CATALYTIC ALLIANCES:
INTERORGANIZATIONAL COORDINATION OF SERVICES
FOR WOMEN WHO HAVE EXPERIENCED VIOLENCE

by

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ABSTRACT

Violence against women in Canada affects thousands daily, taking the forms of physical, sexual, emotional, psychological and financial abuse, and murder. Organizations that work with these women contain power in the form of resources, vested societal legitimacy and authority, endowing them with tremendous potential for the transformation of a status-quo that perpetuates - through unconsciousness or design - a violent society, resulting in the oppression of women. Interorganizational coordination is a postmodernist technology of action that has been shown, in past research, to ameliorate and even remedy the causes and effects of a fragmented organizational community through reactive and proactive coordinative behaviours.

This study used three research methodologies to explore the community of organizations within the City of Richmond, B.C. Results showed a climate that was lacking in specialized or support services for women, in policies and protocols regarding violence, in information exchange among service providers and to women, as well as a disparity in the standards and levels of professional training. There was also an emphasis on the roles and responsibilities of organizations concerning violence against women.

Interorganizational coordination in the City of Richmond has already alleviated some of these concerns and, through continued short-term problem-solving and long-term visionary planning, has the potential of instigating dynamic and progressive change at many levels through a catalytic alliance, or negotiated solidarity for the purposes of societal transformation.
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Foremost, I would like to acknowledge all of the women who shared and participated in the studies, discussion groups, and in the creation of the questionnaires - your words and experiences are valuable and fundamental in our struggles towards stopping the violence forever.

I would like to extend a heartfelt appreciation to all members of the Richmond Violence Against Women In Relationships Coordination Committee for all of the years of passionate discussion, debate and action that led to a unique meeting of minds and hearts that continues to advocate for social transformation. We make the road by walking (Paulo Freire).

I would especially like to thank Nell-Anne Toegel, Theresa Harding, Debra MacIver and Louise Hudson for all of those hours of creative ‘process’ and mutual enlightenment. Sincere gratitude to Roopchand Sebaran, Frank Tester, and again to Nell Toegel, for continued guidance and mentorship. Special thanks to David Iligano for selflessly agreeing to edit hours of material, for teaching me the value of relaxation, and for the inspiration to go on through the roughest times.

Finally, I would like to thank and send a deep appreciation to my parents and family without whose undying patience and support in every way possible over the years would have made it impossible to complete this work.
DEDICATION

This work is dedicated

To the Women and Children who didn't get away;

To Those who did;

To Those who are still trying;

And to Those who work and dream to make the world a more just and safer place, so that maybe one day we can move on to lesser battles, knowing that the worst is over.
Introduction

In 1993, Statistics Canada performed the most widescale and exhaustive national study in the world on the issue of male violence against women. The investigation revealed that just over one half of all Canadian women had experienced at least one form of violence or abuse since the age of 16, and that 29% of these women experienced this violence from a spousal partner. The implications of these epidemic proportions of violence are staggering in the terms of human, societal and economic costs.

In the past 20 years, organizational responses to violence against women have been eclectic and diverse, reflecting variables such as the prevailing political climate and ideology of the time, dominant social hegemonic trends around the status and roles of women, national economics, and individual organizational agendas. Previous research in the business, managerial and social policy sectors indicated that interorganizational coordination (IOC) typically streamlined and improved the quality of service provision for various populations in a number of ways, facilitating the building of a community of organizations that shared the same problem domain and therefore creating a basis from which they could collectively advocate for and/or share resources, funding, interventive

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2 This includes only the legal definitions of physical and sexual violence according to the Criminal Code of Canada, where the situation can be acted upon by a police officer. This survey did not include other serious forms of abuse - eg. emotional, psychological and financial.
3 This includes both marital and common-law situations, only between heterosexual couples (male violence against a female).
4 Eg. see Weirich, Perlmutter and Brown (1977); Nishimoto, Weil and Theil (1991); Alter, (1990).
technologies, and so on. Currently, significant IOC among Canadian social service organizations in the area of violence against women is practically non-existent.

A recent development in governmental/organizational strategies in British Columbia regarding violence against women, stimulated by the B.C. Ministry of Attorney General’s 1993 Violence Against Women in Relationships Policy, has been the creation of interorganizational coordination teams and alliances across the judicial, medical, legal, social service, educational, community organizing and feminist sectors. This study is an introductory exploration of several aspects of interorganizational coordination, specifically regarding services for women who have experienced violence. It will investigate the organizational climate and community of services for women who have experienced violence in the City of Richmond from various viewpoints, and will extrapolate from the data specific conditions that can be positively addressed from interorganizational service coordination within a community. The study will also examine the structures, processes and dynamics of an existing interorganizational team, as well as outline and describe interorganizational models, methodologies, super- and substructural processes, and identify IOC as a potential problem-solving mechanism. Finally, it will introduce a theoretical link between the use of collective organizational power in the form of IOC, and societal transformation, within the concept of a catalytic alliance.

Chapter One will provide a descriptive overview of the issues surrounding violence against women, as well as an historical background of the Canadian

---

5 No studies regarding IOC for Canadian organizations that provide services to women who experience
government's response to violence against women. It will conclude with a critique of the B.C. Ministry of Attorney General's 1993 Violence Against Women Policy and will introduce the move towards service coordination. Chapter Two will investigate two modernist theoretical and ideological analyses of violence against women - the intrapsychological/medical and socio-structural - and their resulting intervention strategies. It will end with a postmodern critique of these theories, and will discuss the function of power as a fundamental variable in developing alternate technologies of interventions. The organization will be introduced as a potential site of societal transformation. Chapter Three will provide a background and foundation of interorganizational issues firstly by describing common theories of organizational behaviour, and then by outlining significant aspects of interorganizational coordination from the micro, meso and macro levels. It will end with a brief literature review of past studies in the interorganizational coordination of social services, surveying previous investigative methodologies, findings, and contributions of the studies to the format and techniques of the research utilized in this study. Chapter Four will discuss in detail the three research methodologies used in this study: 1) a needs assessment of all service providers in the City of Richmond with a full or partial mandate to serve women who have experienced violence; 2) a pilot study with women who have experienced violence on their perceptions of interorganizational coordination in the City of Richmond, and 3) a content examination of minutes, proceedings and reports from the Richmond Violence Against Women in Relationships Committee over a period of about 3 years following violence have been found to this date.
the evolution towards a coordinated response to violence in the City of Richmond. This chapter will also present the quantitative and qualitative data collected from the two surveys, as well as a discussion of the findings in relation to interorganizational coordination.

Chapter Five will utilize information from the content examination of minutes and workshop proceedings of an existing IOC committee to further illustrate the use of organizations as sites of counter-hegemony and transformation, and to explore fundamental aspects of the coordinative effort - visioning, process and action. The Conclusion will be a summary of key points drawn from this study, a critique of the use of coordination, suggestions for further investigation, and a discussion of the implications of the main findings for women who experience violence, for service providers and organizations, for social workers, and for society.
The ‘Issue’: Violence Against Women in Intimate Relationships

Chapter One

The ‘Issue’: Violence Against Women in Intimate Relationships

“2 Quebec girls in hospital after mother, sisters slain”  
(Vancouver Sun, January 21, 1996)

“Five (female) murders in less than a week...”  
(Vancouver Province, October 10, 1995)

“No war on women? Try checking the casualty lists...”  
(Vancouver Sun, October 1995)

“Man given 2 year term for slaying wife”  
(Globe and Mail, August 8, 1990)

‘Death’ is the ultimate headline and seems to be a common and surefire way for women, or social issues regarding women, to trickle into the arena of public discourse. Media sensationalism surrounding the murder of women at the hands of a partner still tends to convey incidences of violence against women as ‘exceptional events’, suffocating the more insidious and pervasive issue of violence into concise, non contextual and radically simplified ‘sound bites’. (Mitroff and Bennis, 1993) Stories are engineered to stimulate brief bursts of ‘trend’ interest until closure, usually through an act of ‘justice’ to provide psychological completion for a mass audience before the story grows ‘cold’ or ‘stale’. This tactic typically diminishes the space and time necessary through the fora of mainstream media for widescale popular analysis, and results in a fragmented and patchwork representation of an issue that is a daily reality for thousands of Canadian women. Even in cases where media scrutiny lasts for a significantly longer period of time - such as in the 1995 Nicole Brown-Simpson murder trial - the issue is susceptible to being diffused and perverted in the race for competitive journalistic reporting. (Postman and Powers, 1992)
Sociocultural, structural and ideological links are almost never made that connect violent events to one another, fracturing instances of abuse into hundreds of 'isolated cases'. Analyses tend to halt at individualistic and psycho-medical levels, reducing the issue to single dimensions, e.g. ascribing causal factors to personal histories, unique situational events or ethno-specificity. A closer inspection of the cumulative statistical evidence of violence against women over several years would suggest factors that reach above and beyond the mainstream illusion of exceptionality. From 1973 to 1992, in Canada, 1,886 women were killed by their spouses\(^1\) - a rate of almost 100 women a year. This number suggests something more insidious than the results of interpersonal conflict - more along the lines of "...massacre and mass psychosis..."\(^2\) - silent genocide on the basis of gender.

The death of a woman at the hands of a partner is simply the tip of the iceberg. For women who suffer violence at the hands of a male partner\(^3\) death may arrive as the end result and culmination of years of varied forms of abuse that range the spectrum of emotional, verbal, psychological and financial manipulations, to sexual and physical assaults. Relative to female abuse statistics, death is but one component in the array of violent actions directed towards women across the nation. Confounding this figure is the

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\(^3\) In Canada, between the years of 1974 and 1988, 43% of all women murdered were killed by their male spouse, as opposed to 6% of all men murdered by their female spouses.
fact that 75% of all violent personal crimes committed against women go unreported, as well as 90% of all sexual assaults\(^4\).

Conclusions of the 1993 Statistics Canada survey\(^5\) into women's experiences of physical and sexual violence\(^6\) are shocking in that more than half of all Canadian women aged 18 and older can be legally considered 'victims of violence', reporting "...being choked, sexually assaulted, beaten up, hit with something, having a gun or knife used against them."\(^7\) One in four of these women experienced violence at the hands of a current or past marital partner.\(^8\) Researchers estimated that a woman would be abused by her partner in as many as an average of 35 violent episodes before she would seek police intervention\(^9\), and that violence does not necessarily stop with pregnancy, with 21% of women assaulted while they were pregnant. According to provincial rankings, British Columbia had the ominous position of placing highest in Canada for violence against women at 59% of all respondents.

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\(^5\) This study consisted of interviews of 12,300 women across the nation.

\(^6\) These *only* included behaviors legally considered an offense under the Canadian Criminal Code, i.e. those that could be acted upon by a police officer. This study did not investigate any of the numerous 'non-physical' abuses that are also included in the definition of violence against women.


Violence against women in relationships can be defined as physical, sexual, verbal, or the threat of physical or sexual assault by men with whom women have or have had an intimate relationship. It is an act of power and control, and includes other behaviors such as stalking, intimidation, destruction of property, mental or emotional abuse, neglect, control, financial exploitation and deprivation. It is important to note that violence should be defined by the woman's experience, not the offender's, and is never justifiable. Violence against women is a social problem, affecting women of all races, classes, religions, ages, mental and physical abilities, and occupations.

Figure 1
*From the Statistics Canada Violence Against Women Survey Sample Tables, 1993

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10 This was defined by the Needs Assessment Subcommittee of the Richmond Violence Against Women in Relationships Coordination Committee.
Table 1
Number of women 18 years and over who have experienced violence in the past 12 months by age, household income and education, Canada, 1993

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Total female population</th>
<th>Percentage of total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>No. (thousands)</strong></td>
<td>%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>10,498</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Age group</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18-24</td>
<td>1,315</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25-34</td>
<td>2,338</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35-44</td>
<td>2,256</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45-54</td>
<td>1,628</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55 and over</td>
<td>2,961</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Household income</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Less than $15,000</td>
<td>1,324</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$15,000-$29,999</td>
<td>1,860</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$30,000-$59,999</td>
<td>3,580</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$60,000 or more</td>
<td>2,036</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not stated/don’t know</td>
<td>1,698</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Education</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Less than high school</td>
<td>2,747</td>
<td>26</td>
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<tr>
<td>High school diploma</td>
<td>2,805</td>
<td>27</td>
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<tr>
<td>Some post secondary</td>
<td>3,299</td>
<td>31</td>
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<tr>
<td>University degree(s)</td>
<td>1,628</td>
<td>16</td>
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</table>

(From The Daily report on the Violence Against Women Survey, November 1993
Courtesy Statistics Canada)

The term 'violence against women' was chosen over the terms 'spousal assault, domestic abuse, and family violence' throughout this paper as such terminology is a mystification of the real issue which is, in fact, violence against women. These terms are "...neutral and obscure the dimensions of gender and power fundamental to understanding that it is men who use violence against women as a powerful means of controlling them." (Baines et al, 1993).
The effects of a woman being physically and psychologically terrorized are multidimensional. At the individual level, violence affects the physical, mental and emotional aspects of the woman: Physical abuse is the most overt form of violence and can range from bruises and scratches to fractured and broken bones, burns, the hemorrhaging of internal organs, forced sexual activity, miscarriages, and so on. Many abused women would attest that the non-physical scarring is more insidious and takes a much longer time to heal as the woman may go through a variety of coping techniques to come to a sense of closure with the issue, sometimes even decades after the abuse has stopped. Emotionally, women can experience any of hundreds of behaviours such as withdrawal, intense anger, depression, self-blame and hatred, self-abuse through substances, anxiety, helplessness, etc. Mentally, the woman may have to deal with psychosomatic illnesses (such as migraines, sleeplessness, loss of appetite) and any other 'clinically' definable stress- and fear-related neurosis, such as Post-Traumatic Stress Syndrome and 'Battered Wife Syndrome', that may require intervention by counseling and/or other health professionals. (refer to Randall, 1989; Warrior; Burstow, 1992) There are spillover effects onto her children (it is usual in cases of violence against women that the children themselves are also physically, sexually or emotionally abused), family and friends, spiraling out to her employer, her interactions with other people and, ultimately, society as a whole. There is a loss of productivity in the workplace, as well as an economic impact upon services themselves: a conservative estimate is that violence against women costs Canadians $4.2 billion a year - $2.3 billion in social services and education,
The 'Issue': Violence Against Women in Intimate Relationships

$872 million from the criminal justice system, $576 million from loss in employment, and $408 million in medical care.11

"Why doesn't she just leave?"

"...it is an unfounded belief that many battered women could simply leave if they wanted to..." (Sullivan et al, 1992)

The decision to leave a violent relationship is more complex and based in more than just the pure emotional or psychological factors that mainstream 'conventional wisdom' would have people believe - numerous factors impact upon a woman who is being abused making it exceedingly hard, if not impossible, to escape the cycle of violence. Oftentimes, the will or desire to escape abuse is not enough to free a woman of a violent situation.

Firstly, there is the very real fear of reprisals and further violent attacks from a partner who may go as far as to physically restrain a woman from leaving. Transition houses have to deal with the common problem of a partner following the woman, or finding out where she is hiding. The violence and manipulation that comes after an escape or attempted escape is usually intensified in order to exert further control over the woman. Insufficient or inappropriate police intervention exacerbates this issue with police officers trained to mediate disputes and restore order in the family setting, and, where zero tolerance policies do not yet exist, to only press charges if the woman herself requests it. Even after leaving the situation, statistics show that divorced and separated women are more likely to be violently attacked than any other segment of society.12

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restraining orders - all of those things, they don’t work. Police officers will tell you that.”

Secondly, “...insufficient resources trap women in abusive relationships...” (Sullivan et al, 1992). In North American society, it is still common for males to be the primary earners and for women to stay at home to raise children. In this case, a woman planning to leave her partner would have to take into very serious consideration her economic situation, especially if she may have to collect welfare to support her children. This is compounded by the woman having been out of a work environment for years, as well as issues of race, language barriers, education, disability, and so on. Also, it is not unusual for women who leave violent relationships to have to quit their jobs to escape being found by their partners. Drops in income lead to “...loss of stability and social contact...” (Baines et al, 1992) - affordable housing is usually unavailable in the woman’s local community. Lack of community resources and support, especially in rural areas, creates an unfriendly environment that is not conducive to her leaving. This includes lack of employment opportunities, child care, lack of educated professional and legal support, limited second stage housing, outreach, preventative services or follow-ups from organizations/agencies that work with women.

Thirdly, a woman leaving a relationship may have to become part of the legal system, especially where children are involved. Issues such as restraining orders and peace bonds, custody and access allowances, child support, divorce, division of property and criminal charges would place the woman in the court system which has been used as

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an expensive gladiatorial arena - a place for revictimization from her partner and his lawyers, for humiliation and loss of dignity. This is exacerbated by having to wait months for court dates, given the current backlog of cases in the system. The legal system has only just started to contextualize violence against women and to maintain zero-tolerance policies, but it is still a treacherous system for many to traverse. Women are still asked to sign waivers that give police access to medical and employment information - cases have been built on irrelevant information by lawyers to discredit victims. Shelters and women's rape crisis lines have been taken to court for not handing over transcripts and confidential counseling notes, and now it is common practice by these agencies to regularly shred all proceedings. As well, referring to precedents set by the Canadian courts, violent men who kill their wives may get away with minimal sentences - an average of 5 years. In some instances, killers walked away with as little as 18 month sentences\(^\text{14}\) for murdering their wives, a message sent to women of the Canadian justice system’s insensitivity to this crime. A woman could expect very little jail time for her abusive partner, and pittance when coming to legal reparations. Media events such as the Nicole Brown-Simpson murder case have been shown to have negative effects on women’s decisions to leave violent situations\(^\text{15}\) as women witness both what they may have to go through in legal battles, and the end results.

Fourthly, violence is a psychological manipulation on the part of the abuser, causing the women to take part in a ‘conspiracy of silence’ based on her denial of the situation: “You’d rather pretend it didn’t happen. It’s hard to believe that the person who

\(^\text{14}\) "Judge gives wife killer 18 months" (1990, August 8) Globe and Mail.
\(^\text{15}\) "O.J. talks of Nicole, public perceptions" (1995, October 12) San Francisco Examiner, A10.
loves you turns around and beats you.”

A woman may feel stigmatized, embarrassed or responsible for the abuse, with a “...brainwashed loyalty to the abuser.” (Brekke, 1985)

Personal reasons for staying in the relationship include, among many others, cultural and community values and pressure, religious beliefs, gender roles and socialization, denial, and love. The ‘cycle of violence’ is one psychological pattern that abusive relationships are seen to fall into that “...repeats and often increases in lethality...” (Mid Valley Women’s Crisis Service), following very distinct stages:

This pattern is recognized by most counsellors working in the field and is described as an insidious mental manipulation from which it is very difficult to break out. The abuser plays upon the woman’s fear and desire to maintain a relationship during the ‘honeymoon’ phase with promises of change, and so on. A false comfort level is created, allowing a period of tension buildup until the next violent episode. The cycle spirals outwards to more dangerous levels with the abuse getting worse, as well as the manipulation in the aftermath. Other psychological theories include the ‘Stockholm’ or ‘hostage’ syndrome, named for the psychological state induced in victims by terrorists. This develops as psychological traits like living in ‘survival mode’, as well as “...a complex

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16 Sean Fine. “Feelings of battered women similar to POW’s, experts say” (1994, May 5) Globe and Mail.
emotional bonding which can occur between the assaulted and perpetrator...in part because her emotional attachment to the man precedes the abuse..."17

Systemic Interventions of Violence Against Women in Canada: A Historical Overview

"This is the last great outrage our culture tolerates against women as a group. We have been slow to confront it because it happens in the privacy of the family, and is often concealed by humiliated or frightened victims and is protected by social convention." (Marianne Means, Vancouver Sun, October 12, 1995)

In the realm of social policy, Canada ranks modestly on the scale of progressive action in the area of violence against women. Historically, there was minimal recourse for a woman who had experienced abuse from her spouse or intimate family member. The state upheld the ‘sanctity’ of the nuclear family, refusing to intervene in this last sphere of ‘freedom and privacy’. Controversial matters - such as violence - were left to be worked out through interpersonal networks such as the church, relatives or neighbors. Prior to the nineteenth century, it was generally considered the “…husband’s obligation to control, correct and manage his wife and children through the use of physical force.” (Baker, 1990) In Canada, Old English Common law sanctioned this assault for ‘correctional purposes’ “…for some misdemeanors to beat (the) wife severely with scourges or cudgels…” (Baker, 1990) There was a tentative ‘breakthrough’ in the late 1800’s with advocacy of the ‘rule of thumb’ law - a man was allowed to beat his wife with a rod no thicker than the width of his thumb. Only in 1890 was wife beating outlawed in most of North America.

17 Sean Fine. “Feelings of battered women similar to POW’s, experts say” (1994, May 5) Globe and Mail
In Canada, in the latter half of the nineteenth century, women were granted divorces only through Parliamentary review of the case, and only in instances of sodomy, adultery or 'extreme cruelty'. In the Canadian Criminal Code from 1901 to 1965, men could be sent to jail for up to two years for the offense only if he caused his wife "...actual bodily harm." (Baker, 1990) In effect, the law required that the woman be physically maimed in order to get justice, legal support and alimony. A woman, however, could have access to an array of psychiatric help to alleviate the effects of violence, including pharmaceutical and surgical treatments for symptoms like depression, anxiety, or any resulting psychosis stemming from the attempt to cope.

