THE UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA

AN ORGANIZATIONAL ANALYSIS

OF A COMMUNITY RESOURCE CENTRE

by

HENRY LAWRENCE CHAPIN

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES

IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE

OF MASTER OF ARTS

DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY

WINNIPEG, MANITOBA

OCTOBER 1972

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF FIGURES

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The Fort Rouge Resource Centre was established as a three-year demonstration project in September 1970 through the combined efforts of several social service agencies in an attempt to introduce (Vincent 1970:1)

> ...a new and innovative approach to the delivery of social services in the Fort Rouge community and to the involvement and participation of citizens in its operation.

This thesis will be an organizational analysis of the Fort Rouge Resource Centre using a model developed by Marion J. Levy which is based upon an examination of the analytic aspects of relationship structures (Levy 1952:238-298). The evaluation will cover the initial twelve months of Centre operations and deal with the following objectives proposed in the planning model (Vincent 1970:2):

(i)   Cooperation between public and private agencies in the delivery of social services.

(ii)   Neighborhood or community development personnel to be active in the Fort Rouge community.

(iii)   Participation of neighborhood people in the planning and

evaluating of services.

(iv)   Training of volunteers for new roles such as information and reception.

(v)   Inclusion of research and evaluation procedures.

(vi)   The provision of a structure to coordinate and manage the shared resources of the various participating agencies.

The review of these objectives and the overall planning goals will take into account the demographic characteristics of Fort Rouge and the types of agencies participating in the project. This information will provide a framework for the analysis of relationship structures within the Centre and will be used in the examination of the organizational components.

Background

The planning of the Fort Rouge Resource Centre began in September 1969 through the collaboration of the Children's Aid Society of Winnipeg, the South Office of the Department of Health and Social Development, the Community Ecumenical Ministry and the Community Welfare Planning Council.[1] An operational model was formulated in July 1970 (Vincent 1970), and the agencies received the necessary administrative approvals to allocate staff and resources to the Centre facility located at 511 Stradbrook Avenue in the Fort Rouge area of Winnipeg. September 1971 marked the completion of the first year of operations at the Centre. A six-month progress report (Advisory Committee 1971) was submitted

in March 1971, followed by a study published by the Institute of
Urban Studies which dealt in part with the impact of the Centre
as a social planning intervention in Fort Rouge (Vincent 1971b).
As an experimental approach to the delivery of social services at
the neighborhood level, this project has received considerable at-
tention, but as yet, there has been no attempt to evaluate the pro-
ject from an organizational perspective.

The motivating force behind this project was the partici-
pating agencies' desire to experiment with new methods of deliver-
ing services to a local community. While each individual agency
was aware of its primary commitment to a particular client sub-
population, the overall planning goal called for a coordination of
agency resources to effectively respond to the various needs aris-
ing within the larger Fort Rouge community. A year's experience
has demonstrated that although the participating agencies have
served their Fort Rouge clientele, no real attempt has been made
to define community needs, utilize community resources or devel-
op community programs. In this thesis I will demonstrate that
the goals outlined in the planning model were irrationally conceived;
at best they were inappropriate, in view of the divergent nature of
the relationship structures within the inter-agency Centre project.

During the twelve months under study, I have been as-
sociated with the Fort Rouge Resource Centre as Chairman of the

Advisory Committee, and have provided research assistance through the auspices of the Community Welfare Planning Council. This association began after the planning model had been fully developed and the project was in the initial stage of implementation.[2] I have therefore had access to all the relevant planning materials as well as direct experience with the operation of the Centre.

Research Design

The design of this study has been set within an action research framework; that is, no attempt was made to artificially control any aspect of the normal activities of the Centre during its first year of operation. The advantage of this approach is that the research input does not distort the planned operation of the project, but rather seeks (Marris and Rein 1967:201), "...to devise an evaluation procedure which not only accommodates but facilitates the feedback process."

The effectiveness of individual agency programs will not be directly evaluated and it will not be possible to assess the impact of the project within the Fort Rouge community. The research has been designed to evaluate the objectives proposed for the Centre through an analysis of the organizational relationships within the inter-agency and individual agency settings. A major

aim of this thesis will be to demonstrate that significant conclusions can be drawn from an examination of a developing organization.

Data Base

The data upon which the analysis is based has been drawn from various sources. Documents related to the planning of the Centre were available in the form of planning reports, transcribed minutes of meetings, correspondence, and agency proposals. To supplement this material, the key participants involved in the planning process have provided further information. Records of the Fort Rouge Resource Centre's operations were examined and, as mentioned previously, I participated in all the major proceedings during the year under study. There are also several reports and studies dealing with the Centre (Vincent 1970, 1971a, 1971b), as well as a wide range of material related to community planning (Kahn 1967), program evaluation (Morris 1966; Torrens 1971), and service delivery systems (Perlman and Jones 1967) which have been useful in broadening the perspective of this thesis.

The data concerning Fort Rouge as a neighborhood and community are primarily statistical; it has been obtained from Statistics Canada, the City of Winnipeg and the Social Service Audit. These data have been presented to illustrate the range of factors

which might be considered in any attempt to define the needs of a given community. In the analysis of these data, the extent to which the Centre was prepared to deal with Fort Rouge as a total community will be assessed.

Methodology

Current organizational analyses tend to follow a systems analysis approach borrowed from management theory (Churchman 1970). While this type of approach serves as a valuable instrument for determining why particular programs fail or succeed through an examination of management information systems, such analyses appear to be unsatisfactory in terms of generating or supplying principles of organizational process. As Robert Morris has pointed out (1966:203), there is a need to develop, "...units of exchange as a means of studying agency relationships."

The analytic framework developed by Marion Levy has provided a means of analyzing these relationships and arriving at conclusions which can then be used as a basis for predicting the outcome of similar organizational ventures.[3] Although Levy's concepts were formulated twenty years ago, their significance to the study of organizational dynamics has not yet been fully explored.

This particular analytic instrument has been used to focus upon the problems arising from inter-agency relationships during the

initial year of Centre operations. These problems were primarily administrative involving policy and program planning. The decision-making powers of the participating agencies were to be decentralized through agency representatives so that decisions concerning the agencies' input at the Centre were to be made by these represen-tatives. Three main points soon became clear:

(i)   Agency representatives were bound to their respective agency policies;

(ii) Policy and program planning was viewed from the agencies' perspective; and

(iii) Decisions concerning the Centre reflected agency interests and could only be implemented when there was total con-sensus among agency representatives.

These points reflect the strongly individualistic agency ori-entation and were to be divisive factors which limited cooperation among the participating agencies toward the achievement of Centre objectives.

The focal point of this thesis is the relationships operative within the Fort Rouge Resource Centre and no attempt has been made to assess the impact of the project upon either the agency clientele or the residents of Fort Rouge. These are certainly important issues, but the emphasis here will be upon the relation-ships among administration, staff, clientele and community as they exist within the individual agency and inter-agency Centre structures. While impact or effectiveness may be implied, those issues are not

germane to this thesis.

Analytic Framework

Levy has introduced six analytic aspects of relationship structures as a means of characterizing any and all social relationships. These analytic aspects can be used to examine social interaction related to any and all of the following analytic structures: role differentiation, solidarity, economic allocation, political allocation and integration and expression. In Levy's model, the Fort Rouge Resource Centre can be considered an organization primarily oriented to economic allocation which is defined as follows (1952:330):

> Economic allocation in concrete social structures may be de-
> fined as the distribution of goods and services making up the
> income of the concrete structure concerned and of the goods
> and efforts making up the output of that structure among the
> various members of the structure and among the members
> of that structural unit with which it is in contact in these re-
> spects.

This structure is in turn subdivided into the structures of production and consumption. While the Centre does not receive funds directly from the consumers of services, the participating agencies are funded by public and private monies to provide these services. Services produced by the administration and staff of the participating agencies are consumed by the respective agency clienteles. The relationship structures involved in this organizational setting are thus focussed to a large extent on both the production

and consumption of social services. The analytic aspects of these
relationship structures include the following:

  (i)   Cognitive Aspect (1952:240-244)

     a) logical (or rational) action: that action in which the
        objective and subjective ends of action are identical.
     b) non-logical (or non-rational) action: all conscious
        action other than logical action. Non-logical action
        may be subdivided into two parts:
        (i) illogical (or irrational) action: that action in
             which the objective and subjective ends of the
             action are not identical although both ends and
             means are empirical.
        (ii) alogical (or irrational) action: all non-logical
             action that is not illogical. This may be sub-
             divided into two parts:
             a) methodologically alogical action: that action
                in which the ends of the actor are empirical
                but the means are non-empirical, at least in
                part.
             b) ultimately alogical action: that action in which
                both the ends and means of the actor are at
                least in part non-empirical.

  (ii) Membership Criterion Aspect (1952:248-249)

     a) universalistic: if persons are chosen for a relation-
        ship or admitted to it on the basis of criteria that
        satisfy two conditions: (i) that they be criteria such
        that no individual is barred by social structures from
        possessing or acquiring them and (ii) that they be
        criteria such that they are germane to the purpose for
        which selection is made.
     b) particularistic: when any departure is made from the
        conditions set up in the definition of universalism.

  (iii) Substantive Definition Aspect (1952:256-258)

     a) functionally specific: the activities or considerations
        or rights and obligations or performances are precisely
        defined and precisely delimited.
     b) functionally diffuse: the substantive definition of the
        relationship is more or less vaguely defined and de-
        limited.

(iv)   Affective Aspect (1952:267-268)

    a) predominantly avoidant: emphasizes restraint or formality in the overt display of affect and/or subordinates the overt display of affect to other aspects of the relationship.

    b) predominantly intimate: emphasizes lack of restraint and informality in the overt display of affect and/or subordinates other aspects of the relationship to the overt display of affect.

(v)   Goal Orientation Aspect (1952:273)

    a) predominantly individualistic: the emphasis is placed on each party "looking out for himself," i.e., on each member acting in his own behalf to safeguard the realization of his goals with relatively lesser emphasis on those of the other member(s).

    b) predominantly responsible: the emphasis is placed on one (or more) of the members safeguarding the relevant goals of the others if he is (or they are) to achieve his (or their) own goals at all.

(vi)   Stratification Aspect (1952:274-280)

    a) hierarchical: the relative rankings of the members are expected to be different and the actions involved in the relationship are differentiated with regard to this difference.

    b) non-hierarchical: no differential rankings of the members in any respect are considered relevant to the relationship; when a relationship is one such that it is specifically required that the members treat one another without reference to differential rankings, it will be termed egalitarian.

These concepts were borrowed from Talcott Parsons (1951), but Levy has redefined them and does not impute the motivational orientations which are significant in Parsons' approach. In examining these analytic aspects, Levy has suggested that certain of the attributes or polar terms will tend to cluster for any given relation-

ship structure (1952:296), e.g. relationship structures may then be characterized on the basis of a particular clustering of analytic aspects.

Following Levy's model, the four major components of the study population, the administration, the staff, the clientele and the community were analyzed in terms of their relationships to each other, and the relevant attributes of the corresponding analytic aspects were assigned to each. The hypothesis to be explored was that there were critical differences between the relationships existing within the agency context and those existing between the agencies as participants in the Centre operations. These differences were to be revealed by examining the analytic aspects related to both agency and inter-agency relationships, and demonstrating the degree to which role conflicts frustrated individuals attempting to function in two different sets of relationships, each with different demands. After an initial analysis using all six analytic aspects, it became clear that only three of these aspects, substantive definition, goal orientation and stratification, provided valuable insights related to the problems experienced at the Centre.[4] While it is possible that the differences between agency and inter-agency relationships would vary depending upon the individuals involved in the project, I believe that the problems arising from these differences would have created similar difficulties and organizational strains for any set of

participants.

NOTES

1. Neighborhood Service Centres and the City of Winnipeg Recreation Department joined the project after its establishment in September 1970.

2. I replaced a former staff member of the Community Welfare Planning Council who had been involved in the planning of the Centre.

3. In preparing the research design for this thesis, I considered various other approaches including systems analysis, role conflict theory, and several current models of evaluative research. My decision to utilize Levy's analytic model of relationship structures was based primarily on its value as a means of examining several organizational components as they related to a particular structural setting(s). Since the Fort Rouge Resource Centre involved a number of individual agencies attempting to cooperate in the delivery of social services, it was important to analyze and compare the operation of the Centre with that of the individual agencies. Levy's design provided the necessary frame of reference to explore this area of concern.

4. The cognitive, membership criterion and affective aspects were not particularly useful in terms of distinguishing between intra-agency and inter-agency relationships.

CHAPTER II

SETTING

All the agencies participating in the Centre project had

previously provided services to the residents of Fort Rouge from

other locations,[1] but as the planning model indicated (Vincent 1970:

2):

> Social agencies had become increasingly concerned that many
> people didn't know about the services they provide, that too
> often these services were inadequate, fragmented and located
> downtown and that users of services were rarely involved in
> the determination and planning of services and programs that
> affect their lives.

This concern with the users of service in the local com-

munity led to an examination of Fort Rouge as an area in which

agency and inter-agency programs could provide a range of support-

ive services readily available to the resident population through a

neighborhood facility. Two of the agencies initially involved in the

planning, the Children's Aid Society and the Department of Health

and Social Development, had very large clienteles in Fort Rouge.

The plan was to include other agencies in the project who had also

been active in the community or who provided services which would

contribute to the well-being of the community. In reviewing the material related to the Fort Rouge area and the development and operation of the Fort Rouge Resource Centre, it will therefore be important to analyze what steps were taken to match community needs with agency resources.

Fort Rouge Neighborhood and Community

When the Centre was still in the planning stage, the area designated by the Social Service Audit as Osborne (Audit Area 116) was proposed as the Fort Rouge neighborhood.[2] This area is comprised of a triangle of land opening South and West from the juncture of the Red and Assiniboine Rivers to Donald and Corydon Streets on the South and Cockburn Street on the West (Figure 1). Audit areas 119 and 120, West and East Fort Rouge respectively, were not considered to be a part of the target area which the Centre would serve. While other boundary delineations such as census tracts or postal zones might have been used, the decision was to adhere to the Osborne district because this area had been well-documented in terms of its demographic characteristics and social disorganization indicators. The population size was also considered ideal in terms of available agency program resources.

