

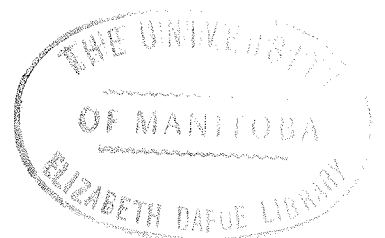
A DESCRIPTIVE ANALYSIS OF THE LEADERSHIP
IN THE WINNIPEG COUNCIL OF SELF HELP GROUPS

by

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ABSTRACT

The importance of citizen participation in areas formerly left to policy makers is increasingly being seen. Social workers, administrators and clients are becoming aware of the need for greater client involvement in all processes of social agencies. Within this frame of reference, our research study sets out to investigate the concept of leadership in such citizen groups based on our belief that the survival and development of any group is largely dependent on the quality of leadership within it. As representative of citizen group participation, the Winnipeg Council of Self Help Groups was chosen as the basis for this study. Specifically, then, this research is a study of the leadership of the Winnipeg Council of Self Help Groups.

Analysis of the information obtained through interviewing members of Council and through observations at Council meetings led to final conclusions of a very general nature, although applicable only to a specific time period and to a particular group of individuals. It is, therefore, both impossible and invalid to summarize the findings of this study in a few statements. In order, though, to aid any potential reader of this theses, the following are a few of our findings: that the harmony existing in the Council is imposed and artificial and that Riessman's helper therapy principle can be seen to be in operation.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

In April, 1969, Dr. Cloward of Columbia University, spoke at a conference for Manitoba social workers on the topic of the Welfare Rights Movement in the United States. He suggested that Winnipeg might have a need for such groups. Shortly after this conference, a number of self-help groups were initiated by agency workers (Table I, pages 4 - 5).

In January, 1970, a number of these citizen groups in Winnipeg came together to discuss the possibility of forming a Council and applying for federal funding. The Winnipeg Council of Self Help Groups was formed and groups named representatives to sit on this Council. The groups which became a part of the Council were:

- 1) Buyers Association (withdrew September, 1970)
- 2) Mother's Allowance (West 1)
- 3) Mother's Allowance (West 2)
- 4) Mother's Allowance (POS)
- 5) Mother's Allowance (North)
- 6) Mother's Allowance (South 1)
- 7) Mother's Allowance (South 2)
- 8) Employment Committee
- 9) Welare Rights

10) Tenants Association

11) Self-Help Divorce

Their stated purpose was "to co-ordinate groups of citizens involved in taking action to improve the condition under which they live."¹

At the time of our study, the Council consisted only of women. Most individual self-help groups consist primarily of women, as many of the groups were initiated by social workers for women on Mother's Allowance. Some of the other groups (Tenants Association and Welfare Rights) tried to initiate male interest and involvement but found it difficult to gain their participation. At the time of our study, no group had males on their executive. One group, the Employment Committee, had originally involved primarily men, however during the time of our study, this group was not in operation.

The Council received a federal grant in November, 1970. This grant was for \$60,050 per year for three years. After that time, they could re-apply for another grant, or seek provincial or private funding. On May 25, 1971 they adopted a constitution (Appendix A).

The Council was incorporated and was responsible for the handling and allocation of funds and groups were

¹ Winnipeg Council of Self Help Groups, a history written by Council, dated January 22, 1970 (Mimeographed).

only responsible to the Council in this one area. According to the Constitution, the objectives of the Council were:

(a) to provide a means by which citizens group can work together to further common goals and projects.

(b) to provide a central information and referral service.

(c) to co-operate with and support other organizations with similar objectives. (Article II)

During the time of our study, the Council was in flux. Some dissatisfactions the members found with their Constitution were influencing factors in our study. Some concepts, which later came to be included in a new Constitution, found their way into the groups discussions, although they were not yet implemented.

At an annual meeting open to the entire membership on November 17, 1971, another Constitution was adopted (Appendix B). Our research though, shall deal with the Winnipeg Council of Self Help Groups according to the Constitution of May 25, 1971, except when the new Constitution adds a necessary dimension to the discussion.

TABLE I

MEMBER GROUPS IN THE WINNIPEG COUNCIL OF SELF HELP GROUPS

GROUP	ORIGIN	PURPOSE
Mother's Allowance West 1	April, 1969 initiated by workers in West Office of the Department of Health and Social Development.	to bring women that live under the same conditions together to improve their situation through a united effort.
Mother's Allowance West 2	April, 1969 initiated by workers in West Office of the Department of Health and Social Development.	i) to improve their welfare image. ii) to prepare briefs regarding inadequate budgets. iii) form a social group.
Mother's Allowance POS	April, 1969 initiated by workers in POS of the Department of Health and Social Development.	i) to improve their welfare image. ii) to prepare briefs regarding inadequate budgets. iii) improve living standards and public image.
Mother's Allowance North	November, 1968 initiated by workers in North Office of the Department of Health and Social Development.	i) informing clients of their rights under the Welfare Act. ii) help establish better client and worker relationships.

iii) improve living standards and public image.

Mother's Allowance
South 1

April, 1969
initiated by workers in South
Office of the Department of
Health and Social Development.

- i) to make citizens more aware of their rights while on assistance.
- ii) to improve the image of women on welfare.
- iii) to become more aware of their own potential resources and to share in available resources.
- iv) to allow the opportunity for meeting those whose problems are similar to their own.
- v) to bring about necessary changes in policy.

Mother's Allowance
South 2

October, 1969
initiated by workers in South
Office of the Department of
Health and Social Development.

- i) to discuss mutual problems of single parent families.
- ii) to keep themselves informed as to policy changes and to gain an understanding of the system.

Employment Committee

June, 1969
initiated by workers of POS
of the Department of Health
and Social Development.

to find solutions to their
employment problems.

Welfare Rights

April, 1969
initiated by workers of POS
of the Department of Health
and Social Development.

- i) to study Provincial, City and Federal Health and Social Service Regulations.
- ii) to become aware of rights and responsibilities of citizens on assistance.
- iii) assist citizens with grievances and negotiate on their behalf to get the assistance and help if they legally are entitled to it.
- iv) to help influence the public to have a more understanding attitude towards citizens on assistance.
- v) to take action to bring about necessary changes in the welfare system.

Tenants Association

September, 1968
initiated by workers of POS
of the Department of Health
and Social Development.

- i) to take action to revise the Landlord and Tenant Act.
- ii) to take steps to have the Public Health By-Laws of the City and Province enforced.
- iii) to urge and encourage the Provincial and Municiple governments to provide more public housing for the low income individuals and families.
- iv) to take action to establish emergency housing in the city.

Self-Help Divorce

initiated by individuals
active in the self-help groups;
first met at the Neighborhood
Service Centre in February, 1970

to help men and women to obtain
self-help divorces.

CHAPTER II

RESEARCH DESIGN

Formulation of Topic Focus

Our initial interest area involved both the Winnipeg Council of Self-Help Groups and the individual self-help groups represented on that Council, with reference to concepts such as leadership, goal achievement, professional input, membership characteristics and interaction. Rather than attempting such a general evaluation of the self-help movement in Winnipeg, we narrowed the topic to focus on the concept of leadership within the Council proper. Our rationale for doing this was the short term nature of the study, and our belief that survival of the self-help movement demands the development of strong leaders within its structure. Accordingly, the Winnipeg Council of Self Help Groups, by its physical structure alone, appeared to be the main grouping for the appearance and development of such leadership.

Initial Contacts and Approach

We formulated a letter (Appendix C) directed to the individual self-help groups represented on Council. The letter was to serve as an introduction of ourselves and our project to the individual self-help groups.

The Council officers approved of our attending Council meetings but felt we also needed the permission of the groups' representatives to Council to attend Council meetings and also to attend individual group meetings. We felt that this could best be done through the Council's monthly newsletter. The letter was an enclosure in this newsletter. We contacted the groups shortly after the letters were mailed. The responses from the groups were mostly neutral, but sometimes positive to our proposed study. They gave us the necessary authority to initiate observations of the Council and individual group meetings.

We began attending both Council and individual group meetings in order to introduce ourselves and to gain acceptance and approval of our intended method of approach. We also wished to gain an understanding of the purpose of the methods of operations of these groups. At this point, we had not defined the leadership of the groups and Council. We hoped, by our observations, to arrive at mutual agreement as to whom the leaders of the groups were who had an influence on Council affairs. From these observations, we mutually agreed that the most influential and active people involved in the self-help movement in Winnipeg were involved in the Council structure as found in the Constitution of

May, 1971 (Appendix A).