It took revolutionary events in the course of the twentieth century that would pave the rocky road for a legitimized governmental response to violence against women. The federal vote (1918, 1940 in Quebec), mass inculcation of women into the workforce in the 1940's, legalized distribution of birth control (1960) and an amendment to the Criminal Code of Canada in 1969 that made it legal to disseminate information on birth control, leaked to women a share of control and power over their own lives. (Adamson et al, 1988) The 'second wave' of feminism in the late 1960's pressured the Canadian and United States governments to start recognizing 'women's issues', and to actually respond to them as having individual and group rights that were in need of pronouncement and protection. But, it was not until the 1970's that violence against women was flagged as a social issue by the grassroots women's movement. Existing services "...would not have been developed without the committed energy and effective lobbying of grassroots coalitions." (Davis, et al, 1994) Only in 1972 did Vancouver Rape Relief and Canada's first transition house in Toronto open their doors to women who had been victimized.
There has been a quadrupling of shelters since that time, but there still is an acute shortage of space (Baines et al, 1992). In 1987 there were 230 shelters in Canada, up from 81 in 1972. In one year between 1993 and 1994, 86,000 women and children across Canada fled to shelters to escape violence.\textsuperscript{18}

In 1981, women's rights to equality were entrenched in Section 28 of the new Canadian Constitution. Later, it was suggested that this along with Sections 7 and 15 of the Charter of Rights and Freedoms could be used to sue the Crown for breaches of justice in the mishandling of abuse cases.\textsuperscript{19} It was only in 1982 that the first woman was appointed to the Supreme Court of Canada - until then, the highest appeal in the land was in the hands of an 'old boy's network'. In 1982 the climate was still such that ‘...laughter greeted a question about wife abuse in Parliament.’\textsuperscript{20}

In the 1980's and early 1990's, increasing attention was paid to the issue of violence given the surfacing of statistics and media exposés of the treatment of cases and victims by police, lawyers and judges. Authorities still tended not to treat men who abused their wives as criminals, calling the killings 'crimes of passion' that were somehow provoked. Sympathies tended to side with the offenders: ‘...he was not a real criminal, he loved his wife...he was a good citizen...depressed, troubled...his wife had left him...’ (These comments about a man who stabbed to death his wife and two baby children). As well, ‘...any criticism of masculinity or sexual prowess is seen as the unforgivable

\textsuperscript{18} Canadian Press. "86,000 women, children fled family violence" (1994, January 14) Vancouver Sun, pp. A6. The article does not suggest whether this consists solely of unique, or both unique and repeat incidences.
\textsuperscript{20} Sean Fine. “Feelings of battered women similar to POW’s, experts say” (1990, May 5) Globe and Mail.
provocation.”

Only in 1982 was it legal for a man to be charged with the sexual assault - rape - of his wife.

For the most part, governmental policies remained what they started out as - good intentions. The gap between rhetoric and reality seemed unbridgeable. Policies were seen as “...obsolete, ineffective and deceptive...” focusing on reactive sanctions, policing and treatment as opposed to education, early detection, intervention, and other proactive strategies.

Currently, technology is being used in the reaction to violence - electronic monitoring bracelets for violent men; personal alarm systems for women that instantly alert police in high risk situations to respond in approximately 3 minutes; the Canadian Police Information Center (CPIC) computer system that registers the existence of restraining orders so that police can make immediate arrests. The use of new crisis/reactive-oriented technology can be seen as a step ahead, but it has also been criticized as giving women false senses of security in highly dangerous and life-threatening situations: electronic bracelets have been taken off, personal alarm systems have malfunctioned, or not been responded to in time:

"People are seeing this as a silver bullet. It's not... It will not perform magic. It's electronics...the victim is going to think that they are safe to some degree...they'll take less precautions and we may be doing more damage than not. If you don't

22For example, “...three years of zero tolerance policies have not reduced the number of domestic assaults, police statistics show...” from "Domestic assault policy" (1995, September 11) Globe and Mail.
treat the person while they’re on the electronics, then they’re going to be just as angry and mad...when they get off as when they went on.”

As well, it may take as long as 6 months to enter a criminal restraining order file on the CPIC system, while peace bonds (or ‘family orders’) may not necessarily get onto the system in the first place.

Nation-wide programs are being implemented for early detection of violence, including making hospital emergency room staff, general practitioners and obstetricians/gynecologists screen for physical signs of abuse. Cities and municipalities, as well as policing and judiciary bodies, are slowly adopting ‘zero-tolerance’ policy stances, and politicians are recognizing the interests of lobbyists who are increasingly capturing media attention on the subject.

The B.C. Ministry of Attorney General’s Policy on Violence Against Women

In 1983, there came into existence the provincial British Columbia Wife Assault policy which, much like the later revised 1986 version “…largely remained shelved…” and was rarely - if ever - put into action. The policy seemed to be a gesture of *symbolic politics*, giving the impression that the government was taking action but in reality, the redistribution of power that policy is supposed to ensure - resources, funding, authority and leadership - remained at status quo; no more than bureaucratic lip service. Credit should be given to British Columbia as it was the only province with a governmental Wife

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28 Kay Charbonneau, Program Director for the Violence Against Women in Relationships Policy, Ministry of Attorney General - telephone interview.
Assault policy, although other provinces (such as Manitoba and Ontario) were leaders in the non-governmental realm.

Because of the ineffective implementation of the policy and its later revised edition, response to abuse cases from the 'system' of organizations/agencies - the police, Crown, Family Courts, lawyers and policy makers - was eclectic and individual, without a foundation to streamline effective intervention. The issue itself was seen "...in the family setting as being transformed into a professional psychiatric or counseling problem. The 'battered wife' concept (was) substituted for the political analysis of violence against women." (Adamson et al, 1988). The conservative federal government seemingly did not want to address the issue - progressive action laid out in the form of important reports were squashed, "...being tabled...failing to receive endorsement from some Progressive Conservative members of the health and welfare committee because they said parts of it were too feminist..."29 This limited the government to initiating softline approaches such as 'community education discussions'.

There were stirrings of discontent from 'higher-ups', such as the 1991 Justice Minister McCrae's statement that "...it never seemed fair to me that a woman and child have to run off to a shelter. If the alleged offender were behind bars, the victims would be safe."30 He then went on to label the Criminal Code of Canada and administrative law as "...woefully inadequate in protecting women from violence and abuse."31 Policies and resulting funding allocations continued to focus on reactive measures - opening of

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31 Ibid.
transition houses or funding of treatment programs - "...the way to protect women is not
to build higher walls, with security measures...but must provide long range help in
educating..."\textsuperscript{32}

In 1993 after the Statistics Canada survey, there was to be no more political
sidestepping of the issue. The B.C. Ministry of Attorney General created a Violence
Against Women and Children Committee that actively worked on research on the issue of
provision and gaps of service and existing policy shortcomings. The 1993 revised Policy
"...set out to emphasize the criminality of violence within relationships..."\textsuperscript{33} - not just an
incremental move of several degrees, but a jump start from stasis to dynamism. The
policy pronounced and more definitively outlined objectives and goals, detailing specific
intervention from police, Crown Counsel, corrections, justice of the peace, and so on. A
major focus was on proactive arrest taking the onus to press charges off from the woman
and onto the Crown that "...represents on behalf of society a wider public interest."\textsuperscript{34}
Police, given reasonable and probable cause of arrest are urged to do so at the scene of a
dispute - regardless of the woman’s wishes - taking into consideration the dynamics of
intimate abuse. The woman would not be charged with contempt of court by refusing to
testify as a witness.

Policy in itself does not solve social problems, but can lead to an improvement in
the quality of problem solving. A main obstacle facing the effective policy implementation
is a lack of funding - there are just not the resources available to ensure the delivery of

\textsuperscript{32} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{33} See the 1993 Violence Against Women in Relationships Policy
\textsuperscript{34} Ibid.
policy output. Staff are forced to make decisions based on their resources. "The justice system is getting backed up...it decided to get tough on abuse of women and is shocked when the system becomes inundated with perpetrators..." As well, there needs to be parallel policy in health and welfare, social services, and so on.

The policy identified a dramatic need for education, training and awareness on the part of the professionals. "One of the biggest problems we face comes from ignorance." The Attorney General also supported innovations such as creating new sections in the Vancouver city police for specialized domestic violence prosecutors, inspectors and squads, with the Minister of Attorney General, Ujjal Dosanjh, realizing that "...domestic violence...is a specialized form of violence and you need special skills to deal with it...You need a certain degree of expertise."

The Move Towards Coordination

A strong emphasis was placed on the interorganizational coordination of services to rectify the past eclecticism of response across agencies, to strengthen the existing and plan future response, and also as a way to cut costs by pooling resources:

"...the policy reinforces the Ministry of Attorney General's commitment to a multi-agency, coordinated effort, including cooperation with community agencies, in responding to a complex social problem." Coordination of services had already been established in the United States (eg. Duluth, Minnesota; Florida; Washington state) with much success, resulting in stronger

38 See the 1993 Violence Against Women in Relationships Policy
collegiate ties and networking among many aspects of the system which then led to shared problem solving and advocacy, to actual changes in state laws and legislation, and in increased funding to new and existing programs. It also paved the way towards a dramatic improvement in professional sensitivity, the quality of interventions, and in proactive organizational behaviours.

Currently, there are several already-established coordination committees in Greater Vancouver after a pilot 'experimental' committee was initially set up in Vancouver in 1990, with the Battered Women's Support Services chosen to administer the project. At this time there are only 6 funded committees - in Victoria, Vancouver, Comox, Nelson, Williams Lake and Campbell River. Mostly, there are non-funded or 'volunteer' committees in areas such as the Sunshine Coast, Burnaby, Squamish, Penticton, Kelowna, Chilliwack, Nanaimo, Abbotsford/Matsqui/Mission, and in the Tri-City area. The initial process of coordination is quite lengthy, with some communities taking longer than a year to get ready for the first meeting.

The Violence Against Women Subcommittee of the Richmond Community Services Advisory Council (RCSAC) made the unanimous decision in the Fall of 1993 to create a coordinated response to violence against women. In 1995, the official Richmond Violence Against Women Coordination Committee was established with three co-chairs and numerous organizational representatives, administrated through the Richmond Women's Resource Center.

Interorganizational coordination of services in Canada is a relatively new phenomenon. 'Coordination' itself is a generic term that is open to a wide range of interpretations. The climate and necessity for coordination, as well as the typologies,
structures, processes, functions, and long and short term goals are yet to be adequately investigated in a systematic manner. The purpose of this work is to delve into some of these unexplored areas to shed light upon several issues regarding the interorganizational coordination of services for women who have experienced violence. The necessity for interorganizational coordination will be discussed from a postmodern viewpoint, regarding it as a potentially powerful method of societal change. The structures and varying technologies of IOC will be briefly examined, as well as a description of interorganizational behaviour patterns. Data will be selected from several pieces of research in the City of Richmond and will be utilised to create a community profile to examine the city’s interorganizational climate as it pertains to service provision for women who have experienced violence. Finally, there will be a discussion of vision, process and action as they relate to IOC, using the Richmond Violence Against Women Coordination Committee as a case example.
Chapter Two

Why?: Theorizing Violence Against Women

"Every philosophical current leaves behind a sedimentation of 'common sense'."
(Antonio Gramsci)

The issue of violence against women is subject to numerous interpretations along a spectrum of ideologies that range from the intrapsychic to structural levels of differentiation. Ideologies are manifested in organizational environments in the form of explanations, as springboards for action, and as justifications for both mainstream and so-called 'alternative' interventions. There is an inherent danger in any system totally ascribing to a singular ideological stance when coming to the multidimensional issue of violence against women, as embedded analyses are vulnerable to the danger of 'explanatory reductionism' and essentialism. Most modernist theorizing creates a closed system of rationalization that greatly diminishes the scope of the issue simply to a battle of selected polarities between the forces of 'right and wrong'. On the issue of violence, two main (and somewhat oppositional) modernist ideological streams are used in an attempt to pinpoint causality and to provide definitive grounds for intervention, 'healing' and 'cure'.

Postmodernist thought critiques the gaps in such linear modes of thinking and establishes grounds for a more holistic understanding of the issue of violence against women by using power as a basic unit of analysis from which to both uncover the politics

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1 Some content abridged from a working paper by Nell Toegel and Devina Bahadoorsch.  
2 modernist - ascribing to one closed system of explanation for any phenomena, or believing that one underlying truth can render the world, experiences and events meaningful (abridged from Postmodernism and Education, Robert Usher and Richard Edwards (1994))  
3 postmodernist - the opposite of modernist; a view that knowledge cannot be systematised, generalized or totalized into a singular, all-encompassing framework (ibid.)
and consequences of modernist ideologies, and to derive innovative strategies for dealing with the issue of violence against women.

**Mainstream Ideology: The ‘Medical Model’ of Violence Against Women and Professional/Organizational /Governmental Response**

The first line of reasoning is largely adopted (and perpetuated) by the government and other institutions in relation to policy/program planning and regulation, the education and training of staff, funding allocation, and budgetary planning. This approach centers around a neo-conservative medical model that is mainly individualistic and psychotherapeutic, promoting a dyadic and authoritative worker/client relationship in an attempt to ‘fix something that has been broken’. Most mainstream ideologies propose that the individual is total ‘Subject’ in the manufacturing of her own reality and circumstances through her choices of lifestyle and partner, and must therefore be total ‘Subject’ in managing and fixing everything that has happened to her.

Generic ‘mainstream’ analyses of violence against women are built upon the investigations of personal and family histories, looking for organic, inherent and learnt psychological and personality tendencies that would lead to violent episodes or the reasons for ‘subjecting oneself to violence’. Abusive men are seen to have “...poor impulse control...” and “...are immature and controlling (with) a narrow range of coping behaviors...” (Tilden, 1989) Women are stereotyped as having “...low self esteem, avoidant-type coping skills and a stereotypic perception of the woman’s role in the family.” (Tilden, 1989) Communication, anger management, unresolved issues, substance abuse and sexuality issues are thrown into the milieu of the intrapersonal realm of
Why?: Theorizing Violence Against Women

investigation, whereas macro issues such as race, class, politics, culture and religion (among others) are used in a restrained manner only to shed light on the micro variables as opposed to explaining them. Violence is disassociated of connections to these meta-realities and is ultimately individualized and pathologized for both the woman and perpetrator of abuse. Family history, composition and dynamics are investigated and designated causality as “...80% of husbands who batter and 33% of wives who are battered came from abusive families...” (Tilden, 1989) where they witnessed parental abuse or were abused themselves as children. Other familial variables include “...the influence of social support and the kinship network, family stress and coping patterns, and aspects of couple relationship.” ” (Tilden, 1989)

As it remains in the realms of the individual and the family, this type of theorizing is inherently apolitical, and seemingly objective and value neutral. Because of the absence of any socio-political connection, interventions are maintained and contained at the level of the individual. Following this line of reasoning, policing and health services tend to be re-active, crisis-oriented and situational, as opposed to pro-active, educative and visionary.

In the realms of counseling and social services, family systems therapy, couples counseling, self-help programs and individual psychotherapy are used and rarely - if ever - contain elements of structural analysis beyond the boundaries of the family unit. This stems from the evolution of 'scientific' intra-psychological technologies over the last hundred years, with its cult of rationality⁴ and heavy-handed emphasis on empiricist

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⁴rationality - choosing the most expedient means for the most efficient achievement of a goal
methodologies in highly clinical conditions, historically saturated in a heavily patriarchal consciousness. These mainstream ideologies are considered 'teleological' modes of intervention where the 'goal' is 'healing'. This lays the grounds for heavy criticism by structuralists who see 'healing' as no more than patching up and returning a 'victim' to an inherently unhealthy society to "...finish the socialization of femininity..." in a male-defined universe. (Greenspan, 1993). Traditional forms of therapy have been critiqued as contributing to a woman's 'victim' mentality and self-blame, where she ends up identifying herself as a 'patient' who has to heal a dis-eased part of herself. Psychiatry today is seen as "...the misogynous institution that it always was...women who are not living up to the expectations of patriarchal capitalism...are infantilized and their behaviour corrected." (Burstow, 1992). Sexist biases are often reflected in 'normal' psychotherapeutic interventions with 'professional neutrality' rendering the women and women's issues invisible, especially in manifestations of 'family therapy' that may take only generic, as opposed to gendered, issues of power relations into consideration.

That this typification of violence against women is so accepted in mainstream organizational and governmental consciousness is no surprise given an analysis of hegemony⁵ - the natural expression of dominant ideals in a society. That "...the ideas of the ruling class are in every epoch the ruling ideas..." (Barrett, 1991) stems from the situation that the 'class' that dominates the material bases also has the ability to 'rule' the intellectual bases, the 'means of mental production' (Karl Marx)⁶. The government, and

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⁵*hegemony* - the permeation throughout society of an entire system of values, attitudes, beliefs, morality, etc. that in one way or another supports the established order to the extent that this prevailing consciousness is internalized by the masses and becomes part of 'common sense'. (Antonio Gramsci from *Gramsci's Marxism* by Carl Boggs, 1976)

⁶*Mouffe, 1988.*
its subsidiaries in the form of government-funded organizations, maintains a monopoly of power, authority, legitimacy, financial resources and, therefore, control over organizations’ analyses and limited scope of interventions regarding violence. The government itself is an expression of the dominant ideals in society, promulgated by the ‘ruling class’ - overwhelmingly typified in the North American context as capitalist, eurocentric, Judeo-Christian, heterosexual, and male. ‘Professional’, organizational and governmental ‘consciousness’ is nothing more than dominant or hegemonic consciousness.

Alternative Theorizing - Modernist Sociostructural/ Sociocultural Analyses of Violence Against Women

On the flip side to mainstream (i.e. accepted in the culture of general society’s ‘normative’ consciousness) ideologies are so-called ‘alternative’ (i.e. anti-hegemonic or radical) theories. This includes interpretations of Marxism, modernist feminisms, and other liberal, structure-based critical pedagogies. Alternative ideologies tend to exclude or greatly minimize the role of the human agent, reducing the individual to Object, ultimately helpless as she is buffeted by the winds of an inherently oppressive society. Culpability is placed upon societal superstructures of government, corporations, religious institutions and so on, where oppression trickles down to permeate all levels of society as mass culture and norms, hegemonic consciousness, and the distribution of resources such as money, legitimacy and power. Power is rigidly identified as a scarce resource, held by few people at the top of a hierarchical pyramid with the least power in the hands of the disempowered masses. Radical pedagogies commence from a critical analysis of

\[pedagogy\] - a system of instruction, teaching or dogma
hegemony and the vested interests of society's 'power-elites', differing only in the
definition of their motives.

Marxists would see violence as an inevitable part of the social costs of a
burgeoning capitalist system that is alienating to its people, as well as part of the overflow
of tensions that comes from the inherently combative and unequal relationship of
capitalist/worker:

"...the mode of production determines the structure of society and its
processes...the way society earns its living accounts for its political system, its
educational system, the nature of its art and music, its ideology, its riches, its
poverty, and how people relate to one another." (Mullaly, 1993)

Marxist theory states that true liberty cannot occur in a capitalist society based on
inequality, but that true freedom has its foundation only in economic liberty. Relating to
women and violence, Marxists would focus on the value of labour - or the undervaluation
of women's mostly unpaid labour (within the household) in the patriarchal, male-
dominated labour market. Women as undervalued citizens are thus undervalued in all of
their social relations, especially in the institution of the 'family' where a monopoly of
power is held by the producer-husband over the reproducer-wife. Marxist critique of
violence against women espouses that the ruling class (i.e. the people (men) with a
monopoly of power) will maintain vested class interests at all costs, manifested in abuse as
a form of oppression, control and disempowerment. Marxist strategizing at its most basic
form entails that because inequalities are the result of the capitalist system of production
and its resulting value system (especially regarding social relationships), they can only be
solved by the abolition of capitalism, through revolution of the state and forms of governance.

Modernist feminisms distill the issue of violence against women to a gendered analysis of power and control, to patriarchal culture and patriarchal capitalism. These brands of feminism maintain that patriarchy engenders a rigid value system that places the worth of women on their ability to perpetuate, mimic or adapt to a system that is inherently based on the norms - and needs - of those who are white, middle-class, heterosexual, able-bodied, capitalist and male. By virtue of the expressions of exploitation, women, the elderly, poor, disabled, people of color and homosexual people are relegated to the lower echelons of the social hierarchy and are constantly and insidiously manipulated and oppressed - maintained at that level - through numerous tactics enacted by the oppressor. Regarding violence against women, this is manifest in sexist, racist and classist barriers to realizing goals or achieving justice and power. Violence against women in its many forms is seen as the ultimate method of control and disempowerment, a sure method of keeping women at a disadvantaged position according to the vested interests of the male.

Organizations that utilize a structural analysis in their strategies of intervention to violence are mainly 'feminist' agencies that specialize in front-line and crisis-work, such as Vancouver Rape Relief and Battered Women’s Support Services. Focus is placed upon the education of a woman's rights and options, as well as emotional support with a foundation in feminist-structuralist analysis. ‘Feminist counselling’ is provided in a non-

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8 *patriarchy* - a system of ideas and framework of actions that produces and results in the oppression, marginalization and alienation of people; a system based on unequal power distribution and a monopoly over resources by males over females.
hierarchial, reciprocal and supportive manner. Feminist organizations typically incorporate advocacy work and 'organizing' with a focus on somehow changing the 'system' and making it more just towards women. Most feminist organizations include elements of consciousness raising in their work, which involves both self-development and sociopolitical awareness through the lens of a feminist critique. (Zerbe Enns, 1993) Structural feminists deconstruct societal truisms on the institution of family, on gender roles and socialization, religious and cultural practices that are seen as oppressive, as well as the insidious methodologies and technologies of oppression. Challenged is the 'system' of government, judiciary and policing institutions, and the 'old boy's' consciousness that permeates throughout. The personal is connected to the political and women are encouraged to take part in forms of social action such as advocacy, volunteering, and so on, which are seen as part of a healing process at both the individual and global level.

Because such organizations are still considered 'fringe' or radical, funding is minimal, forcing them to utilize large pools of volunteers. Structuralist agencies are often considered threats to the status quo as they constantly look outward and question fundamental norms of the dominant society and promote anti-hegemonic activism. Most structuralist organizations are at odds when coming to working with or within the system as that is seen as counter-productive, and with a danger of co-optation. Change can only be initiated through an enlightened 'revolution' as 'the master's tools will never dismantle the master's house'. This mode of thinking is seen to have created a 'bunker' or 'victim' mentality among certain modernist structuralists that is reactionary and inherently distrustful, tending towards dichotomizing into camps of polar opposites - the
oppressors/oppreded, victim/perpetrator - an 'either-or' mentality that is "...the reaction to a perception of scarcity...when people feel they have no options, they cling to the assurances of assured polarities." (Wolf, 1994). In this manner, many structuralist organizations have locked horns with mainstream organizations and governance in a usually combative and defensive relationship. Some would strongly argue that this incarnation of structuralism has had its place and time and was the only possible recourse given the prevailing political and cultural climate, with interventions that were necessarily reactive, consisting of front-line and crisis work. Presently, most structuralist organizations have transformed to embrace different elements and processes towards change, including pro-action and re-action.