Before examining the statistical data, it is important to view Fort Rouge from a broad historical perspective. One writer

FIGURE 1
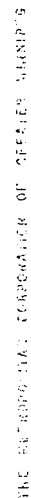
has summed up the situation as follows (Vincent 1968:2):

> This part of Winnipeg experienced a significant stage in the
> movement of the first-class residential area that followed
> the Assiniboine River from the early river lot homes of
> Point Douglas, to the Hudson Bay Reserve and from there to
> the Maryland-Crescentwood district. It was during this phase
> of the movement of status homes that many pretentious re-
> sidences and apartment blocks were built along River and
> Stradbrook and adjoining streets. Thus Fort Rouge was a
> status area, and to some extent, this status association still
> pertains to part of the neighborhood.

A steady decline of this status association can be attributed
primarily to the positioning of Fort Rouge between the two rivers.
At the present, this area is situated near two main bridges linking
the various residential areas surrounding downtown Winnipeg. As
a result, Fort Rouge has been criss-crossed by these transportation
routes leading to and from the adjoining community areas and has
become a less attractive residential community.

Demographic characteristics

The Social Service Audit had produced quite extensive statis-
tical data for each of the Audit Areas in Metropolitan Winnipeg.
Unfortunately, this was achieved through special surveys conducted
within an area-boundary framework which had been developed for
the Audit study but which has not been used since in demographic
reporting. Consequently the Audit data for Fort Rouge applies only
to 1966. Although it serves as an excellent baseline, subsequent
data obtained through Statistics Canada or the City of Winnipeg

relate to census tracts and polling divisions and thus are not read-
ily comparable.

Population

In 1966, the population of Fort Rouge (Osborne) was 10,745
which represented a six percent increase from 1961, one of only
seven Audit areas in Winnipeg which recorded a population increase.
This trend seems to have continued in that population data for 1969
related to polling divisions showed an eight percent increase to
11,676.[4]

Age-Sex structure

Approximately twenty percent of the 1966 population in
Fort Rouge was over 65 years of age as compared to a nine percent
average for all other Audit areas. The sex ratio was 80 males per
100 females which differed considerably from the 97:100 overall
ratio in Metropolitan Winnipeg, and the median age for females
was 35 years which was higher than in any other Audit area.

Family, income and housing characteristics

An indication of the large single population in Fort Rouge
was the fact that thirty-three percent of the households were non-
family as compared to the thirteen percent Metro Winnipeg average.
Of that part of the population over 15 years of age, sixty percent

were single and the percentage of widows significantly exceeded the Metro Winnipeg average. Fifty percent of all the families had no children living with the parent(s).

The average family income in 1966 was $6,300 which was the fourth highest in Winnipeg and only fifteen percent of the population earned less than $3,000. Fifty percent of the females over the age of 15 were employed.

Almost ninety percent of the dwellings were occupied by tenants and Fort Rouge had the lowest rate of occupancy in Metropolitan Winnipeg. The residential nature of this area was attested to by the fact that fifty-eight percent of the land was classified as residential with thirty percent undeveloped or vacant land and only fourteen percent used for parks, schools, community clubs and cemeteries.[5] As might be expected in a neighborhood with a large elderly population, Fort Rouge contains many senior citizens' or nursing homes as well as a variety of apartment dwellings for single and family occupancy.

This conglomerate of statistical data tends to produce a rather static description of the community. One might well conclude that the average resident is a little old lady secluded in a rented flat who manages to exist on a small pension supplemented by a part-time job and whose only recreation is visiting with her friends in the nursing home next door. This would be an extremely

narrow representation since Fort Rouge is a characteristically
diverse neighborhood composed of various ethnic groups, students,
professionals, businessmen and laborers as well as little old ladies.
Not only are the residents from diverse backgrounds, but almost
every aspect of the community is equally varied. The difference
in life styles between the wealthy, high-rise apartment dwellers
and the recent immigrants often occupying substandard housing is
reflected in the variety of schools, stores and community associa-
tions throughout the neighborhood.

<div align="center">Social Disorganization Indicators</div>

Social disorganization was defined by the Social Service
Audit in terms of seven major indicators: vital statistics, infectious
diseases, alcoholism, welfare statistics, school dropouts, crime
statistics and mental illness.[6] Table 1 provides the corresponding
statistical data for Fort Rouge related to each of the indicators.
These various indicators were grouped to form an index of social
disorganization and a scale was developed to rate the Audit areas
in terms of this index as "much above average," "above average,"
"average," "below average" and "much below average."

The individual rate of cases on public welfare as well as
the rates for alcoholism, juvenile delinquency and mental illness in
Fort Rouge were all above the Metro Winnipeg average and the area

was subsequently rated by the Social Service Audit as having an "above average" index of social disorganization. A similar scale was developed for the input of health and social services and Fort Rouge rated only an "average" input of services from the following five service areas: group services, family services, income maintenance services, individual services and institutional services.

Within Fort Rouge, the highest percentage of service input was in the area of income maintenance, including financial assistance and other public welfare services. Institutional services were next in order with the emphasis upon health and rehabilitation programs as well as nursing homes. Group or recreational services had a rather low input in the community and most of the available services were provided by outside agencies such as the YMCA.

The diversity of needs and problems suggested by the Social Service Audit data indicated that the service input was not entirely adequate. While many agencies have and continue to serve Fort Rouge residents, very few were actually located within the neighborhood. The Centre planners had a good understanding of the problems referred to in this section and felt that a community resource centre could successfully meet a variety of needs as well as facilitate an integrated approach to the delivery of agency services. They felt moreover that this could be best achieved through the cooperative

efforts of several participating agencies located in a neighborhood facility.

Fort Rouge Resource Centre

This section of the thesis will deal primarily with the planning and implementation of the Fort Rouge Resource Centre as a necessary part of the overall organizational analysis. Most of the data related to the planning developments has been summarized elsewhere (Vincent 1970); however, additional information will be drawn from the transcribed minutes of the discussion group meetings which began in September 1969. Documentation concerning the first year of operations at the Resource Centre is similarly available in the form of minutes as well as several progress and evaluative reports.

Review of Planning

Although formal discussions concerning the feasibility of establishing a community resource centre did not begin until September 1969, various professionals involved through their agency affiliations in Fort Rouge had been considering ways to decentralize services to the neighborhood level since 1968. During this time, a local area council composed of professionals and interested community residents examined a paper entitled "Fort Rouge at the Crossroads" prepared by a staff member of the Community Welfare

Planning Council (Vincent 1968). This paper brought together much of the data on community characteristics and social disorganization which appeared in two interim reports of the Social Service Audit. For the first time, the agency staff were presented with a rather comprehensive statistical description of Fort Rouge.

Senior staff from the Community Ecumenical Ministry, the Children's Aid Society of Winnipeg and the South Office of the Department of Health and Social Development subsequently met with staff members from the Community Welfare Planning Council to discuss their respective roles in the Fort Rouge community. Both the Children's Aid Society and the Department of Health and Social Development were anxious to establish field offices in the neighborhood, and the Community Ecumenical Ministry, with its own community location, had offered its facilities since the agency also felt that it was important to have services become more accessible to the residents. The Community Ecumenical Ministry was already providing a community information service operated by volunteers from a house at 511 Stradbrook Avenue and had indicated that community development staff were needed to identify local problems and work in cooperation with resident groups. At this initial meeting, it was decided to invite a number of other agencies to a second meeting in order to discuss the possibility of using the Community Ecumenical Ministry's facility to house staff from several agencies.

During subsequent meetings, all the participants agreed
upon the need to develop a new model for the delivery of services
which would incorporate the following features: prevention, pro-
tection, rehabilitation and the involvement of citizens in the pro-
vision of appropriate services.[7] This model would also have to
integrate services in such a way as to make them more responsive
to the needs of the community. In developing this model, the plan-
ning group had been influenced by the Social Service Audit. A
principle recommendation appearing in the Report of the Social
Service Audit (1968:53) was that health and social service centres
be established throughout Metropolitan Winnipeg. While the Audit
health and social service centre model and the Fort Rouge Re-
source Centre model shared many common features, there was a
major difference too. The Audit had proposed that the Department
of Health and Social Development administer the program;[8] in the
Fort Rouge model, several agencies would cooperatively manage
the program. The planning and discussion group clearly indicated
that legal or administrative authority would not be transferred from
the participating agencies to the host agency, the Community Ecu-
menical Ministry, or any other agency. The group was equally
concerned that neighborhood residents be involved in the planning
and evaluation of services. These two points will receive further
discussion in the next section of this thesis.

By April 1970, the planning and discussion group had pre-
pared a preliminary model which was sent to the administrations
of the four participating agencies. A meeting was called early
in June to clarify the plans and request formal endorsement from
the agencies so that implementation could begin in September.
The Community Ecumenical Ministry had agreed to act as the host
agency, responsible for the collection of rent, building renovations
and other housekeeping tasks, as well as providing two full-time
staff members and a group of volunteers from their Community
Information Centre to serve as receptionists. The Children's Aid
Society decided to allocate one staff member to serve agency cli-
entele in Fort Rouge, and the Department of Health and Social
Development was asked to place a field unit of four staff members
and provide funds for a community development worker for the
Centre. The planning group had also requested that the Department
provide research staff to assess the Centre's development, and the
Community Welfare Planning Council had agreed to assist with this
research.

After the other agencies had officially responded, the De-
partment of Health and Social Development agreed to assign a field
unit to the Centre, but was not able to provide funds for a com-
munity development worker or assume any responsibility for the re-
search component. Apparently there had been some disagreement

among senior staff within the Department as to the advisability of
becoming involved in this project, but since the plans were so far
along, the decision to assign staff was made.

From July to September 1970, the participating agencies
worked out the details regarding allocation of space and staff at
the Centre. During this time, the Recreation Department of the
City of Winnipeg was asked to place their Fort Rouge area co-
ordinator at the Centre and Neighborhood Service Centres, a com-
munity development agency, was asked to provide staff for the
Centre since funds had not been available from the Department of
Health and Social Development. Both organizations accepted the
requests and suitable arrangements were made. When the Centre
opened in September, the agencies occupied almost all the space
in the building except for the third floor which a young couple had
rented.

Review of Operations

The planning and discussion group had proposed an organi-
zational structure for the Fort Rouge Resource Centre project as
shown in Figure 2 (Vincent 1970). In this structural model, the
Advisory Committee was composed of representatives from the
participating agency administrations to carry out the following
functions:

FIGURE 2

PROPOSED STRUCTURE FOR FORT ROUGE AREA PROJECT

ADVISORY COMMITTEE (MANAGEMENT LEVEL)

FRONT LINE   FORT ROUGE   (FLEXIBLE AND
COMMITTEE ─────────   AREA COUNCIL   UNSTRUCTURED)
(Professional   (Professionals
Staff at Centre)   and Community
                          Residents)

                          CITIZEN AND
                          CLIENT GROUPS
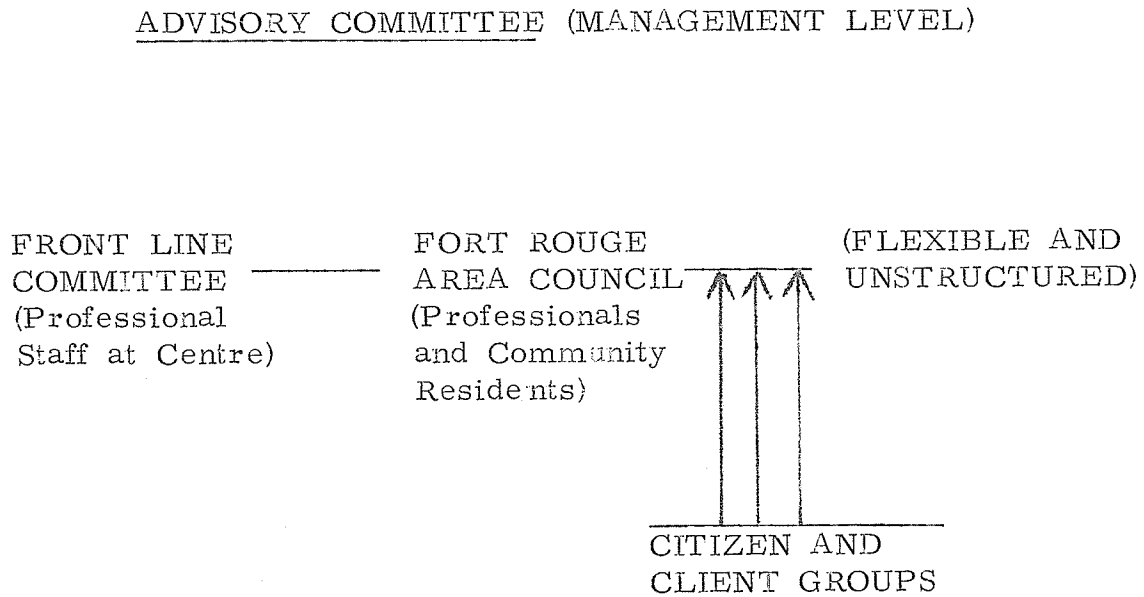
(i)   To clarify common goals re: agencies.

(ii)   To clarify priority goals re: agencies.

(iii)   To clarify goals of the project.

(iv)   To communicate the input from each agency in terms of funding, service, etc.

(v)   To develop guidelines for evaluation and research design.

(vi)   To communicate the above to supervisor and worker in the project office.

(vii)   To communicate the above to the home agency.

When the Centre opened, the Advisory Committee met regularly to discuss various housekeeping matters such as renovation of the building, caretaking responsibilities and the installation of phone service. Since the agency representatives themselves were not located at the Centre, these details had to be considered at the meetings. It was not for two or three months that the Advisory Committee began to study agency and Centre goals.

