began with my interest in determining `how', `where', and `why' community development workers interact with the citizens, groups and institutions with which they are involved. Originally I tried to keep the questions as open-ended as possible in order to allow for differences in workers' styles and practices regarding community development. This created a problem with the questionnaire appearing not grounded in theory and perhaps resulting in delivering data with confusing results.

A review of the literature suggests there is a limited knowledge base for applying models of community development to actual field practice. The one possible exception to this is Rothman's (1968; 1986, Rothman & Tropman) three models of community development: the locality development model, social planning model and the social action model.

I now am relying on Rothman's models as points of reference. This may run the risk that the work you are currently involved with may or may not fit snugly into one or more of the models suggested. To offset this I begin by asking questions about the evolving process surrounding community development work which I hope will flush out themes that reflect Rothman's models. Please note: If the models suggested appear irrelevant, you do not have to adjust your experience to match any model. This is an explorative -descriptive study, unique accounts will be added to the Questionnaire's findings.

REFERENCE OF TERMS:

Rothman developed a framework that chiefly identifies three approaches to community work:

The locality development model realizes on broad, consensual citizen participation with a comprehensive cross section of people involved in determining and solving their own problems through group discussion and consensus building. A key goal with this approach is in building community capacity and increasing community inclusiveness.

The social planning model works from the assumption that solving social problems requires experts in the field of social planning. This approach utilizes social planners' technical abilities to both analyze data gathered from the community and to initiate complex change processes (often involving the manipulation of large bureaucratic organizations). Community participation may or may not be evident in this model and change is planned and controlled, and often confined to the boundaries of the institution(s) that are involved.

Social action approach assumes there is inequality throughout our society. Those citizens who are disempowered as a result of an inequitable system need to organize and make demands for change. This approach works towards fundamental organizational and changes in practice by organizing people to take action through conflict, confrontation, negotiation...workers are often involved in advocacy, brokering, and political partisanship.

Also for the purposes of clarity, this study uses Wharf's (1992) definition of community which is "...a network of individuals with common needs and issues". Community development or community organizing, practice or work is defined as a macro, non-clinical approach to social work practice that focuses on "...broader social approaches to human betterment,...developing enlightened social policy, organizing the effective delivery of services, strengthening community life, and preventing social ills (1986, Rothman & Tropman)".

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FINALLY A WORD OF THANKS:

As MSS Community Development Workers you have a seemingly wonderful open-ended mandate, freedom to explore creative service delivery approaches, and a built in challenge to break away from traditional ways of resolving child welfare issues.... Positive points. But I can also envision that there is an endless `so much to do list' and that you're out there with few limits to your job description -I can't see how you could not be increasingly busy on a good day, and, on a bad day, worked off your feet.

Although my project is not a program evaluation, it is a way of taking a snapshot of an innovative program in its initial start-up stage. If you can possibly steal some time to complete this questionnaire, your input will be appreciated and valued. I view the work you are doing as important to advancing service delivery, and extremely important as a de-isolating factor in our communities that have become, somehow, restrictive to many people.

THE MSS COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT WORKERS' QUESTIONNAIRE

(Note: If you need more space to answer a question or want to provide other examples, please use the extra paper provided at the end of the questionnaire. Do not forget to note the question # and the example # before continuing on with your answer.)

PART ONE:

Describe two examples (or even one example) of the communities you are working with. (e.g. what is the geographical area, population, and major issues defined by the community groups you were or are involved with).

Part One, Community Example I:

Geographical Area:

Population:

Major Issues Defined by your Group:

Part One, Community Example II:

Geographical Area:

Population:

Major Issues Defined by your Groups:

PART TWO:

With the communities you described in part one, describe your experiences as a community development worker around process (e.g. your experiences of the steps taken in engaging, forming and/or resolving issues/conflict with the communities you work with).

Part Two, Community Example I:

PART THREE:

What were some of the challenges surrounding the process of engaging, forming, and resolving work in your communities?

Part Three, Community Example I:

PART FOUR:

How do the activities in the communities you have described fit into one or more of the Rothman models of locality development, social planning or social action? Refer to Reference of Terms.

Part Four, Community Example I:

PART FIVE:

How do you think the models you have employed match your communities' needs, interests and issues?

Part Five, Community Example I:

SECTION II

[6] What part of British Columbia do you work in?

[7] What was your interest in choosing to work as a MSS Community Development Worker?

[8] How long have you been employed with the Ministry of Social Services?

( ) 1 - 3 years ( ) 3 - 5 years ( ) 5 plus years

If you have any other comments or observations, please add them here.

