Human Service Systems:A Simple Conceptual Model and Case
Study

by

Barrie Wayne Gibbs

A Thesis
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ABSTRACT

The study of human service organizations has received little attention in the field of organizational analysis. This paper outlines some of the management problems faced by voluntary boards in managing a professional service. It attempts to provide a conceptual model through which the operation of human services may be analyzed.

It is hoped that the study of human services will evolve with time, as solutions to the management problems are sorely required.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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Chapter I

INTRODUCTION

Human services may be differentiated from other bureau-
cracies by two fundamental characteristics:

1. The input of raw material are human beings with
    specific attributes, and their production output
    are persons that are processed or changed in a
    predetermined manner.

2. The general mandate is that of giving a 'service'
    which usually means the maintenance or improvement
    of the general well-being and functioning of peo-
    ple.

According to Hasenfeld and English (1974) human services
have three major functons at a societal level:

1. Some services assume major responsibilities in the
    socialization of members into future roles they
    may occupy(schools,social and recreational cen-
    tres,youth serving agencies).

2. Some services may serve as major social control
    agents by identifying individuals who fail to con-
    form to role prescriptions and temporarily remov-

ing them from these positions. These services thus
enable the continuous functioning of the various
social institutions without disruption(law
enforcement,hospitals,correctional and social ser-
vices).

3. Some services assume a social integration function
    by providing the means and resources for the indi-
    vidual to become integrated in the various social
    units with which he affiliates(such mechanisms as
    resocialization therapy,material assistance,and
    counselling).

At an individual level services provide critical
resources not available elsewhere. Their effectiveness in
doing so leads,according to Etzioni (1968) to a reduction of
social alienation and an improvement in social functioning.

To date,human services have had little attention paid to
them in the field of organizational analysis.They have been
classified along key dimensions and some authors have
attempted to identify key issues in their functioning and in
their survival. These authors develop two typologies:
i)domain and function and ii)relations between the organiza-
tions and their clients. The purpose of these typologies is
primarily descriptive.

1.1   TYPOLOGIES OF HUMAN SERVICES

A basic dimension is the nature of the clients served. At
one end people are perceived to be adequately functioning.
At the other the agency must ameliorate or remedy the ill or
deviant state of people perceived to be malfunctioning. A
second dimension relates to the services offered. The ser-
vices may be either people changing or people processing.
Such cross classification yields table 1

TABLE 1

Cross Classification of Function and Client Type

PREDOMINANT FUNCTION

		PROCESSING	CHANGING
t y p e o f	Normal	University office Employment office	Public school Weight Watchers
C l i e n t	Malfunctioning	Juvenile court Diagnostic clinic	Prison Hospital

When clients are normal functioning,the organization must
determine what the outcomes of it's services should
be.Clients are more likely to act as a consumer whose wishes

and desires must be taken into account by the organization. When organizations move to service clients defined as mal- funcioning,they are perceived to be less capable of defining service objectives that are appropriate for themselves. There is an increasing agreement that the desired outcomes should be the amelioration of an ill or deviant state,but,since the organization usually has limited resources,the issue of who should be served becomes critical since limited resources must be matched to appropriate degrees of malfunctioning.These organizations must also cope with the consequences of the malfunctioning of their clients(resistance to change,rejecton by other social units,isolation from society,low self image,hostility etc.).

Structurally,people processing organizations must develop effective links with external units.Patterns of service delivery are particularly influenced by the external rela- tions they develop(Hasenfeld,1972). In contrast,the effec- tiveness of people changing organizations is largely deter- mined by the treatment or change technologies they develop and operate.

1.2 PURPOSE OF THE THESIS

The thesis is intended to develop a conceptual model of human services, and to examine and explicate general pro- cesses to be found in any human service. My point of view is

that of a manager and planner interested in the design and operation of human services as systems that have equivocal goals. The ones that I am specifically interested in are smaller units that resocialize clients into the community. They are usually run by a voluntary board and receive their resources from public or private funders. They employ staff to change or improve clients in community settings as opposed to institutional ones, and fall under point three of Hasenfeld and English's (1974) typology outlined in the previous section.