Final Scope

The individuals interviewed included all those directly involved in the Winnipeg Council of Self Help Groups by virtue of their official position in the formal Council structure (Table II.); the chairladies of the individual self-help groups represented on Council; the Project Co-ordinator and the Grievance Clerk of the Constitution of November, 1971 (Table III). According to the Constitution of May, 1971, each group was allowed three representatives, one official and two unofficial, to sit on Council. This proved to produce an unwieldy group to operate in an efficient manner. At the time of our study, individual groups had primarily one individual who represented their group at Council. The having of one representative on Council from each group was incorporated into the Constitution of November, 1971. Our interviewing of group representatives was focused on the one representative from each group who was the official representative. As Council structure was undergoing change during our interviewing months, we limited our contacts to the people filling the leadership positions of Table I, but also included the positions of Project Co-ordinator and Grievance Clerk (Table II) as these positions were relevant to the

TABLE II
 COUNCIL STRUCTURE
 May, 1971

Council Officers (Executive)

Chairman
 Vice-Chairman
 Secretary
 Treasurer
 Group Co-ordinator
 Social Convenor
 Public Relations Chairman
 Past Chairman

Each of the following groups elected one official representative as their Council representative:

Mother's Allowance North
 Mother's Allowance POS
 Mother's Allowance West 1
 Mother's Allowance West 2
 Mother's Allowance South 1
 Mother's Allowance South 2
 Tenants Association
 Self-Help Divorce
 Welfare Rights

TABLE III
 COUNCIL STRUCTURE
 November, 1971

Council Staff

Project Co-ordinator

Grievance Clerk

Steno-Typist
 Receptionist

Board of Directors

Consisting of one representative from each of the following groups who will in turn assume duties of Chairman of the Council for a one month period:

Mother's Allowance North
 Mother's Allowance POS
 Mother's Allowance South 1
 Mother's Allowance South 2
 Mother's Allowance West 1
 Mother's Allowance West 2
 Tenants Association
 Self-Help Divorce
 Welfare Rights

Finance Committee

A standing committee composed of elected treasurers of each member group, which reports monthly to the Board.

Resource Person

study, being in semi-operation at the time of our interviewing.

We based our decision to restrict ourselves to the leadership as stated above, on our observations of individual self-help group meetings and Council meetings over a two month period. We separately drew up lists of people whom we felt were interested in the Council's objectives and who played roles in Council affairs. These lists coincided with each other and were found to exist within the structure of the Constitution of May, 1971 and to include two people from the proposed new Constitution of November, 1971.

Data Collection

We attended these meetings as non-participant observers in order to see 'leadership in action'. Our observations at Council meetings were not only significant in providing information in the four main areas found in the next paragraph, but also allowed for assessment of quantitative and qualitative factors regarding interaction of the individuals. Attendance at separate group meetings provided a more general frame of reference in terms of understanding the Winnipeg self-help movement in total. It would be impossible to assess a particular facet of the movement, in this case leadership, without knowledge and awareness of the Council on a broader

level at the outset.

The questions formulated for the interviews were purposely open ended in order to prevent unnecessary limitations in responses, and consequently widen the scope of information obtained by initiating subjective responses and perception as well as objective fact. Standardization of information obtained from the interviews, carried out separately by each interviewer, was achieved by following the schedule listed in Appendix D and making notations during the interviews. These notes were immediately expanded after each session in order to ensure against omissions and time lapse distortions. We emphasize that the questions listed were used as guidelines only by the interviewer in order to provide continuity in the information obtained, and responses accordingly focused in four main areas: hard data which included objective information regarding constitutions, Council and group structures and membership; motivation of the leadership functions and patterns as seen by the individuals involved in the Council; and the interlocking structure of the Council and separate groups.

Limitations

Interviews took place during a period of flux and

and change with regards to personnel changeover and reorganization of the Constitution and organizational structure of the Council. Our observations and interviews were from November, 1971 to February, 1972, with interviews concentrated in January and February, 1972.

Observations and interviews focus on a 'past' structure, and it often proved difficult for respondents to focus on the past in the midst of extreme present change.

CHAPTER III

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

The literature of this research paper is divided into two parts. The first part consists of background material in the area of citizen participation. The groups which make up the Winnipeg Council of Self Help Groups were first formed by workers in agencies who saw the need for client involvement in their agency. Some of the ideas and concepts behind this type of involvement are found in the first part of the literature.

The second part consists of a selective summary of the literature regarding leadership in general terms. After a brief introduction, a developmental history of leadership theories is presented, aimed at providing a frame of reference within which this study can be viewed. Following this is more specific material centred on those leadership functions and patterns most relevant in analysis of our data.

Literature on Community Groups

In studying the leadership of a group, it is important to understand the history and purpose of the group. In order to gain an understanding perspective of the self-help movement in Winnipeg, we will look to

some of the writings of people who are interested in such grass roots community groups. As early as the 18th Century, Alexis De Tocqueville wrote that

as soon as several of the inhabitants of the United States have taken up an opinion or a feeling which they wish to promote in the world, they look out for mutual assistance; and as soon as they have found one another out, they combine. From that moment they are no longer isolated men, but a power seen from afar, whose actions serve for an example and whose language is listened to. ¹

He speaks of citizens being powerless, if they do not unite to help one another. Men, according to De Tocqueville, must, therefore, join together to confront their problems and thus become powerful. This is in effect what the self-help movement has tried to accomplish: the banding together of like-situated individuals to gain power in order to surmount their problems.

In more recent times, Alinsky, a well-known social activist has shown concern with the 'unequal' distribution of power. He maintains that people can manipulate their mass numbers in order to gain the power that will give them a better life. He writes that "no policy or program lacking popular agreement, support or participation can long survive."² People at the grass roots level

¹Alexis De Tocqueville, "Associations in American Life", Perspectives on the American Community, Roland L. Warren, editor (Chicago: Rand McNally and Co., 1966) p. 447.

²S.D. Alinsky, "Citizen Participation and Community Organization in Planning and Urban Renewal", Strategies of Community Organization, F.M. Cox et. al. editors (Illinois: R.E. Peacock Publishers, Inc., 1970) p. 216.

must be allowed to participate in programs and policy formulation if the programs are to succeed in their proposed intent. The Winnipeg Council of Self-Help Groups is presently trying to gain support and participation from a broader base in order to secure its survival and improve its effectiveness.

³ Brager and Sprecht write in the same vein as Alinsky in that they believe that the problems of the poor require political action and political action requires power. The primary source of power open to the poor is the manipulation of solidary groups. In the same article, Coleman says that "previously non-participating citizens are likely to be drawn to political action when they have objections to register."⁴ This is important to note when one considers the findings of Hyman and Wright⁵, as it could be used to manipulate and encourage participation that perhaps is not developing in self-help groups.

³G. Brager & H. Sprecht, "Mobilizing the Poor for Social Action", Readings in Community Organization Practice, R.M. Kramer & H. Sprecht, editors (New Jersey: Prentice-Hall Inc., 1969) pp 223-232.

⁴Ibid. p. 226.

⁵C.R. Wright & H.H. Hyman, "Evidence from National Sample Surveys", Perspectives on the American Community, R.L. Warren, editor. (Chicago: Rand McNally and Co., 1966) pp 448-462.

Hyman and Wright found that there are vastly different rates of participation among different segments of the population. They had two main conclusions from evidence gathered from national sample surveys:

1) that voluntary associations membership is not characteristic of the majority of Americans.

2) and that membership is directly related to socioeconomic status, in that the higher the status, the greater the membership.

This is of relevance of the Council as the majority of the membership is drawn from people receiving municipal or provincial aid and thus have a low fixed income.

⁶ Axelrod and ⁷ Piven also have findings which are relevant to the Council. Axelrod found in his study on urban structure and social participation, that formal group membership is closely related to income, status, and education. The lower ones income, status and educational level, the less likely one is to participate in formal community groups. Piven writes that the new concern with resident participation reflects a characteristic of the low-income community as disorganized

⁶ Morris Axelrod, "Urban Structure and Social Participation", American Sociological Review, Vol. 21, No. 1 (Feb. 1956) pp 13-18.

⁷ Frances Piven, "Participation of Residents in Neighborhood Community Action Programs", Social Work Vol. XI (Jan. 1966) pp 73-80.

and politically ineffective. The lower class people have few of the requirements out of which stable organizations are generated: less organizational skill, less professional expertise, less money and fewer personal relations with officials. They also do not have the resources lent by a stable livelihood that are required merely for regular participation in organizations. We will be looking to the leadership of the Council, with some of these findings in mind as they are relevant to the functioning of the Council.

⁸
 Riessman's "helper therapy principle" seems applicable to the Self Help Council. He writes that the person who is providing assistance in some area is frequently the one who improves in that area. That is, there has been found to be an improvement in the givers of help rather than the recipients of aid. There are a number of articles which support Riessman's principle.
⁹
 King and Janis found that subjects who had to improvise a speech supporting a specific point of view tended to change their opinion in the direction of this view

⁸F. Riessman, "The 'Helper' Therapy Principle", Social Work, Vol. 10, No. 2 (April, 1965).

⁹B.T. King & I.L. Janis, "Comparison of the Effectiveness of Improvised Versus Non-Improvised Role Playing in Producing Opinion Changes." Human Relations Vol. 1 (1956) pp 177-186.

more than subjects who merely read the speech for an equivalent amount of time. They called this effect "self-persuasion through persuading of others." Volkman and Cressey found that

the most effective mechanism for exerting group pressure on members will be found in groups so organized that criminals are induced to join with non-criminals for the purpose of changing other criminals. A group in which criminal "A" joins with some non-criminals to change criminal "B" is probably most effective in changing criminal "A" not "B"...¹⁰

Similarly, Pearl has noted that many helpers, such as homemaker helpers, are given a stake or concern in a system and this contributes to their becoming "committed to the task in a way that brings about especially meaningful development of their own abilities."¹¹ This principle could, therefore, describe the learning of leadership, and the mechanics of organizational procedure. It can help us in understanding and observing the leadership of the Winnipeg Council of Self Help Groups.

We will now look to the literature on leadership. The leadership concepts, though, will be thought of in the context of operating in a self-help group.

¹⁰ R.Volkman & D.R. Cressey, "Differential Association and the Rehabilitation of Drug Addicts", American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 69, No. 2 (Feb. 1963) p. 139.