THANK YOU FOR TAKING THE TIME TO ANSWER THIS QUESTIONNAIRE

APPENDIX B

The CDWI Interview Guide

INTERVIEW GUIDE

Briefly define how you interpret `the Community Development perspective' (note: ask for workers feedback on Rothman's models and the previous questionnaire)

What were some of the challenges surrounding the process of engaging CD strategies with the various community players?

How are you and your program being received within the Ministry of Social Services? Please describe examples of forming relationships and resolving work difficulties within the MSSW organization?

Patsy George stated that CD Workers must analyze the new F&CS Act through the Community Development perspective, as opposed to a child-protection perspective. Could you please attempt to clarify the following:

* How do the activities of your CD project and the Ministry's plans for organizational change fit together?

* How do the Ministry's present activities fit or not fit into the CDWP vision?

* Do you see any areas where the CD approach could clash with a child protection mandate?

* How do you think a CD approach could enhance Child Welfare practice?

APPENDIX C

Letter of Agency Approval

APPENDIX D

Certificate of Approval Behaviourial Sciences Screening Committee Research and other Studies Involving human Subjects

APPENDIX E

Pre-Test of the CDWI Questionnaire

School of Social Work
2080 West Mall
Vancouver, B.C. Canada V6T 1Z2
Tel: (604) 822-2255 Fax: (604) 822-8656

Introduction to the MSS Community Development Workers Questionnaire

As I went over with you in the presentation at the team meeting on December 16, 1993, my name is Richard Lawrie, I am a Graduate Student at the School of Social Work and I am keenly interested in the work you are currently doing. To review, I am involved in a class research project in which I plan to study: The Directions of Grassroots Initiatives as Perceived by Social Services Community Development Workers in British Columbia.

I have designed the attached questionnaire to be as open-ended as possible in order to allow for differences in workers' styles and practices regarding community development. What I am interested in is your thoughts on what strategies you and the citizen group(s) devised and employed to both organize people and to develop the group's initiatives. The questionnaire should take no longer than one hour to complete - but it is really up to you what you wish to contribute, any time you spend on this will be greatly appreciated.

You have the right to refuse participation or to withdraw at any time without any repercussions whatsoever. If the questionnaire is completed and mailed back, it will be assumed that consent has been given. The data will not be used outside of this study and all information identifying the worker or community will be stripped from the data. When the data is summarized, the workers' names and the communities they were involved with will not be identifiable in the study's findings.

The benefits for your participation in this project will be in having different practice strategies both documented and analyzed. It is also hoped that the findings of this project will prove useful for you and your co-workers in clarifying what major themes in community development strategies repeatedly get utilized for what particular community interest or need. The findings obtained in this project will be presented in my major paper which compares community development initiatives with community development models.

If you have any queries about the questionnaire, the findings of this project, or if there is any other way to further assist you, please do not hesitate to call me (733-6441) or my research class instructor, Gail Zuk (822-2255), Fax #: 822-8656.

***

Enclosed is a sheet of questions, also there is a work book provided with the question sheet for your answers. Don't forget to write down the number of the question in the work book before you begin your answer. If you find one of the questions doesn't apply, please write the number of the question in the work book anyway, and write "N/A" beside it. If you object to a question, feel free to write why you object, or just write "N/A beside the number in the work book.

Thank you very much for your help.

If you find one of the questions doesn't apply, please write "N/A" beside it. If you object to a question, feel free to write why you object, or just write "N/A beside the comment section. Also feel free to scratch out words or phrases on this sheet and add on anything you would like to see.

There will also be attached sheets that have space provided were you may make comments about any other area that you would like to see explored.

If all the questions seem fine to you, and you do not wish to add any other question to the Questionnaire, THERE IS NO NEED TO RETURN THIS FORM TO ME.

Part I:

[1] "Describe how you are approaching community development work, please site examples regarding strategies you've employed."

Comments:_____

[2] "If you haven't already done so, tell me what was the major issues so far defined by the community group you were or are involved with."

Comments:_____

[3] "What makes the strategies work or not work."

Comments:_____

[4] "How do you think the strategies could work better?"

Comments:_____

Part II

[5] "What part of British Columbia do you now work in?"

Comments or changes:_____

[6] "If you have not already done so in section one: describe, briefly, your regional area's social, political and economic condition."

Comments or changes:_____

[7] "What do you see as your regions' over all strengths and weaknesses?"

Comments or changes:_____

Part III

[8] "What was your interest in choosing to work as a MSS Community Development Worker?"

Comments or changes:_____

[9] "How long have you been employed with the Ministry of Social Services?"

Comments or changes:_____

[10] "How long have you practised in the human services field?"

Comments or changes:_____

_____

_____

_____

[11] "What degrees, qualifications, work experience do you bring with you to this area of work?"

Comments or changes:_____

_____

_____

_____

If you have any other suggestions, comments or other questions you would like to see in the questionnnaire, Please add them here.