The Front Line Committee included all professional staff from the participating agencies and was given the following responsibilities:

(i)   Caseload coordination and treatment coordination.

(ii)   Expectation that workers should get to know the local community and resources therein.

(iii)   An evaluation and research function-collection of data.

(iv)   Feedback to the community of the reasons for policy decisions; feedback to other workers of information received from community re: programs, attitudes, etc.

The agency staff assigned to the Centre were not familiar with either the planning discussions or the planning model itself. The Front Line Committee was not able to meet regularly when the Centre opened because most of the staff were extremely busy with agency programs, and as a result, had not understood what was expected of them in terms of the Centre model. As the project objectives began to filter down from the Advisory Committee, the staff expressed considerable dismay at the prospect of carrying any extra responsibilities besides those imposed by their respective agencies. The Front Line Committee became defunct after six months and the staff began participating on the Advisory Committee.

The Fort Rouge Area Council was never successfully developed. This was to have been the continuation of the once active South Area Council composed of professionals and community residents; however, the long delay between the initial plans for a Centre in 1969 and the implementation of the Centre a year later seemed to have discouraged many individuals who had been involved. Support for a renewed Council was not forthcoming.

Citizens' and/or clients' groups did not actively participate in the Centre project during the first year of operations. Agency staff felt that the clients continued to relate to the individual agencies serving them and were not interested in the Centre itself.

The planning and discussion group had hoped that these clients would play an important role in the planning and evaluation of services; however, this appeared to have been an unrealistic goal since the clients expressed no desire to become involved with these matters and the agencies made no real efforts to invite client participation in the project.

Agency and staff concerns

During the first six months of operation at the Centre, the Advisory Committee's main concern was with the rapidly increasing caseload in the Department of Health and Social Development.[9] The four professional staff working in Health and Social Development were under tremendous pressure as were the volunteers trying to manage the large volume of phone calls. The Committee attempted to have the Department reduce the geographical area presently being served and thus transfer some of the clientele to other regional units, but this was not possible since the Department claimed that all their regional staff were burdened with this same problem. As a result, members of the field unit were not able to visit their own clients regularly, let alone work in the community or with staff from the other participating agencies. This situation did not significantly improve throughout the rest of the year.

The staff from the other agencies, Children's Aid Society,

Community Ecumenical Ministry, Neighborhood Service Centres, and City Recreation Department were all similarly involved in their own particular projects or programs and no attempt was made to coordinate inter-agency staff efforts. The morale at the Centre appeared to be low as a result of the confusion regarding the Centre's purposes and objectives as well as the vague role assigned to the Advisory Committee as a coordinating structure.

Data collection

The planning model had stressed the need to collect data which would illustrate the quantity and nature of client problems encountered by the inter-agency staff as well as the services provided.[10] The Community Welfare Planning Council produced a data form which was to be used by all staff to record their cases. Since the staff had to also keep agency records, they were not enthusiastic about completing more forms. Furthermore it was not possible to design a form which would satisfy all agency requirements. These records were kept for approximately six months and then discarded. Members of the Advisory Committee felt that there was little use in keeping them since the inter-agency staff were not working as a team, and since the same data could be obtained from individual agency records.

The staff had also been asked to log their activities on a

daily time sheet. This was done for a period of six weeks, but the results were difficult to assess since the staff had not managed to fill out their time sheets on a regular basis. The Advisory Committee had arranged for corresponding agency staff at other locations to use these time sheets also, and the comparison of results indicated that there were no major differences between the two groups with regard to their mode of operation.

Evaluation

At the end of six months, the Advisory Committee requested one of the original members of the planning and discussion group to prepare an interim evaluation report. This report suggested that none of the proposed Centre objectives had been satisfactorily attained and attributed this to the many service problems encountered by individual agencies. As for the Advisory Committee's role, the writer concluded that (Vincent 1971a:4):

> The shared management function (once again) appears unrealistic to give focus, direction and leadership to this project. It was realistic from the point of view of the participating agencies and the extent to which they were prepared to share their resources. The Advisory Committee manages what is in its power to manage: the crucial areas of agency performance and involvement of the community in plausible decision-making roles do not seem to fall within this purview. (Emphasis mine).

A month later, the Advisory Committee prepared its own progress report (April 1971) to cover the initial six months of

Centre operations. In this report, the members agreed that the objectives of the Centre were too vaguely defined to constitute a baseline for measuring development. While the tone of the report was more encouraging than the interim evaluation mentioned above, it was clear that during the first six months, many internal problems had hampered the Centre's growth. The goals were restated in terms of issues facing the Centre.

During the second six-month period, some members of the Advisory Committee felt that it was urgent to establish a community Board of Directors to govern the affairs of the Centre. This topic was discussed at several meetings and the members finally agreed that such a board should be established on an interim basis until a coalition of community groups could be brought together to elect a permanent board. This interim body was formed in the Spring of 1971 and a number of meetings were held to discuss its relationship to the Centre. It soon became quite clear that this group had no authority over the individual agencies, and thus was in the same position as the Advisory Committee. The members decided to disband after several meetings and the board was never subsequently reinstated.

Over the summer months in 1971, the agency representatives and inter-agency staff spent considerable time reassessing the Centre's operation. A report prepared by David Vincent for

the Institute of Urban Studies dealing in part with the impact of the Fort Rouge Resource Centre was released in July. Since Mr. Vincent had been instrumental in developing the plans for the Centre, his final comments are noteworthy (1971b:67):

> The Centre seems to give the impression of having much greater potential to offer the community than it actually has: it is the contention of this analysis that under the present conditions the focus of the Resource Centre will be towards the agencies rather than towards the community. This is clear from an analysis of management and service functions.

The situation had not changed during the second six months. In September 1971, a year after the Centre opened, the Advisory Committee came to the conclusion that it was unrealistic to expect citizen participation in the planning and evaluation of services or to encourage coordinated, inter-agency staff efforts. The Centre had been the creation of the participating agencies, and it operated basically to facilitate their individual needs. While the Advisory Committee could attempt to influence specific agencies, it had no authority to intervene in agency programs and thus no means of co-ordinating shared resources. The Centre was able to respond to community needs only insofar as those needs came within the terms of reference of the agencies' programs.

NOTES

1. The Community Ecumenical Ministry was an exception since this agency had developed the Community Information Centre which had been operating from 511 Stradbrook Avenue and was to become the Fort Rouge Resource Centre.

2. The Social Service Audit was a study of the health and social service system in Metropolitan Winnipeg completed in 1969. For the purpose of the study, the former city of Winnipeg was divided into twenty Audit areas and the fifteen municipalities each represented a separate Audit area.

3. Unless otherwise noted, the statistical data used to describe the demographic characteristics and social disorganization indicators has been obtained from the Social Service Audit Interim Reports on Community Characteristics and Social Disorganization published in September 1968.

4. Office of the Assessment Commissioner, Metropolitan Corporation of Greater Winnipeg, 1969 Population for Metro Area Municipalities by Polling Divisions, December 1969. Polling divisions 22, 23 and 5 are similar to the boundaries of Fort Rouge.

5. Statistics Canada (Dominion Bureau of Statistics) data for 1969.

6. Similar indicators have been used in other studies of social disorganization to describe the social malaise of neighborhoods and cities. See Cappon 1970.

7. Taken from the minutes of a planning and discussion group meeting held on October 8, 1969.

8. This recommendation was particularly controversial since it suggested to many private agencies that the provincial government would take over their programs and services. The members of the planning and discussion group seemed to have strong feelings regarding this point.

9. This was due primarily to the introduction of new social

assistance programs plus the re-zoning of certain sections of Fort Rouge for low-income housing increased the number of Health and Social Development clientele.

10. While the members of the planning and discussion group had access to the demographic and social disorganization data related to Fort Rouge, this material was not used directly in developing programs for the Resource Centre. The planning was focused on obtaining services from those agencies which were already providing assistance to local residents from other locations in Winnipeg.

CHAPTER III

ANALYSIS

This section of the thesis will deal with the relationship

structures among the four organizational components, e.g. the ad-

ministration, the staff, the clientele and the community. These

are to be analyzed in terms of their characteristic aspects, both

ideal and actual,[1] as well as their overall relationship to the

management and operation of the individual participating agencies

and the Fort Rouge Resource Centre. The components have been

defined in such a way as to differentiate their respective organiza-

tional domains within a given relationship structure:

(i) Administration: The administrative component would in-
clude those personnel with responsibility for policy and
program planning as well as the ongoing administration or
management of the concrete structural unit. Within each
participating agency, administration is the responsibility
of the executive officers (or senior civil servants) in colla-
boration with a Board of Directors (or government com-
mittees). The administration of the Fort Rouge Resource
Centre is carried out by the Advisory Committee composed
of representatives from the participating agencies.

(ii) Staff: The staff members are employed by their re-
spective agencies, and utilize the Centre's physical re-
sources to carry out agency policies and provide services

within the administrative limits established by each
agency. The staff are expected to maintain their pri-
mary relationship to their respective agencies as well
as relate to the Centre's Advisory Committee.

(iii) Clientele: The clientele represents the users of agencies'
services. Each of the participating agencies served a
particular clientele within the Fort Rouge community.
Both the Children's Aid Society of Winnipeg and the De-
partment of Health and Social Development are respon-
sible under provincial legislation to provide services to
individuals meeting certain eligibility requirements, or
in situations where intervention is legally proscribed.

(iv) Community: The community would include users and
potential users of agency services (clientele) as well as
all other residents within Fort Rouge. The community
may or may not actively participate in the planning and
evaluation of agency services; however, the agencies are
ultimately responsible to the community for the services
which they provide.

These four organizational components were combined into

seven relationship structures as follows:

(i) Administration-Administration

(ii) Staff-Staff

(iii) Administration-Staff

(iv) Administration-Clientele

(v) Staff-Clientele

(vi) Administration-Community

(vii) Staff-Community

In examining these relationships, each pair has been ana-

lyzed in terms of the analytic aspects (substantive definition, goal

orientation and stratification) within both the individual agency

structure and the inter-agency Centre structure to determine how these aspects are characterized in each of the structural settings. While it would be possible to generate three additional relationship structures, i.e. clientele-clientele, community-community and clientele-community, these have not been included as they have no direct bearing on the main subject of this thesis.

Administration-Administration Relationships

The relationship between individual participating agencies and the inter-agency Resource Centre involves a number of sub-relationship structures of which the administration-administration relationship is perhaps the most important in that it sets a pattern for all the others. The Centre had been developed with the understanding that there would be cooperation among public and private agencies in the delivery of social services and the sharing of agency resources. The Advisory Committee was identified as the administrative vehicle responsible for coordinating and managing the resources of the various participating agencies. The authority to carry out these tasks was bestowed upon the Advisory Committee by the agencies themselves. Thus the Advisory Committee represented the administrative component of the Centre and was responsible to the corresponding administrative components lodged in each of the participating agencies.

The membership of the Advisory Committee was initially

composed solely of agency representatives[2] who acted as liaisons between the Centre and their respective agencies. The distribution of agency representatives was as shown in Table 2. With the exception of the Executive Director of the Community Ecumenical Ministry, none of these representatives were actually located at the Centre. They were, however, responsible for their agency staff at the Centre which involved supervision and interpretation of agency policies and program development.

Throughout the year, the Advisory Committee met at least once a month to deal with those administrative issues that required the consent of all participating agencies. During these meetings the focus was usually upon specific agency concerns, and it soon became clear that there were certain problem areas which the Advisory Committee was not altogether capable of managing. Because each agency maintained an autonomous status within the Centre, the only decisions that could be enforced or implemented were those in which a total consensus among the agencies had been obtained. These decisions were almost always limited to relatively minor housekeeping adjustments. Members were aware of this situation and talked at length about problems which could not be resolved within the Advisory Committee. In examining the analytic aspects of these relationships within the

TABLE 2

MEMBERS OF THE ADVISORY COMMITTEE

	AGENCY	REPRESENTATIVE[a]
(i)	Health and Social Development	Regional Director
(ii)	Neighborhood Service Centres	Board Member
(iii)	Community Ecumenical Ministry	Executive Director
(iv)	Children's Aid Society	Adm. Supervisor
(v)	Recreation Department	Program Director
(vi)	Community Information Centre	Volunteer Coordinator
(vii)	Community Welfare Planning Council	Research Associate (Chairman)

[a] Often the assigned representatives sent substitutes from their agencies in their place.

agency and inter-agency context, such problems have been viewed as the results of conflicting relationship patterns.

Substantive Definition

The Advisory Committee evolved from the planning and discussion group which had formulated the Centre concept. When the Centre was officially established in September 1971, the Advisory Committee included most of the personnel who had been involved in planning the Centre.[3] These individuals had been working very closely with each other during the planning stages, but when the Centre was implemented, this close inter-action diminished considerably. The scheduled meetings of the Advisory Committee were the only occasions when the agency representatives came together as a group.

Although the Committee had been charged with the responsibility for coordinating the shared resources of the agencies, the means to achieve such coordination were never clearly defined during the planning stages or after the Centre was formally established. The only activity which the agency representatives were obligated to carry out as a group was attending Committee meetings at which time agency and inter-agency concerns were raised. There was, however, no set of activities linking one agency representative to another in pursuit of the goals of the Resource Centre as outlined in the planning model.

Within the agency context, these same individuals were responsible to their respective administrations since none of them were in a position to unilaterally determine policy or program development. Their roles within the agencies were defined in terms of the assignments and activities which they carried out in collaboration with other agency personnel.