Postmodernism, Power and a Configuration of Action

"All knowledge claims are partial, local and specific, rather than universal and ahistorical, and they are always imbued with power and normative interests." (Usher and Edwards)

Mainstream and alternative ideologies create closed and complete explanatory systems that are liberally applied to any phenomena - an 'add women and stir' approach. Modernist theorizing thus falls into the trap of ascribing to 'grand narratives' to explain away issues that are "...complex and multiform, resisting reductive and simplistic explanation." (Usher and Edwards, 1994). The typical bipolarization that stems from modernist structuralist dialogues tends to overlook the infinite gray areas, nuances and cross-overs between the two extremes, therefore creating a dialectic between opposites that renders invisible the shades of variation within any given phenomena. Modernist mainstream theorizing looks only inwardly, all but ignoring the implications of greater
forces at play than just at the individual or familial level. Modernist 'alternative' theorizing looks primarily at external causality, obscuring the individual human's role in what boils down to a 'human interaction'. This binds modernist interventions and strategizing to very limited - and somewhat blinkered - action sets based on their primary conceptualization of the issue.

Postmodern theorizing regards issues from the stances of *multiple* subjectivities - many angles and viewpoints, rather than the two-dimensional linearity of modernist assertions. Given the variegated nature of humanity, and of any system for that matter, an equally pluralistic ideological set should be used to understand the issue of violence against women, something that includes both subjective and objective realities to capture the effects of a cross section of political, economic, social, cultural, racial, interpersonal and psychological processes. In the issue of violence against women, postmodern thinkers could ascribe multiple elements of causality that bridge the gaps between the personal and the political from a vantage point that did not overwhelmingly tend to one 'party line'. The ability to define the cause of violence is very powerful; this powerful knowledge stemming from various modernist 'regimes of truth' is political in that it not only focuses a spotlight upon certain issues but, as it does so, leaves many other issues in the dark.

An interest in postmodernism and violence against women should not end merely with defining the *sources* of violence, but also on focusing how postmodernist analyses would lead to alternative *interventions* that are a combination of, or beyond the scope of, typical modernist strategies.
Single modernist ideologies "...(are) flawed and cannot stand alone as a basis for understanding, but together they contribute a number of promising insights and themes." (Usher and Edwards, 1994) One major and recurring 'theme' in modernist theorizing is that of power, which is manifested as relationships in a social network that affects people's abilities to impact upon society and achieve preferences. Analyzing 'power' serves to contextualize the origins of certain truths as well as examine the politics involved in their various applications. Michel Foucault stated that power applies to the unequal relations between social groupings, "...a more-or-less organized, hierarchical coordinated cluster of relations..." that is concerned with domination and subjugation. Davina Cooper (1995) stated that power also includes the generation of effects and relegates access to certain options, opportunities and choices. In a patriarchal system, a monopolistic power distribution accords certain people greater access to resources and technologies of power than others. Regarding violence against women, the power distribution, seen in the organization of consciousness of individuals, institutions, governments and society, accords greater access to this power to men and professionals, and less to women and clients, realized in certain behavior patterns and the resulting outcomes of these behaviours at all levels.

In essence, 'power' is only a description, an "...explanatory or normative device that highlights and articulates some social relations." (Cooper, 1995) It is not a resource that is stockpiled, but rather a label for the fluid and dynamic pattern of inegalitarian relationships. There is (usually) no inherently 'evil' conspirator that is determined to

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9 See Usher and Edwards
oppress, but oppression is the result of a variety of hegemonic consciousnesses articulated in structures and the actions of numerous systems. This different conception of the idea of power frees the political limitations placed onto it by typical modernist sentiments, and opens up different ways of engaging with the system in order to differently address the issue of violence against women.

One alternative method of intervention would be to analyze where there is a build-up of power relations, and forge ways to channel that power into working differently to challenge violence against women. This type of strategy is considered 'counter-' as opposed to 'anti-' hegemonic, as "...counter hegemony focuses on power's processes rather than just its effects..." (Cooper, 1995), rerouting and redirecting the flow of power as opposed to trying to stop it. Counter-hegemonic strategies can be used to eliminate some forms of power, control or contain others, divert others still. This use of power can entail the reallocation of resources, and the disruption and transformation of dominant hegemonies. "Changing practices do not, then, do away with power but displace and reconfigure it in differing ways." (Usher and Edwards, 1994)

Organizations (mainstream and alternative) and the government do hold a monopoly on power relations in the form of resources, authority and legitimacy. These sectors of society have mandates to work with the issue of violence against women at varying degrees. Organizations are normally the sole agents of recourse for many women who have experienced violence and who use them in obtaining protection, justice, physical, financial and emotional support. Organizations are thus in dominant positions of strength in regards to the women they serve, and this importance cannot be undermined -
organizations have the intrinsic ability to create a standard of physical and mental
in/stability and un/health.

Focusing on the organization as a site of resistance and transformation with a
postmodern analysis of power, it would be useful to implement counter-hegemonic
strategies through various applications, such as through the vehicle of interorganizational
coordination. Organizational power does not only have to subjugate, but perhaps also
empower. These dominant discourses can be drawn upon to enable social protest and
create change at the level of superstructure. (Cooper, 1995). It would then follow that
channeling interorganizational power could be dramatically effective in initiating
fundamental transformations at many levels - internally, laterally, and vertically, as well as
to the women who seek services, and to society as a whole.

"Absolute power corrupts absolutely, but educated power informs
and is transcendental." (Cooper, 1995)
Chapter Three

Inter/Organizational Behaviour

It is important to have a fundamental understanding of organizational behaviour in order to establish a firm grasp of the dynamics of interorganizational coordination. Many of the processes of interorganizational behaviour arise out of and are affected by the internal processes of organizations themselves.

Organizational behaviour is a very diverse and complicated field of study with multiple theories identified at the macro, meso and micro levels of differentiation, drawing upon metaphoric, socio-political and socio-economic analogies as frameworks for analysis. At the macro level, the organization as a single entity or active agent, as well as its environment, may be the focus of study. At the meso and micro levels, subgroups of the macro-organizational superstructure are identified as the main loci of investigation, focussing on individuals and groups as rational entities, living in a political-economic environment, within the parameters of an organizational 'grouping'. An important underlying thread throughout all theoretical constructs is that each agent - whether it be the organizational, group or individual - is in constant motion towards self-actualization - maximum efficiency, profit, or realization of ideal goals.

The Modern Capitalist Environment

Modern capitalism, its modes and consequences of the drive for profit and its resulting value systems permeate and provide a fixed point of reference for all of the following analytical organizational models. For the purposes of this study, it will be deemed the overriding socio-political and socio-economic milieu in which all social service

\[1\] Morgan, 1988.
organizations exist, resounding heavily upon the actions of all agents. The 'values' that are seen to stem from capitalist modes of production are variables such as the reliance on hierarchy, rules, competition, power imbalances and control. There is one modification to be made in that whereas modern capitalism promotes a competitive drive towards the continual pursuit of profit, social service organizations are in competition to obtain resources, the maximum and effective use of those resources, and the continual pursuit of breaking even with a budget.

Introduction to Organizational Behavior

Macro Theories: The Weberian Legacy and Pseudo-Biological Constructs

At the macro level of analysis, the organizational superstructure is the unit of investigation and is described simply as "...an entity that is a goal directed, deliberately structured activity system with an identifiable boundary..." that acts within the context of its environment. (Daft, 1986) Little heed is given to the existence of agents under the superstructure - individuals or groups of workers - other than being a part of the 'whole'.

The most enduring analogy has been that of 'organization as machine' where organizations are seen as precise, methodological means to an end, goal or level of production, and whereby individual workers are likened to the machine parts, cogs and gears that act in some degree of specified accordance to 'get the job done'. This metaphor gained its popularity after the onset of the industrial revolution with the subsequent mechanization of production feeding into early capitalist sentiments of speed, efficient use of resources and mass calculable yield. In the process, the human elements - the workers - were subsumed into the monolithic organizational entity, becoming supplements to the 'machinery' to breathe energy - electricity - into the larger machine.
Rules and regulations are the nuts and bolts that hold the machine together and are therefore enforced in an oppressive, controlling manner under the skeletal framework of a bureaucracy.

Max Weber, in his analysis of organizational bureaucracies, noted that the most rational means of production of goods and services in the modern capitalist environment was through over-bureaucratization and strictly enforced managerial techniques via scientific management, a process of "...command, planning, organization and control..." drawing upon "...military and engineering principles..." (Morgan, 1986). This system led to organizational bureaucracies of hierarchy, centralized authority, discipline, specialization, and the subordination of individual to general interests, with stingily guarded and allotted information, authority and power. It left in its wake the formation of modern so-called 'office-factories' where people performed "...highly fragmented and highly specialized duties in accordance with an elaborate system of work design and performance evaluation." The environment is not accounted for, and the organization's major connection is through the 'market', with economic survival the goal of organizational actualization.

Workers perform compartmentalized tasks in realization of this larger goal and are therefore structurally forced to compartmentalize the 'client'. Neither client nor worker actualization is a factor, separating the production of social services from its humanitarian foundation. This can be characterized in social service organizations as worker apathy to client needs where the disempowered worker lacks the motivation and support to assume a holistic view of the client and performs solely what is specified by the departmental mandate. With the fragmentation of workers in the organization due to a high degree of
job specialization, there is little room for collective action within or among organizations. Interorganizational coordination or collaboration is hamstrung by institutionalized worker myopia - the inability to see beyond the boundaries of the departmental mandate.

Another popular organizational metaphor that provides a framework to understand the effect of the environment on the organization (and therefore worker), is organization as organism. The previous metaphor all but negated the effect of the environment and by default emphasized organizational introversion. On the other hand, a pseudo-biological theory accounts for the role of the environment in that both organization and environment are in continual 'cocreaction' - they create one another. The organization as organism possesses the tendencies of a biological system and aspects of behaviour that can be explained with biological terminology - homeostasis, entropy, functional utility, differentiation, integration and evolution. (Morgan, 1986). Organizations have specific 'needs' to survive in the environment where there is competition for limited resources (funding) and predation (organizational competition and takeovers), social Darwinism (power, domain maintenance) and natural selection. An organism is as vulnerable as its system is open, and boundary maintenance is a crucial part of survival.

This metaphor is useful for a bird's-eye view of organizations when looking into how the environment structures the organization and vice versa, and how and why organizations use the survival strategies that they do. It can also provide an ecological view of the interdependency of organizations in that "...in nature, collaboration is as common as competition." (Morgan, 1986) - they do not exist in isolation and may not be self-sufficient. Pertaining to the dialectic between the social service organization and the environment, I would posit that this is more of a parasitic relationship than a
symmetrically symbiotic one: symbiosis involves a mutual need for survival, whereas parasitism involves one system being able to survive without the other (in this case, the environment) and another system having to hang on for dear life (the organization). There is an inherent power imbalance: 'cocrecreation' degenerates into the creation of the organization by the environment which has to continually adapt to its dictates.

This metaphor also minimizes the importance of the organizational internal organs - the human workers. When one thinks of 'organism', one thinks of internal parts working in accordance towards the pursuit of some goal. This is as insidious as the mechanistic metaphor as it places emphasis on internal coordination of worker consciousness - worker-bee and hive mentalities. Work of the service-providers is a necessary function to allow for the maintenance and survival of the organization rather than individual political or social goals, such as client actualization (working in, for and towards the best interests of the client).

Meso- and Micro-Level Analysis: Organizations as Cultures

These levels of analysis tend towards the politics of groups and individuals under the loose boundaries of the organization. Here, the main players are the people themselves, their histories and motivations, their political and economic aspirations. Meso-level analysis is seen as an extension of micro-level analysis in that group interests surface out of individual interests and interactions. It is hard to define a purely 'micro' level of theory for organizational behaviour as 'organizations' imply individuals at least working congruently with others, or individually under a larger, clearly defined structure.

The cultural metaphor is more expansive than the previous two in that there is a stronger dialectical relationship between subgroups in the organization - groups of people,
individuals - and the environment. Organizational culture depends on the nationality and historical time-frame of the organization and workers involved, giving a reference point for the cultures that are made up of group norms, myths, values and beliefs. The 'organization as cultural phenomenon' varies according to society's own state of development and is structured by group social processes, images, symbols and rituals that develop in the course of social interaction. Organizational subgroups are constantly in a state of 'reality formation', developing, through group processes, frames of reference and a specialized language (colloquial jargon) of interaction.

The implications of a group/cultural organizational analysis are such that because of the intimate relationship between the environment and group, societal 'beliefs' such as competition, capitalism, patriarchy and sexism would be fair game in the reality construction of each organization: "...organizations end up being what (workers) think and say, as their ideas and visions realize themselves." (Morgan, 1986) Organizations mirror external societal processes, and there is a danger of groups being trapped in organizational-cultural processes of time gone by, or in their own present manifestations, creating 'psychic prisons'. People can become so enmeshed in a 'tradition' of images, ideas and actions that they fall prey to "...cognitive traps, false assumptions, taken-for-granted beliefs, operating rules, etc." (Morgan, 1986). Organizations can become the products of historical experience, caught in the binds of 'the eternal yesterday'. Workers can be caught up in archetypes and relationships with clients that are based in patriarchal norms and methodology, a history of client pathologizing and outdated mental technology when dealing with victims of violence. Cultures provide ways of seeing, and ways of not seeing; ways of action, and ways of inaction. Workers themselves are subject to Orwellian
'groupthink' through interpersonal persuasions, peer pressure and organizational sanctions to reinforce carefully legitimized norms.

The cultural-organizational explanation could perhaps empower workers to some extent, but workers are still bound by group maxims, and the funders' and external society's status quo, resulting in the dissociation from their personal politics and adoption of organizational consciousness. But, workers who maintain organizational culture can also disrupt and change it, breaking down the ordered reality. They have some power - unequal power in comparison to recorded organizational culture (rules) - and can inject counter socio-political consciousness. According to Foucault, 'resistance' involves "...continual forms of transgression." (Usher and Edwards, 1994) Power lies in the hands of the workers at all levels in a bureaucratic hierarchy, their ideals realized in a concrete form in the shape of organizational mandates, mission statements, visions and goals. Consciousness raising can take place if enough workers become 'enlightened' and challenge organizational tradition en masse, stimulating new thought processes that are realized in the adoption of new mandates, visions, and so on.

Interorganizational Behavior and Coordination

Organizations themselves are complex processes of energy and activity, containing the dynamics of economics, sociology, power relations, environmental variability and so on. The same issues are encountered when dealing with interorganizational behaviour as processes are also dependent upon the interplay of variables along those matrices, encompassing elements of macro (superstructural) and as meso/micro (substructural) dynamics. There are varying degrees and typologies of interorganizational (IO)
interactivity, impacting upon the level, costs and benefits, and quality of the IO relationship. This section will introduce various levels and structures of IO relationships, but will ultimately focus on interorganizational coordination throughout.

Macro IO activity deals primarily with the organization as a rational agent existing within the context of a fluctuating, unpredictable political-economic environment¹, in a fluid, hierarchical relation to other organizations. Meso/micro-level IO activity focuses upon the workers within an organization as they relate to workers from other organizations, usually within the interdisciplinary setting of a collective or federative body. Interaction at any of these levels are typically rife with the dynamics of power and politics, motivated primarily by the drive for funding and clientele, or survival. There are valid concerns and critiques of the overall processes of IO coordination that must be highlighted and taken into account, in particular when dealing with socio-political issues as critical and sensitive as violence against women.

Introduction to Typologies of Interorganizational Relationships

Interorganization² describes the interaction of two or more organizations/agencies within the same, or across different, sectors of society (eg. social welfare, government, corporate, community action groups, etc.) It can include organizations working with each other from any level - from individual (eg. front-line personnel) to group efforts, to the organization as a 'whole' entity or rational agent. IO relationships exist in many different capacities depending upon the quality of the network and on the presence of several

¹ political-economic - this relates to 'macrolevel societal processes involving interactions between political and economic processes in nation-states'. (Austin, 1991)
² This is also referred to as network or transorganizational theory, systemic, social or symbiotic partnerships. (see Pasquero, 1991)
interactive variables within the exchange, for the purposes of resolving multipartite conflict and/or advancing a shared vision. IO relations are also in a continual state of evolution and flux as external and internal variables impinge upon and constantly alter the IO structure. To this end, IO models are used merely as starting points, as temporary, descriptive terminology for the purposes of analysis.

Within the spectrum of IO relationships exists manifestations such as trade associations, agency federations, corporate-financial interlocks and agency-sponsor linkages (Oliver, 1990), as well as organizational reciprocity and service networks (Logdson, 1991), multidisciplinary teams and centralized intake organizations (Katz), and interlocking directorships (where the same people serve on the boards of multiple organizations) (Morgan, 1986). There is also the situation of no acknowledged linkage, or of varying degrees of informal networking where fluid resources, like information, are shared in a casual, unofficial manner, usually only among front-line service providers (Colman and Barton, 1982). Informal networking is perhaps the most common situation in the social service context, mainly concerning client referrals and follow-ups.

Moving towards greater formality in the IO relationship involves strategic alliances, joint ventures and coalitions (Selsky, 1991), where organizations dealing with a particular cause or social issue band together and create a mutual level of awareness in order to influence their partially shared environment (their ‘shared stewardship’ (Pasquero, 1991)), but only for short- to medium-term goal realization. In these cases, organizations may unite for one or a series of activities, well keeping within the boundaries of their own agencies: collective action and synergy are achieved via
independent entities working towards a singular goal, with minimal to nonexistent administrative ‘inter’action. There is little room for collective visioning and formal, long-term problem solving as the temporary alliances appear and exist only on an ‘as needed’ basis.

Increasing the level of organizational interactivity leads to IO cooperation (see Rogers, Davis and Whetton, 1982) where organizations enter into a balanced, mutually reciprocal relationship to pursue their own ends and maximize their own efficiency, services, products, etc., and for the ‘constructive management of differences’ (Pasquero, 1991). Collaboration occurs where there is actual “…joint decision making among key stakeholders of a problem domain about the future of that domain.” (Logdson, 1991). In this situation, organizations unite over one or more issues, with a shared vision, collaborating around problem solving, independently, but in joint effort, over time.

Interorganizational Coordination

IO coordination (IOC) is much more demanding and intrusive as it requires the actual formal ordering of behavior between two or more organizations, by two or more of those organizations (Flaherty and Martin, 1978), for planned social change. Coordination involves mutual adjustment, a process over time of joint strategic activity, and the sharing of multiple forms of resources towards solving a problem relative to their overall interests (also referred to as a ‘transmutational purpose’ (Pasquero, 1991)). Coordination occurs with the awareness that no one organization can address a client’s every need, and with a perception of both the benefits of a coordinated response and the realization that there is a
high degree of interdependency among social service organizations in the same problem domain regarding client referrals and so on.

There are numerous interacting variables that impact an organization's decision to coordinate (see Variables Impacting upon Interorganizational Coordination, page 45), stemming mainly from structural and environmental elements.

IO coordination can entail:

- the sharing of physical facilities (e.g. buildings, computers)
- the use of common referral forms and other devices to improve the flow of clients
- the exchange of personnel, funds, information, intervention technologies, products, services (see Benson, 1975).
- improving client and service-provider access (by providing information about the location of access points)
- a shared responsibility for the maintenance, development and evaluation of services (e.g. the need for services, legislation, technological developments)
- common program data-systems and elements (e.g. shared definition of work activities and units of service, common vocabulary)
- programmatic linkages (e.g. newsletters, IO task forces, shared training activities, staff associations for the problem domain)
- public visibility events for public awareness of the total network (e.g. jointly sponsored community education, conferences, media events, recognition)
- conflict resolution mechanisms (e.g. hearings, mediation or arbitration services - because of the absence of formal hierarchical authority systems, IO conflict in general is very disruptive)
- accountability (e.g. advocacy and complaint mechanism)
- public input channels for suggestions and criticism (e.g. public hearings, focus groups, issue oriented conferences, formal surveys) (Austin, 1991)

"Clients are concerned with an incomprehensible and ineffective service system; fragmented programs, conflicting requirements and standards, related problems. Interorganizational coordination is seen to offer improved efficiency, reduced duplication, better management of scarce resources." (Nathan and Mitroff, 1991)

A key difference between IO coordination and the other types of IO relationships is the necessity and presence of an external coordinating, administrative or
Variables Impacting upon Interorganizational Coordination*

VARIABLES WITH A HIGH IMPACT ON IOC

Contextual variables:

Organizational type - eg. social welfare, health, etc.
Organizational age - negatively related with contact: younger organizations more likely to perform IOC; older organizations = more routinization of activity, less likely to perform IOC
Organizational size - positively related with contact (larger organization = more IOC)
Geographical base - negatively related with contact (larger base = less IOC)
Environmental complexity - (eg. redundancy, complexity) negatively related to IOC
Number of full-time paid staff - positively related to IOC
Board size - positively related with contact (larger board = more contact). Boards enhance IOC opportunities
Managerial size - negatively related with contact (larger managerial staff closely monitors boundaries)
Formalization of rules and regulations - negatively related with IOC
Routine vs. nonroutine contact
Local power arrangements
Boundary maintenance structures

Interpretive variables:

Expectation of organizational benefits - eg. efficiency, stability, legitimacy
Orientations and values
Associated costs to personnel and internal adjustment
Relationships with funding bodies
Traditional alliances
Collegial ties
Perception of environmental uncertainty
Importance attached to client services
Anticipated repercussions of non-compliance - loss of status, resources, etc.

VARIABLES WITH A MEDIUM/LOW IMPACT ON IOC

Contextual variables:

City/region demographics - eg. median income, % poor, % urban
Annual income
Role of volunteers
Reliance on government income
Number of clients - no influence whatsoever

*Excerpted from Blau and Rabrenovic (1991), Oliver (1990), Selsky (1991)
managing body - a ‘network maintenance structure’ - to direct lines of communication and to organize efforts in a logical manner (Austin, 1991). The purpose of this ‘federative body’ would be to ‘act’ or ‘decide’ towards a stated objective or goal, usually with a degree of maintained autonomy although stakeholders would initially have to agree to a set of explicitly defined rules, operating and shared norms. This structure, in the form of a bureaucratic and/or administrative body, would have the role of “...establishing, legitimizing and guiding...” (Wood and Gray, 1991) the coordination players, as well as bringing them to the table in the first place.