The literature about human services spans many fields including social work, sociology, health, psychology, and business. It tends to concentrate on larger human services such as hospitals and correctional facilities (e.g. in comparative organizational analysis, industrial psychology etc.). Any research findings are integrated back into the paradigms or models in use in the various fields carrying out the research.

This paper adopts the view that a systems framework is the most appropriate for any analysis of human services. To understand human services, as to understand any other system, it is necessary to explore the context of the system and the major actors that affect it. To this end the paper begins with an overview of the funder, since it provides most of the resources to any of these services. The community is

reviewed next,because it is the context in which the organization's staff,clients, and facilities are integrated. Finally the role of the staff, clients, and technology are explored in an organizational context.

A simple influence diagram is provided at the end of each section to assert the relationships developed in the text and to highlight what is missing or unspecified in a convenient conceptual shorthand.

It is hoped that an examination of the above elements will provide a descriptive model that can be integrated into current systems theory. The concepts of 'systems theory' will be reviewed and their applicability to human services asserted and integrated with the ideas of the above analysis.

The structure of human services will be examined using the concepts developed by Mintzberg(1979). His model,and the descriptive one outlined above,will be used to describe what occured in one organization using the decriptive case method. This method is thought to be appropriate because of our lack of knowledge in the area.Finally,the components are brought together using the evolutionary concepts of Weick(1969).

The main focus of the paper is the development of a conceptual model in the field of human services. It should be

noted that the author spent considerable time in a computer and literature search for system models of human services. This search was not fruitful.

Chapters 1 through 7 develop a conceptual model by exploring the literature as outlined above. The synthesis of the model results in a system influence diagram as found in figure 7 of Chapter 7 and a set of propositions about human service organizations.

Chapters 9 through 12 include a case study of one agency. These chapters include a history of the development of services for the mentally retarded in the province of Manitoba and a review of the activities of one agency in the field. The following chapters analyze the case using the model and the propositions developed. The last chapter considers the implications of the model for organizing human services and attempts to identify pathologies and pitfalls.

Chapter II

BEHAVIOUR OF THE FUNDER

2.1 OVERVIEW

Many writers have tried to explain the behaviour of
government agencies and other public funders. Most of these
theorists (e.g. Downs, 1966; Hartle, 1973, 1976; Niska-
sen, 1971; Breton, 1965; and Wildavsky, 1964) have argued
that an exchange takes place. The agency or bureau offers a
promised set of activities and the expected output of these
activities for a budget. The funder on the other hand
offers to 'buy' a level of total output for a budget. The
agency is assumed to know the funders preferences from its
past behaviour but not to know its cost of production or
where the agency fits into the funder's overall goals. This
is true because the funder generally acts on behalf of
someone else (e.g. the cabinet of government); it may con-
centrate on changes in programs and budgets and not on
goals(cf. Wildavsky, 1964; Lindbolm, 1968); or it may have
its proposals processed by an official who looks after his
or her self interest first (cf. Hartle, 1973, 1976; Pres-
thus, 1964).

Most agencies are wholly dependent on one sponsor and
most sponsors are dependent on one or a limited set of agen-

cies.   This has   been   described   as a   bilateral   monopoly relationship,characterized   by   threats,   deference,bargaining,and appeals to common objectives. Indeed, Hartle(1976)   has identified several game plans that an agency may   use in this limited relationship:the political game,the bureaucratic game, the special interest group game,and the media game. The differences between these strategies are presumably related to the agencies' analysis of what is required to get funding. The pressures are either aimed at the staff of the funder or at the political coalitions that often   control them(e.g. the political party in power).

2.2   IMPLICATIONS FOR THE AGENCY

It should be noted that the funder usually has a vast array of pressures to contend with. These include its relationships with other agencies, its relationship with its own interdepartmental committees,cabinet,and its own internal relations.