While the administrative relationships within both the agency and inter-agency settings are ideally functionally specific, the activities involving members of the Advisory Committee have never been clearly defined or delimited, even though the members share responsibility for managing the Centre resources. In the individual agencies, those activities related to administration are clearly defined to include all aspects of agency operations, but with the Advisory Committee, since final authority rests with each participating agency, the activities themselves have been confined to facilitating agency operations at the Centre. As a result, the substantive definition aspect of Advisory Committee relationships is actually functionally diffuse in that the activities relate to the functioning of the individual agencies rather than the Centre as a separate organizational structure. In the absence of any defined activities related to the Centre, the members of the Advisory Committee have substituted those activities which concern the participating agencies as separate

units.

Goal Orientation

The planners of the Fort Rouge Resource Centre

had shown some understanding of the types of problems which

might result from an organizational structure based on the

concept of shared management (Vincent 1970:9):

> It no doubt appears from what has been described...as the
> goals of the Resource Centre and the resources at its com-
> mand that certain tensions and strains in the operation of
> the Centre are inevitable. The participating agencies are
> also aware that the area of overall authority or mandate
> is essential to the efficient operation of the Centre. Yet
> within the organizational structure of the Centre no agency
> has an exclusive mandate for decision-making and effecting
> policies. However, with this awareness on the part of the
> agencies of shared management is also a commitment to
> the goal of marshalling resources for the benefit of clients
> and that commitment must be shared by the agency that
> enters into (the project) and by the individual who is assigned
> to carry it out.

These organizational strains or tensions accumulated in

the Advisory Committee where agency representatives were faced

with the problem of administering both the separate agency pro-

grams and the inter-agency Centre program. During the first

year, the agencies maintained their autonomous status within the

Centre and there were no serious attempts to coordinate or inte-

grate the various agency programs at the staff or Advisory Com-

mittee level. An interesting example of the way in which prob-

lems developed concerns Neighborhood Service Centres' role at

the Centre. The planning group had been very anxious to obtain community development workers for the project since they would presumably feed back information to the staff from other participating agencies which could be used as a basis for modifying current programs or initiating new ones. The community development workers from Neighborhood Service Centres, however, did not view this type of communication as a necessary part of their responsibilities and were supported by their agency representative in this matter. After repeated discussions, two points emerged:

(i) Neighborhood Service Centres' understanding of community development was not shared by the other agencies and the differences could not be easily reconciled.

(ii) Had Neighborhood Service Centres changed their position, the other agencies were not prepared to adjust their own programs or create different ones to meet a new set of community needs.

In this situation, the members of the Advisory Committee demonstrated that the participating agencies did not in fact share common goals related to the operation of the Centre. Furthermore the programs of the individual agencies were allowed to dominate in such a way as to place the emphasis upon accommodating the agencies rather than developing the Centre. Although administrative relationships in the agency and inter-agency settings are both ideally mutually responsible, the agency representatives

are unable to maintain two sets of relationships which involve mutually conflicting, responsible orientations. Since the majority of their time is spent on agency programs, and since they are directly accountable to their respective agencies, the administrative relationships in the Advisory Committee became individualistic by default.

Stratification

The agency representatives serving as members of the Advisory Committee occupy various positions within their respective agencies. Each member could be ranked vis-a-vis another member on the basis of one or more of the following criteria: education, work experience, salary and agency position. Within the individual agencies, this type of criterion is used to differentiate personnel and determine the organization structure of the agency. The agency representatives on the Advisory Committee all perform a variety of administrative activities within their own agencies such as supervising staff, directing programs, approving financial allocations and planning agency services. These activities are assigned on the basis of an individual's position within the agency and are carried out through a set of dominant-subordinant relationships which function to facilitate the implementation of agency operations.

The stratification aspect of administrative relation-
ships in the agency setting is effectively <u>hierarchical</u> since
staff members ideally and actually occupy different positions
which determine their level of authority and responsibility in
the agency. The relationships among members of the Ad-
visory Committee, however, are ideally <u>non-hierarchical</u> in
that all the agency representatives are supposed to have equal
status with respect to Centre decision-making. In this sense,
the Advisory Committee is similar to a Board of Directors,
but with one rather critical difference; the decisions of the
Advisory Committee can only be implemented with the consent
of all the members.

While non-hierarchical relationships among members
of the Advisory Committee represent the ideal, these relation-
ships have actually become hierarchical in nature. This has
occurred for two reasons:

(i)   Those members of the Committee who themselves
      occupy important positions within their own agencies
      tend to control the proceedings, and

(ii) These same members represent large agencies and
      are able to make greater demands upon the Centre
      because their agencies' programs operate under
      government legislation and are more rigidly defined.

These covert hierarchical relationships served to further
weaken the potential for meaningful cooperation since they had

evolved from the agency settings and thus distorted the decision-making process within the Advisory Committee by creating inequalities among the agencies themselves.

Staff-Staff Relationships

The nature and development of inter-agency staff relationships had been one of the major items of discussion at the Centre during the first year. Much of the planning for the Centre project was based on the assumption that the staff members from the various participating agencies would coordinate their activities to meet those community needs which did not fit neatly into any specific agency program. All the staff were to have become familiar with the Fort Rouge community and knowledgeable about its resources. Through their combined expertise, the agencies' staff were expected to function more effectively as an integrated unit and to develop new programs in response to identified needs.

The professional staff complement[4] located at the Centre is shown in Table 3. It should be noted that the Community Information Centre has been operated by a core of twelve volunteers alternating in pairs at the Centre to provide reception and information services. Although these volunteers cannot be considered as professional staff, they provided a

TABLE 3

NUMBER AND TYPE OF AGENCY STAFF

AT THE FORT ROUGE RESOURCE CENTRE

	AGENCY	STAFF MEMBERS
(i)	Health and Social Development	4 social workers
(ii)	Neighborhood Service Centres	2 community development workers
(iii)	Community Ecumenical Ministry	1 minister
(iv)	Children's Aid Society	1 social worker
(v)	Recreation Department	1 area coordinator
	Total	9

valuable service to the other participating agencies. With
one or two exceptions, the staff personnel referred to in
Table 3 remained at the Centre throughout the year.

When the Centre opened in September 1971, the agen-
cies were allocated office space with staff from the same
agency being placed together. The Department of Health and
Social Development received two large rooms and a smaller
office for their four staff members and clerical support. The
Children's Aid Society worker and the Director of the Com-
munity Ecumenical Ministry were each given their own offices
and the rest of the staff were fitted into the remaining space.

The interaction among the staff in this setting appeared
to be informal with staff from the different agencies mixing
together during coffee breaks and lunch hours. However they
carried out their agency activities separately or as a staff
group from the same agency. Although lack of time has
hampered any sustained effort to coordinate inter-agency staff
activities, an examination of the analytic aspects of staff-staff
relationships suggests other problems which have blocked the
development of an integrated approach to the delivery of social
services.

Substantive Definition

The staff-staff relationship can be described in terms

of the work activities performed within both the agency and inter-agency or Centre setting. These activities stem from the agencies' programs and must be clearly defined to enable staff to function effectively. All the participating agencies have employed their respective staff members for the purpose of completing certain agency tasks which are usually written into the staff members' job descriptions or agreed upon at the time of employment. Since these agencies are primarily oriented toward the social services, the staff are expected to utilize one or more of the following basic social work techniques:[5] casework, group work and community development, depending upon the specific agency program which they have been assigned to. These techniques become the instruments which enable staff to provide services to agency clientele. As an example, the staff from Health and Social Development are responsible for providing income maintenance and personal care services. This involves a variety of activities such as determining eligibility and counselling which are carried out through office interviews, home visits, telephone conversations and the preparation of reports using the basic casework method.

For an agency program to function effectively, the staff

must clearly understand what is expected of them in the way of work activities. These activities must therefore be defined as precisely as possible so that an individual staff member can relate his or her own activities to those being carried out by other members within the same agency. The staff-staff relationships in the individual agency setting involve both formal and informal activities. There are certain times when staff meet as a group to discuss general agency matters as well as individual concerns, but the most important interaction usually takes place between staff working on specific cases or projects. If communication at this level is to be meaningful then the staff members involved must be able to relate to each other on the basis of shared or similar activities.

One of the objectives of the planning model was that the inter-agency staff should cooperate with each other in the delivery of agency services. The nature of this cooperation was never clearly defined, as the planning group had felt that this process would evolve as the Centre developed. The staff, however, interpreted such cooperation in terms of individual consultation and referral related to agency operations, i.e., a staff member from one of the participating agencies consults with a staff member from another on a particular case and, if necessary, refers clients to that staff member for needed

services. Some members of the Advisory Committee felt, however, that the staff should be working together more as a group to develop programs or projects which were not available through the individual agencies. The staff replied that their own agency workloads precluded their involvement in inter-agency activities. This point was accepted by the agency representatives on the Advisory Committee, but left open the question as to what priority the Centre goals had for the individual agencies in the absence of any defined activities related to cooperation among staff in the delivery of services.

The staff-staff relationship can be described as ideally functionally specific in the sense that the implementation of agency programs requires that staff activities be clearly defined. The substantive definition aspect of inter-agency staff relationships in the Centre is also ideally functionally specific in that coordination and/or cooperation in the delivery of services indicates a need for certain well defined staff activities related to inter-agency efforts. However, since such activities were never formulated, the staff-staff relationships at the Centre were actually functionally diffuse. As a result, the staff concentrated exclusively upon their own agency activities where responsibilities and tasks were clearly understood.

Goal Orientation

In both the individual agency and Centre settings, the staff-staff relationship has as its primary objective the implementation of programs and services as defined by the respective administrations. Within the agency, staff share similar concerns related to this overall objective. These concerns include working with individual clients or groups to insure that they receive needed services. The staff members assigned to each of the participating agencies are responsible to one another for providing services in the best possible manner. If one staff member was to shirk his or her responsibilities, this would have an immediate effect upon the clientele being served and would place an added burden on the other staff members involved in the program. This mutual concern exhibited in staff-staff relationships, however, can only occur when the members are working together toward some identified program objective(s).

The objectives of the inter-agency staff relationships were never clearly defined. In fact, most of the Centre objectives deal with processes on an abstract level without identifying any concrete goals or specifying the mutual responsibilities of the participating agencies. As an illustration, one of the guiding principles upon which the Centre was developed

had been conceptualized as follows (Vincent 1970:2): "Social

services (are) to be made available and accessible in the best

possible way to the Fort Rouge community." This was to be

achieved through cooperation between public and private agen-

cies, but this type of objective never reached down to the

level of staff-staff relationships because the details had never

been worked out.

The goal orientation aspect of staff-staff relationships

within both the agency and the Centre is ideally mutually re-

sponsible. In the individual agency context, staff-staff re-

lationships can be characterized as effectively responsible since

their objectives are clearly defined. But within the Centre set-

ting, the absence of clearly defined objectives has lead to an

essentially individualistic orientation with regard to staff-staff

relationships. Since the staff are not bound to a specific

Centre program, staff-staff relationships tend to follow agency

lines where the objectives are well understood. This orientation

is reinforced by the agencies themselves who have employed

their staff to carry out separate agency programs and naturally

expect agency goals to take priority. For the staff, strict ad-

herence to agency programs serves to reduce the strain fostered

by competing claims by eliminating one of them for all practi-

cal purposes.

Stratification

The stratification aspect of the staff-staff relationship involves the following factors as measures of relative status among agency staff: education, work experience, seniority, position and salary. Staff members from the participating agencies can be ranked on the basis of these factors which are used in determining job classification. Within the agency context, staff relate to each other in terms of their respective positions. Staff-staff relationships can then be considered predominantly hierarchical in that rank differentiation is evident and affects both the structure and content of the relationship. For example, the role of the supervisor vis-a-vis the field worker differs in terms of the authority which the supervisor has over the worker related to his or her performance of agency tasks. This hierarchical aspect of staff-staff relationships extends the lines of accountability and authority from the administrative to the staff level and facilitates the implementation of agency programs. In a large agency with various programs, this staff hierarchy is essential to insure that work activities are well regulated. Within the Department of Health and Social Development or the Children's Aid Society, staff-staff relationships build upon a hierarchy which involves varying degrees of authority at each level.

The staff-staff relationships within the Centre setting are susceptible to the same type of ranking in terms of the factors mentioned previously; however, these inter-agency staff relationships are ideally non-hierarchical in that those factors do not constitute any rank differentiation within the Centre. In this context, all staff members, even those from the same agency, are considered equal in terms of Centre operations. While the hierarchical distinctions among the inter-agency staff are evident, they do not form a basis for regulating Centre activities since they are rooted within the individual agency structures. This creates a problem in developing coordinated efforts since no staff member can legitimately supervise the activities of staff members from other agencies or hold them accountable for their performance. The staff themselves have been trained to function within a hierarchical system and therefore expect to be assigned tasks which they can carry out under direction. To avoid the ambiguities involved in working within a non-hierarchical framework, the staff remain tied to their agency structures.

Administration-Staff Relationships

The analysis of administration-staff relationships is crucial to an understanding of the operations within both the agency and inter-agency settings. Through this relationship, the

administration must translate policy and program planning to
the staff members who are responsible for providing agency
services; and the staff members themselves must feed back
information concerning the effectiveness and/or impact of
these services so that programs can be modified, if necessary,
to make them more responsive to the needs of the clientele.
For an organization to function effectively, the translation of
policies and programs into activities and objectives must be
very clearly stated so as to enable staff to proceed without
undue confusion.

Within the Centre context, the agency representatives
serving on the Advisory Committee are responsible for the
staff members from their agencies who are located at the
Centre. In other words, just as there is no autonomous Centre
administration, there is also no autonomous Centre staff, i.e.
each staff member at the Centre is linked to a parent partici-
pating agency. Under these circumstances, the administration-
staff relationships have largely remained within the agency con-
text. In examining the analytic aspects of this relationship,
certain areas of conflict are revealed which have frustrated at-
tempts to develop a Centre-oriented, administration-staff re-
lationship.