¹¹A. Pearl. "Youth in Lower Class Setting", Paper presented at the fifth Symposium on Social Psychology, Norman, Oklahoma, 1964 p. 6.

Literature on Leadership

At the time of this study, the Winnipeg Council of Self Help Groups can be described as a structured and formal organization arranged in a vertical hierarchy (Table II). Although the Council has experimentally modified this structure (Table III) in order to promote decentralization and wider distribution of power, authority, and influence, the present study deals mainly with the formal hierarchical structure which has characterized the Council since its formation.

The concept of leadership, within this framework, is best examined as

a process of mutual stimulation which, by the successful interplay of relevant individual differences controls human energy in the pursuit of a common cause. ¹²

This definition describes leadership as involving three main dimensions: interaction and relationship between relevant persons; influential individual personality characteristics and abilities; and a particular situation as exemplified by a common goal. It is most important to recognize this multi-focus, for there is often a tendency in the literature for theorists to assume that leadership is only a trait residing in an individual

¹²
C.A. Gibbs, Small Groups, (New York: A.A. Knopf, 1966) p. 93.

and is capable of, under any circumstance, producing the the same results in different groups and situations.¹³ By making this assumption, what is ignored is the fact that leadership should be viewed as relative to the particular set of social circumstances existing at the time, as well as to the characteristics of interpersonal relations within the group. As a process of mutual stimulation, therefore, leadership should be viewed as a social interactional phenomenon in which such variables as group goals, structure, environment, and interaction of members, are as important in goal achievement as are individual personality characteristics of the leaders.

In essence, then, any comprehensive approach to the concept of leadership must acknowledge the preceding factors. Too often in the past, theorists have attempted to develop leadership theories based only on individual personality traits, or only on group process and interaction aimed at a particular goal, with the exclusion of situational factors. Endless numbers of leadership theories have been formulated since about 1948 when Stogdill¹⁴ identified what he believed to be more commonly identified leadership traits centred around certain degrees of intelligence, self-confidence, sociability

¹³ M.G. Ross & C.E. Hendry, New Understandings of Leadership (New York: Association Press, 1957) p. 21.

¹⁴ Ibid. p. 18.

will, dominance, and surgency. Stogdill, however, failed to find any consistent pattern of personality traits in leaders, and Gouldner¹⁵ added that it seemed impossible to separate those traits associated with achieving leadership status from those maintaining leadership status, if these differed. Redl,¹⁶ with a different trait theory approach to leadership, stated that one type of leadership was a relationship characterized by the love of members of a group for a "central person", which led to the incorporation of that central person's personality in the ego ideal of his followers. In this manner of thinking, one individual served as a dynamic focus around whom group formative processes took place. In spite of these and many similar theories the studies of personalities failed to find any consistent patterns of traits characterizing leaders. Traits of leadership were finally described as any or all of those personality traits which in any particular situation enabled the individual to contribute significantly to group movement in the direction of a recognized goal or which were at least perceived as contributing factors by other fellow group members.¹⁷

¹⁵ Ibid. p. 19.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ C.A. Gibbs, Handbook of Social Psychology
(London, England: Addison-Wesley Publishing Co. Inc., 1954)
p. 889.

By defining personality traits in this manner, some theorists began to adopt a behavioral or functional stance with regards to leadership. That is, rather than perceiving leadership in terms of personality characteristics, thinking turned to leadership as structure, so that no attempt was made to find invariant traits. Instead, emphasis was placed on finding what actions are required by groups under various conditions if they are to achieve their objectives, and how different group members take part in these group actions. Within this framework leadership is defined as the performance of those acts that help the group achieve its goals, and any one of the group members can perform these acts.¹⁸ To facilitate goal achievement, group integration and effectiveness, many different functions and roles must be performed. These roles are given to different persons in terms of how individuals and the group perceive group needs, and usefulness of the given individual members at different times.

Whereas the functionalist approach to leadership emphasizes total membership interaction, the situational approach as described by Gibbs carries leadership

¹⁸M.G. Ross, op. cit. p.23.

theory one step further by stating that leadership is always relative to the existing situation in that a certain kind of situation is required before a leadership relationship will emerge at all. Also, the particular set of social circumstances existing at the moment determines which attributes of personality will be conferred leadership status and therefore determines which members of the group will assume leadership roles. Gibb finally states that there are four elements involved in the situational approach: the structure of interpersonal relations within the group; group syntality characteristics; characteristics of the total culture in which the group exists and from which group members are drawn; and physical conditions and task.¹⁹ These elements noticeably do not make any reference to personality traits of the individual leader, although they do include the "group interaction" theme central to the functional approach. In effect, the situational approach builds upon the functional viewpoint, though not accepting all of its premises.

The main purpose behind being aware of the developmental history of leadership theory and the trends and factors involved therein, is related to our

¹⁹Ibid. p. 26.

conviction that in order to interview individuals selected as leaders and to observe "leadership" in action, it is first necessary to possess a general framework of knowledge about leadership from which more specific concepts in the areas of leadership functions and patterns can be drawn and then used in final analysis of information obtained.

When speaking of various leadership functions, for example, there appears to be a trend in the literature of dividing this area into task performance and maintenance of group cohesion. ²⁰ Olmsted speaks of the existence of "fused" versus "segregated" leadership functions where the former refers to a task-oriented person wanting to get things done fast and in his own way, while the latter describes a modest, sociable, democratic individual whose first concern is development and maintenance of group morale. The leader operating under a fused orientation performs many roles and most group functions, while many different persons carry out various roles and functions with the leader restricting himself to crucial functions only, under the segregated ²¹ approach. Verba speaks of the same type of dual focus

²⁰ M.S. Olmstead, The Small Group (New York: Random House, 1959) p. 135.

²¹ S. Verba, Small Groups and Political Behaviour: A Study of Leadership (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1961) p. 144.

in leadership function when he describes an "affective" versus an "instrumental" approach. The instrumental function refers to the carrying out of tasks directly connected with the group's external goals, and the affective function refers to the creation and maintenance of satisfactory affective tone for successful group interaction. Within this dual focus framework, Verba concludes that the ideal leader is often conceptualized as one who places few demands on the persons he leads, does not interfere with their freedom and is "one of the boys"; while at the same time he is ideally somewhat apart from the group in that he can accomplish tasks for the group that it could not manage on its own.²²

In reality, then, the leader must maintain a balance between providing satisfactions for group members and task achievement. This equilibrium is often difficult to maintain, for the two functions are interrelated and therefore affect one another. For example, a satisfactory affective relationship of the group with its leader increases the likelihood that the leader's instrumental directives will be accepted by his group. Conversely, the success or failure of instrumental activity initiated by the leader naturally influences affective conditions within the group.

²² Ibid. p. 145.

In reference to this unique balance of leadership functions necessary to create and maintain group stability, Halpin and Winer identified four dimensions of leadership behavior, listed in order of descending importance:

1) Consideration was identified as a warmth in personal relations, a readiness to explain actions, and a willingness to listen to subordinates.

2) Initiating structure was the extent to which the leader organized and defined the relation between himself and his subordinates.

3) Production emphasis involved a cluster of behaviors by which the leader motivated others towards task completion.

4) Sensitivity (social awareness) was the extent to which the leader stressed being a socially acceptable individual in group interaction. 23

As communicator between the group itself and the external environment, a leader can become caught between the demands of group members and expectations of outsiders. On the one hand, the ability of the leader to relate the group to its external environment and manipulate the environment for benefit of the group is related to his interpersonal influence positions within the group. At the same time, achievement of goals through use of the external environment increases his acceptance by the group.

Although Halpin and Winer focus solely on internal leadership functions, it is not proper to ignore the external environment with which the leader must cope on behalf of his group. In spite of this "man in the

²³Ibid. p. 122.

middle" role that a leader must often cope with, he must attempt to deal with this internal-external equilibrium problem in such a manner that a stable leadership structure and indeed a stable total group will evolve. In order to facilitate movement in this direction within small groups and/or ongoing systems of various kinds, the development of a legitimate leadership structure is often necessary.

If we remember the previously suggested dichotomy in which it is recognized that individuals want to have leaders and be "led" while at the same time not wanting to place limitations upon themselves in submitting to leadership requests, the necessity of legitimacy of leadership structure becomes obvious. One of the most effective ways in which the instrumental directives of a group leader acquire legitimacy and avoid being received as personal arbitrary challenges to group members is for the leader to be perceived as acting not as an individual but as the agent of some impersonal force such as group traditions and norms. ²⁴ By sanctioning leadership function and role through relating them to group norms, much of the tension between the more powerful and less powerful members of the group is reduced. Consequently, the equilibrating force existing

²⁴Ibid. p. 172.

within this legitimate structure becomes any sanctions that the leader and members themselves employ to enforce acceptance of the leader's directives; while the disequilibrating force is not control attempts by the leader, who now has a recognized right to control, but rather any opposition to that control.²⁵

Having up to this point discussed some of the main points about leadership function which we found useful in analysis of the information we obtained in our study, it is possible to present another aspect of leadership which we found essential in further analysis. This other aspect relates to leadership patterns. More specifically, for example, in studying leadership within a particular group, it is often helpful to determine whether the leader is elected to the position from the outside or whether he emerges from the group members to assume the role, for some studies have shown that elected and emergent leaders differ. In a study done by Carter,²⁶ elected leaders saw their function as involving movement of the group towards problem-solving through eliciting group member opinions and minimizing group conflict. The elected leaders' positions were supposedly most secure, so that they could pay strict

²⁵Ibid.