Coordinating structures exist in numerous manifestations such as informal IO committees, formally structured IO councils, planning bodies, roundtables or actual central, jointly-related organizations (Austin, 1991). The federative organizational body would serve as a central link in the network of affiliated members (Fleisher, 1991), normally in instances where there is a large number of organizational players who agree to relinquish some control over certain activities, power and decision-making ability.

There are three types of coordinative structures (Weirich, 1977):

• participatory/voluntary - a ‘non-federated’ situation where agencies maintain an active role in management through ongoing involvement in policy development and activity planning. Service providers remain autonomous, maintain core services while creating linkages with others to improve accessibility.
• independent, mediated coordination - where a federative body acts as an ‘integrator’ and is not controlled by the affiliates, functioning separately. In this instance, the IO committees are legitimating bodies that can also monitor the affiliate activities and, in some cases, impose sanctions. Problem solving is improved.
• legally mandated - where organizations are forced by law into an IO relationship, resulting in the federative body maintaining a strong power relation over the organizations. This type has the greatest impact, authority and legitimacy.
Federated coordination bodies also serve as mediating structures and should inherently maintain or create (Wood and Gray 1991; Fleisher, 1991):

- **convening power** - the ability to induce stakeholders to participate
- **legitimacy** - for stakeholders to perceive that the body has the authority to organize the shared domain
- **an unbiased, even-handed approach to the problem domain** - to prevent the body from losing credibility
- **appreciative, envisioning and processural skills** - in order to see the potential value of coordination, envision a purpose, and establish a coordinative process and context;
- **ability to identify all stakeholders**
- **monitoring and policing ability**
- **ability to reward appropriate behavior** (through incentives)
- **ability to specify agent behavior**

IO coordination through a federative body is an organic process where it is unlikely to be able to predict with certainty interorganizational dynamics because of the existence of planned and ‘emergent’ events, as well as the fact that both the environment and problems are subject to constant change and unforseeable variables (Nathan and Mitroff, 1991). Through the use of federative bodies, explicit actions create a new, *planned*, and more predictable organizational community as opposed to a situation where one could have evolved naturally and spontaneously:

"Without conscious and linked strategic action, each organization will try to optimize its own position with respect to grants and service delivery, and therefore remain stuck in individual patterns of development." (Weirich, 1977)

Power can be used for mutual benefit, as opposed to personal organizational gain.

**Superstructural Interorganizational Dynamics**

At the superstructural (or macro) level, organizations themselves are the rational actors that are seen to ‘interact’ with each other within a political-economic environment,
and community of other organizations. As in any other interactional relationship, there are behavioral issues that include patterns of dominance and linkage, power relations, resource attainment/sustainment, competition and ideological actualization. IO networks are typically concerned with the distribution of two scarce resources - money and authority (Benson, 1975), and interactions can originate from respective market positions and relative organizational power. All organizations rely on others to some degree for referrals, but there are varying levels of dependence - in some instances where there are limited organizational resources, certain organizations depend on others more for their continued survival. In these cases, organizations with more extensive resources can potentially exert some control over others through the manipulation of their own funds and contracts (Jones, 1978). ‘Core organizations’ are considered to be those with a high traffic of referrals, the highest frequency of exchanges, large economic or other resources and a more formal role within society (Austin, 1991), resulting in a greater ‘power allotment’. Where there is dependence and dominance, there are organizational power relations which set the stage for issues of conflict, organizational politics, oppression and other dynamics based upon power imbalances. Funding seems to be the bottom line, with most attention and conflict stemming from the competitive drive for the same limited monies, resource paucity and the legitimacy/authority/presence of resource-rich organizations (in the social service context, usually ‘mainstream’ organizations) over smaller, resource-poorer organizations (usually ‘alternative’ organizations)).
Sources of organizational power\(^1\): (taken from Morgan, 1986):

| 1. Formal authority                                   |
| 2. Control of scarce resources                        |
| 3. Use of organizational structure, rules and regulations |
| 4. Control of decision process                         |
| 5. Control of knowledge and information                |
| 6. Control of boundaries                               |
| 7. Ability to cope with uncertainty (economic, political) |
| 8. Control of technology (eg. technologies of intervention) |
| 9. Interpersonal alliances, networks and control of ‘informal organization’ |
| 10. Control of ‘counterorganizations’, power blocs and countervailing power |
| 11. Symbolism and the management of meaning, (especially in relation to societal hegemony) |
| 12. Gender and the management of gender relations       |
| 13. Structural factors that define the stage of action  |
| 14. The power that one already inherently has          |

Macro-level organizational exchange can contain any element from reciprocity to hostility and conflict, differing from agency to agency. IO dynamics have much in common with the internal and external processes of a single organization interacting with its environment (see page 35). IO coordination best functions with a cultivated, maintained and actualized expectation of eventual reciprocity that should remain constant or increase over time as the collaborative behaviour is reciprocated and even, perhaps, surpassed. It has been mentioned that as the degree of joint decision making increases, so will the level of participation in collective activities. Coordinative efforts and effectiveness should also increase depending on the success rate of collective ventures (Selsky, 1991).

Substructural Interorganizational Dynamics

It is said that “...in the final analysis, linkages are between people.” (Selsky, 1991)

The workers within the boundaries of an organization includes the service providers, decision makers, administrative and supervisory personnel, boards, and ‘boundary spanners’ who act as points of interaction or gateways between organizations. The

\(^1\) Nb: this can also be translated at the meso/substructural level)
interactions between people among different organizations make up highly complex social webs along matrices of power relations (i.e., lateral or vertical relations), organizational and group politics, and operational ideologies. There has been relatively little research performed in the area of micro or meso level IO interaction (Selsky, 1991), and it is generally assumed that the dynamics will parallel typical intraorganizational group processes (see page 40), with additional IO variables either exacerbating or minimizing normal group behaviours and tensions.

Coordination committees typically go through distinct evolutionary stages where the makeup and direction of the committees change to suit situational purposes. The developmental stages are considered to be ‘layered’ in that each stage ‘grows out of’ and includes members from the previous incarnation of the committee (Wood and Gray, 1991). ‘First layer’ alliances are smaller and institute planning and envisioning, whereas ‘second layer’ alliances evolve out of the previous stage and are larger, better planned, and with more power at the table.

Federative bodies usually do not consist of a formally acknowledged power structure, but rather an implicit, informal one that most workers are fully aware of. As mentioned previously, this power can stem from resource wealth, authority, status, legitimacy, and so on. There are attempts at non-hierarchical boards or committees where power is seemingly equally distributed among members in an effort to promote organizational equality, and to keep members at the table.
It is very important to note that different results and levels of effectiveness are achieved in the IO committee fully depending upon the membership of the coordination groups (Weirich and Richen, 1977):

- **resource coordination** happens when there are members who from the super-organizational level, ie. where policies and funding are set
- **program coordination** happens at the upper management organizational level
- **client services** are most effectively coordinated at the front-line, service provider level

Mismatches and eclectic membership (in terms of the amount of power held and position/decision-making authority/legitimacy of each member) "...cause problems and destroy attempts at integration." (Weirich and Richen, 1977). There should be a conscious effort on the part of the coordinative team to strategize around how to most effectively obtain a goal or vision based on a) who is already at the table and b) who they want at the table in the future. Weak coordination structures and ineffective committees stem from a lack of understanding of how to establish collective strategies, how to maintain these strategies for action, how to identify the proper institutional arrangements, and how to deploy collective action effectively to address shared problems or goals (Selsky, 1991). In some instances, 'extrarational' motivations of some members (such as 'empire building', the maintenance of a dominant or controlling organizational position, personal prestige, private benefits, turf protection), exploitation of common resources, or lack of cooperation (the 'free rider' problem) (Selsky, 1991) may result in competition, scapegoating and a breakdown of network relations that must either be addressed through skilled conflict resolution arbitration or result in membership withdrawal.
Literature Review of Studies on Interorganizational Coordination in the Social Services

*Previous studies in social service interorganizational coordination*

Studies investigating interorganizational coordination (IOC) in North America proliferated in the 1970's, seemingly diminishing in the 1980's with the economic boom minimizing the need for social services to pull together as in times of fiscal restraint. There seems to be vast but highly fragmented work performed in the field, examining numerous topics within the generic labels of interorganizational coordination, collaboration, networking, and relationships. The literature surveyed in IOC reveals an abundance of research within two distinct sectors of society - the corporate and social service, with a smaller body of investigation dealing with political IOC, community and environmental activism, and cross-sectoral alliances. All of the studies investigating social service IOC deal with smaller subsets of coordination such as service and/or program alignment, networking, information and referral patterns, case conferencing and professional interaction at micro (individual), meso (group) and macro (organizational) levels. Much of the literature reviewed consists of abstract theorizing, opinion pieces and discussions of multi-level interorganizational behaviour and system dynamics (eg. Colman, 1982; Flaherty, 1978; Rashford, 1994; Weirich, 1977; Tilden, 1989; Weissman, 1987), rather than empirical research. Other studies review existing IOC projects and the implementation of experimental IOC models in communities (eg. Nathan and Mitroff, 1991; Colman and Barton, 1982; Busch and Robertson, 1993).

Many studies that contain actual research into social service IOC are in the fields of child abuse and child sexual assault (eg. Byles, 1985; Sullivan, 1987; Nishimoto, Weil
and Theil, 1991). Several look at welfare (eg. Jones, 1978), youth services (Beatrice, 1992; Taylor et al, 1991), the elderly (McCaslin), or mental health (Jones, 1978). Only a few studies found thus far deal with the coordination of services specifically for women on the subjects of rape (Hardgrove, 1976), organizational ‘clearinghouses’ for victims of violence (McEvoy, Brookings and Brown, 1983), and the adequacy and accessibility of social services for ‘battered women’ (Davis, Hagen and Early, 1990). None of the studies examine precipitating factors for coordination, environmental or socio-political preconditions, or the grounding of coordination in ideological/theoretical foundations, in any depth. In other words, the studies performed thus far deal mainly with critiquing, or researching facets of, existing coordinative situations.

Research methodology

Of the IOC studies that deal with social services, all are from the service provider’s point of view, with the professionals’ and agencies’ interests, efficiency in case management, etc. at the forefront in the case for coordination (eg. Gibelman and Demone, 1991; Walden, Hammer and Kurland, 1991). This may be “...because human service organizations are located in the organizational context of bureaucratic capitalism...” (Ferguson, 1984) and have a strong bias towards taking into primary account fiscal, staffing and time resources, and budgetary maximization. Studies look soley at the communication between the service providers (eg. Wimpfheimer, Bloom and Kramer, 1991; Walden, Hammer and Kurland, 1991), negating through omission the concerns of the most important group - the service consumers. Human service agencies “...are not normally compelled to recognize and negotiate with their clients...” (Ferguson, 1984)
Of the studies that actually list research methodology, eight use surveys and questionnaires employing a rating or tallying system for quantitative evidence of IOC (Selsky, 1991; Jones, 1978; Rogers, 1982; Weirich, 1977; Flaherty, 1978; Weirich, Perlmutter and Richan, 1977, Taylor et al, 1991; Davis, Hagen and Early, 1990). One uses an 'aggregate service delivery information form' to record the frequency of referrals and provision of information (Nishimoto, Weil and Theil, 1991). A study uses qualitative interviews with administrators to understand conflict in IOC systems (Alter, 1990) while another uses multiple methods of investigation that includes a questionnaire, a content analysis of board minutes, participant observation and longitudinal statistical surveynance of variables to explore the effect of collaborative endeavors on the organizational environment. (Selsky, 1992). The study on rape services uses only case studies and archived testimonials of past experiences (Hardgrove, 1976). There was some mention that there should be an investigation into "...what services the clients are receiving...(and) to focus on the quality of service..."; as well as the fact that "...monitoring the delivery and receipt of services are often overlooked because the systemic collection of such data does not exist..." (Nishimoto, Weil and Theil, 1991).

For the purposes of methodological insight, studies were reviewed that solely looked at women's experiences of using 'the system' in instances of violence, but their main focuses were on specific and single organizations/agencies as opposed to IOC (eg. see Drake, 1982; Lichtenstein, 1981; Dosanjh, Deo and Sidhu, 1995). It was interesting in contrast to the IOC research in that these were all qualitative studies that primarily
utilized 'in-depth' consultation in the form of highly focussed interviews from the point of view of the women.

Past findings
There is an overwhelming consensus among all of the studies that any form of IOC will positively impact the clients, service providers and organizations. For example, service integration in the form of coordination “...promises a social service system more responsive to consumer needs...” (Weirich, Perlmutter and Brown, 1977), and that “...IOC linkages are more important than bureaucratic hierarchies for controlling and coordinating work as linkages are used to integrate programs within a community, coordinate client services, obtain resources...” (Blau and Rabrenovic, 1991).

It is demonstrated that interveners in general from various organizations rarely maintain a useful degree of communication among each other (eg. Hearn, 1989; Jones, 1978), and that “...every major city has experienced this kind of fragmentation and system dysfunction.” (Brown) The norm for IOC is shown to be eclectic and informal (eg. see Weirich, Perlmutter and Brown, 1977), with the absence of agency-sanctioned policy to guide sophisticated structures of information exchange and professional interaction (eg. see Colman, 1982; McEvoy, Brookings and Brown, 1983; Wimpfheimer, Bloom and Kramer, 1991).

There are many justifications for organizational introversion, such as a lack of staffing, time and fiscal constraints, internal politics and poor internal communication, loss of autonomy, issues of power and domain maintenance, along with crisis operation given shrinking budgets and government cutbacks to funding and subsidies (Jones, 1978; Byles, 1985; Gibelman and Demone, 1990; McEvoy, Brookings and Brown, 1983; Flaherty and
Martin, 1978; Alter, 1990). It is observed that agencies tend to 'protect core service functions' (Weirich, Perlmutter and Richan, 1977) in the drive to maintain credibility, clientele, and therefore funding, as "...the most potent sanction is defunding...". (Jones, 1978) Other variables that are barriers to IOC include differences in goals and political visions, 'tunnel vision', and ignorance of both organizational interdependency and the benefits of mutual collaboration. (Logdson, 1991). Objections to IOC come from agencies where service providers felt overworked, and neutral or openly hostile to having to give more time and energy. Asymmetrical cooperation from other organizations and the 'freerider' problem are also cited (Logdson, 1991), as are structural variables in the organization and larger environment (Rogers, Whetton et al.)

Formal coordination of efforts has been proven to ameliorate the above issues, with the outcome of improving comprehensive service provision to the consumers (eg. Hardgrove, 1979; Flahery, 1978; Nishimoto, Weil and Theil, 1991; Weirich, Perlmutter and Richan, 1977; Alter, 1990), laying the groundwork for mutual collaboration and team building among the service providers that may also lead to an integrative coordination of both services and response. IOC is viewed as offering "...improved efficiency, reduced duplication and better management of scarce resources." (Rogers, Whetton et al.; Oliver, 1990), and is shown to increase organizational visibility, status, legitimacy and credibility, and perhaps even collective bargaining power for funding especially where "...agencies lack a fixed money market based on religion, government sponsorship, tradition or current interest." (Oliver, 1990). Finally, IOC is seen to create a degree of standardization and
‘systemic’ accountability from both the community of organizations, funding bodies and society (Oliver, 1990).

It is hypothesized that improved IOC could serve to build a large pool of knowledge for the service providers to pass onto clients, improving accessibility and therefore providing a greater chance of them receiving all necessary and appropriate interventions. It is mentioned that the ‘quality of planning’ plays an important role in IOC (Flaherty and Martin, 1978), and that IOC conflict is positively associated with functional differentiation and the service complexity of organizations involved (Alter, 1990). A greater degree of the ‘formalization’ of administrative linkages can lead to greater IOC staff behavior (Weirich, Perlmutter and Richan, 1977). In summary, it is generally concluded from the above studies that “...a coordinated, interagency service network...is a viable method of assuring sensitive services for the...victim...” (Hardgrove, 1976)

In the literature surveyed on coordination, there is hardly any information found in the area of violence against women in an intimate relationship. This lack of a previous foundation upon which to base future studies indicates a significant gap of knowledge in an area of great social importance. According to the literature surveyed, there has never been a systematic and thorough investigation of the effects of agency introversion and the benefits of coordination or collaboration among organizations, the benefits of coordination to women as an oppressed group, or the benefits of coordination to society, in the area of violence against women.
Contributions of previous research to the design of the current study

Based on the inadequacy of past research on the issue of IOC of services for women who have experienced violence, several important decisions were made about how to expand the scope of and conduct the present study.

As there is very minimal information on the interorganizational coordination of services for women who had experienced violence, the aim of this study is to:

- explore the environmental variables and climate of a community that could benefit from the coordination of services for women who have experienced violence
- explore the perceptions of service providers about their community, about existing coordination and other organizational/interagency issues regarding services for women who have experienced violence
- explore the perceptions of women who have experienced violence regarding the perceptions of existing interagency relationships, how it affected them, and their visions regarding service coordination
- use collected observations in the form of official minutes, etc. as a tool to examine the structure, processes and issues of an existing coordination committee

Various methods of collecting information were employed to present as holistic as possible a 'snapshot' and some idea (Selksy, 1991) of the issues regarding IOC structure, content, precipitating factors, processes and actions.

Given the absence of voice throughout all of the previous studies, a conscious effort was placed upon taking the woman's point of view into account, and not from 'passive' forms of data collection such as archival case information (eg. Hardgrove, 1976), but rather having women take part in all processes of the investigation, from the design and pretesting, to the utilization of a questionnaire, with room for quantitative and qualitative input.
In the spirit of most of the former research, the service provider's point of view is also taken into consideration in the form of a quantitative questionnaire, extending it a step further by also including room for qualitative input.

Finally, a content analysis is performed on minutes, workshop and conference proceedings of a coordination committee (Selsky, 1991) that displays, somewhat objectively, the internal processes of an IOC committee.

It was hoped that the various methods of data collection will serve to fill the gaps and oversights that any singular tool would leave, and that the studies would complement each other by providing a balanced representation of the issues involved in the interorganizational coordination of services for women who have experienced violence in intimate relationships.
Chapter Four

Data Collection and Presentation

Several pieces of research and methodologies of data collection over a period of 2 years were employed in the attempt to attain a holistic investigation of several issues, given the complexity of interorganizational service coordination and of the dynamics of violence against women.

The first study was an intensive, government-funded needs assessment performed by the Needs Assessment Subcommittee of the Richmond Violence Against Women Coordination Committee (see Appendix A). The research focussed on all aspects of service provision for women who had experienced violence, from all of the professional agencies in the City of Richmond with a full or partial program/policy mandate, or a major referring role, for this population.

The second piece of research was a pilot study into interorganizational coordination from the point of view of women who had experienced violence. I held several pretest interviews that focussed on the women’s personal experiences of using the system of agencies in response to the violence she experienced. The resulting data was used in the preparation of a questionnaire (see Appendix B) that was placed in the Richmond Women’s Resource Center, and in the Chimo Crisis Intervention Center to then examine the women’s perceptions of interorganizational coordination.

The third method of research was a content examination of minutes and conference proceedings of the Richmond Violence Against Women Coordination Committee over a period of two years, and serves to display highlights of the processes involved over a
period of time in the area of interorganizational coordination, and the profile of a working committee.

**Part I: Quantitative Needs Assessment of Service Provision for Women Who Have Experienced Violence and/or Who Have Been Raped**

**Background**

In February 1995, The Needs Assessment Subcommittee of the Richmond Violence Against Women Coordination Committee\(^1\) received a grant from the British Columbia Ministry of Women’s Equality to perform a needs assessment in the City of Richmond. The Needs Assessment team consisted of a cross section of professional and community representatives\(^2\), as well as a hired researcher. The study was used as a major source of current information for the Coordinating Committee, and may be used as an advocacy tool in petitioning the government for additional services in the City of Richmond for women who had experienced violence and/or who had been raped. It was also hoped by the Needs Assessment Committee that the survey would serve as an educational tool. That is, through the completion of the survey, agencies/organizations would have had to take inventory of their own services and policies for women, as well as possible gaps and room for improvement in service provision.

**Measure**

A nine-page questionnaire (see Appendix A) was created after a lengthy process of progressively defining all terminology, question construction, and wording to be used,

\(^1\) This is itself a subcommittee of the Richmond Community Services Advisory Council

\(^2\) Theresa Harding - community representative (currently co-chair of the Richmond VAW Coordinating Committee); Nell Toegel - Chimo Women’s Program; Debra Maclver - MSS Community Social Worker; Devina Bahadoorsingh - community representative/UBC
based upon the feminist analysis of the highly political nature of language, and because of the added educative component of the study.

The study was multipurpose, to investigate:

- how agencies/organizations define their mandate to provide services for women who had experienced violence and/or who had been raped
- which policies or procedures were used to provide services
- which services were available, and where there were gaps in service provision
- patterns of interagency networking and types of interagency knowledge
- feedback mechanisms, monitoring of service provider conduct
- hiring, training, and professional development practices for staff and volunteers

The measure consisted of a mixture of open-ended and yes/no questions with ample space for comments and explanations. Several key questions (10 - 16) were completely open-ended, requesting the worker's opinions on interagency issues, on the strengths and barriers to service provision, and access to various aspects of the system that a woman would potentially use.

The Needs Assessment team emphasized inclusivity of questions around specialized services and/or policies regarding immigrant women (eg. availability of translators, services in different languages), First Nations women, lesbians, women of color (eg. anti-racism training), survivors of ritual abuse, and women with disabilities.

Participants and Procedures

Criterion sampling was used - questionnaires were distributed to all organizations/agencies in the City of Richmond with a full or partial mandate to provide services to women who had experienced violence and/or had been raped, or who played a major role in referring women to these agencies/organizations (See Appendix B). It was
requested that front-line workers fill out the survey where possible. Personal self-identification beyond organizational/agency name was optional. A total of 98 questionnaires were distributed in the City, with ten percent questionnaires mailed to a random sampling of physicians and lawyers in the community to get an idea of referral and information patterns.

*Response Rates*  

To ensure maximum response, there was follow-up after the distribution of the newsletter in the form of phone-calls and co-worker reminders. Out of 98 questionnaires distributed, 36 were returned. Some agencies decided to combine their responses, raising the response rate to 45%. Of the 22 questionnaires mailed to the lawyers and doctors, only one was returned, incomplete, in which case it was decided to take out the representation of doctors and lawyers so that the data would not be unduly skewed. This can be attributed to the fact that the doctors and lawyers were randomly selected and 'cold-called' from the pool of Richmond doctors/lawyers without previous contact with the coordination committee and with minimal follow-up. It can also be speculated that individual workload, knowledge in the area of violence against women or understanding of the applicability of the study to individual practice may have been contributing factors in non-compliance.