Substantive Definition

At the interface of this relationship within the agency
context, there are certain defined activities which involve staff
and administration. In the area of program development, the
administration is responsible for allocating staff and other
agency resources to carry out program services. When the
Resource Centre opened, the agency administrations deployed
staff from other locations to the Centre. Having established a
particular program, the administration then becomes responsible
for monitoring staff performance, which involves meeting with
staff members on a regular basis to determine how the pro-
gram is operating. Another related aspect of the administration-
staff relationship concerns activities related to personnel
practices. In this area, the administration is responsible for
determining salary scales and vacation benefits as well as deal-
ing with staff grievances. Administration-staff relationships in
both these areas should be clearly defined in terms of the
activities involved; otherwise, there is a danger that either staff
or administration may arbitrarily assume responsibility for
certain activities which conflict with others.

At the Centre, the Advisory Committee as the admini-
stration has the responsibility of directing staff activities; how-
ever, this was accomplished on the basis of agency affiliations,

i.e. the agency representatives were individually responsible for their own agencies' staff. While these agency representatives were not located at the Centre, they kept in contact with their staff by means of telephone, meetings at the agency or Centre location, and other types of communication. There was virtually no contact between agency representatives and staff members from different agencies.

In both the Centre and agency settings, these relationships should ideally be functionally specific in that the respective goals of the agency and the Centre necessitate carefully worked out relationships between staff and administration. Although relationships were effectively functionally specific in the agency context, they were actually functionally diffuse within the Centre. The difference has to do with the role of the administration vis-a-vis the staff in the agency as contrasted with the Centre. While the agency representatives related to their agencies' staff on the basis of defined activities leading to the attainment of shared program objectives, the Advisory Committee as a whole was not responsible for administering programs which were separate from those provided by the participating agencies. The lack of any defined activities between staff and Advisory Committee at the Centre made it that much more difficult to develop a separate program or to

coordinate the delivery of agency services.

Goal Orientation

In the agency context, both the administration and the staff share a set of common concerns and interact regularly to achieve certain objectives. While each has different responsibilities, their respective activities are sanctioned and coordinated through agency policies. The relationship is necessary in that agency programs could not be implemented without the cooperation of the administration and the staff.

In the Centre setting, each agency administers its own program with no direction from the Advisory Committee. The agency representative serving on the Advisory Committee is responsible to his agency for the particular agency program at the Centre, and the staff member is responsible through the representative for his or her performance in carrying out the program. Although one of the major goals of the Centre was to achieve cooperation among the participating agencies in the delivery of services, such cooperation has not included any changes in the nature of agency services or the means by which these services are delivered. At various times, members of the Advisory Committee have talked with staff about the possibility of initiating cooperative agency ventures, but inevitably

the staff, with support from their agency representatives, have

claimed that this proposal was unrealistic in terms of the

amount of time available. The implication is that Centre goals,

which were never operationally defined, are clearly of little or

no importance to staff or administration in contrast to in-

dividual agency goals.

In both sets of relationships, a mutually responsible

orientation could be viewed as mandatory since the objectives

of the administration-staff relationship must coincide and be

directed toward the goals of the agency or Centre. For the

Centre to develop its own program, the relationships between

the inter-agency staff and the Advisory Committee would have

to be mutually responsible; however, the Advisory Committee

as an administrative structure is not independent of the partici-

pating agencies, each of which has its own particular program

with staff and administrative components. As a result this

type of orientation can never properly develop and the relation-

ships become individualistic in that the mutually responsible

administration-staff relationships in the agency context effectively

eliminate the development of similar relationships for the Centre.

Stratification

Within the participating agencies, there is a very clear

distinction between administration and staff based upon their respective levels of authority and responsibility regarding the implementation of agency programs as well as other aspects of agency management. Within specific relationships, the roles may not be as clearly defined; however, the staff must remain accountable to the administration or agency programs would soon become highly fragmented and confused.

The Advisory Committee inter-agency staff relationship did not follow the same pattern. The agency representatives on the Advisory Committee took individual responsibility for their agency programs and staff performance in carrying out those programs, but had no authority to deal with programs other than those provided by their own agency. Similarly, the staff were not obligated to follow the direction of the Advisory Committee unless specific proposals had the agreement of the particular agency representative in charge of their program.

In both agency and Centre operations, the administration-staff relationships should ideally be hierarchical to allow for a separation of decision-making responsibilities regarding the implementation of programs. Administration-staff relationships in the Centre context might have become hierarchical if the mutual trust and sharing of resources among participating agencies had occurred as proposed by the planning and discussion

group. However, because the agencies have remained autono-
mous and held control over all policy and program decisions,
these relationships have been hierarchical only from the agen-
cy perspective and non-hierarchical vis-a-vis agency represen-
tatives and staff members from different agencies. During
the second half of the year, staff were invited to attend meet-
ings of the Advisory Committee and it was interesting to note
the solidarity between representatives and staff from the same
agency whenever potentially divisive issues were raised.

Administration-Clientele Relationships

Most agency programs are developed to meet the needs
of a specifically designated population group. This group is
often referred to as the target population and is usually de-
fined in terms of geographic area and/or population in need.
Since no single agency offers a totally comprehensive service
available to all residents of Winnipeg, there are a variety of
agencies whose programs address themselves to different social
problems or different aspects of the same problem. Under
these circumstances, a single individual may receive services
from a variety of agencies during the same period of time. In
addition to serving geographic areas where services are needed,
some agencies provide their services only to those individuals

who meet certain eligibility requirements. This is particularly true of public welfare agencies that provide funds or social allowances directly to the clients.

The agencies within the Fort Rouge Resource Centre all serve specific clientele population and also share some of each other's clientele. Table 4 illustrates the relationship between the participating agencies and the clientele served. While these agencies may appear to provide wide-ranging services, it is important to remember that these services apply to the total agency and not just the field office at the Centre. The point is that most of the agencies within the Centre are represented by only one staff member so that the impact of these services through the Centre itself is very limited.

While the agency staff interact with clientele on a regular basis, the administration is responsible for planning and developing the services which the agency provides and therefore the relationship between administration and clientele brings into focus the planners and the consumers of service. In many cases, the staff act as intermediaries in this relationship, but there are also important situations which involve direct interaction between administrators and clientele.

Substantive Definition

While the frequency of direct interaction between

TABLE 4

TYPES OF CLIENTELE

SERVED BY THE PARTICIPATING AGENCIES

	AGENCY	CLIENTELE
i)	Health and Social Development	Individuals and/or families within the Fort Rouge area of Winnipeg who are eligible for social allowances.
ii)	Children's Aid Society	All individuals and/or families within Fort Rouge needing child welfare services.
iii)	Community Ecumenical Ministry	All individuals and/or groups within Fort Rouge requesting counselling or community services.
iv)	Neighborhood Service Centres	Local groups requesting assistance in organizing and pressing for needed community changes.
v)	City Department of Recreation	Local groups needing assistance in developing recreation programs.
vi)	Community Information Centre	All residents of Fort Rouge requesting information on community resources.

administrators and clients is quite low, there are some areas of mutual concern involving both administration and clientele in joint activities. During the past few years, clients have taken the initiative in demanding that agency programs conform more closely to the real needs of people. Client groups have developed to pressure agency administrators and to function as advocates for other clients who have not received satisfactory services. These types of action have forced administrators responsible for agency programming to deal directly with the clients using the programs. This has occurred primarily through two channels. The first is with regard to grievances and appeals. Dissatisfied clients have submitted their grievances to agency administrators who then review the clients' cases and meet with them to reach a decision. The second channel of direct communication concerns program planning. Administrators have recently come to the conclusion that if programs are to be designed for the benefit of a particular group of people, it is important to find out from these people what kind of programs they feel would best meet their needs. Most often such discussions take place after a program has been implemented, but in some agencies there has been collaborative planning.

One of the major objectives of the Fort Rouge Resource

Centre was to involve neighborhood people in the planning and evaluation of services. While neighborhood people are not necessarily restricted to the agencies' clienteles, it was assumed that the latter would play an active role in developing the Centre. Since this did not occur during the first year of Centre operations, it is important to view the differences between administration-clientele relationships with respect to the substantive definition aspect in the Centre and agency settings.

Since both the Advisory Committee and the agency administrations seek some form of direct contact with clients, the substantive definition aspect of this relationship is ideally functionally specific in that this contact is related exclusively to activities directed toward the improvement of services, including the resolution of grievances. The clientele are able to relate to the agencies since they are involved as users of agency services, and the agency administrators are in a position to respond to their requests or demands. The situation vis-a-vis the Advisory Committee and the agencies' clientele, however, is not the same. Since there are no autonomous Centre programs, the Centre's clientele is composed of the total clientele of the participating agencies. And since the agencies control their own programs, clients relate solely to the agencies that serve them. As a result, the Advisory

Committee-agency clientele relationship is actually <u>functionally</u> <u>diffuse</u> as there are no clearly defined or delimited activities which involve both sets of members.

In trying to prepare a progress report for the Centre, some members of the Advisory Committee felt it was important to elicit the viewpoint of people who had used the Centre. After some discussion, the members came to the conclusion that this was inappropriate since clients did not relate to the Centre as a whole, but rather to the individual agencies.

Goal Orientation

In the agency setting, the administration-clientele relationship is focused upon the program and service components as these are areas of mutual concern. The rationale for providing certain types of services is based on the assumption that they are or will be needed in the community. An agency with no clientele could hardly continue to operate, and an agency whose services were totally ineffective would be subject to considerable client outrage. The focal point of the administration-clientele relationship is thus those programs and services which the agency makes available. The administration's role in this relationship is to insure that services are delivered in the best possible manner so that the clientele will benefit.

The Advisory Committee, however, is in a different position vis-a-vis the agencies' clientele. The Centre does not have its own program and has been unable to develop one so that the clientele served through the Centre facilities remain agency clientele and do not share any mutual concerns with the Advisory Committee as the Centre's administrative structure. The clients relate to individual agency representatives on the Committee responsible for the provision of services, but are not involved with the Committee as far as the planning and evaluation of the Centre is concerned.

Within both the agency and Centre settings, this relationship would ideally be characterized as responsible from the administration's perspective and relatively individualistic from the clients' point of view in that the administration's concern is for the clientele while the clients are usually primarily concerned about themselves. This mutually responsible/individualistic orientation related to the administration and clientele respectively can only be maintained in the agency context because the Centre cannot achieve its responsible objectives vis-a-vis the agencies' clientele. As a result, it is impossible to refer to a separate Centre clientele in that every client is linked to one or more of the participating agencies. Under these circumstances, the clientele has no role to play

in the planning and evaluation of services for the Centre except
as these relate to a specific agency.

Stratification

The stratification aspect of this relationship structure
involves qualitative rather than quantitative differences. The
agency administrator's position is clearly dominant in matters
regarding the nature or provision of agency services. While
the clientele may try to influence the agency, final decision-
making powers rest with the administration. Administration
and clientele cannot be ranked along a continuum, for in this
relationship, the two do not occupy the same occupational
space.

In the relationship between the Advisory Committee and
the agencies' clientele, there is no dominant side since the
Advisory Committee itself is not in a position to deal with
client concerns. The individual agency representatives are in
an authoritative position regarding their own agency's clientele,
but their authority is not extended over the clientele from other
participating agencies. Whereas the agency administration-
agency clientele relationship can be viewed, both ideally and
actually, as hierarchical, the Advisory Committee-clientele
relationship is non-hierarchical. This has served to reinforce
the impotency of the Advisory Committee as an administrative

structure.

Staff-Clientele Relationships

While the administration-staff relationship was focused upon the planning and development of services, the staff-clientele relationship is concerned with the actual provision of services. The frequency of interaction in this relationship is very high since staff and clients are in regular contact with each other. As the majority of clients do not interact with the administration, the staff often come to represent the agency from the clients' perspective.

Within the Fort Rouge Resource Centre, individual staff members from the participating agencies each have their own caseloads, i.e. clientele for whom they are responsible, just as they would if they were working from a regular agency office. When an individual enters the Centre, the following procedure takes place:

(i)   The volunteer receptionist asks the person if he or she has an appointment with a staff member.

(ii)   If not, the receptionist inquires about the person's need or problem and then calls a staff member from the appropriate agency.

(iii)   The staff member interviews the persons and either opens a case or refers the person to another agency, either within the Centre or elsewhere.

(iv)   If the person is accepted as a client, his or her case becomes the responsibility of the staff member

assigned from the appropriate agency.

When a client is accepted for services, although the case is assigned to a single staff member within the agency, other staff members share the responsibility of handling the case in situations where the assigned worker is not available. For instance, if a client comes in or calls with an emergency situation and his or her particular worker is not available, another staff member from the same agency can provide the necessary assistance. Staff from one of the other participating agencies may be concerned, but have no authority to deal with the case.[6]

An analysis of the analytic aspects of this relationship within the Centre and agency settings points out some of the difficulties involved in the development of an integrated approach to client needs.

Substantive Definition

In providing agency services to clientele, staff members are involved in a variety of situations. Most client contact requires direct interaction either in person or on the telephone. Staff members will sometimes visit the client or client's family in his or her home, but more often interviews take place at the agency itself. The frequency of contact is usually higher

when the client has a specific type of problem and counselling services are required. While some agency staff work exclusively with individuals or families others may work with groups in order to resolve common problems. In dealing with a client or group of clients, staff activities are directed toward assisting the individuals by making agency resources available to them.

The situation within the Centre follows the above pattern with individual staff members from the participating agencies working with clients and providing those services which the agency makes available. When the Centre was being planned however, the idea was that staff resources and expertise would be shared to provide all the clientele with better service. As an example, if the staff member from the Children's Aid Society found that a sizeable number of his clients were having difficulty because there were no day care facilities in the community, he or she might collaborate with the community development worker from Neighborhood Service Centres to try to organize a group of mothers who all shared this concern and were interested in setting up a day care program. This might involve staff from other agencies as well. This type of cooperative effort has not, in fact, occurred at the Centre because the staff find that they do not have suf-

ficient time, in terms of agency-oriented priorities, to become involved in other projects.