²⁶M.G. Ross, op. cit. p. 98.

attention to goal achievement with no worry of serious opposition from other members. Emergent leaders, however, had to establish their positions by forceful behavior and had to defend their proposals from attack more often than did the elected leaders.²⁷ It is helpful to be aware of these differences when attempting to obtain a total picture of any leader.

When focusing upon what we have termed leadership patterns, it is unthinkable to exclude, in relation to our particular study of the Winnipeg Council of Self Help Groups, work done by Lewin, Lippott, and White in their classical study of three leadership climates: authoritarian, democratic and laissez-faire. In the study these authors developed a "participation hypothesis" which stated that

significant changes in human behaviour can be brought about rapidly only if the persons who are expected to change participate in deciding what the change shall be and how it shall be made.²⁸

While not wanting to present the whole study in detail, there are a few significant differences in the two main systems of operation (authoritarian and democratic) that adequately summarize Lewin et al's findings. The

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ S. Verba, op.cit. p. 206.

table (Table IV) shows these difference.

TABLE IV
AUTHORITARIAN AND DEMOCRATIC LEADERSHIP*

<u>Common Factor</u>	<u>Authoritarian</u>	<u>Democratic</u>
1. decision method	leader makes decision	group makes decision
2. time perspective	step-by-step narrow focus of leader	broader approach of whole group
3. degree of freedom of group members	highly structured and controlled by leader	freedom of movement
4. group atmosphere	impersonal, cold	warm, friendly
5. leader's criteria for criticism of group members	personal, arbitrary	objective, fair

*Incorporated from S. Verba, p. 209

Although these systems are theoretically opposite to one another, in reality there is often no exclusion of all authoritarian factors from all democratic factors in a particular situation. Gibbs, for example, speaks of a democratic-authoritarian continuum where democratic leadership is the rule, but in which permissiveness and decentralization of power are not correspondingly always present.²⁹ According to such factors as available time, nature of the task, and previous experience of group members, a necessary degree of aggressiveness and domination

²⁹C.A.Gibbs, op. cit. p. 882.

may be required for successful goal achievement. In applying the Lewin et al study conclusions to our own study, the validity of Gibb's postulated continuum becomes clearly evident.

In this section, then, we have presented and discussed those leadership concepts that are representative of the body of literature relevant to our area of study. These concepts are later used in both analysis of our observations at individual self-help group and Council meetings, and information obtained from interviews, as well as in the development of preliminary and final conclusions.

The following chapter marks the beginning of our analysis of observations made and information obtained.

CHAPTER IV

OBSERVATIONS AND ANALYSIS

In this section we will describe the information gathered through our interviews with people whom we defined as being in the leadership of the Council. The observations and analysis are described with regard to the questions in section II--IV of the interview schedule (Appendix D).

Motivational Factors

In the questions in section II we were attempting to ascertain relevant motivational factors influencing the individuals who were in positions of leadership. We were looking at what the individual received from her position; what the individual felt she could contribute to the Council; and what personal goals the individual had while in her present position in Council. We were also looking at whether or not the individual's goals included or were related to Council goals as stated in the constitution.

The responses the individuals interviewed gave with regard to the reason as to why they were personally involved in the self-help movement fell into two main areas--that of the broader view with responses such as

wanting to help others (both materially and personally) and having personal contributions to offer others; and that of a more narrow view emphasizing the meeting of personal needs in the groups. These latter responses manifest themselves with answers such as: feeling useful, sharing of a common situation with others, finding and maintaining friendship, and gaining a learning experience.

Most executive members of the Council were aware of contributions that they were able to offer the Council. Their responses fell into the area of broader goals. Representatives of groups who were more active on Council and in Council affairs also had many of the broader goals of helping others and having talents to offer the Council. These representatives were the ones who seemed to identify with the aims of Council. The representatives who were not as active in Council affairs also tended to have personal needs being met in the Council and groups. That is, they personally received more from their Council membership than they contributed.

When asked what they themselves could contribute to the Council or group, the responses appeared to exist along a continuum from "gift of the gab" (ease in communicating with others) to ideas, information and skill. Many felt that they could help to change the

"welfare image" that society had of them through their communication with others.

This continuum can also be seen to exist simultaneously with one regarding experience in Council affairs. Those who felt they could only contribute "gift of the gab" tended to be those who felt themselves lacking in specific skills (such as expertise in writing briefs) which would be beneficial to the Council. Those who felt that they could contribute skills to the Council were those individuals who were active in Council's affairs in their area of specialty. Riessman's "helper therapy principle" could be said to be in operation here in that those with experience showing others their skills are tending to increase their experience at a faster rate than others are gaining it. This then, perpetuates the gap between experience and inexperience.

The executive of the Council tended to have specific issue goals. The representatives of groups sitting on Council had narrower personal need goals. Almost the entire Council, though, thought in terms of working within the system to improve the existing structures. The few respondents who had "radical" solutions to the problems of poverty did not sit on Council, but were chairladies of individual self-help groups. These radical

goals did not, therefore, directly find their way into Council discussions as the representatives from these groups did not readily bring these ideas to the fore at Council meetings. One individual thought that there were three types of goals of such an organization as the Council--personal goals, specific issue goals, and far-reaching goals. She thought that only the first two were representative of Council affairs.

In conclusion, then, although there was some slight overlap in responses of members of the executive and of group representatives on Council, we believe that the purpose of the individuals' involvement in Council can be seen to exist in two main areas. First, the executive had a commitment to the concept of self-help. They tended to incorporate broad goals along with satisfying their own personal needs. They felt they were able to contribute skills and information that they had gained through their association with the Council and the self-help groups. There were specific areas in the welfare system that they wished to either improve or change while in their Council positions. The executive tended to do much of the work as they felt competent and identified with the goals of Council. They tended to exemplify Riessman's "helper therapy principle".

On the other hand, most of the group representatives felt that they had little to contribute to the Council. They felt that it was a learning experience and often a social situation. Most felt that they could verbalize the frustrations that others in the same situation could not, and this skill was often viewed as at least one contribution. As a group, they tended to have more immediate goals related to personal need and received more from their Council situation than they contributed.

Finally, keeping in mind what we have thusfar called the "broader" versus the "narrower" focus of goals, we can comment on the relationship of these two goals to the objectives developed in the Council's constitution. We found that in general, executive members were at least aware of, if not fully committed to these objectives. Within their "broader" goal focus the formal Council objectives could easily fit. However, within the "narrower" and more personal goal focus of the group representatives, Council objectives seem out of place, and indeed, responses by the representatives did not incorporate any Council objectives.

Having thusfar discussed motivational factors influencing those individuals interviewed, we will now

focus on what we call "leadership functions and patterns". We view this basic analysis of "what" a leader does (leadership functions) and "how" the leader operates (leadership patterns) as critical to our development of final conclusions in the last section.

Leadership Functions and Patterns

In this section, relating to section III of the interview schedule, we defined "tasks" as any project or problem that the Council wished discussed or implemented. That is, task included the business of the Council.

The question of whether harmony creation and maintenance or task completion was more important to the group elicited generally evenly divided responses in the three realms of possibility. Some felt that harmony in the group came first; others felt that task stood higher on the scale than did harmony; while still others felt that task completion and harmony were both essential and were relative to each other. The replies could not be divided along the lines of executive and/or representative preferences as there was much overlap.

With regards to how various tasks were to be initiated or carried out, responses indicated that when tasks arose within the Council structure, there appeared

to be no set policy or even informal rule. Participation was strictly on a voluntary basis. The respondents felt, though, that people with past experience in an area should ideally be the ones to initiate and complete tasks. The executive brought information about various tasks to the attention of the entire Council. But, one individual interviewed thought that the important tasks were done by the executive on a voluntary basis amongst themselves, and that what certain executive members viewed as unimportant tasks were given to the remainder of the Council. Further, some felt that the ability of an individual to complete the task was not always considered by Council. The overriding feeling seemed to be that tasks were done by people who were available at that time--the implication being that time rather than ability was the main factor in job allocation. Also, people were given tasks in a very inconsistent manner.

The important concept in the above paragraph is that "voluntary" involvement in tasks is the norm, and that experience is therefore not always a prerequisite for task allocation. We believe that this is an important factor in the Council's and the self-help groups' existence. The groups and Council are made up

of women who are primarily on Mothers' Allowance. This means that they are heads of single-parent families and have weighty obligations outside of the Council. Because time is precious to many of them, it is an important element to be considered in any job allocation. Often the amount of time an individual can contribute is considered before experience, when a task needs completion, and it is therefore handled by inexperienced persons. However, regardless of the criteria for involvement, we believe that in this manner inexperienced people become experienced. We see the use of inexperienced people as a realistic adaptation to the situation, as volunteering for a task might be the only efficient manner of completing a task that the Council can utilize, given the preceding factors.

Another point to be made here concerns the Council executive's roles of bringing business to Council. As some representatives felt that the executive thinned out the business and only brought to Council's attention business that they thought the Council as a whole was capable of discussing, we conclude that possibly the executive saw this selection of particular business for presentation as a way of keeping harmony. Within this framework only problems which could be decided and acted

upon relatively easily were brought to Council and therefore harmony was maintained in Council.