In conclusion, taking into account returned incompleted questionnaires, there was a response rate of 55%, adequate for analysis and reporting (Rubin and Babbie, 1993).

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3 Abridged from the Needs Assessment Report by Sharon Goldberg
Limitations of the Study

The Needs Assessment Committee planned to implement two very different but complementary studies in the City of Richmond - a quantitative needs assessment from the point of view of service providers, and a qualitative investigation into the issues of women who had experienced violence and/or who had been raped, from their point of view. The Committee deliberated, then consciously made the political decision to perform the quantitative study first, given time limitations (the study was to be ready for a conference of City of Richmond service providers), and financial limitations (more funding would have been necessary to do intensive qualitative interviewing). Because of this, the study is somewhat one-sided, telling the stories and perceptions only of service providers that could potentially be different from those of the women.

As well, the measure itself was somewhat long, and questions tended to ask for descriptive information (whether or not something was available). There was not much opportunity to go beyond a surface level of investigation, therefore leaving out vital explanatory information and other such contextualizing information. There also could have been the presence of political pressure on the respondents stemming from the stress of being identified; making the organization look bad in what is regarded as a sensitive subject area; or fear of repercussion from supervisors.

Other limitations include non-response from key agencies/organizations, and an almost complete lack of response from particular groups (lawyers, doctors).
Part II: Pilot study - Interagency Coordination of Crisis Interveners: The Perceptions of Women Who Have Experienced Violence

In 1994 - 1995, I implemented a small scale, descriptive study into women's perceptions of interagency networking, knowledge and referral patterns. The research was motivated by the need to have a woman-designed, woman-oriented investigation into issues that were important to women who had experienced violence, and were based upon their subjective perceptions of organizational/ professional interventions.

Measure

The measure used in this study was a questionnaire that recorded mainly quantitative data (ordinal and interval measures), minimal demographic information, and some qualitative data from the participants (See Appendix B). Several informal interviews were held beforehand in order for women who had experienced violence to provide input and information as to the types and applicability of questions in the measure. The questionnaire was pretested by two women who had experienced violence, and was also given to a counsellor at the Chimo Women’s Program and staff member at the Richmond Women’s Resource Center for their input and advice.

The purpose of the questionnaire was to gather information on the clarity, amount, quality and satisfaction of information and referrals given to women about other service organizations, from crisis interveners. Questions were also asked about inappropriate and misinformation, as well as the existence of follow-ups from the organizations. The primary interveners in question were the Richmond police, transition house (Nova House), the
Richmond General Hospital, Victim/Witness Services, crisis telephone lines (the Chimo Crisis Intervention Center), and Mental Health Services.

Results were given to Chimo and the Women's Resource Center, and input regarding questions utilised, methodology, etc. was given by this researcher in the preparation of a larger-scale, government funded study of the same issue.

Participants and Procedures

The study utilized criterion sampling - women who had experienced violence in an intimate relationship in the past 10 years, who had used at least two crisis interveners in the City of Richmond. The locations selected for this voluntary questionnaire were the Richmond Women's Resource Center and the Chimo Women's Program as they both provide specific services to women who have experienced violence in an intimate relationship, in the form of individual or group counselling. The investigation was advertised through several posters and women were also informed of the study through counsellors and staff at both agencies. The questionnaires, as well as stamped and addressed envelopes, were provided at both agencies in obvious locations.

Because the questionnaire was not standardized, but created for the purposes of the study, construct validity cannot necessarily be determined. Face validity was obtained through the pre-testing. Convergent validity was difficult, if not impossible, to determine as there are no other measures known at this time to be testing for this issue with this particular population. External validity, the ability to generalize the findings to populations beyond the study, is medium, because of the sampling methodology which

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used specific groups of women who had gone through specific experiences. Demographic variables in the City of Richmond and other municipalities in the Lower Mainland, or any other similarly sized suburb of a Canadian city, will have to be further investigated in order to provide adequate comparisons.

Reliability cannot be determined at this time unless there will be an opportunity in the future to perform test/retest on the measure. This is not a strict way of ensuring reliability, but since the measure is not officially standardized, there is almost no other way of predicting it other than a split half or internal consistency test. There are the usual threats to reliability, such as examinee-incurred error, stemming from memory inconsistencies. As well, the survey dealt with highly emotional subject matter, and variables like mood, time away from the abusive relationship, success of interventions, and the like, play a large role. Random error was somewhat controlled as the survey would have taken a relatively short time to complete, and because the survey format was somewhat variable.

Response Rates

Over the two month period of time that questionnaires were distributed in the two agencies, 10 were returned completed out of an expected 30, leading to a 25% response rate, typical of blind, mailed and voluntary questionnaires. This may be due to the highly sensitive nature of the subject and content of the study, compounded by the usually very low response rate in general of mailed questionnaires. This could also point to a flaw in
the construction of the study, participant recruitment scheme, or further unanticipated characteristics of the study itself.

**Limitations of Study**

There are inherent weaknesses in the use of a voluntary questionnaire, especially with the very sensitive subject of violence against women, relating to response rates, formality of the procedure, and the inflexibility of format (ie. little room for explanations, modifications on questions). Other more direct methods of data collection could have been employed, such as telephone or face-to-face interviewing, and/or focus groups. The research represented here was not 'feminist' - more space should have been given for qualitative data to 'contextualize' the quantitative information, as well as the use of alternate forms of information gathering or a further emphasis on interviewing.

Regarding variations in the instrument itself, if there was to be an extension of research in the future, more questions could have been used to go further into the specifics of information given by the crisis interveners, as well as additional questions such as the availability of useful information in the form of brochures, posters, and so on, at the different agencies. In retrospect, questions could have been included surrounding advocacy and escorts. As well, there could be a focus on fewer of the agencies/organizations involved - sacrificing scope for depth.

But, given the time and resource limitation at the period that this study was performed, a survey was deemed the most appropriate for recieving as much information in as consistent and standardized a format as possible.
Part III: Content Examination of Minutes and Conference Proceedings

In 1993, the Richmond Violence Against Women Committee decided to focus on the coordination of services for women who had experienced violence and/or rape. Since that time, monthly meetings were scheduled and the focus and goals of the committee defined and redefined through processes of intense discussion and, sometimes, debate. Minutes were taken and distributed by the Richmond Women's Resource Center. Over a period of three years, the committee has held two large and successful conferences that outlined the motivations, common definitions and goals, and plans of action for the committee.

The minutes and conference proceedings provide valuable insight as to:

- the evolution and complex processes of interorganizational coordination
- the issues that are involved in this type of undertaking
- points of conflict and strength
- the profile of a working committee

The analysis of a 'real life' model of an interorganizational coordination committee can serve as an example to guide and educate future committees with similar undertakings. For the purposes of this research, information from minutes and conference proceedings will be used to highlight and exemplify aspects of coordination regarding IOC process, action, and envisioning.
Data Presentation

Part I: Needs Assessment: Richmond Community Profile of Service Provision for Women Who Have Experienced Violence in Relationships and/or Who Have Been Raped

This study covered a range of issues, with questions focusing on tallying and quantifying aspects of service provision and the existence of policies, programs, procedures, and so on (See Appendix A). Not all questions specifically related to issues of IOC, so the following responses were excerpted from the written report only as they directly applied to the purposes of this study.

Selected Quantitative Data

Establishing the Organizational Climate in the City of Richmond, B.C.: It is necessary to establish a community's organizational 'climate', with all agencies that have a whole or partial mandate to provide services for women who have experienced violence, to quantify/qualify 1) what kinds of resources are available, 2) to what extent they are available, and 3) how applicable these resources are to different groups of women. This information can aid in identifying key players who would sit at a coordinating table, the issues to be addressed regarding gaps in available services and in actual service provision to specific groups, and where policies/procedures/protocols and education can be improved.

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1 Content taken from the Needs Assessment: Richmond Community Profile of Service Provision for Women who have Experienced Violence in Relationships and/or Who Have been Raped: Part One, compiled and written by Sharon Goldberg (September 1995). (A collaborative undertaking of the Needs Assessment Committee of the Richmond Coordinated Response to Violence Against Women and Rape (Theresa Harding, Debra Maclver, Nell Toegel, Devina Bahadoorsingh).
In the City of Richmond, of 35 respondents from various organizations/agencies (see Appendix A), only half state that they have specific policies and procedures for women who experience violence (question B2). More than half do not have policies or procedures for women who are raped (B3), and more than half do not offer services for women who experience partner verbal/psychological abuse (B5). The majority of agencies do not have specialized services (B6) for First Nations women, immigrant women, lesbians, women of color, women survivors of ritual abuse, and women with disabilities (see Graph 2: Organizational Climate: Specialized Services for Women, Richmond (1996), page 72). Regarding organizational prevention strategies (B9), more than half state that they do not undertake some form of prevention education, while most state that they do not perform protocol development. Regarding program support, the majority do not offer child care, provide financial assistance (for items like transportation and child care), have legal assistance available, provide transportation or perform follow-ups of cases. (see Graph 3: Organizational Climate: Program Support for Women, Richmond (1996), page 73).

Selected Qualitative\(^2\) and Related Quantitative Data

Regarding interagency information and referral knowledge, and practice:

Interagency information and referral knowledge, and practice, is a vital and critical aspect of service accessibility for women. A woman who has been abused is normally in a state of shock and crisis and is oftentimes totally dependent on service providers (typically crisis interveners such as police, emergency room staff, transition house workers) for

\(^2\) Qualitative information is taken from questions throughout the survey. Major contributions came from questions B-13 - B-16, as well as the "Additional Comments" section at the end.
Organizational Climate: Services for Women
Richmond, 1996

- 67% no spec. services for disabled women
- 81% no special services for ritually abused women
- 67% no special services for women of color
- 70% no special services for lesbian women
- 57% no special services for immigrant women
- 66% no special services for First Nations women
- 72% special services for women exp. verbal abuse
- 64% no policy/procedure for women who have been raped
- 50% do not/have policy for women who experienced violence
Organizational Climate: Program Support for Women
Richmond, 1996

- 67% do not offer childcare
- 85% do not provide basic financial assistance
- 82% do not provide legal assistance
- 74% do not provide transportation
- 76% do not perform case follow-ups
direction and advice. If service providers do not have information, nothing gets passed on to the women, and they then do not normally receive the intervention. There is a myriad of options that a woman can choose to pursue (or is forced to pursue) depending upon her individual situation, as well as a maze of organizational services and programs, contact names, phone numbers and addresses to compile and sort through. (See Flow Chart of Organizations/Services for Women Who Experience Violence, page 75). Service providers commented on existing interagency information and referral, and practice:

"Discovered how little I know about how the system is working and what is truly available for women experiencing violence in our community. More knowledge/training would enhance the service and referral process. Women need this information!"

"...no support when rape reported, when alcohol involved and no agency information given."

"...often very difficult to access Financial Aid Workers via phone and get direct/clear answer to inquiries."

"Discovered how little I know about how the system is working and what is truly available for women experiencing violence in the community. More knowledge/training would enhance the service and referral process. Women need this information!"

They were also aware of what would be needed to improve the existing situation:

"Professional training on a community level is necessary to better equip workers to work with the target women group."

"A useful tool would be a directory, regularly updated for those (professionals) ...who regularly see clients who have been victimized to facilitate referrals, networking, etc."

Regarding the survey question that asked how service providers learned about agencies they provided referrals to, respondents listed that they used the Red Book,
Flowchart of Organizations/Services for Women Who Experience Violence

- Primary or 'Crisis' Interveners
  - Transition House
  - Police
  - Hospital/Emergency
  - Crisis Lines

- Mental Health
- Victim/Witness Services
- B.C. Housing

- Legal Aid/Lawyers
- Ministry of Children & Families
- Counseling Services
- Ministry of Human Resources
- Family Court (F.R.A.)

- Community Groups
- Criminal Court, Probation
- Sexual Abuse Counseling

- Women's Organizations
- Family Doctors/Specialists

E.g., cultural (race, religion, ability, sexuality, poverty), advocacy, political action, social, educational, support, and so on.
Training and professional development:

There has been a transformation and evolution over the decades, especially since the 1970's, concerning methodologies and technologies of intervention based upon a growing body of knowledge from research, and from the influence of socio-political factors such as organized feminism and popular psychology. In the 1990's most organizations are based upon manifestations of numerous ideological backgrounds, varying in their theoretical underpinnings and interventive approaches. The result is a noticeable eclecticism in organizational 'consciousness' regarding violence, across different agencies and even among those providing the same services. Service providers themselves are trained in different schools of thought, and it is usual that the issues surrounding violence are never systematically and uniformly transmitted as a fundamental part of professional development within the same agency:

"...the delivery of justice support services is based on individuals, with some being aware and some not..."

"...physicians need education re: dealing with rape/women."

"The laws and the people working for the system are appropriately trained, sensitive and responsive. The problem of perceived injustice lies with the judiciary which interpret the law and evidence."

"Those who are aware of the woman's reality (5-10%), have the motivation and try their best, but this is undermined having to face bureaucracy, peer pressure and bias of the rest."

On the health care system:

"..patronizing or dismissive minimizing attitude."
"...too clinical, lack of emotional and psychological support."

"...doctors don't understand the stress of violent relationships and the effect on women’s health."

"Verbal abuse hard for them to recognize as violence."

"Too much leeway for personal bias, uneven services."

Nine people replied that medical practitioners need more sensitivity and training in women’s rape/abuse issues. Regarding related professional development activities for staff (C4), most mandated service providers had in-house training and limited funds for staff to take courses or attend conferences. Regarding how agencies/programs could improve their responses to the needs of women who experience violence (B14), the number one response (11 respondents) suggested more training for staff and volunteers on the issue of violence and the delivery of services. Several people mentioned community awareness/education on issues of violence against women. Regarding changes or improvements in Richmond’s service delivery (B16) the main recommendations included training for all service sectors to increase sensitivity and to build a common ground for understanding:

"Development of policy at MSS which takes into consideration the woman’s reality."

"Provide continuous training and sensitization to all agencies which work with rape victims and battered women."

Regarding gaps in community services, policies, resources and response:

This section again relates to demographical changes, economic downturns, poor interagency communication, and lack of knowledge as to what services, policies, resources
and responses are needed. Negating through omission the fact that a woman has extended needs, such as translators, money for daycare and transportation, renders that woman's needs invisible and decreases organizational accessibility. The lack of services in a resource poor community oftentimes forces women to travel out of their communities for these services, or they may not receive any service at all:

"The present services are not able to meet the demands and we cannot expect everyone to be aware of how necessary these services are because many people remain isolated and ignorant of the extent of the dysfunction within our society."

"We need money for transportation, child care and for women to access the services easily."

"There is a lack of services for children/victims of violence and services for immediate counseling of children witnessing violence (e.g. Vancouver has Car 86). We likely need more outreach services through justice and police."

"...have to go outside Richmond to find translation services..."

"Need services for immigrant, pregnant women who experience violence..

"Women requiring a transition house are sometimes referred to Vancouver when Nova House is full. Richmond could also benefit from a program such as Maywood, a residential program for young, pregnant teens."

"We feel there is a need for more transition houses are they are often full and ideally there should be a separate facility for younger women, i.e., 20 and younger."

"Services for women who have been raped, assaulted, abused who can go through process from start to end (i.e., hospital, police, courts, etc.)"

"For Chinese women who experience violent relationships but have access difficulties to Richmond services because of language, cultural and transportation barriers."

"Staff at Richmond General Hospital should be able to examine/treat rape victims locally, instead of transporting them to VGH."

"Richmond is a suburb where agencies, police, MSS are not responding to the needs of women leaving abusive relationships with or without children. Except
for the Women's Resource Center, Chimo Crisis Center and the Nova Transition House, there are not other specific agencies that deal with the subject of abuse/violence."

"We have a dire need in Richmond for a rape crisis center."

"...as a social worker I have been told many times by Mental Health they were unable to provide services to clients I wanted to refer!"

"We need money for transportation, child care and for women to access the services easily".

"The MSS does not provide any support for their well being (swim tickets, bus tickets, community center, etc.) This is provided in other communities."

"Legal Aid has been helpful, but it's closed."

"Making women press charges and then making it difficult when women do decide to charge."

"Lack of protection to women after they bring charges against the abuser."

"...semi-poor transportation links between services."

"The Health Unit is only open 2 hours a week for free clinics, and that counseling agencies are closed after hours, on weekends and holidays."

"When an individual's story is believed and corroborated, we probably have the best social net in the world. However, access is an issue as so many people are using the system."

Regarding barriers to accessing financial aid, several people wrote about the difficulty in accessing funds and the long waits for assistance. One stated that there is "...no continuity, no follow-up services, no intervention, no extended services beyond financial aid!". Regarding improvements to the justice system, recommendations were made around:

"...development of specific policies which include procedures for enforcement, the development of policies and guidelines for court, probation and the police, to audit judges' performance similar to the Opal Commission, to translate court documents into different languages, for quicker response time when restraining
orders are being breached, for mandatory sensitivity and diversity training for all court workers, especially lawyers and judges, and for stiffer penalties."

Societal change:

In order for there to be any kind dramatic change in the status quo, there must be collective social action. In order for there to be social action, there must be a collective awareness of the gravity of violence against women, an analysis of how it is treated within the system, and why, and then a collective decision to instigate change at all levels of society:

"Many clients I interview are or have been abused. Many go on to become abusing adults. We as a society must stop the abuse of females."

"The present services are not able to meet the demands and we cannot expect everyone to be aware of how necessary these service are because many people remain isolated and ignorant of the extent to dysfunction within our society."

"I hope that all our efforts together will strengthen the awareness of women’s situations and therefore make sufficient services possible."

"I am hard put to identify any strengths. The system’s notion of justice and mine don’t coincide. The survivor is still considered a criminal and women’s reluctance to report is directly linked to this."

"We should work together to stop making second-class citizens of battered women and their children."

"If advertising can sell unnecessary and expensive items to the public, why can’t we sell the notion that women are valuable and deserve/need and are due safety from violence as a fundamental right as functioning members of our society?"

"Please note: this is not to deny the existence of some caring and responsive individuals in each of the service sectors, nor the great work of strong-willed advocates who can fight the system. But that’s not enough, is it? Nor should it be."
Quantitative Data

Because of the number of responses to the questionnaire, rather than performing an in-depth analysis of the results obtained, it may be more meaningful to relate general response trends, and only for those sections where four or more women had experiences - in this study, the police, the hospitals and transition houses.

Regarding agreement with whether or not the police gave enough information about all agencies (first section question), the strongest trend was that most women strongly disagreed. The findings were comparable in regards to the hospital, and less so but still towards disagreement with the transition house. Regarding the issue of contact (question 1), every single situation where a woman utilized transition houses, mental health, crisis lines, hospitals, doctors, she was the one to initiate the organization/agency/professional for services. There were 3 cases out of 9 where the RCMP were the first to intervene (i.e. responding to third-person calls of a ‘domestic dispute’), and out of those 3 cases, one case where victim services initially intervened.

Analysis of the data regarding the clarity of information (question 10) showed that overall, 5 of 9 women thought that the police gave somewhat unclear to very unclear information. 6 of 6 women thought the hospital gave somewhat to very unclear information, while 2 of 4 women thought the transition house gave somewhat to very unclear information. Data regarding the overall satisfaction with the amount of information given (question 11) revealed that all of 9 women were somewhat to very
dissatisfied with the police. All of 6 women were very dissatisfied with the hospital, and 2 of 4 women were dissatisfied with the information received from the transition house.

Because of the individual nature of every situation, as well as varying needs, different interveners and so on, it would be impossible to generalize trends and conclusions for questions 2-9 about the agency/organization's information and referral habits. However, a few observations can be made from the 10 cases as they do exhibit some of the behaviours that are happening in the community. Regarding services having the names of contact people (question 4) in other agencies, the police gave names for transition house workers (3 of 4 cases). No other agency had contact names for women when they referred them to other services.

Regarding the organization/agency contacting services for the women (question 5), the trends were that police were more likely to contact transition houses for women (4 of 9) than any other service (none). There were 2 cases of 2 where mental health services contacted other agencies for the women (including doctors, transition house and the Ministry of Social Services). No other services that women used contacted other any agencies for them (doctors, hospitals, crisis lines, victim services). There were two cases of mistaken referrals (question 6) where police referred a women to mental health services, and mental health referred a woman to the Ministry. The issue seemed to be one more of not giving information and referrals in the first place. The police seemed to be good at volunteering information (question 2) (6 of 9 cases), especially about transition houses, the Ministry, mental health, crisis lines and counseling services. There was a total consensus that all staff from all agencies could have given women more information
about all services *(question 7)*, especially about transition houses and family court. None of the other services that women used volunteered much information about multiple services except for individual cases where the transition house, hospital, victim services and mental health gave information on singular agencies/organizations. Women who did ask for information *(question 3)* - usually about transition houses, counseling, Family Court - generally received it. Regarding follow-ups, there were none performed by any service *(question 8)*.

The only two agencies/organizations to provide transportation for women were the police and transition houses *(question 9)*. 4 of 9 women who used police services received transportation to transition houses. 2 of 4 women received transportation from the transition house to family courts, and 1 of 4 women also received transportation from the transition house to the Ministry of Social Services. None of the other agencies/organizations - mental health, doctors, hospitals, crisis lines, victim services - provided transportation to any other service when the women utilized that service, and it is liberally assumed that a woman would most likely accept transportation if it were offered from any agency.

**Qualitative Data**

In both the informal interviews used in the preparation of the questionnaire and space given for qualitative information at the back of the survey, much pertinent and useful information was given by the women regarding their own experiences of using the services, and what changes they would like to see regarding the focus of the questionnaire.
Comments were made regarding training, especially of the police and hospital staff, as women found that they were "...dealing with people who did not have proper training..." and that "...there should be more training to recognize the symptoms of assault as I was not given any information. I did not really ask for any, 'cause I was in shock."