The only operation which might be considered a true Centre service is the Community Information Centre program which is staffed by a group of volunteers from the surrounding neighborhood. While the planning and discussion group had envisioned a flexible volunteer program, the agencies needed a receptionist service. As a result, this group of volunteers was set up to facilitate the agencies themselves and provided only limited direct service to the community.

The Centre had been established partly because individual agencies were not able to provide comprehensive services to their clientele. While the staff-clientele relationship within the agency context is functionally specific, this relationship in the Centre setting should have become relatively more functionally diffuse in that the staff would not be dealing with clients entirely from an agency framework, although the interaction would still involve specific and clearly defined activities related to the delivery of services. Since Centre staff and Centre clientele never existed as such, the relationship between staff and clientele is effectively restricted to the agency context. The only means of providing clients with services which do not exist within a particular agency is to refer

them to another agency. This referral procedure normally occurs whether agencies are located miles apart or within the same building.

Goal Orientation

Staff and clientele relate to each other in terms of a set of objectives which can ideally be achieved through the relationship. For the staff, the primary objective is to assist the client(s) so that eventually agency services will no longer be required or will subside to a minimal level. The client, on the other hand, seeks to utilize the agencies' services provided by the staff to alleviate or eliminate a particular problem which has required this special assistance. In providing services to the client, the staff need the client's cooperation which will usually be forthcoming if the staff gain the clients' trust. A parallel situation exists in the doctor-patient relationship. The doctor who prescribes a certain type of medication or treatment therapy expects the patient to follow the instructions. If the patient has confidence in the doctor, he or she will most probably follow the treatment plan. The effectiveness of social service programs depends to a large extent upon the degree to which staff and clientele share similar objectives and have confidence in each other.

Within the Centre setting, the agencies' clientele main-
tain relatively close relationships with the agency staff assigned
to their cases, but have limited contact with staff from other
agencies located at the Centre. Therefore the only effective
relationships in which a sharing of objectives exists is between
agency staff and corresponding agency clientele. Throughout the
year, there had been some pressure from staff and members
of the Advisory Committee to develop a more integrated ap-
proach to clientele. Some felt that it should be possible for
any staff member to work with any client and, when necessary,
refer him or her to another staff member for needed services.
This team concept was never applied since many individuals
felt that all staff would have to become totally familiar with
the procedures of every agency, and that this was an unreal-
istic expectation given the amount of time that would have to
be spent in training. The staff-clientele relationship can then
be described ideally as mutually responsible from the staff
viewpoint and relatively individualistic from the client view-
point since staff members' concerns are for the clientele, and
not for themselves, whereas the situation is just the reverse
from the client's point of view.

Stratification

As was the case in the administration-clientele re-
lationship, the staff-clientele relationship cannot be analyzed
in quantitative terms with regard to the stratification aspect.
In providing services, the staff control both the frequency of
interaction as well as the means by which the services are
delivered. This is not to say that the clients are totally at
the mercy of the staff members assigned to their cases since
there are provisions for making appeals or expressing griev-
ances. However, in the normal course of events, the staff make
decisions which importantly affect their clients, whereas the
reverse is rarely the case. If a staff member from the
Children's Aid Society apprehends a client's child or a Health
and Social Development worker legitimately reduces a client's
financial allowance, the impact in both instances would be
considerable.

Since the staff at the Centre deal only with their own
agency clientele, this dominant-subordinant aspect of the re-
lationship is confined to the agency context. If a client has
been referred from one agency to another, the new staff-
client relationships takes precedent over the former. Certainly
in any attempt to coordinate staff resources, all staff involved
with a client or clients would have to have similar control or

the relationship would quickly dissolve.

While the staff-clientele relationship is <u>hierarchical</u> within the agency setting, it is <u>non-hierarchical</u> within the Centre setting due to the fact that only agency staff are allowed to make decisions concerning their respective clientele. This is an untenable situation since the same individuals are involved in both cases; it is impossible to have a relationship that is hierarchical and non-hierarchical simultaneously. This again points out the fact that, in practical terms, there are no Centre or inter-agency staff; i.e., all staff members located at the Centre are agency staff. Furthermore there can be no other staff-clientele relationships aside from those which exist within the agency context.

<u>Administration-Community Relationships</u>

The basis for administration-community relationships involves accountability. Since social service agencies are non-profit organizations, they rely upon the community's willingness to support their programs and services. The private or voluntary agencies receive most of their funds from the United Way of Greater Winnipeg which holds an annual campaign to fund fifty-two major agencies. The public or government agencies, on the other hand, are funded by the taxpayers, and

these funds are allocated by elected government officials.
There are also many agencies who receive funds from both
the United Way and other private fund-raising organizations
as well as from the government. Whenever funds are granted,
the agencies receiving them must publicly document the source
of funds (input) and the expenditure of funds (output).

There are also two secondary issues regarding the
administration-community relationship. The first deals with
community relations and/or education. Agencies consider that
support for their programs will increase if these programs are
"visible" and people in the community are generally aware of
the purposes of the programs as well as the problems which
they seek to reduce or eliminate. Most agencies therefore
spend a considerable amount of time attempting to educate the
public as to the value of their services. The second point re-
lates to the participation of community residents on the Boards
of Directors of private agencies. Traditionally these boards
have been composed of the elite members of the community re-
presenting business, labour, the professions and the well-to-do.
These individuals were sought because of their generosity, de-
dication and influence as a means of lending further credibility
to the agency. In recent years, however, board membership
has shifted slightly to include users of service or clientele who

are directly affected by agency programs and thus able to

evaluate and assist in the development of services from an

important perspective.

The agencies represented at the Fort Rouge Resource

Centre include both public and private organizations as des-

cribed in Table 5. While each of these agencies have some

type of formally established relationship to the larger Winnipeg

community, the Advisory Committee as the Centre's admini-

strative component has no such bonds; or, more accurately,

the bonds have been fragmented among the participating agen-

cies. In analyzing this relationship within the Centre setting,

it is important to keep in mind the following statement from

the planning model (Vincent 1970:5):

> The Resource Centre, though having set up the Centre under
> professional auspices, will attempt to be guided by the ex-
> pressed wishes of the community in the various stages of
> its development. The Resource Centre is working towards
> broadening the basis of its decision-making, and does not
> see its 'call to involvement' as simply another devise as
> Roland Warren points out to get people 'to jump through
> the proper hoops'. The extent to which the Centre achieves
> either of these two results will be a real measure of its
> success or failure.

Substantive Definition

The relationship between administration and community

within the agency context can be described in terms of the

activities which are carried out through the relationship. The

TABLE 5

PARTICIPATING AGENCIES

BY SOURCE OF ACCOUNTABILITY

AGENCY	ACCOUNTABLE TO
i) Health and Social Development	A provincial government department under the direction of the Minister of Health and Social Development.
ii) Community Ecumenical Ministry	A private organization funded primarily by three churches in the Fort Rouge area of Winnipeg with a Board of Directors.
iii) Children's Aid Society	A private organization funded by the United Way and the provincial government with a Board of Directors.
iv) Neighborhood Service Centres	A private organization funded primarily by the United Way with a Board of Directors.
v) City Department of Recreation	A municipal department under the direction of a committee of elected councillors.

private agencies have formalized this relationship through the
establishment of Boards of Directors composed of community
residents.   A Board's main responsibility is to set agency
policy in cooperation with the agency administration.   To ac-
complish this task, members of the Board must be kept in-
formed of all agency activities and meet regularly to discuss
problems or proposals brought forward by the administration.
An example of this process relates to the implementation of
the Centre itself.   The agency representatives who were in-
volved in the planning of the Centre submitted recommendations
to their respective Boards requesting approval for agency
participation in the Centre project.   Once this approval was
obtained, the agency was committed to deploying staff and re-
sources to the Centre.   If any major problems in connection
with an agency's participation arise, these would have to be
reported to the Board of Directors.   Since the two government
agencies, Health and Social Development and the City Depart-
ment of Recreation do not have Boards of Directors, similar
transaction occur between the administration and the elected
government officials or civil servants responsible for depart-
ment operations.

Agency administrations also carry out other types of
activities in relationship to the community.   They must provide

the public with a detailed financial statement indicating the
amount of revenue and expenditures. This is usually dis-
closed at the agency's Annual Meeting and included within
the Annual Report. In addition, most agency administrators
spend a portion of their time speaking to interested community
groups about agency programs. During the United Way
campaign, administrators are called upon to assist in educat-
ing the public about the services which the United Way funds.

The goals of the Fort Rouge Resource Centre would
seem to necessitate a well-developed community orientation.
Neighborhood people were to have participated in the planning
and evaluation of services, and the Centre was to have been
capable of responding to community needs. The Advisory Com-
mittee, however, was never able to develop a viable relation-
ship to the Fort Rouge community and community input by way
of the participating agencies was too removed from the local
community to be considered an effective basis for this type
of relationship.

Ideally both the individual agencies and the Centre seek
administration-community relationships which are functionally
specific in that this type of relationship tends to foster com-
munity confidence in the organizations and assists the admini-
strations in evaluating the impact of their programs. To this

end, agency administrators will often include community re-

sidents on program planning committees and in other activities

related to agency operations. The Advisory Committee of

the Centre, however, has not been able to develop this type

of relationship because there are no specific programs over

which the Committee has any authority. The substantive de-

finition aspect of the Advisory Committee-community relation-

ship is therefore at best functionally diffuse, and virtually

non-existant in fact, since there can be no defined activities

involved in this relationship.

Goal Orientation

Agency services and programs receive both direct

and indirect community sanction in the form of financial sup-

port and participation in policy and program development by

community representatives. The administration-community re-

lationships play a substantial role in assuring the community

that efforts are being made to ameliorate the effects of chronic

social problems and in providing the administration with a

formal mandate to proceed with agency programs. This is

not to say that there is always agreement between the agency

administration and the general public as to the nature of prob-

lems encountered or the best means of approaching them. In

many cases, agencies are publicly attacked for failing to provide

adequate services, but such responses at least initiate or continue an important dialogue between agency and community. The result might be a change in agency programs or a better understanding within the community of agency functions. Both the agency administration and the community have somewhat the same concerns regarding social problems and the more communication that can be generated around such problems, the closer everyone comes to deciding upon acceptable objectives.

Within the Fort Rouge community, there has been little response to the Resource Centre from residents-at-large. Two researchers who completed a study of social planning interventions in the area found that very few neighborhood people knew anything about the Centre (Vincent 1971b).[7] As the Centre had been designed specifically for the residents of Fort Rouge, this is not a particularly encouraging sign. During the first year of operations, a Board of Directors composed of community residents was established on an interim basis but dissolved itself after several meetings because the members felt that they would not be able to play a significant role in the development of the Centre as the participating agencies were autonomous, self-governing units.

Both the Advisory Committee and the individual agency administrations have felt that close relationships with the

community were important to develop. In the agency context,

the administration-community relationship is ideally <u>mutually</u>

<u>responsible</u> in that both should share similar objectives re-

garding those problems which the agency seeks to combat.

The Advisory Committee, however, has not been able to

develop any functioning relationship with the community. Thus

the ideally mutually responsible orientation does not, in fact,

exist because the objectives of the Centre cannot be implemented

apart from the programs of the participating agencies.

Stratification

The stratification aspect of the administration-com-

munity relationship within the agency context can be analyzed by

focusing upon the relationship between agency administrators

and members of the agencies' Board of Directors (in the case

of government agencies, a parallel situation exists civil ser-

vants and elected government officials). While the administra-

tion and the Board work together to develop policies and pro-

grams, the Board is ultimately responsible for making final

decisions concerning all aspects of agency operations and

these decisions are binding upon the administration. Since the

administration and staff represent the professional component

within the organization, their recommendations will usually

gain approval; however, the shift in board membership from
community elites to users of service has created some prob-
lems for many administrators accustomed to having their
proposals automatically approved. Agency programs are now
being seriously examined at the Board level and consequently
the Board's authority in agency matters is being used more force-
fully. Community residents not serving on such Boards are
also challenging agency administrators and becoming involved
in the planning of agency programs.

     All the agencies participating in the Centre project
have experienced such challenges. The Department of Health
and Social Development, in particular, has received close
scrutiny from various groups of mothers in social allowance
programs who have confronted the administration and demanded
changes in the delivery of services. While not all of their
proposals have been implemented, the administration has been
forced to re-examine department operations.

     Although the relationship between the Advisory Com-
mittee and the Fort Rouge community should ideally be
hierarchical in that the Centre had been set up to respond to
the community, it is actually non-hierarchical because the com-
munity, through its non-involvement, has failed to exercise any
authority. While there has been no effective vehicle developed

through which the community could assume direct control of
the Centre, it must be realized that such control is theoreti-
cally always within the community's reach.

Staff-Community Relationships

Among the participating agencies, the Community Ecu-
menical Ministry, the City Department of Recreation and
Neighborhood Service Centres all employed staff predominantly
for the purpose of assisting community residents to develop
programs or projects in such areas as senior citizen's housing,
recreation and day care. The staff from these agencies tended
to spend more of their time organizing community efforts than
did staff members from the Children's Aid Society or the De-
partment of Health and Social Development who worked with fixed
clienteles.

Ideally the Centre was to have coordinated individual
agency staff efforts and thus develop an overall program with
the flexibility necessary to respond directly to expressed com-
munity needs. For this to have occurred, it was felt that the
inter-agency staff would have to work as a team on various
projects as well as becoming more knowledgeable about com-
munity needs and resources. While the Centre planners had
spent considerable time examining the statistical data, especi-
ally the social disorganization indicators, related to Fort Rouge,

this data was never used as a means of defining potential prob-
lem areas. As has been noted in previous sections of this
thesis, the agency staff and members of the Advisory Committee
were not able to commit themselves to any projects which lay
beyond the scope of existing agency programs so that the
identification of community needs which were not covered through
the various agency programs was considered by some to be a
futile exercise.