Referring now to further information obtained through given responses, we were told by each and every individual that decisions were made by mutual agreement and a majority decision. At the same time, some thought that the executive of the Council often made decisions on their own. That is, they presented the problem and a possible solution to the Council at their meetings. Responses indicate that the group representatives tended to agree with whatever problem solutions or suggestions the Council executive put forward at Council meetings. Most representatives also stated that they thought of the executive as knowledgeable and experienced, and of themselves as lacking in expertise.

We believe that some of the responses given above demonstrate Piven's finding that people with low income have few of the requirements out of which stable organizations are generated--less organizational skill, less professional expertise, less money, and fewer personal relations with officials.¹ They also do

¹Frances Piven, "Participation of Residents in Neighborhood Community Action Programs," Social Work, Vol. XI (Jan. 1966), pp 73-80.

not have the resources lent by a stable livelihood that are required for any regular participation in organizations.

With regards to whether or not the individuals interviewed thought it was necessary or desirable to differentiate their roles of friends and of executive or representatives on Council, the responses varied greatly. Among representatives from the individual self-help groups, the general view was that being very close and friendly with other Council members did not prove to be a problem as related to necessary functioning in a leader role. Among the executive Council members there was no common view. Their responses could be ranged anywhere along a continuum from "highly personal" to "highly impersonal". There was some mention, however, by the executive, that a differentiation of some kind had to be made between the individual's "job role" in her particular position and her actual "personality". The amount of differentiation necessary was very often dependent on the individual personalities of the people involved in certain situations.

We conclude that there is little concern about role differentiation among those interviewed. This conclusion becomes important when viewed in terms of the nature of decision-making processes within Council.

From responses obtained it appears that decisions reached by Council were often "subjective" rather than "objective", although subjective decision-making was often rationalized as objective. Personalities were involved in the discussions rather than only the actual problems of the task in concern. We believe that with little or no real differentiation between the roles of "friend" or "one of the gang" versus "person in a constitutional position" with certain legitimate functions and duties, it is very easy for decision-making to become a process in which effective interaction is hindered through unnecessary involvement of friendship factors and personal relationships. The result of this process is final subjective decision-making based on feeling and emotion rather than on objective fact and logic.

It is now possible to draw some more general conclusions from the observations and analysis presented in this section dealing with leadership functions and patterns in the Winnipeg Council of Self-Help Groups.

With regards to leadership functions it was found that the Council was concerned with both task achievement and the creation and maintenance of harmony within the group. The responses received in answer to the question about which of the two functions was most

important to that individual, were evenly divided in number. That is, roughly one-third of the respondents saw task achievement as most salient; one-third saw the harmony focus as most important; while another one-third saw both functions as being equally important. As stated earlier, we could not identify any one grouping within the Council (such as the executive or the group representatives) that responded in a particular manner. Therefore, we cannot conclude that the Council operates according to either an "affective" or an "instrumental" focus (see CHAPTER III, p.27) or an equal combination of both. But we can make some useful statements relating to these functions within the Council structure.

First, since all involvement and participation in the Council (as in all the individual self-help groups) is on a voluntary basis, there is an inherent inconsistency in task division. That is, the Council tasks cannot always be divided according to such important factors as ability, past experience, and knowledge in a particular area if "willingness" of the person to do the job is given exclusive priority. In relation to maintaining harmony, we can view this inconsistency in division of labor positively as personal choice or flexibility, but in relation to task achievement it

must be seen as a negative and highly detrimental influence. If we add a lack of priorities in task achievement (verbalized by many respondents) to the characteristic inconsistency in division of labor, the result is again negative in the task achievement area.

Given the preceding conditions, we conclude that rapid task achievement would be more difficult than the maintenance of harmony. In order to provide further evidence and support for this conclusion, it is necessary to move into the next topic area of "leadership patterns" and the concept of authoritarian and democratic leadership (see CHAPTER III, p.32).

Through our observations and information obtained, we conclude that the Council Executive is overtly "democratic" but covertly "authoritarian" with regards to decision-making within the Council. This distinction is evident to us from all the information received. When asked "who" made decisions within the Council structure, the general response indicated a "mutual" decision-making process in which the majority ruled. At the same time, however, responses indicated that the executive often made decisions that affected the entire Council without consulting the others involved. Certain executive

members would apparently sift through the tasks or information they received and select for presentation to Council only those they personally deemed worthwhile. We recognize that all administrative tasks (which would be designated to various executive members by job description) would not require presentation to the Council as a whole. The non-presentation of these tasks would not indicate authoritarianism, but rather a proper division of labor within the hierarchical structure of Council. However, the responses we received indicated that "policy" matters were often not presented to the entire Council for amendment and approval. We would certainly see the non-presentation of these tasks as an indication of authoritarianism.

An important point in relation to this indication of covert authoritarianism on the part of the executive members is that the other council members (the representatives from each self-help group) were aware of what the executive was doing, and did not protest against their actions on the basis that they themselves were not as knowledgeable in or as experienced to handle Council affairs.

We conclude, therefore, that the Council representatives and perhaps some less-involved executive

members usually acted as a "rubber stamp" for decisions made by a select few from the executive. Because the representatives consider themselves lacking in expertise and knowledge, they do not often question what is put before them. In our observations at Council meetings we noted that they concentrated on "how" to implement a certain suggestion rather than on actual development and presentation of alternatives to executive proposals.

If at this point we relate back to the leadership function of creating and maintaining harmony within the group, we can describe that harmony as being imposed and artificial. We believe it is imposed by those Council members who neither air their disagreements in relation to decisions made by the executive, nor show any dissatisfaction with the present decision-making process in Council. Harmony is also more indirectly imposed by the executive members themselves who perpetuate inexperience in other Council members (and their related reluctance to question and oppose) by not providing opportunities for them to gain more knowledge and expertise. The constantly verbalized "high level of harmony" within Council is therefore artificial in nature, for genuine harmony must involve the successful resolution of conflict and disagreements that have been brought into the open. Without this

overt conflict and resolution, we conclude that involvement in the Council structure and affairs is based more on a superficial job description level than on meaningful personal commitment. This basis for involvement influences the instrumental effectiveness of the entire Council.

To expand more upon this interrelationship, we are certain that the manner in which the Council functions in the area of creating harmony affects the area of task achievement in a predictable way. That is, because decision-making is not a "mutual" process, satisfactory affective relationships cannot exist between most Council members. There can be little genuine harmony when one group of individuals views another group closely related to it as being superior in ability. And, because a satisfactory affective group relationship is so important to that group's instrumental effectiveness, it can be concluded that the Council's ability to achieve its tasks is greatly lowered. Members will not as readily participate in task achievement if they are not initially involved in decisions centred around that task.

In this section we have presented our observations and then our conclusions related to leadership functions and patterns in the Winnipeg Council of Self-Help Groups.

With regards to leadership functions, a two-fold theoretical framework was finally applied to the information received from respondents, and from observations made. This framework involved mainly the concepts of affective versus instrumental leadership orientations. In relation to leadership patterns our final aim was to assess the Council in terms of authoritarian versus democratic characteristics. The conclusions reached in this section provide an essential part of the total analysis of leadership in the Council.

The "Council-Groups" Relationship

Up to this point we have been concerned mainly with the study of leadership in the Winnipeg Council of Self-Help Groups, and have referred to the individual self-help groups (listed in the introduction) only indirectly. However, because each group is considered to be a part of Council through its representative, there is a definite and formal relationship by constitution between each and all groups with Council. In this section we will therefore describe and analyze this relationship in terms of responses received from Council executive members, individual group representatives on Council, and chairladies of the individual groups. We extended our interviews to include those people occupying the chairlady leadership

position in each group to obtain more complete information as to how the individual self-help groups viewed their relationship with Council.

In trying to establish what all the respondents saw as being the "ideal" relationship between Council and the individual self-help groups, we found with few exceptions that group representatives and chairladies were satisfied with Council's present functions involving information service provision, referral to appropriate resources within the city upon individual or group request, and general support of the groups (in an unidentified manner). In relation to these functions, Council is viewed as a co-ordinating body providing particular services upon request. Also, each individual group has its own separate goals not necessarily related to the goals of Council or any of the other self-help groups (Table I, pp 4-6). Under these conditions all self-help groups are autonomous and related only indirectly to Council through their representatives and whenever they request service in any of the above mentioned areas.

According to responses we obtained, the function of the representatives is to act as a link between the Council and individual group structures by bringing

information about group activities and needs to the entire Council and by taking information about Council and other group activities back to the group they represent. This exchange of information occurs mainly at Council meetings held at least once per month.

Under these conditions, then, the Council executive and/or the Council members, as a unit, have no control over individual group functioning. In terms of obligations, each separate group that belongs to Council appointed a representative to participate on behalf of that group. In return, Council provides each member group with a maximum of \$100 per month to help cover its expenses, and can refuse to give this money only on proof of abuse. Each group is obliged to account for the expenditure of this money in the form of a monthly statement. Beyond these technical points there are no further obligations Council and the groups have towards one another.

Before dealing with the consequences of the previous factors in relation to total Council functioning (leadership functioning), it is important to add that before a new Council structure was developed (including a new position of Project Co-ordinator), the Council executive thought of the Council-Groups

interlocking relationship in the same terms as did the groups themselves. Council was viewed as a co-ordinating body with goals separate from the individual group goals, although the constitutional objectives state that the Council was to provide the means of furthering common goals and projects. With abolition of the old Council structure and the creation of a Project Co-ordinator position, the executive's approach to Council affairs and the Council-Groups relationship began to slowly change. This change will be referred to in the concluding section.