It was mentioned several times that police should have given more information, even if they had information with them in the form of pamphlets: "...they didn't provide someone to tell me what to do...no support..." One woman commented that there should be a video made that can be shown to women in crisis situations regarding "...what happened, what to expect, where to go and how did everything work out in the end..." as she herself "...was too dazed to concentrate and read pamphlets." One replied that ""...I didn't even know what to ask about...". Another woman said that she "...was too stressed to ask for information or to know what information I needed..." and that some agencies seemed to give "...false promises that other services would help me get what I want(ed)...". Women who used services multiple times commented that the kind of information given "...generally depends on who is there at the time..." There was one situation where "...the police gave information to (husband's name) and not me..." Women commented that at most times they "...do not feel comfortable enough to say they were beaten up..." and therefore, do not ask for valuable information, or that asking for information "...requires assertiveness and knowledge...you have to know what you want."

Comments were also made about the initial treatment of the women in general: "...they should have more compassion, a more humanistic face..." and "...the police
should have more heart and less helmet...” A woman commented that “...there was no follow-up from the hospital and even a simple call to ask how come I did not show up could have saved my life...” , and about the hospital that “...there was no one attending to my needs, I had nobody to talk to it about but they didn’t look like they would listen. I mean, it was a hospital, right?”

There were positive comments made about several institutions, such as the fact that family courts had much information on the walls in the form of brochures and pamphlets. As well, it must be noted that regardless of the amount of useful information given, there was quality support given by some of the professionals: “…the police officers were very kind...” and “…the transition house workers and crisis staff gave me what I needed emotionally even though they did not know much about what was out there...”, and that “…the doctors were busy but the nurses were sensitive.”

Regarding what women would like to see changed, one person suggested that a ‘triage system’ could be set up, with:

“....someone well versed with the services who would make appointments for you, walk over with you and take you there, give you information on what to do and give you some perspective...”

Women wanted the professionals to “...take the extra step...” for them, and that they “...don’t need hand holding, (need) information...” and “...someone to answer questions, follow up and keep in touch - true caring...” Along these lines it was observed that “…the system fails even when people do their job...” As well, a woman suggested that she would like to see “...orientation on the forms of abuse...general, up-to-date information.”, and another “...a self esteem course at the shelter, a videotape on how did
everything work out for the woman after, say, 3 years, what kind of tricks the lawyers used, how to deal with courts and just what to expect...” Another woman commented that “...anytime the police respond they should not be sending men, maybe women would make it easier...” and that the professionals “...should be aware and prepared to discuss information....”

A case was made for interagency coordination as one woman commented that “...each should know what the other is doing so I would not have to be tromping the streets with kids in tow...”

Many comments leaned to the negative side about the ‘system’ of organizations in general as women felt that “...the system doesn’t care about us and has failed in the worst way...” , “...I feel that the system has failed me...”, and that women were “...disgusted with the level of performance...” Some felt attacked by agencies: “...MSS is the worst enemy. Everything you do is wrong and they knock you down...” Finally, one woman commented on making revisions to the ‘system’ as:

“...I took my case to court and he walked away. Later he attacked another woman almost killing her. She took him to court. The judge gave him one month and 14 days. He didn’t even serve 10 days. This man is walking around Richmond and will probably kill the next woman he attacks. I feel the system doesn’t care about us.”

Summary of Findings from Pilot Study

Many of the findings from this study seemed to mirror the sentiments of the Needs Assessment regarding the issues and concerns raised, from the service consumer’s (the woman’s) point of view. Women seemed generally quite dissatisfied with amounts and clarity of information they received from various agencies about others needed after a
violent situation. Notably lacking was further support in the form of contact names, transportation and follow-ups that could potentially improve service accessibility to a shell-shocked victim. The judgement about the quality of information given to the women did not necessarily reflect upon the helpfulness or support of service providers who 'did their jobs'. This indicates that many professionals do not have a strong foundation in the issues surrounding violence and also points to a lack in training, especially of crisis or front-line interveners. Crisis interveners play a uniquely critical role because the quality of service provided at that initial level of intervention impacts upon and relegates the access of other services by women.

Finally, women's general experiences of the 'system' echoed the concerns raised in the Needs Assessment, with the added sense of powerlessness and frustration that comes from having to deal with the emotional and psychological effects of the violence, compounded with having to battle through a maze of organizations and agencies to secure financial and health support, and justice.
Discussion of Findings in Relation to Interorganizational Coordination

Data from both studies provided sufficient information to construct a 'snapshot' image of the climate of the organizational community in the City of Richmond from multiple viewpoints ('mainstream' and 'alternative' agencies, women who had experienced violence), depicting several major themes and issues:

- the lack of available/specialized/support services within the community
- the lack of information among service providers, and in the communication of information to women and other service providers
- the disparity in the standards and levels of training across service providers
- organizational and societal roles and responsibilities concerning violence against women

The climate of organizations in the City of Richmond appears to be quite lacking concerning the provision of specialized services to women with distinct needs, the provision of various forms of extended assistance (e.g., financial support, transportation, childcare), and the existence of policies, protocols and programs for women who have experienced violence. There was an overwhelming response concerning the need for an expansion of existing services, and also around the necessity for a number of absent services (e.g., rape crisis centers, Legal Aid, more than one transition house in the City).

Funding (or the lack thereof) plays a primary role in the obtaining, sustaining and retaining of services for women, as well as upon the quality and quantity of services available, and it was apparent that this was a critical and primary concern among service providers in the City. A resource-poor community can be symptomatic of several major systemic issues. For instance, it is typically the consequence of provincial or national financial shortcomings, stringent budgetary planning, funding cutbacks and economic downsizing, creating a turbulent and somewhat chaotic environment. This sets the stage
for organizational introversion, competition and power plays for the sake of survival as organizations are forced to petition for the same government monies.

Resource scarcity in a time of economic restraint results in cuts to staff numbers and in hours of operation. This, coupled with a rising population, could lead to worker burnout, compromising the quality of service given to the women, decreasing the numbers of women who can receive services in a period of time, and lengthening waiting lists. Organizations react to funding cuts by providing only core services without the ‘frills’ - usually things that can improve accessibility and consistency.

The insufficiency/absence of specialized or support services can point to a general lack of education and awareness - some agencies may not fully comprehend the rationale for providing these specialized/extended services. This is also a political issue that reflects upon the state of ethnocentric patriarchy within a society that packages services for ‘mainstream’ women who are not poor, disabled, immigrant, and so on. As well, the lack of specialized/support services can attest to an organization’s inability to accommodate a community’s changing demographics, such as a rise in population or international immigration, in a timely manner. Organizations may not be able to integrate newer technologies of intervention due to a lack of knowledge and/or resources, stagnating in an older organizational consciousness.

**Information and referral activities** were primary concerns and focuses for most professionals as these are considered reactive, crisis and immediate forms of direct intervention. There was an overwhelming consensus that the quantity, quality, accessibility and clarity of fundamental information shared among service providers, and to women, had to be improved. It is imperative to highlight the importance of service
providers knowing *beforehand* common referral routes and patterns to increase accessibility for women who have experienced violence, implying a basic knowledge of the issue in the first place. This issue relates to 'systemic' accountability regarding the sharing of information and accessible advertising (ie. in different languages, using various media) of organizational services for the sake of the woman. Regarding how service providers received information, the bulk stemmed from print material which is impersonal and can be easily outdated because of fluctuating funding to services and programs that may cause the dis/appearance of agencies, organizational staff and program turnover, changes of address, and so on.

Professional *training* was another highlighted concern, and comments from both studies indicated that training should be equal and mandatory across the board for all professionals in any one organization/agency, providing for uniform application of policy, procedures and interventions to create both internal and external consistency. It was noted that training should not be a one-time event but rather a continual process throughout, and should be grounded in a consciously recognized organizational theoretical base as opposed to relying upon various individual conceptions of the issue which in the past has led to the eclecticism of professional intervention within and among agencies. Also noted was the need for overall attitudinal and sensitization training components, especially for front-line crisis workers.

Finally, another theme was the issue of *societal change* and *organizational accountability*, of organizations using their collective power, influence, authority, legitimacy and so on, to exert a strong influence on the community of organizations through 'positive peer pressure', on governmental priorities and agendas through
forms of collective advocacy, and on society as a whole. Agencies with an acknowledged
'shared stewardship' of the 'problem domain' (violence against women), utilizing joint
strategic planning and collaborative action based upon a mutual acknowledgment of
responsibility, can transform and shape the existing state of affairs.

Interorganizational coordination, as established by the literature reviewed, has
been shown to address and positively impact the above issues. In the situation described
here, given the problematic variables such as funding deficits, poor communication,
training, and so on, interorganizational coordination can perhaps be utilized both as a short
term problem solving mechanism as well as a long term tool of societal change, shaping
community and organizational dynamics through focused, coordinated action. There are
three main levels that IOC can be effected from, with different emphases and outcomes: at
the front line level, to address client service coordination; at the upper management level
to address program coordination; and at the superorganizational level to address resource
coordination and unified global action.

Information sharing and IOC communication is coordination at its most basic and
least intrusive form, requiring the least expenditure of energy and time. Information
distribution and communication can happen at any period during the IOC process, and at
any level of coordination, with the bulk happening en masse in the beginning stages of
communal activity. It can take on several methodologies of varying depth and
effectiveness, from informal discussions, conferences, workshops and representative
speakers, to more structured and long-term actions such as the development of formalized
IOC protocols and policies that outline the necessity of this activity as well as specifying
expectations, vehicles of exchange, time lines and processes of review.
The communication of different aspects of professional work, such as problems, issues and concerns, can generate mutual consciousness raising as well as help organizations recognize and discover their connections around the realization of similar goals. This could also perhaps diffuse or reverse strained organizational relations by creating a sense of community and unified purpose, and by creating a forum through which to address interagency conflict, mitigating the stress of a competitive, distrustful environment. This sharing would benefit the women as professionals would have a closer connection to community networks, as well as increasing their own ability to access further information for the women as needed.

**Training** issues can also be sufficiently and creatively addressed through IOC in various ways, but mainly at the program coordination - upper management - level. Training in a collective context could transmit shared definitions and terms of reference, as well as aid in the construction of a shared working vocabulary. A community of organizations can standardize what essential information and skills must be transmitted to professionals working within the field to increase and improve consistency, competency, the quality of service provision, and therefore women’s experiences of using the ‘system’. IOC teams can perhaps also more easily access the adequate and necessary funding through the pooling of resources for joint training ventures such as conferences, workshops and modules of instruction for ongoing professional development.

As seen in the literature, the most effective and far reaching contributions that IOC could make would be in the critical areas of *funding and resource sharing*, occurring mainly at the upper management and superorganizational levels. At its most superficial, an organization’s mere membership in a coordinative body could serve to increase its own
legitimacy and organizational status in the eyes of funders. As well, organizations can jointly fund events and invest in activities such as cooperative advertising, pooling physical resources such as office space, vehicles and equipment for one-time or short-term needs, increasing in complexity through the sharing of administrative functions and personnel. At its most ambitious and effective, IOC could organize around collectively advocating and bargaining for increased funding to existing organizations, or for the creation of new services.

This level of coordination demands the strongest commitments from power brokers within agencies, as well as an emphasis on long-term visioning with much energy going into planning. Increased (or the ensurance of) consistent resources and funding can lead to a shift in an institutional focus away from survival onto the needs, concerns, and issues of the women themselves. The pilot study revealed that women felt second to the vested survival interests of the organizations, echoed by the sentiments of the service providers who felt that organizations placed an inordinate emphasis on bureaucracy, 'budgetary bottom lines' and the agency's survival needs when developing policy and programs.

The two studies showed that both the service providers and women knew of the major interorganizational issues, and that both endorse a form of heightened organizational interaction:

"Poor communication links, particularly between hospital and community."

"...good to have a community liaison person to network in the community."

"Action groups and evolvement of coordinated response."
“More coordination and cooperation among agencies working with women and ethnic groups should be built up for better service in the community.”

“Ability to provide coordinated services, if funding were available.”

“We should work together to stop making second-class citizens of battered women and their children...”

“We need an agency/system response leading to education on the subject, including policy in our coordinated response and training of involved professionals on the subject (lawyers, judges, doctors, private practitioners).”

When service providers were asked “We can best improve our methods of communicating information about our services by...”, the majority of answers included suggestions for “...continuing and improving interagency networking, liaison and coordination, and the distribution of program/agency brochures.”

Interorganizational coordination is one technology of action that can be harnessed to enable progressive social change in a number of ways. Advocacy and problem solving can be dramatically more effective when organizations work not in isolation with their own (strained) resources, but with the unified voices and influences of numerous players. Already, the Richmond Violence Against Women Coordination Committee seems to have had a beneficial effect on its members, especially relating to heightened organizational awareness, enhanced knowledge of available services and a feeling of group effort and inclusivity within the community of agencies in the City.

As investigated in this study, the potential benefits of coordination are numerous, extending far beyond addressing only the themes noted from the two pieces of research. Coordination can be an educational and consciousness raising exercise, and can perhaps be
a dynamic force in staunching and reversing the ever-swelling tide of violence against women.

"The major problem I see is that so many women face this alone. They do not know where to turn and when they do reach out the do not get the nurturing, understanding, healing help they need. In underfunded, overworked agencies like ours, we are facing the brutal results of the backlash. We see our funds slashed, but the tide of women in need does not recede."
Chapter 5

Catalytic Alliances: Interorganizational Coordination of Services for Women Who Have Experienced Violence

Sites of Counter-Hegemony and Transformation

"...need to go beyond resistance to embrace a diversified approach to strategy, one that entails the politicization of many different terrains, and the deployment of various power technologies." (Cooper, 1995)

In the North American context, it is typical for a woman to access any number of organizations as a result of violence against her person in order to secure protection, medical and psychological services, financial, legal and emotional support, and justice. As a result, the quality and fundamental constitutions of organizations that provide services to women who have experienced violence have pivotal and longitudinal repercussions upon the women themselves, and therefore upon society as a whole. Given that approximately half of all women in Canada have experienced some form of violence, the significance of the impact of institutional interventions cannot be undermined or left in the realm of unconsciousness. Interventions from the levels of front-line workers, policies and procedures, supervisory decisions, programmatic planning, the allocation of funding and personnel, mandates and visions are critical variables that result in an exchange of goods or services which have the potential of either liberating or further oppressing (de-humanizing) the women.

Organizations contain within them multiple manifestations of power in the form of funding, societal legitimacy, vested authority, 'professionalism', interventive technologies and so on. Women who have experienced violence are usually dis-empowered in any of a number of ways, exacerbated at the point of institutional exchange where exists a blatantly
asymmetrical power relationship - the organization can shape, manipulate or script,
"...distribute bodies to various places and activities...prescribe the bodies' movements,
impose norms on its activity..." (Usher and Edwards, 1994) - through the granting of
survival resources and services - the woman's thoughts and future actions, and ultimately
her existence within society as a rational entity:

"...power shapes the interests, desires, agendas and subjectivities of the
subjugated (and dominant) forces... " (Cooper, 1995)

In relation to violence against women, institutions that contain strong hegemonic
consciousnesses tend mainly to embrace modernist 'mainstream' analyses of violence that
do not question a status quo that does as much to perpetuate - through un-consciousness,
inaction or design - a violent society that both creates the potential for violence, and does
relatively little to counteract it or correct it once a violent act has been performed. A
strong intrapsychological bias, based in the cult of scientific rationality, married with an
overwhelmingly Judeo-Christian inclination around family values, a capitalist socio-
political environment and patriarchal realities formulate the grounds upon which most
mainstream organizations derive interventive technology. 'Mainstream' organizations
have a disproportional allotment of power in relation to the 'alternative' (feminist/
structural) organizations that do attempt to struggle against dominant norms and
hegemonic consciousness through multiple forms of anti-hegemonic resistance.

Mainstream organizations typically have the power and resources to actively
'blindspot' so-called radical organizations which normally cannot survive without referrals
from these mainstream agencies, widening the gap of power, control and mistrust. There
is minimal impetus or incentive to bridge relations between these two typifications of
organizations within society that provide services to women. Valuable time and other resources are spent in conflicting activities, resulting in polarized posturing and power plays.

On the other hand, ‘resistance’ from an alternative organization typically “...assumes conflict...(which) functions as an antagonistic response to a dominant form of power...” to “...impede the reproduction or generation of domination.” (Cooper, 1995) ‘Resistance’ is a concerted effort to halt the manifestations of oppression by clashing with it head on, therefore stopping it in its tracks. In other words, oppositional posturing and resistant-type behaviours are an attempt by anti-hegemonic activists to dam the flow of oppression. In these cases, conflict itself is translated as sufficient action. An unfortunate side effect is that sometimes this particular technology of action may lead to further marginalization and the intensification of social inequality in the form of backlash.

The ‘alternative’ analysis is crucial in any attempt to question the detrimental effects of organizational/societal intervention in relation to violence against women as it questions the very playing ground upon which organizations situate themselves. But, resistance should not be the total objective of any struggle as resistance on its own is self-marginalizing and divisive. There should be a strategy to go beyond the linearity of resistance to the actual deployment of power in the form of counter-action or counter-hegemony. Anti-hegemony revolves around disrupting the status-quo without replacing it with alternative processes; counter-hegemony entails actually engaging with power’s processes - the creation and (re)production of practices, knowledge, interests - rather than with its effects: proaction as opposed to reaction.
Within this variegated, fluctuating and somewhat chaotic organizational (and community) environment lies room for linkage and common ground, stemming from a mutual perception of the potential benefits of coordinative action. Previously, it had been established that organizations are caches of loose and fixed power. One form of postmodern strategizing would be to go beyond typical ‘alternative’ resistant behaviours against the effects of power to focus on the processes of power - transforming the form (technologies) that power takes at its sites (organizations). Organizational power stockpiles can be accessed through service providers, and through collective action - coordinated, synergetic activity - can be refocussed, diverted and realigned along an ideological/theoretical analysis of the ‘system’ and its effects on women, regarding how to best address the issues at hand. Institutional power can be deployed in a transformational manner, to consciously shape the mutual ‘problem set’ of a community of organizations, to “…deploy, constrain or transform particular sites of power…” (Cooper, 1995)

Engaging power in this manner is not without its problems - it is not an easy path, with inherent contradictions, the dangers of co-optation and trappings of political chess: “The state schematizes a system of relations, structures, institutions and forces which are vast, complex, differentiated and at times, contradictory.” (Cooper, 1995) But, power has the ability to be generative as opposed to merely a deductive/reductive/seductive force that constrains and diminishes. Here, the concept of the ‘system’ is not regarded as actor/oppressor, but rather as a culmination of the in/actions of a community of organizations, upon a person or group. It then logically follows that by accessing
organizations, one can access the 'system', and any change or transformation at the organizational level directly influences, in the end, how the 'system' affects the woman.

'En-visioning' Coordination

"...there can be no such thing as neutrality; it is a code word for the existing system. You've got to take sides. You need to know why you take sides." (Horton and Freire, 1990)

"You can't have a spiral, you'll have a circle that stays flat if you don't have a theory about where you're going." (Horton and Freire, 1990)

For coordinated political action to be effective towards progressive transformation of the current societal status quo, especially in the long term, it must be grounded within a framework of ideologies that animate the action with purpose, meaning and significance. Theoretical or ideological structures contain inherent organizing aspects, such as objectives, mandates, short and long-term goals, and evolutionary 'visions' of states of heightened 'perfection'. Within the structure of a coordinative committee, a vision itself can be utilized as a basis of commonality to inform the intentions, and therefore directions, of action. Group visioning does not imply or presuppose modernist tendencies of 'groupthink', ascribing to a uniform interpretation of the issue, but can establish a complex and multidimensional image or set of images of an improved institutional/societal system from multiple viewpoints, taking many different aspects of the issue into account for the purposes of analysis and planning.

Group visioning itself is an educating, organizing and community development tool that should occur near the start of interagency relations. This strategy can serve to bring out and address group conflict in an appropriate environment, bringing to the forefront a
pluralistic interpretation of the many issues surrounding violence, as well as any number of
different technologies and methodologies of problem solving. Each organization has its
own sphere of legitimacy and validity, and its own subjectivity that is “...culturally
determined...a historical product, a function of ideological practices...” (Grossberg and
Nelson, 1988). Agencies should therefore be understood as political, economic, social and
cultural systems that are interpreted in these ways by representative workers and
community members whose stances can be incorporated into the planning process to
create a holistic response, realistic to each organization’s needs, theoretical bases, and so
on. There are many rights and wrongs - contradictory or contestatory positioning can
only serve to fortify and validate any action through a continual process of questioning
and refinement.

A group vision is a locus of mutual agreement, an intersection or solidarity, and a
negotiated alliance that neither subjugates workers and community representatives to the
dogma of a singular theoretical stance, nor does it require organizations or workers to be
conscripted into different ways of operating. It is hoped that each organization would be
affected in the process of ‘en-visioning’ through a ripple effect as workers and community
members introduce new information and different methodologies, ideologies, strategies for
action, and so on, into the boundaries of the agency. The en-visioning process should be
organic, transforming over time as the actors, interests and resources are changed and new
realities created. The strength of this mutable, collective vision should not be undermined.
Intention should be translated though a manifested, collectively agreed-upon ideological
stance - it must be present at some level of the group interaction or the life force and
motivation for change will be hollow, and the action, artificial and shortsighted. Ideologies "...can act as resources to be deployed in social struggles..." (Cooper, 1995). A vision can be an anchor, a justification, and a roadmap for action.

The Richmond Violence Against Women Coordination Committee1 (RVAWCC) evolved through very distinctive states of transformation over a period of approximately 3 years that involved the initial discovery of purpose and the continual refinement of cause from abstract aspirations to implementable visions. At the early stages, the group, firstly the 'Women's Issues Committee' then the Violence Against Women (VAW) Subcommittee of the Richmond Community Services Advisory Council (RCSAC), consisted mainly of front-line service professionals linked with 'women's issues' and 'women's health' in the City, to:

"...network, share needs, identify gaps in service and sponsor joint educational programs. To report to the RCSAC any gaps so that the RCSAC can lobby for more funding or better programs for Richmond."2

Initially, the subcommittee mainly played an information gathering and advisory role, placing all onus upon the RCSAC for action as the subcommittee itself was small, relatively new and without a history of collective activity upon which to base future plans. There was some discussion at the time about whether or not the group "...want(ed) a Coordinating Committee such as the one in Vancouver..."3 after a motivating presentation by the Battered Women's Support Services on coordination4, in 1994. It may have been

1 The committee's official name is The Richmond Coordinating Committee on Violence Against Women in Relationships and their Children and/or Women Who Have Been Raped, a fully descriptive and inclusive title. But, for the sake of brevity, I will refer to the committee as the Richmond Violence Against Women Coordination Committee, or RVAWCC throughout.
2 Violence Against Women Committee of the RCSAC. Agenda: March 10, 1994.
3 Ibid.
taken into account that the RCSAC's mandate included many other equally important areas of social concern as well as 'women's issues', so that the energy going into the cause of violence against women might have been dispersed, with less of an impact than if it was the full attention of an entire committee.