Staff-community relationships in the agency context
developed through the work of individual staff members in con-
tact with community residents who either needed assistance or
were able to assist the staff in carrying out their tasks. Since
the community represents a population of potential users of
service, it will be important to differentiate between those
staff-community relationships where the staff is actively en-
gaged in providing services to the community and those where
the community can be viewed as a supportive resource.

Substantive Definition

There are a number of activities which agency staff
normally carry out which involve the community-at-large. In
working with clients or community groups, staff utilize a
variety of non-agency resources which bring them into contact

with members of the community. The most common activity
is the referral procedure whereby a staff member refers a
specific client to another agency, organization or individual
who might be of assistance. For instance, a Health and Social
Development worker may have a client who is seeking employ-
ment. The worker in this case might locate a prospective
employer or refer the client to an employment agency.
Similarly a community development worker involved with a hous-
ing issue might call upon local politicians for assistance. Such
initiatives bring staff and community together around specific
problem areas where the activities are clearly defined.

In a more general sense, the interaction between staff
and community is often based upon an informational or educa-
tional service. Staff members can be asked to speak to interested
community groups about their agencies' programs or provide in-
formation to individuals concerning such programs. The
activities involved in the relationship will depend upon the
nature of the contact; however, they are defined in terms of
the staff member's role within a particular agency.

One of the expectations of the Centre was that the
inter-agency staff would become actively engaged with the re-
sidents of Fort Rouge. This would have involved spending a
portion of their time talking with residents and attempting to

identify some of the more critical neighborhood problems.

Such information could then have been used as a basis for

developing new services or programs. As part of this pro-

cess, the residents would learn about the resources avail-

able at the Centre. Another channel for inter-agency staff-

community relationships was to have been through the Com-

munity Information Centre program. In providing informa-

tion to local residents, the volunteers would be collecting

data which identified certain recurrent problems. The staff

and/or volunteers would then use such data to support the

need for special programs. Neither of these activities were

adequately developed because the staff were fragmented

among the participating agencies and thus never able to ef-

fectively cooperate as a group.

In both the Centre and agency settings, there should

ideally be functionally specific relationships between staff and

community where activities relating to areas of mutual con-

cern are clearly defined and delimited. This type of relation-

ship would support interest in programs as well as enable

the staff to provide services more effectively and reach a

larger percentage of the community needing assistance. Al-

though the agency staff have succeeded in developing some such

relationships, the individual staff members are identified with

their respective agencies and not with the Centre. This leads to functionally non-existant staff-community relationships in the Centre setting and further reinforces the point that Centre staff, as such, do not in fact exist.

Goal Orientation

The goal orientation aspect of the staff-community relationship takes into consideration the degree to which both staff and community share a set of common concerns which they seek to have resolved. In the ideal relationship, the staff and the community would agree upon the means and objectives of the particular program or project which had been developed. The actual level of mutual concern between agency staff and members of the community can only approach this ideal. While the relationship is closer among staff and community residents working together on the same issues, their interests do not always coincide. During the first year, one of the staff from Neighborhood Service Centres worked with a group of local teenagers who had established a drop-in centre in the base-ment of a nearby church. Many of the residents in the area where the drop-in centre was located were totally opposed to its continuation. In this situation, the staff member was placed in a rather awkward position. While some attempts

were made to reconcile the conflict between the young people and the neighborhood residents, this never really succeeded.

The major problem for most staff is that there are too many problem areas and not everyone in the community is in agreement concerning those which should receive priority attention. Compromises are however reached and the staff attempt to provide as much service as possible. The disappointing aspect of this situation is that much more could be achieved if all the staff at the Centre were able to join forces and approach problem areas cooperatively.

In terms of the Centre, the inter-agency staff have no shared relationship with the community. Each of the staff members from the participating agencies has a different set of goals and objectives which the community relates to in terms of the particular agency services provided. Under these circumstances, the staff can only relate to a specific sector of the community, usually composed of agency clientele, and the community has little means of relating to the Centre as a single entity. In this agency context, the staff-community relationship approaches a mutually responsible orientation, but is still relatively individualistic from the community's perspective since concerns are localized in terms of specific issues expressed by small numbers of community residents.

Stratification

While agency staff activities are directed by the ad-
ministration, the overall policies are set by a Board of
Directors or government officials representing community
interests. From this perspective, the staff relationship to
the community can be characterized as dominant-subordinant.
Within the agency program, the staff are given leeway to
respond to community concerns other than those specified
in the form of policy directives. This is not to suggest that
the staff are free to disregard agency policy, but that within
the policy framework there is usually sufficient flexibility to
allow staff to provide a variety of services within the total
agency program.

Since the Fort Rouge Resource Centre does not have
its own Board of Directors, there is no guiding policy aside
from the policies of the individual agencies which the staff
are bound to. Although the objectives of the planning model
do express the principles under which the Centre was to have
operated, the participating agencies have the authority to
interpret or modify these objectives as they see fit. Under
these circumstances, the community has had no role in direct-
ing the affairs of the Centre, though the plans had called for
active community involvement in the decision-making process.

The staff-community relationship within the agency context is effectively <u>hierarchical</u> in that the members of the Boards of Directors dictate agency policy. This relationship should ideally be hierarchical within the Centre framework, but as there is no similar Board of Directors to which <u>all</u> staff are responsible, the relationship is actually <u>non-hier-archical</u>. Consequently the staff have no concrete indication as to what the Centre means in terms of the Fort Rouge community or what the community feels the staff should really be doing.

NOTES

1. For the purposes of this analysis, "ideal" refers to "most productive" in terms of the functioning of a particular relationship within a given organizational setting. "Actual" refers to the observed functioning of a particular relationship within a given organizational setting.

2. During the Spring of 1971, the staff from the participating agencies were invited to join the Advisory Committee; however, their status as voting members was not clarified for another six months.

3. Two notable exceptions were the Chairman of this group who left the Community Welfare Planning Council and was replaced by me as Chairman of the Advisory Committee and the Executive Director of the host agency, Community Ecumenical Ministry, who was "on leave" for the first three months. These two individuals had been primarily responsible for formulating the planning model.

4. Clerical staff have not been included in this analysis.

5. This categorization of social work techniques is very general; however, it encompasses a variety of specific interventions.

6. There are naturally exceptions in this situation; however, the point is that a staff member from another agency cannot make decisions which would conflict with the policies of the agency serving the client.

7. This part of the research was not entirely covered in the report, but has been obtained through personal communications with Mr. Vincent.

CHAPTER IV

CONCLUSIONS

In this section of the thesis, the organizational strains encountered by the inter-agency staff and members of the Advisory Committee will be examined further to determine their impact upon the goals and objectives of the Resource Centre. From the perspective of an individual staff member and an agency representative, a recapitulation of the relationship analyses will serve to focus upon the problems involved in maintaining an integrated set of functionally specific, responsible, and hierarchical relationships coterminously within the Centre and agency setting. An analysis of the dynamics in each relationship, including the role conflicts, will demonstrate the effects of fragmented inter-agency relationships upon the staff and members of the Advisory Committee.

By isolating a single staff member and an agency representative, it is possible to explore the matrix of relationships shared by all the other individuals related to the Centre.

In this way, the organizational conflicts as well as the means

of resolving them can be studied more closely. The clientele

and community components must be regarded as of secondary

importance since the aim here is to examine the internal

organizational functioning of the Centre. These two com-

ponents will however be considered in terms of their relation-

ship to the staff and members of the Advisory Committee.
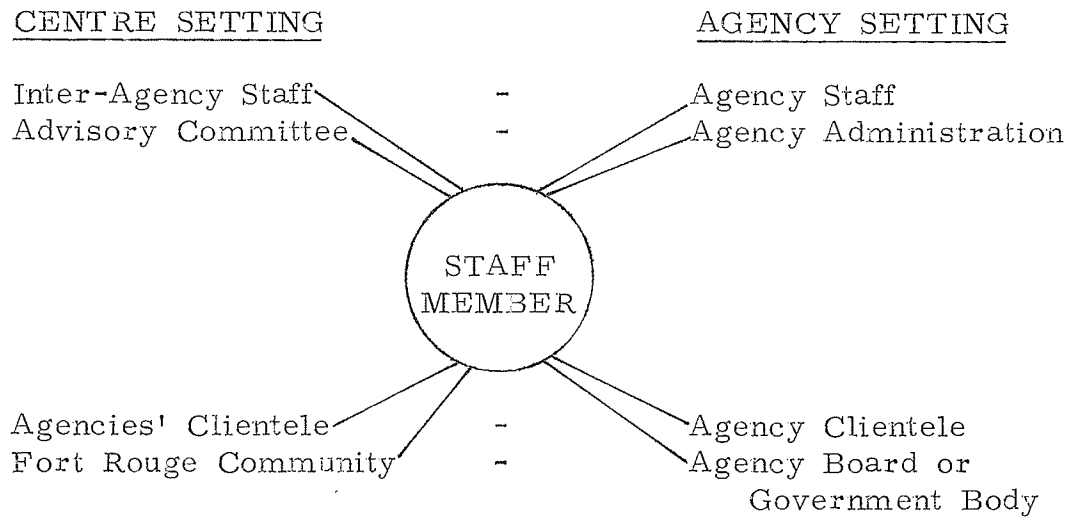
Staff Relationships

In describing the four major relationship structures

with which a single staff member is involved, it is important

to differentiate whether that staff member is acting within the

agency or the Centre context. Figure 3 illustrates the nature

of these relationships. In this diagram, the staff member

actually relates to eight different organizational components

since the relationships within the agency context are not the

same as those within the Centre.

Inter-Agency vs. Agency Staff Relationships

The relationships among staff from the same agency

have been described as functionally specific, mutually respon-

sible and hierarchical. While those among staff members from

different agencies should ideally have followed this same pat-

tern, they have instead been functionally diffuse, individualistic

FIGURE 3

DIAGRAM OF ALL THE ORGANIZATIONAL

RELATIONSHIPS WITH WHICH A SINGLE

STAFF MEMBER IS INVOLVED[a]

CENTRE SETTING   AGENCY SETTING

Inter-Agency Staff   -   Agency Staff
Advisory Committee -   Agency Administration

STAFF MEMBER

Agencies' Clientele   -   Agency Clientele
Fort Rouge Community - Agency Board or
             Government Body

[a] While this diagram is centred around a single staff member, an agency representative can be substituted to indicate the same relationship patterns which are discussed further on in this chapter.

and non-hierarchical. In reaching this conclusion, I argued that inter-agency staff members did not share similar activities or program objectives, and were not accountable to one another for the delivery of services. Although some of the staff members were motivated to develop an integrated staff approach, this was never realized during the first year of Centre operations.

The individual staff member was under considerable pressure throughout the year. Agency programs are necessarily demanding in that services must be provided to everyone who is eligible or has a legitimate need. Within a large agency, caseloads can be shared more easily among the staff, but within the Centre, most agencies were represented by a single worker. Under these circumstances, the prospects for initiating cooperative efforts outside the scope of current agency programs would have to be considered very dim. A staff member may be interested to work on a new project, but if he barely has time to keep up with his agency workload, there is little opportunity to become engaged in extra-agency concerns.

Let us assume, however, that enough time is available and that the staff member wishes to pursue a particular project. The first problem is to involve other staff

members from the various participating agencies. If they are either overworked or show no interest in the project, nothing more can be done. Assuming that other staff are interested, the next issue to arise concerns staff organization. Who will be responsible for coordinating staff efforts and insuring that the project is successfully implemented? There is no inter-agency staff coordinator and none of the staff members is in a position to take on such a responsibility since this would conflict with agency staff supervision. Even if all these obstacles could be overcome, the commitment would have to be maintained over a period of time and it is extremely doubtful whether such voluntary cooperation could last. Either the staff member would fall behind with his agency responsibilities, or the agency would find other tasks for him to do, or a combination of both would most likely occur.

In reality, no inter-agency staff effort advanced much beyond the discussion stage for the problems mentioned above were all quite predictable. Rather than become embroiled in a losing cause, each staff member remained within the confines of his or her individual agency program.

Advisory Committee vs. Agency Administration Relationships

The relationship between the agency staff member and the individual representing the agency administration on the Advisory Committee was defined as functionally specific, mutually responsible and hierarchical; however, these characteristics have not carried over to the relationship between inter-agency staff and the total Advisory Committee. As a result, the staff-administration relationship has functioned effectively only within the agency context. Since the purpose of the Advisory Committee was to manage the shared resources of the participating agencies, the fragmentation of administrative responsibilities among the individual agencies can be considered destructive from an organizational perspective. Situations such as the following indicate the problems which staff had to cope with under these conditions.

On several occasions members of the Advisory Committee discussed the possibility of initiating programs which they felt were needed in the community. The first concern was always the availability of staff. Since the staff member requires some form of administrative approval to move into a new area of service, a decision has to be made by his agency representative on the Advisory Committee. If involvement in an outside program is likely to detract from agency work,

which it undoubtably would, the representative cannot approve regardless of the individual staff members interest or the interests of other members of the Advisory Committee. In such cases, the staff member has no recourse to the Advisory Committee as a body since the only member of the Committee who can legitimately rule on the issue is his agency's representative. It is important to remember here that agency tasks and responsibilities are clearly defined and that agency staff are deployed on the basis of need for agency services. If staff were to become involved in outside programs, the resulting gap in agency services would not be automatically filled.

The staff member's responsibility to the agency through his agency's representative could not be effectively challenged by either the staff member, other staff at Centre, or the Advisory Committee. In this situation, the staff member soon realizes that his relationship to the Advisory Committee is virtually meaningless, and that decisions affecting his role at the Centre are to be made exclusively by his own agency. The result was that the Advisory Committee could not achieve a mutually responsible orientation in its relationship to inter-agency staff, and the functionally diffuse, non-hierarchical aspects of the relationship negated such a development.