In analyzing the previous information and observations made, our aim is to develop conclusions dealing with the quality of the Council-Groups relationship that will contribute to our assessment of both positive and negative areas within it.

So far we have said that the individual self-help groups and the Council executive up to a certain point in time thought of themselves as autonomous and separate even though they were related by position within the whole Council structure. From responses received, we conclude that this lack of identification of the individual groups with Council is rooted in the method by which the Council structure was first established, and in "who" was involved in the planning of this

structure. The traditional vertical hierarchy (including a Chairman, Vice-Chairman, Secretary, Treasurer, and others), was adopted by the people then involved in creating a Council on the basis that it was acceptable for the purposes of attaining federal monies. The hierarchical structure evolved, therefore, in relation to the Council's need for funds rather than the groups' organizational needs. The Council felt that it could not even begin to operate effectively without such a grant.

Also, it appears that the vertical structure was accepted by a few key people involved. Although it was impossible to accurately identify with what self-help groups these founders of Council were involved, we do know that they were active and had had previous experience in at least one of the groups. However, it is definite that the Council executive was formed and put into initial operation before the other individual groups were approached formally about the appointment of representatives to be part of Council.

We conclude, consequently, that the majority of the self-help groups in the city were not involved in either the ideological or the actual formation of the Council structure. Instead, they became involved "after the fact". This situation might have been

compensated for and overcome by the Council executive had they been successful in creating meaningful involvement of the groups with the executive. From general response, however, we conclude that the groups remained alienated from Council. The representatives sent to Council meetings were ordinary group members thrust into formal positions outlined and defined for them by someone else--the Council executive. Because the representatives had no part in formulating the positions they filled just as the individual self-help groups had no part in forming the Winnipeg Council of Self Help Groups in which they were supposed to participate, it is logical that it would be very difficult for either the representatives or the groups as a whole to identify with or feel any personal commitment towards the Council structure or the Council executive. This situation serves to illustrate Alinsky's point that "no policy or program lacking popular agreement, support or participation can long survive".² The individual group members were not given the opportunity to participate in the policy formulation and so the Council did not receive the support and participation it required.

²S.D. Alinsky, "Citizen Participation and Community Organization in Planning and Urban Renewal", Strategies of Community Organization, F.M. Cox et. al. editors (Illinois: R.E. Peacock Publishers, Inc., 1970) p. 216.

Under these circumstances the groups naturally viewed the executive as comprising Council proper, and did not truly think of themselves as part of it. Since this situation has existed, as already stated, ever since Council's initial formation, the relationship between Council and the member self-help groups has been more formal and constitutional than operational. If anyone was aware of a need to increase individual group identification with Council, there was no successful plan developed or implemented towards that end. The creation of a new constitution and Council structure as of November 17, 1971, however, we view as marking the beginning of a plan aimed at developing close group identification with and support of Council. We assess this new goal as being extremely worthwhile in content and direction. More extensive reference will be made to this new orientation in the concluding section.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSIONS

General Summary

The self-help movement in Winnipeg was not self-initiated. That is, self-help groups did not originally form out of mutually dissatisfied individuals coming together. Small groups were formed by social workers in agencies who were told of the self-help movement in the United States. These groups were initiated as a form of social therapy. Generally, clients were to be informed of their rights; to gain self confidence in their own abilities; and to meet with women (at least in the Mothers' Allowance groups) who were living under the same circumstances. These groups were attached to the various agencies in that their membership drew from agency files, they met in agency facilities and workers of that agency helped the groups. When the groups came together to form a Council, it was with the purpose of applying for federal funding.

This early history has led the Council and groups into an extended period with a social therapy focus. The Council is not social-action oriented towards changing the system. The Council and groups are trying to

increase its support from a broader base while continuing to provide experiences to its members so that they might, in the future, move out into situations with more confidence in their ability to initiate and carry through changes in society. The groups have all left the shelter of the agency, and now are meeting on their own and in locations other than the agencies. This process seems to be typical of the welfare rights movement, as Paull writes, in that under whatever auspices the group developed, as goals tended to become formalized, movement is outside of the orbit of agency sanction.¹

It is only recently since the adoption of the new constitution that the Council appears to exist within the concepts of a Council of self-help groups in that the paid staff are members of self-help groups, and the rotating chairman is helping to further train women into accepting responsibility within the framework and objectives of the Council. It is now that the groups are coming out of the shadow of their founding agencies and recognizing their common situations. With this change becoming manifest, the Council could evolve into the

¹Joseph E. Paull, "Recipients Aroused: The New Welfare Rights Movement", Social Work, Vol. 12 (April, 1967) p. 102.

power that De Tocqueville spoke of. The Council can bring together isolated groups and individuals and become a Council which can be "a power seen from afar, whose actions serve for an example and whose language is listened to".²

Brager and Sprecht wrote that the problems of the poor require political action and political action requires power.³ The primary source of power open to the poor is in their numbers. Institutional change requires political action. The Council could ideally, through the manipulation of its source of support (the poor in Winnipeg), gain enough political power to bring about the changes in the system that they desire. At present, the Council lacks the base of power required for such political action. The Council and member groups recognize this and are attempting to increase their active membership and to expand their base of support to include more than groups which draw their memberships exclusively from women on Mothers' Allowance.

Further, the Council suffers from many of the

²Alexis De Tocqueville, "Associations in American Life", Perspectives on the American Community, Roland L. Warren, editor (Chicago: Rand McNally and Co., 1966) p. 447.

³G. Brager & H. Sprecht, "Mobilizing the Poor for Social Action", Reading in Community Organization Practice, R.M. Kramer & H. Sprecht, editors (New Jersey: Prentice-Hall Inc., 1969) pp 223-232.

problems that a number of researchers have found in their studies. Their difficulty in attaining a large and active membership is a function of the life-style of the people whom they are representing. Hyman and Wright found that membership in associations was directly related to socio-economic status in that the higher the status the greater the membership.⁴ Axelrod found that formal group membership was closely related to income, status and education.⁵ The Council is therefore acting under a handicap with regards to its membership.

It is important that the purpose of the Council is to alleviate the very problems which are hindering the development of a power base through an expanded membership. These problems include what Piven has written. He found that the characteristics of low income communities tended to perpetuate their being seen as disorganized and politically ineffective.⁶ Council members often do not have the organizational skill, the expertise and the resources of a stable livelihood. The Council members tend to accept what is presented at

⁴C.R. Wright & H.H. Hyman, "Evidence from National Sample Surveys", Perspectives on the American Community, R.L. Warren, editor (Chicago: Rand McNally and Co., 1966) pp 448-462.

⁵Morris Axelrod, "Urban Structure and Social Participation", American Sociological Review, Vol. 21, No. 1 (Feb. 1956) pp 13-18.

⁶Frances Piven, "Participation of Residents in Neighborhood Community Action Programs", Social Work, Vol. XI (Jan. 1966) pp 73-80.

Council and do not question or suggest alternate routes of action. This lack of organizational expertise tends to hinder the efficient progress of the Council. The strategies the Council needs to implement to obtain participation therefore need to overcome the general lack of resources and the apathetic beliefs and few inducements in order to hold leadership or build organizations.⁷

In the area of motivational factors, the executive of the Council tended to have broader goals, whereas the group representatives had more personal and narrower goals. This has influenced the Council in that the executive made decisions and recommendations to suit the broader goals and tended to alienate the representatives who did not subscribe to these goals.

The executive have worked their way up to their present positions on Council through involvement in individual self-help groups. It seems that they have satisfied their needs for personal goal fulfillment and have now accepted the need for pursuing broader and more encompassing goals. That is, there can be said to be a process involved whereby individuals join the self-

⁷Ibid.

help movement in order to fulfill their own personal needs. As these needs are satisfied, they are able to help to strive towards more broad goals that bring benefits to more people. There appears to be a shift from a need for social therapy to a vision of the possibilities of social action. The executive and groups tended to accept this process and tried to cater to the needs of individuals. With the new constitution of November, 1971, the concept of a rotating chairman helped to strengthen this necessary shift.

At this point we believe there are several final conclusions that can be made with regards to leadership functions and patterns. As earlier discussed, the ideal leader is one who can develop a balance between maintenance of harmony and task achievement within a group.⁸ Within the Council we found that leadership emphasis was on maintenance of harmony. This focus was essential because of the voluntary nature of membership which when combined with other factors such as inconsistency in division of labor, a large number of unexperienced members, and a lack of task priorities,

⁸Sidney Verba, Small Groups and Political Behavior: A Study of Leadership (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1961), p. 145.

resulted in a definite negative influence on task achievement. It is also significant that the "harmony" emphasis was not explicit as a goal to more than about one-third of those interviewed. It seems rather to have developed as a natural and often unidentified response to a voluntary membership situation.

Although the survival and effectiveness of the Council depends upon the maintenance of harmony to keep individuals in their voluntary positions, the kind of harmony existing in Council we identify as artificial and imposed. Because the group representatives believed themselves lacking in knowledge and expertise, they subordinated themselves in all decision-making matters to the Council executive members. Because of their unwillingness to oppose these executive decisions, the representatives unwittingly encouraged overtly democratic but covertly authoritarian decision-making at the executive level.

In reality, the representatives were victims of a situation into which they voluntarily placed themselves or into which their group placed them. That is, once they assumed their positions within the Council hierarchy, a lack of self confidence in operating within such a formal structure prevented them from striving towards gaining more knowledge and expertise. At the same time,

the executive was forced under these conditions to make all the decisions. There was a need, then, for some authoritarianism from those who were confident and experienced. Only after the development of a plan to provide opportunities for learning to the representatives and executive members requiring it, could democratic decision-making become a realistic pattern of operating.