Almost immediately after, the VAW subcommittee agreed to focus on 'coordination' and identified and created its own subcommittees that dealt with various aspects of violence: youth involvement, outreach to women, ethnic groups and organizations, public education, funding, the legal system and needs assessments. A subjective analysis of this motion is that it happened too soon, actually creating some tensions and problems in the committee's later meetings - a case of 'putting the cart before the horse'. Because of the quick jump into action without an incubational period of 'en-visioning' and clarification, many of the satellite committees operated from totally different theoretical and working understandings of what it was they were trying to accomplish in the long run, causing member frustration and lengthy (and sometimes circular) processes of debate and discussion. An initial 'en-visioning' stage is of primary importance for any new committee as it sets terms of reference (what does violence against women mean? what is coordination?), clarifies purpose (what is our role in coordination?), and sets short and long term goals (what can we do to achieve coordination, and how do we get there?).

A turning point in the process happened when the VAW subcommittee set up a crucial one-day workshop soon after, and through the use of 'popular education' tools and

5 Richmond Community Services Advisory Council. Information brochure.
techniques set about figuring out and brainstorming the '5 W's' - who are they, why are they here, what are they doing, when will they do it, and where. This had the fortunate side-effect of building a community of service professionals and societal representatives that had, for the most part, been complete strangers who were cautiously open to the idea of coordination and all of its trappings and complicated group dynamics. Much time was spent in a small group 'visioning' process of the potentialities and realities of the VAW subcommittee, the results of which were later shared with the entire committee, highlighting commonalties. A 'practical vision' was diluted and expanded from the initial brainstorming, with members conceiving the subcommittee a year later regarding certain areas:

- **Services** - better services
- **Key representation** - (identification of key representatives), eg. women, policy and decision makers, crown counsel, health, justice, youth, community groups
- **Structure** - recruiting committee, identification of work groups
- **Process** - eg. training and educational programs, clarification of mandate, stories of women, public information
- **Protocol** - eg. working through differences (values, assumptions) on the issue, building on mutual respect, listening to each other openly
- **Education and Media** - eg. completed needs assessment, identification of what exists, what needs to exist, gaps, duplications, education programs in schools, recognition of existence of committee by community and government

That vision was modified and polished numerous times and was used as a springboard for major action - that of actually creating the Richmond Violence Against Women Coordination Committee (RVAWCC), through a conference entitled the ‘First Day Workshop’ in October, 1995. Major 'players' were invited to create and join, with a strong measure of commitment, official working subcommittees of the larger RVAWCC,

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7 Richmond Violence Against Women Committee. Workshop proceedings: September 24, 1994, pp. 3.
8 Ibid. pp. 5.
utilizing the process work and experience of the Vancouver Coordination Program on Violence Against Women in Relationships. Key organizational power brokers were invited, but the second incarnation of the RVAWCC remained with basically the same membership as the previous years. The vision was manifested in the form of a mandate/mission statement:

"Using our collective knowledge and resources, we will create a coordinated and effective response to incidents of violence against women in relationships, and to their children, and/or to women who have been raped; to promote awareness and change in social attitudes and ultimately, to realize the elimination of violence against women in our community and society."

There are a few observations that I would like to share, having been a part of the RVAWCC's 'en-visioning' process over the years. Firstly, the vision itself was and is used as an ideological basis of unity for the committee members, something that was woven into being through the threads of voices from different organizations, political and theoretical stances, and outlooks on the issue. A 'homemade' and communal vision, rather than staunch modernist political advocacy, was a successful method of creating a working group consensus. Secondly, in an analysis of the envisioning process of the past few years, I can subjectively say that much more input should have been secured from community members themselves - ie. women who had experienced violence. The visioning process should not exclude but should prioritize the women's visions of an improved reality with their experienced advice, with organizational/agency interests and desires coming second or blending with the women's voices in an inclusive, egalitarian and respectful manner. Thirdly, using foresight and some research into coordination, potential

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9 Richmond Coordinating Committee on Violence Against Women in Relationships and their Children and/or Women Who Have Been Raped. Handout.
coordinating committees should initially define which levels of change they would like to promote and therefore secure a membership with representational power and organizational position to circumvent difficulties regarding what individual members at varying levels of organizational hierarchies saw as possible 'visions' for the future, respecting their own resources of authority and power to effect change.

The 'en-visioning' process is lengthy and is continually modified, but it is an utterly fundamental pre-requisite for the attraction and retention of membership, and for the best use of resources over time.

'Processing' Coordination

"Liberating action involves a moment of perception and volition." (Freire, 1993)

'Process' work is an undervalued aspect of group relations involving the creating, structuring and managing of group interaction around issues of power, conflict, planning, educating, and so on. Process involves the intellectual and emotional work of committee members and entails the construction of a safe space to build community, critical consciousness and mutual awareness out of the typical chaos of early group activity that gradually subsides over time into a negotiated order. In this sense, group 'process' is the 'heart' and 'head' of committee work that solidifies and strengthens working alliances.

Normally, service providers are goal- and action-oriented given the realities of resource scarcity that structure only minimal process into the organizational experience (see Chapter 3: Inter/Organizational Behaviour). But, within a group as ideologically and politically diverse as a coordinative team, dealing with many different analyses of violence against women, interventive technologies, personalities and traditions, it is
imperative that enlightened committee structures create a balanced dialectic between the
process/action exchange that takes into account the needs of the group at each stage of
development. Initially, process and ‘envisioning’ should overshadow action so that the
group does not ‘leap without looking’, and should include:

- education of the self
- education of the other
- education of the group
- processes for managing conflict
- processes for managing group interaction
- community/team building
- establishing and facilitating structures for the process/action dialectic

‘Education of the self’ is of primary importance as it involves the creation of a
critical analysis and consciousness around the issue of violence, its causes, effects and
consequences. As well, it entails discovering one’s own ideological or theoretical base
and value system in order to interact with other committee members while being aware of
personal and professional biases. As mentioned previously, there is no such thing as
‘professional/personal neutrality’. All training is subjective from the organizational and
personal points of view - ‘neutrality’ is used as an excuse for the un-consciousness of
one’s own foundations. Committee members have to be willing to do the mental work
and get ‘personally’ involved with the ‘political’, seeing their reality as being intimately
connected - through their organizational and personal positions - with the subject of
violence. Self-education can occur in tandem with ‘education of the other’ and ‘education
of the group’ via dialectical interaction, processes of debate, discussion and information
exchange. This mutual education should “…not (solely) consist of transmission of factual
information, but in acts of cognition...” (Horton and Freire, 1990) with other members.
This is important as the sphere of violence against women is historically highly politicized with aspects of feminism, cultural and religious values, patriarchal and structural analyses and so on. Awareness of self, the other, and of group identification of points of ideological solidarity is important in order to establish bases from which to plan collaborative action.

The RVAWCC dealt with self, other and group education in a variety of ways throughout, initially emphasizing process-work and relying on heated debate and discussion of what the primary issue was and what the group’s actions should entail, showing up in minutes as points for discussion that were typically tabled - to be continued in later meetings. It became apparent through dialogue that disagreements and confusion stemmed from people working with differing operating definitions of fundamental terms and constructs. Later on, educational methodologies included information exchange sessions, videos and discussions, lengthy debriefing and checking-in sessions, and ‘process-time’ that was actually structured into the agendas. Education of the group members and of newcomers who did not have the benefit of the group’s processural history was a major issue throughout - there was much discussion around whether or not to leave the group open or closed to newcomers as it might disrupt the flow that members had built up to over the years\(^\text{10}\). Many subcommittees were created to deal with all aspects of education that included putting together orientation and information packages, outreach to other established coordinative groups, planning and/or attending intra-group or external educational workshops and events, and ‘interest-specific’ committees that dealt with a singular aspect of violence against women, reporting back to the larger group.

\(^{10}\) Eg. see Minutes for Feb 17th, March 18th, April 21st 1995 for discussion of new members.
Specific processes for properly managing conflict should be utilized as "...the existence of rival points of view and of different aims and objectives can do much to improve the quality of decision making..." (Morgan, 1988), pre-empting potentially explosive and destructive group situations. A plurality of ideas are sources of innovation, and great care should be taken not to squash or silence dissension. Common sources of conflict within the RVAWCC included:

"...lack of inclusive process; differences in ideology; time consuming to be involved; assumptions of people/groups/agencies that create polarization; black/white vision; judgments; past and present power struggles; territorialism; tradition of no collaboration."

A few conflict-resolution tools currently employed by the RVAWCC includes using *talking circles* or *group rounds* that "...facilitate personal awareness, initiative and esteem...encourage interaction in groups...to promote health and healing..." so that each person could share feelings and thoughts about specific issues in a non-judgmental, equally listened to spaces whereby "...everything that is expressed is recognized; everything that is expressed is accepted; everything that is expressed is respected." Another innovative strategy included the use of a *rotating process monitor* to "...follow up and debrief with group members who may want to process feelings outside of the larger meeting." These simple mechanisms attempted to create an atmosphere of safety, openness and mutual respect, allowing conflict to come out and be dealt with in loosely structured but collective and progressive ways. The committee did eventually feel comfortable enough to openly deal with conflict, even going as far as to speak with people who had left the

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12 Violence Against Women Coordinating Committee, Minutes: February 17, 1995.
14 Violence Against Women Coordinating Committee, Minutes: January 20, 1995.
team for various reasons, to address their concerns within the group and prevent similar instances from reoccurring.\textsuperscript{15}

Along the same lines of managing conflict was community/team building through planned events such as invitations to join the Montreal Massacre memorial, Take Back the Night marches, potlucks and strategic coffee breaks, as well as checking-in before and debriefing after meetings. A set of group rules were established and initially posted at meetings that defined the grounding assumptions of being a part of the committee, such as "...being listened to; no finger pointing; respect, commitment; being inclusive; self-moderating; not judging..." and so on.\textsuperscript{16} I can subjectively say that community building, with the potential benefits of further strengthening the team and motivating members, is an underemployed aspect of the committee and could perhaps be included to a greater degree in the future.

Finally, processes should be created to establish and facilitate aspects of the process/action dialectic, changing throughout the lifetime of the group to suit its needs at particular stages. Action without process "...just becomes activism..." (Freire, 1993) - it is without direction and sometimes self-obstructing. In the RVAWCC, identifiable (and necessary) processes were created for everything from decision making (democratic-elective or consensus), bringing in new members, holding discussions, recording and handing out minutes, revisiting decisions and choosing facilitators. The role of the process-facilitator was critical in that she both valued and understood the importance of group process and educative conflict, and used her skills to maximize the quality of time

\textsuperscript{15} Violence Against Women Coordinating Committee, Minutes: June 16, 1995.
\textsuperscript{16} Violence Against Women Coordinating Committee, Minutes: November 21, 1995.
spent together. Initially, rotating chairpersons were used to facilitate meetings so that power would not be inordinately vested in any one person. The facilitator was responsible for properly managing conflict and disagreement, steering the committee regarding the agenda and ensuing discussions, and more. In this way, every person had a chance to become quickly aware and sensitized to processual issues. Later on, three official co-chairs were named to take on the same tasks, as well as most of the administrative duties as the group had become more complex and required consistency in representation.

An imbalance towards process is inappropriate with the trap of becoming enmeshed in over-processing, hamstringing attempts at action and frustrating the membership. The RVAWCC did lose team members who were more action-oriented, or who preferred to rejoin after the bulk of the process work was completed and when the RVAWCC was grounded enough in its methods of operation to allow for quicker action.

The RVAWCC’s process was both normal and highly commendable. Initially, it went through typical group stages, and through the work and dedication of its members who put in the time to research and bring up progressive methods of operating in non-hierarchical, respectful, and egalitarian manners, smoother, more refined and effective ways of working were created. One member made a key observation about the group’s history when she stated that “…process requires patience.”

‘Activating’ Coordination

“To affirm that men and women are persons and as persons should be free, yet to do nothing tangible to make this affirmation a reality is a farce.” (Freire, 1993)

In the end, there can be no transformation without action - the manifestation of ideology through expressive, conscious means. The ongoing development of critical consciousness can be interpreted as action in the sense that it is ‘anarchic’ (Freire, 1993) - it questions the status quo and creates a fundamental desire for change. However, it is unfortunate that in an organizational setting seeming abstractions such as the development of an individual or group critical analysis is not considered a primary form of action unless it is coupled with resource exchange (such as information), physical activities or events, the creation of structures to direct and organize activity, and so on. As well, solely developing critical consciousness without providing an opportunity for external action is dis-empowering as it creates an awareness of inequality and oppression without an outlet for the negative energy and the perceived loss of control over one’s environment produced from such an analysis.

The coordinative effort should be catalytic, with two or more elements (organizations) coming together in a unique, dynamic alliance, expending energy and producing an outcome. In a catalytic event, all elements are slightly changed or modified by the interaction with one other. In a coordinative setting, this would be through exchange of information, ideas, education, and activity. As previously mentioned, a balance must exist between process and action that is tailored to the needs of the group at each particular stage of its development. On a practical level, organizations may withdraw or decrease in interest for coordination as their perception of the positive outcomes and benefits of coordination are diminished: organizations will not want to expend resources of personnel, time and so on, into ‘lost causes’ without seeing ‘tangible’ empirical
evidence of success. Community representatives may not want to become enmeshed in neverending bureaucratic discussion. Action creates a feedback loop, with successful action motivating organizations and individuals into performing more action, and vice versa. Care must be taken that structures are set into place to reinforce debriefing, reflection and strategic planning in varying capacities before, during and after action.

Enlightened structural methodologies should be created that efficiently organize the action, being on guard for the generation of stranglehold bureaucratic processes:

"Bureaucracies attempted to cope...via more regulation, renewed efforts to assert hierarchical control, more information gathering and monitoring...in other words, by more bureaucracy." (Cooper, 1995)

The RVAWCC organized itself into subcommittees and working committees ever since its inception in order to better carry out action, relating to the interests of members and organizational focuses. The satellite committees then took it upon themselves to organize and carry out action, reporting back to the larger committee for input, support and resource attainment. Currently, the satellite groups are still clarifying their roles and objectives, and many have decided to wait until two major pieces of research into the needs of women and service providers in the City have been completed, to give direction to their efforts.

Small group processes mirrored those of the larger group, with each unit specifying mandates, processes, goals, etc. It is important that the structures that are established extract the effectiveness and productivity of a bureaucratic framework without the negative elements, the "...the hierarchy of authority, division of labour, use of technical qualifications, relationships built on position rather than personal attributes, and the
specification of rules and procedures to guide behaviour and exchange." (Ferguson, 1984)
- ie. the obstruction of action and abuse of power. This can be achieved by utilizing feminist processes of interaction such as using participatory democracy, non-hierarchical decision making, minimization of rank, status and wage differences, rotation of job tasks or positions, as well as a focus on collective processes, the move towards shared information, skills and power. Regarding relationships, the emphasis should be on ‘web’ or horizontal relations rather than vertical hierarchy, diluting the power differential among people. Each subcommittee was a microcosm of the processes and actions of the larger committee, evolving over time. These included:

- voice of women caucus
- justice/custody and access
- immigrant and visible minority women
- counseling and health
- lobbying/fundraising
- education: public and agencies
- advocacy: women oriented
- needs assessment
- administration/co-chairs support
- orientation/new members
- outreach (to other coordination committees) and information gathering
- recruitment

Members found it more difficult to produce action from within the larger group because of its size and increasing complexity, and its role became that of an advisory and decision-making roundtable. There are typical problems in handling multiple subcommittees, such as action being performed without the knowledge of the larger group, or the fact that the larger group is not able to absorb and adequately process everything the smaller groups hoped to achieve. As well, over time, the smaller groups
started working from slightly different angles, methodologies and viewpoints that shifted to suit the needs and backgrounds of small-group members.

The Voice of Women Caucus, at this time the only existing one in a B.C. coordinating committee, is a significant and important addition to the committee in that it contains representatives of women who "...have been on the receiving end of services in B.C." Their role is still in the midst of being defined as to what capacity they want to engage in during the coordinative process. A few suggestions would be that of advisory, ‘reality-checking’ for service providers around the table, planning and subcommittee roles. In other words, I would support that the voice of women who have experienced violence be present throughout all layers of the coordination committee as they are the committee’s strongest educators.

The action-structures and the action that have been used thus far seem to be quite efficient in managing tasks and producing tangible (and intangible) results, as well as community building among service providers in similar fields. The subcommittee format is successful, as the subcommittees themselves are flexible enough to change and adapt to new ideas and situations quite readily. As well, any number of them can be created as the need arises. There are gaps at this time (such as in first nations issues, media and public relations, political advocacy), that may or may not be realized as the membership increases or shifts its interests.

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18 Richmond Coordinating Committee on Violence Against Women in Relationships and/or Who Have Been Raped. Minutes: February 20, 1996.
CONCLUSIONS

Conclusions of Study

Because violence against women is so insidious and pervasive throughout Canadian society it calls for potent measures to address it based upon an analysis and awareness of the implications upon women, the roles and responsibilities of organizations that provide services to women, and the ramifications upon society as a whole. The interorganizational coordination of services for women who have experienced violence is one technology of action that, according to past and current research, can improve upon the quantity and quality of service provision to women, the internal environment of organizations for service providers, the dynamics of a community's organizational climate, and society as a whole through collective, systemic activism.

This study was used to investigate various aspects of interorganizational coordination:

• theories of interorganizational behaviour, including super- and substructural dynamics
• past research into coordination, and into the multilevel effects of interorganizational coordination
• the climate of an organizational community from different viewpoints
• the use of interorganizational coordination as a problem solving and community development mechanism
• a case study of an actual coordinative team concerning IOC dynamics, structures and processes
• interorganizational coordination as a process for systemic activism, in the form of a catalytic alliance

Based upon the research in this study I strongly recommend that, regarding violence against women, interorganizational coordination be the goal of organizational interaction instead of more minor forms of collaborative endeavours as it consists of the strongest and most fundamentally based interactive processes that involve the formal
ordering of interorganizational behaviour to include resource sharing, program, training, and information coordination, and the sanctioning for large-scale action in community, organizational, government and societal spheres. There would be the legitimacy that comes with a coordinative body for the purposes of political clout and collective advocacy, and it would be easier to streamline, plan and facilitate interorganizational exchanges on a consistent basis over time.

As well, I conclude that mandated coordination, through the legitimised governing body, would be the most effective way to ensure that all organizations that work with women are represented, with the consistency and commitment that can only come from this type of structure. Following this, women who have experienced violence should be supported in many ways, through, for example, positive sanctioning, renumeration and proactive planning (eg. childminding, transportation, information and public outreach) to take an active role in the committee as these voices contain the wisdom that comes only from direct experience.

Regarding the levels of change and action, it is important that there be strategic recruitment and representation for whatever type of activity the committee is trying to achieve at any given point in time (for example, professional training and development at the service provider level for front-line change; funding and resource allocation at the directorial/government level, and so on). This should be an ongoing process, with a focus that shifts over time and with the foresight of the energy and time saving value of this type of strategic planning.
I also conclude that coordination should initially start out with dual reactive and proactive visions, working concurrently within the committee. Goals and objectives can contain both aspects of this visioning so that change occurs at different dimensions simultaneously without the constraints of merely 'putting out fires' or looking ahead without dealing with present and pressing issues. This caters to the differing needs of the individual/organization/professional, as well as a variety of personal/political consciousnesses around where energy should be expended, with the benefits of retaining membership, interest and activity over a period of time.

Coordination should be an alliance, a solidarity and intersection of mutual agreement hinging around a unified, collective vision of change without one organization necessarily subsuming to the politics of another. Organizations should maintain their individual integrities, with boundaries that are open enough to allow for mutual educating, information and idea exchange. Coordination should be catalytic in that it is active, never stagnating, and with a transformational vision, producing some measure of progress over time, stimulated by each organization in the constant flow of ideas, energy and activity. Catalytic coordination should produce change at various levels - internally and externally, horizontally and vertically, at the individual, group, organizational, governmental and societal levels. It follows then that a catalytic alliance of organizations, in the context of this study, is an active partnership that strives towards the continual progressive transformation of a particular domain, or problem set, at many levels over time. The strategic interorganizational coordination of services for women who have experienced
violence has the potential to pool, divert and reallocate organizational power in unique and creative ways.

Critique of Interorganizational Coordination in Relation to Violence Against Women

A critique of the effort to promote the coordination of social services\(^1\) commences with the idea that power relations within IOC committees can be masked, not named or brought out in the 'spirit of progress', 'working together' and 'managing conflict'. Founded criticisms of the processes, policies and programs within other organizations may be silenced, and those organizations with socio-structural or 'radical' analyses of the workings of violence in the broader societal context could fall victim to marginalization, exclusion and trivialization, especially in interaction with the organizations that have historically (or in the present time) been seen as perpetrators or in/direct contributors to violence against women and the continued subjugation of women, workers and other organizations themselves.

At the organizational level, most 'feminist' or alternative organizations are relatively poorer in terms of paid staff and resources and may have to deal with unequal 'professional designations' and the legitimacy, authority and status vested in some service providers - again a potential site of silencing, 'academic' snobbery and tension. There may be a notable absence or eclectic membership from agencies that simply cannot afford to spare their staff. Along those lines, it is common for some of the membership to be working on a 'voluntary' basis, on their own time, as they regard the issue as a worthwhile

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Conclusions

social cause. Interested community members (including women who have experienced violence) may find themselves donating their knowledge, time, energy and resources, a telling symptom of society’s asymmetrical focus, overvaluation and/or esteem for ‘paid professionals’ over ‘non-professionals’. The structure of meetings may also serve to exclude community members when they are set up during daytime work hours, catering only to the needs of the ‘professional’ membership.

As well, because of the typical representation of people on the committees, there may be a cross-section of power brokers - front-line workers may have to deal with great power imbalances when working with, for example, upper management. These are described as ‘false equivalence’ relationship interactions (McAlister, 1994) with potentially detrimental effects on the focus and effectiveness of the committee, and upon sustaining membership over a period of time.