Centre Clientele vs. Agency Clientele

The relationship between agency staff and correspond-
ing agency clientele was functionally specific, responsible
from the staff perspective and relatively individualistic from
the client's view, and hierarchical. The idea behind the
Centre was that clients would benefit from the range of ser-
vices available at the Centre through the participating agen-
cies. This was reinforced by the planning and discussion
group who emphasized the need for shared management and
cooperation in the delivery of services. These concepts,
however, were never translated into action at the staff level,
and consequently, the only meaningful staff-clientele relation-
ships existed within the individual agency context. In this
instance, relationships between the inter-agency staff and the
total Centre clientele were functionally non-existant since
neither existed as a separate entity.

The agency staff member has no difficulty so long as
he works exclusively with his own clientele. But, if the staff
member becomes involved with another agency's client or
works with a client that should theoretically belong to another
agency, the question of jurisdiction is inevitably raised. This
is a problem which social service agencies have been battling
over for a long time. It arises most frequently when staff

members from different agencies become involved with the
same client. Within the Centre setting, staff had been led
to believe that there would be a coordinated approach; some
staff took this to mean that such coordination would extend
to the delivery of all agency services. Other staff members
felt that their responsibilities could not be relinquished to
someone from a different agency. These two points of view
were resolved by default in favor of the agency position. In
order to avoid complications, the staff restricted their
activities to agency programs having concluded that coopera-
tive efforts could not be realized.

Local Community vs. Agency Board Relationships

The Centre's relationship to the surrounding Fort
Rouge community was to have been an important factor in the
type of programs to be developed through the Centre. The
planning model had called for neighborhood residents to
participate in the planning and evaluation of services so that
the Centre would respond to the needs of the community. This
did not occur. In its absence staff members were particularly
concerned as to how community needs were to be defined.
This was not a problem for the individual agencies since their
policies and programs were determined by Boards of Directors

or government bodies whose relationship to staff is functionally specific, mutually responsible and hierarchical. In this agency context, the staff member is assured that his work has received some type of formal community sanction.

Whenever discussions concerning community needs arose, one of the first questions to be asked by a staff member at the Centre was how such needs were going to be identified and ranked in order of importance. Assuming that staff are free to engage in community efforts, there is still the problem of finding out what the community wants in terms of service. When a short-lived community board was established, the staff were then faced with another major problem, i.e. what relationship would they have to this board in view of their accountability to the individual agencies. These problems were never satisfactorily resolved. The staff members from the participating agencies continued to express their frustration because they felt some obligation to the local community, but the community had not declared itself and had played no part in the development of the Resource Centre.

Summary of Staff Relationships

The major distinction between staff relationships within the agency context and those within the Centre context have

been reviewed in terms of their analytic aspects. The general conclusion has been that while all staff relationships should follow the functionally specific, responsible and hierarchical pattern, this has occurred, in fact, only within agency-based relationships. The organizational strains which have paralyzed the Centre's development towards cooperation among agencies' staff and the coordination of agencies' resources can be partially attributed to the conflicting demands of the Centre and the individual agency operations which have frustrated inter-agency staff relationships. The expectations of the participating agencies were clearly not compatible with those of the Centre in terms of the utilization of staff resources. Since the Advisory Committee is a fragmented body with no autonomous authority, staff continue to function under agency direction. In this situation, there were few opportunities for the staff to engage in cooperative activities and thus agency resources could not be coordinated to any significant extent. While there was some initial disappointment with this sytem, the staff soon realized that their jobs had not changed as a result of moving to the Centre and settled more comfortably into the agency routine.

Administration Relationships

The second organizational component which needs to be examined in further detail is the administration. This category includes those individuals serving on the Advisory Committee as representatives of the participating agency administrations. They performed a dual function in that they were responsible jointly for the administration of the Centre and individually for the staff members from their respective agencies assigned to the Centre. A number of these individuals had also been involved with the planning and discussion group and were thus familiar with every aspect of the Centre's development.

Since the Advisory Committee was responsible for implementing the Centre model according to the guidelines put forward by the planning and discussion group, a close examination of the relationships involving the members should reveal how the organizational conflicts which have characterized each major relationship structure affected these agency representatives. While few of the goals and objectives of the Centre were attained during the first year, the members of the Advisory Committee dealt with many issues, and it is important to understand how problem areas at this level were resolved.

Advisory Committee vs. Agency Administrative Relationships

Relationships involving agency administrators within the agency context were described as functionally specific, mutually responsible and hierarchical. This has seemed to be the most productive pattern in terms of facilitating the decision-making process and the implementation of agency programs. The relationships within the Centre's administrative body, the Advisory Committee, should ideally have been the same, but instead these relationships were to become functionally diffuse, individualistic, and hierarchical. The contradiction between ideal and actual relationships has led to a variety of administrative problems which were never satisfactorily resolved within the Advisory Committee. While the Committee had been structured on the basis of a concept of shared management, the interests of the individual participating agencies dominated throughout the year. This situation can be illustrated with an example of the type of conflict which plagued the Committee. One of the participating agencies had an especially active program which was demanding upon its own staff and over-loading the volunteers who answered the phones and received clients at the Centre. The problem was that the area which the agency served had been expanded to include a larger client population. The members of the Advisory Committee were concerned with this

because the quality of service had been reduced as a result of the increase in clients, and no additional staff had been supplied. The representative of this participating agency was responsible for the administration of the program, and, while he was sympathetic to the concerns expressed by the other members of the Advisory Committee, there was nothing he could do about the problem. His own primary concern was with his agency and he could not adjust the program to suit the needs of the Centre. If he was to reduce the number of clients being served at the Centre or increase the number of staff, negative repercussions would be felt elsewhere within the agency program.[1]

Under these circumstances, the agency representative is in an extremely difficult position. If he succumbs to the pressure of the Advisory Committee, this will create problems within the agency; if he disregards the Advisory Committee's concern, then he can be accused of not cooperating with the other participating agencies. While this is a rather clear-cut example, there were many, more complicated instances in which the agency representatives were faced with similar predicaments. Some compromises were possible; however, in the end the members' responsibilities to their agencies had to come first since they were agency employees.

This fact often had to be grudgingly accepted in the face of unresolvable dilemmas.

Inter-Agency Staff - Agency Staff Relationships

The analysis of staff-administration relationships in a preceding section of this thesis concluded that the only viable relationships within the Centre involving staff and administration were between agency representatives serving on the Advisory Committee and the corresponding staff members from the same agency. As a result, the interaction between the Advisory Committee and the inter-agency staff has been restricted to the agency context. This fact has definitely created problems for both staff and administration in developing a coordinated approach to the delivery of services.

While the interaction between agency staff and the Advisory Committee has not usually been focused upon Centre operations, there have been times when the Advisory Committee has allocated certain responsibilities to be carried out by the staff. Early in the first year of Centre operations, the agency representatives asked the staff to assist the volunteers by explaining to them what services the various agencies provided and what the procedure for applying for such services was. The volunteers had requested this information because they were having some difficulty referring callers to the proper

agencies within the Centre. The Advisory Committee asked
all the staff members to help prepare an information sheet
to be used by the volunteers. There were several delays,
and after two months the information still had not been pro-
vided. It was not until the individual agency representatives
made a point of insuring that their staff member provided
this material that the job was done.[2]

In other situations, the agency representatives have
had to defend staff actions which had been questioned by other
members of the Advisory Committee as well as by other staff.
In these instances, the agency representative was inclined to
side with his staff particularly since he had to rely upon them
for regular information concerning the Centre.

The relationship to staff members from other partici-
pating agencies was never clearly defined. As a result, the
agency representatives did not develop working relationships
with them. This meant that it was very difficult to initiate
coordinated staff efforts from the Advisory Committee level
because the relationships to staff followed agency lines and
thus complicated further the translation of Centre objectives
into staff activities.

Agency Clientele vs. Centre Clientele Relationships

The relationship between agency administrators and

agency clientele rarely involves direct interaction; however

it can still be categorized as functionally specific, responsible

and hierarchical in that the administrators produce the agency

programs and services which the clientele consume. The ad-

ministrator may, if necessary, make direct contact with an

agency client to deal with any aspect of the agency's operation

and vice-versa. The same situation does not hold true within

the Centre context. While the agency representative on the

Advisory Committee may communicate with a client receiving

services from his agency, the representative cannot legitimate-

ly deal with a client from one of the other participating agen-

cies. The Advisory Committee Centre clientele relationship

was thus defined as functionally non-existant since the Ad-

visory Committee did not exist as autonomous unit and the

clientele were all linked to one or more of the participating

agencies.

There are certain situations in which agency clients

may wish to appeal a refusal of service or submit a griev-

ance concerning the type of service received. Within the

agency context, such cases are reviewed by the administration.

As the Centre is committed to providing better services to

the residents of Fort Rouge, it would have been useful for

the Advisory Committee as a group to have been able to deal

with such matters; however, this was strictly an agency re-
sponsibility.   The Advisory Committee had little way of
determining what the client reaction to the Centre had been.
It is also true that the clientele did not approach the Ad-
visory Committee since their relationships were with the
specific agencies themselves.

Local Community vs. Agency Board Relationships

The agency representatives on the Advisory Committee
are all ultimately accountable to their agencies' Boards of
Directors or governmental bodies.   This is the primary com-
munity input into agency operations.   The relationship between
the agency representatives and community decision-makers in
the agency context is functionally specific, mutually responsible
and hierarchical.   The Advisory Committee, however, is not
directly accountable to the local community in that there is no
autonomous body which sets policy for the Centre.

Many members of the Advisory Committee have felt
that the Centre should be administered under the direction of
a community board.   Unfortunately when such a board was
formed, the members soon disbanded having realized that
there was very little for them to do since the participating
agencies maintained control over their individual programs.

In the absence of any local community input, the Advisory Committee has not been able to evaluate the impact of agency programs in the Fort Rouge neighborhood. This has made it difficult to plan ahead or even attempt to introduce new programs.

The programs which the agency representatives administer at the Centre do not differ substantially from similar programs offered at other agency locations. Certainly one might have expected some changes in these services as the Centre's development was to have proceeded on the basis of community requirements. However, since there was no viable relationship between the Fort Rouge community and the Advisory Committee, agency programs continued to operate in their normal manner.

Summary of Administration Relationships

As the preceding analysis suggests, the agency representatives on the Advisory Committee were in much the same position as the agency staff in terms of their relationships within the Centre and the agency settings. There could be no autonomous Centre administration under the circumstances described. The authority of the agency representatives was confined to their own agency staff and programs. Because

each agency was guided by a different set of policies, the

areas in which cooperation among agencies was possible was

severely limited. Throughout the year, the members of the

Advisory Committee discussed this problem from every angle,

and always reached the same conclusion. At the close of

the first year of Centre operations, the Advisory Committee

issued a statement to the participating agencies to the effect

that the goals and objectives of the Centre were incompatible

with its structure, and that while agency services would

continue to be provided, there would be no further attempts

to coordinate programs or involve community residents directly

in the affairs of the Centre. The dead end had finally been

reached although a perceptive observer might have predicted

this conclusion before the Centre even opened.

The experience was often frustrating and created hard-

ships for members of the Advisory Committee as well as the

staff. It seemed as if cooperative efforts were always just

within reach if only one more obstacle could be passed. New

attempts are even now being made to work out a different

approach, and these may eventually succeed given a better

understanding of past experiences, but some Committee mem-

bers have been discouraged and tend to act more cautiously.

The demonstration period will end in another year when the

future of the Fort Rouge Resource Centre will receive its final evaluation.

NOTES

1. The agency program under discussion is the provision of social allowances or financial assistance which exists in all the regional offices of the Department of Health and Social Development.

2. This was the case in only one or two of the participating agencies; however, it indicates the relative ineffectiveness of the Advisory Committee in contrast to the individual agency administrators.

LIST OF REFERENCES

Advisory Committee
     1971   Progress Report: Fort Rouge Resource Centre.
          Mimeographed.

Cappon, D.
     1970   Canadian Cities: Their Health, Malaise and Promise.
          Habitat 13:3.

Churchman, C.W.
     1968   The Systems Approach, New York: Delacorte Press.

Gordon J.B.
     1969   The Politics of Community Medicine Projects: A
          Conflict Analysis.   Medical Care 7:109.

Kahn, Alfred J.
     1966   Neighborhood Information Centres.   New York:
          Columbia School of Social Work.

     1967   Organizing Services in a Complex Urban Community.
          Toronto: Social Planning Council of Toronto.

Levy, Marion J.
     1952   The Structure of Society.   Princeton, New Jersey:
          Princeton University Press.

     1966   Modernization and the Structure of Societies (two
          volumes).   Princeton, New Jersey, Princeton University
               Press.

Marris, P. and M. Rein
     1967   Dilemmas of Social Reform.   New York: Atherton Press.

Martindale, D.
     1960   The Nature and Types of Sociological Theory. Boston:
          Houghton Mifflin Co.

Morris, Robert
    1966 Social Planning. In Henry S. Maus (ed.) Five
        Fields of Social Service: Reviews of Research.
            New York: National Association of Social
                Workers.

Parsons, Talcott
    1951 The Social System. Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press.

Perlman, R. and D. Jones
    1967 Neighborhood Service Centres. Washington, D.C.:
        U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare,
            Office of Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Develop-
                ment.

Social Service Audit Committee
    1967 Community Characteristics Study. Winnipeg: Social
        Service Audit, Inc.

    1967 Social Disorganization Study. Winnipeg: Social Ser-
        vice Audit, Inc.

    1969 Report of the Social Service Audit. Winnipeg: Social
        Service Audit, Inc.

Torrens, P.R.
    1971 Administrative Problems of Neighborhood Health
        Centres. Medical Care 9:6.

Vincent, David B.
    1968 Fort Rouge at the Crossroads. Mimeographed.

    1970 The Fort Rouge Resource Centre. Mimeographed.

    1971a An Interim Evaluation of the Fort Rouge Resource
        Centre. Mimeographed.

    1971b An Analysis of Four Social Planning Interventions
        in the Fort Rouge Area of Winnipeg. Winnipeg:
            Institute of Urban Studies.