Riessman's helper therapy principle can be seen in operation in the Council with regards to the previous conclusions. The executive tended to help the representatives and thus gained added experience. Although this was beneficial to the executive itself, it did tend to widen the gap between the executive and representatives.

In studying the "interlocking" relationship between the Council and the individual self-help groups, we found that the relationship was interlocking "theoretically" but not necessarily "operationally" or realistically. Although the individual groups were formally constitutionally linked by a representative to Council, these groups did not identify with it or truly give any support.

As a final statement, then, the Council is not a revolutionary body but hopes to work within the system to improve its delivery of service. This philosophy coincides with what Paull found. He found that the welfare rights movement is for reform, not

revolution--that is, a reform in democratic and poverty-reducing directions rather than basic rearrangement of the society.⁹

Implications

In this section we will briefly present what we believe are the major implications of this study for Council, for further research, and for professional practice in the field of social work.

First, with regards to the Council itself, we have shown that from its initial creation, Council has operated within a traditional hierarchical structure--a structure created "for" rather than "with the help of" a large number of people within Council. The resulting alienation of the group representatives and the individual self-help groups has prevented Council from receiving what we consider as genuine support in its operation from these groups.

Under these conditions we believe that a plan (such as the one outlined in the final section of this chapter) must be implemented as soon as possible, if Council is to survive and be effective in achieving its goals. Without such an attempt to decrease group

⁹Joseph E. Paull, op. cit.

alienation and increase group identification with the organization, the Winnipeg Council of Self-Help Groups cannot be considered as truly representative of its member groups.

In the area of further research, we believe that a follow-up study in the area of leadership in the Council, based on the new constitutional structure adopted November, 1971, would be beneficial to Council as a whole. This kind of study could provide meaningful information about the effectiveness of the present changes in structure in relation to increasing identification of the individual self-help groups with Council.

Finally, with regards to implications of our study for professional practice, it is obvious to us that such "grass-roots" organizations as the Winnipeg Council of Self-Help Groups are often unclear as to what the related role of social workers and the social work profession in general is towards them. Uncertainty also exists as to "how" and on what basis social workers should be communicated with. This uncertainty was manifest within the Council, for example, by a lack of true knowledge as to what a resource person could do in the Council setting. This individual was a social worker available to Council upon request through Neighborhood

Services Centre in Winnipeg.

We believe, then, that there is a need for social workers in contact with Council or with its individual member groups, to clarify for these people just what they can provide in the way of positive input. Perhaps a starting point in this process is honest and open communication between members of the profession and members of Council and groups on an "equal" basis. An equality situation would naturally also include input from the Council and group level to the profession in terms of information, ideas, and attitudes with regards to self-help.

A final implication with regards to the social work profession, is that perhaps all responsibility for the kind and quality of leadership within Council and other such organizations should not be placed only upon Council members. Those social workers either directly or indirectly involved should also engage with members in providing new experience opportunities and in developing fresh leadership.

A New Perspective

It has already been mentioned that with the creation and adoption of a new constitution as of November 17,

1971, and the filling of a new position--Project Co-ordinator--a process of change slowly began to filter through Council. The most significant aspect of this change process is a new orientation or perspective with regards to structure and operation of the Council.

Under new policy, Council affairs are managed by a Board of Directors consisting of one representative chosen by each individual self-help group. Each representative will eventually have the opportunity to act as Chairlady of the Board for a one month period when she will have the power to draw up agendas for and preside over all board meetings held within that month.

Within this new structure the Project Co-ordinator can help each monthly Chairlady draw up the agenda, but at the same time she (Project Co-ordinator) is accountable to the entire Board for all her actions.

It is very important to realize that this creation and implementation of a particular structure and method of operation was not a haphazard action. Rather, it was the direct result of a two-part realization on the part of the Project Co-ordinator--a realization that the individual self-help groups did not feel a part of Council (lack of identification), and that inexperience about how to work within a formal organization such as Council was being perpetuated in the group representatives.

It was thought that through decentralization and redistribution of Council power by using a "rotating chairman" system, the representatives would come to identify more closely with a position into which they were putting much time and energy. They would also, hopefully, pass on their enthusiasm to the groups they represented, while at the same time gaining valuable experience.

In general, the new Board of Directors was created to provide incentive to the individual groups to become more closely involved with and to identify with Council. The main aim was to reorganize the decision-making system so that decisions would be made in an upward direction from the group and representative level towards Council as a whole, as opposed to the old system where decisions were made by the executive members and passed down to the group representatives. Hopefully, past individual group passivity in the areas of new ideas and suggestions would disappear. Ideally, some goal continuity would be created as a result of this new perspective, and Council would become a "melting pot" of all goals.

It is interesting that individual self-help group support of Council was not inherent in the original Council structure and operational methods, for the

initial basis of formation was that of "money", and the idea congruent with that basis was that without a Council to financially support them, the individual groups could not purposefully survive. The present conviction is that without the complete moral and operational support of all individual groups, Council cannot either survive for any length of time or be effective.

In this final section we have presented brief information about the new structural and operational changes which began to occur in Council within our study time period. Although our study relates to the Council structure based on the constitution in Appendix A, we have presented the new Council perspective which is actually outside the scope of our study, for a specific purpose. We wish to emphasize that the information we obtained and analyzed as well as the conclusions we reached about "leadership" in the Winnipeg Council of Self Help Groups, are representative of a specific time period, and naturally vulnerable to change. Because a sudden and significant structural change did indeed occur just after our interviewing time period, we thought it only proper to describe the new Council structure, as the rationale behind its creation was directly related to conditions existing during the study.

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APPENDIX A

CONSTITUTION
May 25, 1971

APPENDIX A
CONSTITUTION
May 25, 1971

Article I The name shall be:
Winnipeg Council of Self Help Groups Inc.

Article II Objectives:

- (a) To provide a means by which citizens groups can work together to further common goals and projects.
- (b) To provide a central information and referral service.
- (c) To co-operate with and support other organizations with similar objectives.

Article III Council Headquarters:
The Council shall operate from a central office in the City of Winnipeg in the Province of Manitoba.

Article IV Funds:

- (a) The Council shall be responsible for the handling and allocations of all funds obtained by said Council.
- (b) Where it is necessary, Council shall reserve the right to request from any group, a statement of expenditures of

funds allocated to them by Council.

Article V

Individual member Groups

- (a) Each member group shall continue to operate independently and will be responsible to Council only for funds they receive through Council.
- (b) Council reserves the right to choose new member groups.
- (c) Council reserves the right to ask for the withdrawal of any member group which fails to fulfil the goals of the Council by a majority vote.
- (d) Each individual member group has the right to withdraw from Council providing:
 1. that all funds received from Council have been accounted for to the satisfaction of Council and,
 2. that notice of withdrawal has been submitted in writing to the Secretary of Council at least two weeks prior to the day of withdrawal.

Article VI

Representation on Council

1. Representatives

The Council shall consist of three

representatives from each of the member groups. The method of choosing these representatives will be left to the individual groups. Each group will provide the persons chosen with letters of authorization to represent said group.

2. General Membership

All members of the individual member groups shall be considered as general members and will be invited to attend all general meetings.

Article VII

Council Officers

- (a) The officers of the Council shall consist of the following:
1. Chairman
 2. Vice-Chairman
 3. Secretary
 4. Treasurer
 5. Group Co-ordinator
 6. Social Convenor
 7. Public Relations Chairman
 8. Past Chairman
- (b) When any individual is elected as an officer of the Council, the group he

represents will name another representative to Council.

(c) The Council officers shall have the power to formulate the agenda for all meetings, and to act on those matters which require immediate action. All such action is subject to review by the Council membership. All bills and accounts exceeding \$15.00 shall be approved by Council officers before payment is made.

(d) Duties of Officers:

1. Chairman: Shall be the Chief Executive, he or she shall preside at all meetings, executive and general. He or she shall generally supervise the affairs of the Council. He or she shall be ex-officio member of all committees appointed, and shall perform such duties from time to time be related to his or her office. He or she shall not vote except in the event of a tie.

2. Vice-Chairman: Shall be the duty of the vice-chairman to assist the chairman

and to take over the functions of the chairman in his or her absence.

3. Secretary: Shall make sure that a correct record of the proceedings of all meetings, officers, Council and general, is kept, and shall perform such other duties relating to the office as assigned by the officers.

4. Treasurer: Shall receive all monies and hold same subject to the order of the Council. He or she shall pay all bills in the name of the Council with the provision that all cheques be signed together with the chairman or vice-chairman in the absence of the chairman.

5. Group Co-ordinator: Shall obtain information on other self help groups in the Province of Manitoba as well as groups in other Provinces. This information shall be compiled for the use of Council.

6. Social Convenor: It shall be the duty of the social convenor to plan and organize fund raising and social events.

7. Public Relations Chairman: It shall

be the duty of the public relations chairman to inform members and the general public about all activities of the Council and member groups and to arrange press conferences and make all arrangements for the Council and general meetings.

8. Past Chairman: To act as a Resource Person for Council.

Article VIII Election of Officers

(a) Officers shall be elected annually before July 1st.

1. By a vote of the Council

(b) Eligibility to seek office:

1. Any member of the individual groups belonging to the Council shall be eligible to seek office.

(c) Method of voting:

1. Voting shall be by secret ballot and the person obtaining the majority votes shall be declared elected.

2. If a member of the Council is unable to be present at an election they may appoint another member of Council to

vote for them by using a regular proxy form.