Because of the realities of politics and organizational power issues, IOC committees may stall around information sharing (Flaherty and Martin, 1978), personal networking meetings and other soflline tactics that deflect energy from working on notable change, productive action and proaction. These are necessary only as initial steps in developing group relationships especially where coordination typically remains at the voluntary or even mediated level, but it also usually indicates that there is no ‘teeth’, commitment or power behind the committee membership.

Finally, there is the issue of setting up ‘yet another bureaucracy’ where the coordinative team is seen as ‘just another bunch of people in suits getting together to talk about vision statements’, and not employing effective action or doing too little, too late.
Traditionally, bureaucracies have been seen as restrictive, slow and ineffective with more energy going into circular discussion and political chess as opposed to ‘action’.

It is hoped that many of these concerns can be addressed through awareness of the potential problems, stemming from information taken from research such as this piece and from the shared experiences of other coordinative committees, and that it is followed by proaction in the form of preconceptualized structures and processes to deal with conflict.

Suggestions for Further Research

As the interorganizational coordination of services for women who have experienced violence is a relatively new and unexplored field, there are infinite possibilities and opportunities for extending and this study and for approaching it from various viewpoints. Because of the complexity of interorganizational dynamics, behaviours and effects, the various aspects and nuances of coordination and coordinative structures (eg. bureaucratic structures, structures for meetings, information exchange, advocacy, mechanisms for resource sharing, and so on) and processes (eg. interaction of coordinative members, power issues, effects upon the organizational community, public perception, views on the committee of women who have experienced violence, and so on), at any levels (individual, dyadic, group, organizational, superstructural) can be investigated utilizing a variety of formats (quantitative, qualitative, action research, combinations, and so on).

As well, it would be useful to carry out these studies on a longitudinal basis, such as in the forms of comparative performance assessments and assessments of effectiveness of any of a number of IOC activities over time, to measure the real outcomes of
coordination. Information such as this can be used as direct feedback and to provide ongoing direction and information for the goal-setting of coordinative committees, making them accountable to their past goals and objectives, as well as an examination of structures and processes for the purposes of making them more effective and accountable to the needs of the group.

Finally, studies around the interorganizational coordination of services can be performed in spheres not related to violence against women, with issues such as racism, youth, poverty, alcohol and drug issues, crime, etc.; any other community of social service organizations (and other groups) can collaborate and benefit from joining forces towards the realization of some goal.

**Implications of Study**

Interorganizational coordination of services for women who have experienced violence can be a fundamental move towards progressive change at various dimensions.

Organizations could benefit directly in the realms of information gathering and exchange, in advocacy for and sharing of resources and jointly funded endeavors that alleviate some of the pressures of resource scarcity. There could be a basis of unity across sectors, such as in the training of service providers, the logical streamlining of policies and programs, creation of formal protocols of interaction, mutual awareness that leads to constructive feedback regarding gaps and redundancies in services, and in collective visioning. This unified front, consisting of the collective power and energy of interested stakeholders, has the potential for long-term shifts in the way violence against women is treated within all realms.
Social workers provide services in any of a number of capacities to women who experience violence, from any of a number of organizations, at many levels. Because of the generic context of a social worker's training and academic background, many do advocate for proactive change utilizing a structural analysis of oppression in its various formats. This study incorporates this viewpoint, and illustrates a different conceptualization of 'power' in its various manifestations, and ways to harness and use it in a constructive manner to address serious social problems. It also provides a way to alleviate the cognitive dissonance and rift between the 'clinical' and 'community development' streams of the profession by merging the two approaches into a postmodernist technology of action. This work incorporates and hinges upon strong elements community building, conflict resolution, advocacy, individual and group consciousness raising, and visionary problem solving, opening up a role for social workers as initiators, facilitators and leaders in this endeavor.

Society can be affected both directly and indirectly from more powerful, leadership-oriented organizational stances against violence that result in consciousness raising activities, reactive problem solving and proactive/preventative educative strategies. The 'system' of organizations both reflects and produces societal consciousness, and it is hoped that a progressive move generated from the organizational position will be mirrored in societal consciousness and processes. Interorganizational coordination can be used as a dramatic form of systemic activism with far reaching effects upon the community by shifts in the focuses, methodologies and processes of crisis intervention, financial compensation and aid, mental and physical health provision, negative cultural sanctioning, and justice.
Finally, there can be the direct impact upon the woman seeking services at all levels, from improved service provision that caters to her individual needs, access to services and information, more sensitized and inclusive service from the workers themselves, and the societal consciousness raising that would result in better reaction to violence, proaction and prevention, and in the steady eradication of violence towards women.

"...it is not up to you to finish the work, nor are you free to desist from it."  
(source unknown)
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APPENDIX A
The Richmond Women’s Resource Centre wishes to acknowledge the collaboration of the Needs Assessment Committee of the Richmond Working Group Towards a Coordinated Response to Violence Against Women and Rape: Theresa Harding and Devina Bahadoorsingh, Richmond residents; Debra MacIver, Ministry of Social Services; and Nell Toegel, Chimo’s Women’s Program.

Marielle Demorest, Chair
Richmond Women’s Resource Centre Association

Louise Hudson, Coordinator
Richmond Women’s Resource Centre Association

September 1995
DEFINITIONS

WOMEN refers to females aged 16 and over.

VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN IN RELATIONSHIPS is defined as physical, sexual, verbal or the threat of physical or sexual assault by men with whom women have or have had an intimate relationship.

• Other behaviours such as stalking, intimidation, destruction of property, mental or emotional abuse, sexual abuse, neglect, control, financial exploitation and deprivation are included in the spectrum of violence against women of all ages.

• The relationship may be or have been one of marriage, common law, living together or dating. The term 'violence against women' encompasses women involved in same sex relationships where the same dynamic described above exists.

RAPE is an act of power and violence that is expressed through sexualized behaviour. Rape is an act of brutality, violation and degradation, and is never justifiable.

• Sexual assault and rape are on a continuum of violence against women, ranging from verbal harassment, grabbing and punching, coercive sex, to brutal rape which can involve beatings, the use of weapons, and even murder.

• Men who rape target any and all women. Thus all women are vulnerable to attack.

• Adult and teenaged women are raped by men. There are exceptions, but it is clear that the vast majority of the cases follow this pattern.

• Violence is defined by the woman's experience, not the offender's.
A. GENERAL INFORMATION (optional)

Name

Position/occupation

Agency/program

Address

City_________________________________________Postal code_____________________

Work telephone number:____________________________Fax number:_____________________

B. INFORMATION ON YOUR SERVICES

1. Please describe the MANDATE of and services your agency/program provides for women who have experienced violence in relationships or who have been raped. Indicate if that mandate is specified by funding or by legislation. Please attach a brochure on your services, if one is available.

2. Our agency/program has specific POLICIES AND PROCEDURES regarding providing services for women who have experienced violence in relationships:

   yes __________ no __________

   What are they and how are they enforced?

3. Our agency/program has specific POLICIES AND PROCEDURES regarding providing services for women who have been sexually assaulted or raped:

   yes __________ no __________

   What are they and how are they enforced?
4. What hours and days is your program accessible (e.g. 9 a.m. - 5 p.m., Monday - Friday)?

5. We offer services for women who have experienced:

- partner physical assault
- partner verbal/psychological assault
- parental alienation
- sexual assault
- other (please specify)

6. We offer specialized services for (please specify):

- First Nations women
- immigrant women
- lesbians
- women of colour
- women survivors of ritual abuse
- women with disabilities
- other specialized services

7. We are accessible in the following languages, other than English (please specify):

8. We offer advocacy services to individual women in our programs who have experienced violence in relationships or who have been raped: 

We offer advocacy services to individual women in the community who have experienced violence in relationships or who have been raped:

If YES to either question, our advocacy services are (e.g. telephone only, court accompaniment):

9. We provide the following services for women:

A. INITIAL INTERVENTION

- assessment
- crisis intervention
- identification of abuse
- information (please specify)
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<tr>
<td>individual counselling</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>life skills</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>medical assistance</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>parenting groups</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rape counselling</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>referral to other service providers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shelter for women</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>support groups</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>transition housing</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>other (please specify)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. REFERRALS</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Please list those services itemized above for which you provide referrals, how you learned about them (e.g. brochures, word of mouth) and to which agencies/programs you refer these services.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. PREVENTION STRATEGIES</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>prevention education</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>protocol development (please specify)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
E. PROGRAM SUPPORT

* child care
* financial assistance
* legal assistance
* transportation
* other (please specify)  

F. OTHER ACTIVITIES

* programs toward Independence, such as self-help, job training (please specify)  

* follow-up surveys
* services for men who batter (please specify)  

* other (please specify)  

10. Our agency/program is involved in the following activities:

A. INTER-AGENCY

* co-ordination
* consultation
* liaison
* networking
* sharing of resources  

B. POLICY DEVELOPMENT

* research in this field
* zero tolerance initiatives (please specify)  

* other (please specify)  

11. Are there services which you know are needed in Richmond, but which you must refer women who have experienced violence in relationships or who have been raped to other communities? Please list these services and the agencies/programs to which you refer.  

page 4
12. We can best improve our methods of communicating information about our services by:


13. The following questions deal with the strengths and problems/barriers to access with the delivery of Richmond justice, financial and health support services for women who have experienced violence in relationships or who have been raped. Please consider how RESPONSIVE, EFFECTIVE and SENSITIVE to women's issues/needs these services are.

What are the main strengths in the delivery of JUSTICE support services (e.g. lawyers, the RCMP, the courts)?

What are the main problems/barriers to access in the delivery of JUSTICE support services?

What are the main strengths in the delivery of FINANCIAL support services (e.g. the Ministry of Social Services, Workers' Compensation Board, Canada Employment, child or spousal support/maintenance)?

What are the main problems/barriers to access in the delivery of FINANCIAL support services?

What are the main strengths in the delivery of HEALTH support services (e.g. Richmond Hospital, doctors, psychiatrists, counsellors, clinics)?

What are the main problems/barriers to access in the delivery of HEALTH support services?
Your recommendations for changing/improving the delivery of justice, financial and health support services in Richmond:

__________________________________________

__________________________________________

__________________________________________

14. Our agency/program can improve its response to the range of needs of women who have experienced violence in relationships by:

__________________________________________

__________________________________________

__________________________________________

15. Our agency/program can improve its response to the needs of women who have been raped by:

__________________________________________

__________________________________________

16. If you could make changes/improvements in Richmond's service delivery for women who have experienced violence in relationships or who have been raped, which 3 would you choose and why?

__________________________________________

__________________________________________

__________________________________________
C. INFORMATION ON YOUR STAFFING

1. How many paid staff do you have to carry out the mandate you describe on page 1?
   _____ full time _____ part time

2. Please provide job title(s) and job description(s) of paid staff and indicate if they are full or part time.
   __________________________________________________________
   __________________________________________________________
   __________________________________________________________
   __________________________________________________________
   __________________________________________________________

3. What specific training/education/life experience does your agency/program require for staff re: violence against women in relationships and rape prior to being hired?
   __________________________________________________________
   __________________________________________________________
   __________________________________________________________

4. What related professional development activities does your agency/program provide for staff?
   __________________________________________________________
   __________________________________________________________
   __________________________________________________________

5. How many volunteers providing direct service to carry out your mandate do you have?
   (If your agency/program does not have any volunteers, please SKIP to # 9)
   Please provide titles and descriptions of areas of responsibility of volunteer staff who are providing services and indicate if there are any restrictions on the kinds of services they may provide.
   __________________________________________________________
   __________________________________________________________
   __________________________________________________________

6. What specific training/education/life experience re: violence against women in relationships and rape does your agency/program require for volunteers prior to being accepted as volunteers with your organization?
7. Does your agency/program provide related volunteer training activities for volunteers before they undertake activities? 
   _____ yes _____ no

   Please describe your volunteer training program:
   ____________________________________________________________
   ____________________________________________________________
   ____________________________________________________________
   ____________________________________________________________
   ____________________________________________________________

8. Does your agency/program provide related further training for volunteers once they have completed their volunteer training? 
   _____ yes _____ no

   Please describe what these further training activities for volunteers entail:
   ____________________________________________________________
   ____________________________________________________________
   ____________________________________________________________
   ____________________________________________________________
   ____________________________________________________________

9. Does your agency/program offer staff/volunteers anti-oppression training/workshops, such as anti-racism, cultural sensitivity (please specify) 
   _____ yes _____ no

   ____________________________________________________________
   ____________________________________________________________
   ____________________________________________________________
   ____________________________________________________________
   ____________________________________________________________

10. How is professional conduct monitored and followed up? For example, are inappropriate behaviours/comments toward women who have experienced violence or who have been raped addressed and how?

    A. for paid staff:
    ____________________________________________________________
    ____________________________________________________________
    ____________________________________________________________
    ____________________________________________________________

    B. for volunteers:
    ____________________________________________________________
    ____________________________________________________________
    ____________________________________________________________
    ____________________________________________________________

11. Does your agency/program have a mechanism(s) for feedback from service users? 
   _____ yes _____ no

    Please describe the mechanism(s):
    ____________________________________________________________
    ____________________________________________________________
    ____________________________________________________________
    ____________________________________________________________
    ____________________________________________________________

    How is this mechanism(s) used to improve service delivery? 
    ____________________________________________________________
    ____________________________________________________________
    ____________________________________________________________
    ____________________________________________________________
I WOULD LIKE A COPY OF THE FINAL REPORT

____ yes  ____ no

OTHER COMMENTS:

________________________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________
## QUESTIONNAIRE

### Interagency Coordination of Crisis Interveners:
Perceptions of Women Who Have Experienced Violence

This survey was designed to investigate the information, referral and follow-up coordination between crisis interveners in the City of Richmond. Please fill out the sections that apply to you, to the best of your recollection, if you have been out of a violent relationship for at least a year. Please complete the sections only for the services you used in the city of Richmond. Leave blank any of the sections that do not apply to you. As this is to be anonymous, please do not identify yourself by name. Through the use of this questionnaire, I will try to investigate your overall perceptions after having used the services of specific agencies.

**POLICE:** This section will investigate your overall experiences with the RCMP pertaining to the violence that you experienced.

*From my point of view,* the police officer(s) generally gave me **enough** information (eg. address, phone number, services provided) about the following agencies when/if I had to use them:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Agency</th>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
<th>Not Applicable</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A) Transition Houses</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B) Hospitals</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C) Family Court</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D) Legal Aid/Services</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E) Ministry of Social Services</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F) Mental Health</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G) Crisis Lines</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H) Counselling services</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I) Victim Services</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. Who initiated contact *first*, (for information or services)? (circle one)  
   *RCMP*   

   **Using the letters of the agencies listed above, indicate:**

2. Which services did they **volunteer** information about? ____________________________

3. Which services did you have to ask for information about? ____________________________

4. For which agencies did they offer you the names of contact people? ____________________________

5. Which agencies did the police officers themselves contact for you? ____________________________

6. Which services did the police mistakenly refer you to? ____________________________
7. Which services could the police have given you more information about? 

8. For which services did the police contact you to follow up on the information they gave to you? 

9. Which agencies did the police provide you with transportation to? 

10. Overall, how clearly did the police give the information to you? 

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Very Clear</th>
<th>Somewhat Clear</th>
<th>Somewhat Unclear</th>
<th>Very Unclear</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

11. Overall, how satisfied were you with the amount of information given by the police? 

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Very Dissatisfied</th>
<th>Somewhat Dissatisfied</th>
<th>Somewhat Satisfied</th>
<th>Very Satisfied</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**HOSPITALS:** This section will ask questions about your overall experiences with hospitals pertaining to the violence you experienced.

From my point of view, the hospital staff (doctors, nurses, social workers) generally gave me **enough** information (eg. address, phone number, services provided, procedures) about the following agencies when/if I had to use them:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Agency</th>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
<th>Not Applicable</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A) Transition Houses</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B) RCMP</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C) Family Court</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D) Legal Aid/Services</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E) Ministry of Social Services</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F) Mental Health</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G) Crisis Lines</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H) Counselling services</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I) Victim Services</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. Who initiated contact first, (for information or services)? (circle one)  
   - Me  
   - Staff

   Using the letters of the agencies listed above, indicate:

2. Which services did they volunteer information about? 

3. Which services did you have to ask for information about? 

4. For which agencies did they offer you the names of contact people? 

5. Which agencies did the staff themselves contact for you? 

6. Which services did the staff mistakenly refer you to? 

7. Which services could the staff have given you more information about? 

8. For which services did the staff contact you to follow up on the information they gave to you? 

9. Which agencies did the hospital provide you with transportation to? 

10. Overall, how clearly did the staff give the information to you? 

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>very clear</th>
<th>somewhat clear</th>
<th>somewhat unclear</th>
<th>very unclear</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

11. Overall, how satisfied were you with the amount of information given by the hospital staff? 

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>very dissatisfied</th>
<th>somewhat dissatisfied</th>
<th>somewhat satisfied</th>
<th>very satisfied</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**TRANSITION HOUSES: This section will ask questions about your overall experiences with transition houses pertaining to the violence you experienced.**

From my point of view, the transition house staff generally gave me enough information (e.g. address, phone number, services provided, procedures) about the following agencies when/if I had to use them:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Agency</th>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
<th>Not Applicable</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A) RCMP</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B) Hospitals</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C) Family Court</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D) Legal Aid/Services</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E) Ministry of Social Services</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F) Mental Health</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G) Crisis Lines</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H) Counselling services</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I) Victim Services</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. Who initiated contact first, (for information or services)? (circle one) me staff

*Using the letters of the agencies listed above, indicate:*

2. Which services did they volunteer information about? 

3. Which services did you have to ask for information about? 

4. For which agencies did they offer you the names of contact people? 

5. Which agencies did the staff themselves contact for you? 

6. Which services did the staff mistakenly refer you to? 

7. Which services could the staff have given you more information about?
8. For which services did the staff contact you to follow up on the information they gave to you?

9. Which agencies did the transition house provide you with transportation to?

10. Overall, how clearly did the staff give the information to you?

   very clear  somewhat clear  somewhat unclear  very unclear
   1           2            4               5

11. Overall, how satisfied were you with the amount of information given by the staff?

   very dissatisfied  somewhat dissatisfied  somewhat satisfied  very satisfied
   1               2               3                4

**CRISIS LINES: This section will ask questions about your overall experiences with crisis telephone lines pertaining to the violence you experienced.**

From my point of view, the crisis counsellors generally gave me *enough* information (eg. address, phone number, services provided, procedures) about the following agencies when/if I had to use them:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Agency</th>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
<th>Not Applicable</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A) Transition Houses</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B) Hospitals</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C) Family Court</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>D) Legal Aid/Services</td>
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<td>4</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>E) Ministry of Social Services</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
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<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F) Mental Health</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G) RCMP</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H) Counselling services</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I) Victim Services</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. Who initiated contact *first*, (for information or services)? (circle one) **me**  **staff**

   Using the letters of the agencies listed above, indicate:

2. Which services did they volunteer information about?

3. Which services did you have to ask for information about?

4. For which agencies did they offer you the names of contact people?

5. Which agencies did the staff themselves contact for you?

6. Which services did the staff mistakenly refer you to?

7. Which services could the staff have given you more information about?
8. For which services did the staff contact you to follow up on the information they gave to you?

9. Overall, how clearly did the staff give the information to you?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Very Clear</th>
<th>Somewhat Clear</th>
<th>Somewhat Unclear</th>
<th>Very Unclear</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

10. Overall, how satisfied were you with the amount of information given by the crisis staff?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Very Dissatisfied</th>
<th>Somewhat Dissatisfied</th>
<th>Somewhat Satisfied</th>
<th>Very Satisfied</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Victim Services:** This section will ask questions about your overall experiences with the police's victim services pertaining to the violence you experienced.

From my point of view, the generally gave me enough information (e.g., address, phone number, services provided, procedures) about the following agencies when/if I had to use them:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Agency</th>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
<th>Not Applicable</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A) Transition Houses</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B) Hospitals</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C) Family Court</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D) Legal Aid/Services</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E) Ministry of Social Services</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F) Mental Health</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G) Crisis Lines</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H) Counselling services</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I) RCMP</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. Who initiated contact first, (for information or services)? (circle one) **me**  **staff**

   Using the letters of the agencies listed above, indicate:

2. Which services did they volunteer information about?

3. Which services did you have to ask for information about?

4. For which agencies did they offer you the names of contact people?

5. Which agencies did the staff themselves contact for you?

6. Which services did the staff mistakenly refer you to?

7. Which services could the staff have given you more information about?

8. For which services did the staff contact you to follow up on the information they gave to you?

9. Which agencies did the agency provide you with transportation to?
10. Overall, how clearly did the staff give the information to you?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
<th>Not Applicable</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>4</td>
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<tr>
<td>B) Hospitals</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>E) Ministry of Social Services</td>
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<tr>
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<td>G) Crisis Lines</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>J) RCMP</td>
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1. Who initiated contact first, (for information or services)? (circle one) **me** staff

Using the letters of the agencies listed above, indicate:

2. Which services did s/he volunteer information about? 

3. Which services did you have to ask for information about? 

4. For which agencies did s/he offer you the names of contact people? 

5. Which agencies did s/he themselves contact for you? 

6. Which services did s/he mistakenly refer you to? 

7. Which services could s/he have given you more information about? 

8. For which services did the s/he contact you to follow up on the information they gave to you? 

9. Overall, how clearly did the staff give the information to you? 

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Script for Informal Interviews

1) Introductions, and brief explanation of interview:

FOCUS on topic: The gaps in interagency service provision for women who have experienced violence, for PRIMARY INTERVENERS (explanation of terms).

- this night is for sharing of experiences, and some of the information may be used in creating a questionnaire: ask permission to use information to come up with questions. Stress confidentiality and anonymity.

2) Ask examples of agencies that women have used:
   eg. police, MSS, crisis lines, rape lines, hospitals, transition houses

3) Discussion of experiences of using agencies: police, hospital, transition house, etc.
   - what did they do for you where another agency was concerned?
   - what didn’t they do for you where another agency was concerned?
     (eg. information, tell you how to get there, what to do, etc.)

4) If there was an ideal situation between agencies, what would it look like? EG. Picture a woman who has been abused and the police has been called to her house, follow the scenario through with an ideal vision of service and communication.

5) Are there any specific items that you would want me to put in a questionnaire for other women? Is there anything to keep in mind? What was not clear for you in this discussion that you would want to make clear for another woman?