(d) Assumption of office.

1. The newly elected officers shall take office within two weeks of their election.

Article IX

Meetings General and Council

(a) General membership meeting- there shall be a general membership meeting at least once annually and otherwise at the discretion of the chairman and officers or, on the petition of at least 15 registered members.

(b) Council meetings - shall be held at least two times a month.

Article X

Quorum Council and General Meetings

(a) Council Meeting - a quorum shall consist of at least two-thirds of the Council members, including the chairman and vice-chairman.

(b) General membership meetig - a quorum shall consist of at least 75 registered members.

(c) Quorum of Council officers shall be 4.

Article XICommittees

(a) Special committees may be appointed or elected from time to time by the Council.

(b) Special committees may be elected at general meetings by the general membership, these committees shall include members at large.

Article XIIResignation of Officers

(a) Resignations shall be submitted in writing to the secretary of the Council at least one week prior to the day to be effective.

(b) The resignation of an officer may be demanded by the Council if they feel that said officer is not fulfilling his or her duties. In this event, a full discussion on the matter shall take place at a meeting at least one week before the vote is held.

Article XIIIAmendments to Constitution

(a) Amendment - this constitution shall be amended at a Council meeting by a two-third majority vote of all members present, provided that the amendment has been

presented to the Council in writing two weeks prior to the meeting.

APPENDIX B

CONSTITUTION
November 17, 1971

APPENDIX B

CONSTITUTION
November 17, 1971

Article I The name shall be:
Winnipeg Council of Self Help Groups Inc.

Article II Objectives:

- (a) To provide a means by which citizens groups can work together to further common goals and projects.
- (b) To provide a central information and referral service.
- (c) To inform citizens of their rights and provide an advocacy service.
- (d) To take action to bring about changes in the social and economic system which contributes to maintaining people in conditions of poverty.
- (e) To work for the development and improvement of services in the area of social welfare, health, employment, training, housing, education, etc.

Article III Council Headquarters:

- (a) The Council shall operate from a central office in the City of Winnipeg in the

Province of Manitoba.

(b) The Council shall employ the following staff:

1. Project Co-ordinator- shall co-ordinate the activities of the member groups and sub-committees of Council. She or he shall supervise the office and staff, pay all bills in the name of the Council with the provision that all cheques be signed together with the finance reporter and one member of the Board of Directors. The project co-ordinator shall at all times be accountable to the Board of Directors of Council.

2. Grievance Clerk - shall handle all telephone calls regarding grievances or requests for information and/or referral, and refer such grievances as require field work to the appropriate grievance committee. She or he shall keep a record of all such calls and grievances and report monthly to the grievance committees of the member groups.

3. Steno-Typist

4. Receptionist

5. Other staff as should be required.

Article IV

Funds:

- (a) The Council shall be responsible for the allocation of all funds obtained by said Council.
- (b) Where it is necessary, Council shall reserve the right to request from any member group, a statement of expenditures of funds allocated to them by Council.

Article V

Individual Member Groups:

- (a) Each member group shall continue to operate independently and will be responsible to Council only for funds they receive through Council.
- (b) Board of Directors reserves the right to accept new member groups.
- (c) Board of Directors reserves the right to ask for the withdrawal of any member group which fails to fulfil the goals of the Council, after consultation with said group.
- (d) Each individual member group has the right to withdraw from Council providing:
 - 1. that all funds received from Council

have been accounted for to the satisfaction of the Finance Committee. 2. that notice of withdrawal has been submitted in writing to the Project Co-ordinator at least two weeks prior to the day of withdrawal.

Article VI

The Board of Directors

Membership

(a) The Board of Directors shall consist of one representative from each of the member groups. The method of choosing these representatives will be left to the individual groups. Each group will notify the Project Co-ordinator or the person chosen to represent said group.

Function

(b) Each member of the Board of Directors shall be required to assume the duties of chairman for at least a one month period of each year. This person shall, in conjunction with the Project Co-ordinator, have the power to formulate the agenda for all

board meetings within the specified period of time. She or he shall preside at all meetings, and be available to give authorization to the Project Co-ordinator to act on those matters which require immediate action. All such action is subject to review by the Board of Directors.

Term of Office

- (c) The term of office for members of Board of Directors shall be one year ending on November 30th.
- (d) The Board of Directors shall meet not less than once each month.

Article VII

General Membership

All members of the individual member groups shall be considered as general members and will be invited to attend all general meetings.

Article VIII

General Meetings

There shall be a general membership meeting at least once annually and otherwise at the discretion of the

Board of Directors, or, on the petition of at least 15 general members.

Article IX

Quorums

- (a) Board of Directors - a quorum shall consist of at least two-thirds of the Board members.
- (b) General membership meetings - a quorum shall consist of at least 75 registered members.

Article X

Committees

- (a) Finance Committee - this shall be a standing committee composed of the elected treasurers of each of the member groups. This committee shall appoint a finance reporter who will submit a financial report to the Board of Directors monthly.
- (b) Special committee may be appointed or elected from time to time by the Board of Directors.
- (c) Special committees may be elected at general meetings by the general membership, these committees shall include members at large.

Article XIAmendments to Constitution

Amendment - this constitution shall be amended at Board of Directors meeting by a two-thirds majority vote of all members present, provided that the amendment has been presented to the Board in writing at the previous meeting.

APPENDIX C

MEMO TO ALL WINNIPEG SELF-HELP GROUPS
REPRESENTED IN THE SELF-HELP COUNCIL

APPENDIX C

MEMO TO ALL WINNIPEG SELF-HELP GROUPS
REPRESENTED IN THE SELF-HELP COUNCIL

To Whom It May Concern:

As Masters students in the School of Social Work, University of Manitoba, we are interested in conducting a research study about leadership in the self-help group council. Because the members of the self-help council represent different groups, we would like to see them in action in these groups. In order to do this we would like to feel free to sit in on meetings that each self-help group has, so as to finally come up with some concrete observations and conclusions with regard to past, present, and future leadership patterns.

This study would be confidential, with access restricted to ourselves, Mr. Peter Hudson, our faculty advisor, a second reader of our own choosing, and the Council itself. It is our hope that this study will be of value to the Council and its member groups in that it will provide an outside objective view of leadership as it has developed and is continuing to develop.

We emphasize that we wish to attend regular meetings as observers rather than as participants. Also, we would hope that we could speak informally with as many leaders

as possible so as to give everyone a chance to express their viewpoints.

Because we must have most of our information gathered by the end of December 1971, we must begin our work as soon as possible. Before we can do this, we would like to have each self-help group that would be involved indicate whether or not they would be willing to co-operate with us. It would be much appreciated, therefore, if each group would contact Mrs. Paulette Murphy at her office as soon as possible, so that we can know where we stand.

Up to this point, reaction to our study has been favorable. We hope that everyone concerned will not pass by this opportunity to take full advantage of certain observations and conclusions we would finally formulate.

Sincerely,

D. Hladun

I. Thiessen

APPENDIX D

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

APPENDIX D

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

I. HARD DATA

1. How did the organization (individual group or Council) come into being?
2. How did the individual get involved?
3. What is the purpose or goals of the group (or Council)?
4. When was the group formed?
5. What are the individual's present duties (function and role) in the group (or Council)?
6. What is the organizational budget and source of income of the group (or Council)?
7. What sex are most individuals involved in Council?

II. MOTIVATION

1. As an individual, why is the person involved with the self-help movement?
2. As an individual, what does the person feel he can contribute?
3. Does the individual feel it is important to be on good terms with any particular person in any particular position within the group or Council structure?
4. What are the main goals the individual wishes to achieve in her position?

III. LEADERSHIP FUNCTIONS AND PATTERNS

1. When there is a task to be done, on what basis is labor divided?
 - a) re job description alone
 - b) re personal ability of a certain individual
 - c) by willingness of a person to take on the task
 - d) a combination of factors
 - e) in an inconsistent manner
2. Are the following of equal or unequal importance?
 - a) getting the task accomplished
 - b) keeping harmony in the group or in Council
3. Who should take responsibility for beginning to work on a certain task, and for completing the task?
4. When there is a decision or policy to be made, is there anyone in particular that does this?
If no, then is the whole group mutually involved?
5. How objective is decision-making within the group or in Council?
6. Who divides up the labor? Can each person chose his own co-workers?
7. As a leader, does the individual try to be "one of the girls" or try to remain slightly separate and impersonal because of her function:
Is the leader's effectiveness negatively affected

after a certain point of closeness?

IV. "COUNCIL-INDIVIDUAL GROUPS" RELATIONSHIP

1. Was the individual involved with any self-help group before becoming involved with the Council? In what capacity and for how long?
2. What does the individual see as being the "ideal" relationship between the individual self-help groups and Council?
3. What obligations have Council and the groups to one another?
4. Do goals of Council and individual groups differ?
5. How much control does Council have over the groups?
Is control exerted, if it does exist?
How is control exerted?
6. Who decided that each group would send at least one representative to each Council meeting?
7. What is the function(s) of a group representative and the purpose of her being related to Council activities?
8. How interested are group representatives in Council affairs?
9. Why is it important that individual groups have some

involvement in decision-making processes in Council?
(With specific reference to concept of "rotating
chairman").

10. Is there conflict between the expectations of Council
and of the individual groups towards function and roles
of representatives?