The agency that requests support must thus have at least a rudimentary understanding of these pressures and some information regarding their impact upon itself. Indeed,some authors argue that the agency should not base its own planning on any funders' extended plans since they are the result of all agency requests and subject to rapid changes in political pressures. One would thus expect that funding

success would be related in part to the agency's ability to sort out this information and its ability to scan its 'funding environment'.

Recent attempts by marketing professionals have pointed out the difficulty of developing strategies that meet the requirements of the funder,the clients,and the community.(Kotler,1975;Kotler and Levy,1969; Kotler and Zaltman,1971;Wind and Spitz,1976). These authors note the inherent difficulties in resolving the differences in the sometime competing interests,and suggest that the best approach may be a marketing audit for the agency involved. It is thought that a marketing audit will force the organization to face the issues involved and come to some resolution regarding which interests to satisfy given its resource base and its dependence on various sources of funding.

Over and above the issue of securing funding,agencies must be aware of the future programming of the funder in the area of interest of the agency. This is so,because one of the fundamental aspects of planning the agency's own service system is the knowledge of what alternatives are available or that the funders or others are considering putting in place. In a way,the agency must be aware of the competition,its plans, and current services, to determine need,plan its own services,and better understand its 'environment'.

The agency's success in ongoing funding is, of course, also related to its success in meeting client needs, securing and motivating staff, and other 'core' organizing activities. A good deal of its success is, however, related to satisfying the administrative and program needs of the funder. These may be broken down into broad categories as follows:

1. Service delivery to clients that are high on the priorities established by the funder. This would usually mean a matching set of client entry criteria on behalf of the agency.

2. Program accountability. This would usually mean providing proof or assurances that the agency is doing what it said it would do. Proof may be as simple as a bed count or as complex as proving behavioural change.

3. Program quality. This would usually imply an effectiveness measure that is comparable to the one used by the funder.

4. Financial accountability. The institution of the requisite financial control and reporting procedures in the agency to account for the use of funds.

5. Administrative documentation. This would include forms that proved clients were present or forms

for handling the financial affairs of the client
if they were not able to do so themselves etc.

The above may be collapsed into the broad categories of
'service and program' measures and 'administrative and
financial'measures. These two categories may be of varying
importance at particular times to the funder and can be con-
ceptualized using a grid system which divides the importance
of each into high and low requirements as in table 2 .

TABLE 2

Importance to Funder

```
                              Service and Program
                                  Performance

                              High              Low
                        ┌─────────────┬─────────────┐
                     H  │             │             │
Administrative       i  │             │             │
                     g  │             │             │
Financial            h  │             │             │
                        ├─────────────┼─────────────┤
Performance             │             │             │
                     L  │             │             │
                     o  │             │             │
                     w  │             │             │
                        └─────────────┴─────────────┘
```

The requirements of the funder may thus be analyzed by
the strategic part of the organization using the four qua-
drants as an estimate of which aspects to emphasize in their
relationship with the funder. It is assumed that significant

failures in identifying and acting upon such information will prejudice the case of the agency when requesting funding. Two points should also be noted:

1. The strategy for funding (e.g the promised goals) need not necessarily accurately describe what will be provided(cf.Wildavsky,1964;Hartle,1976). The promised goals may,in fact,only be couched in appropriate terms acceptable to the funder but have an entirely different meaning for the agency.

2. Problems of timing activities to match funder expectations at the time of assesment may arise. This might occur,for example,if the funder's program expectations were low and its administrative expectations high,while the agency had proceeded to more advanced programming at the expense of its administrative procedures.

A simple influence diagram may be used to capture the interelationships posited in the above review as in figure 1 . An effort is made to distinguish those variables that a 'rational' board of directors would attempt to control. These are placed under a seperate heading called board managed variables. An arrow asserts the direction of influence between one variable and another.

2.3   FUNDER INFLUENCE DIAGRAM DESCRIPTION

Funder Related Variables
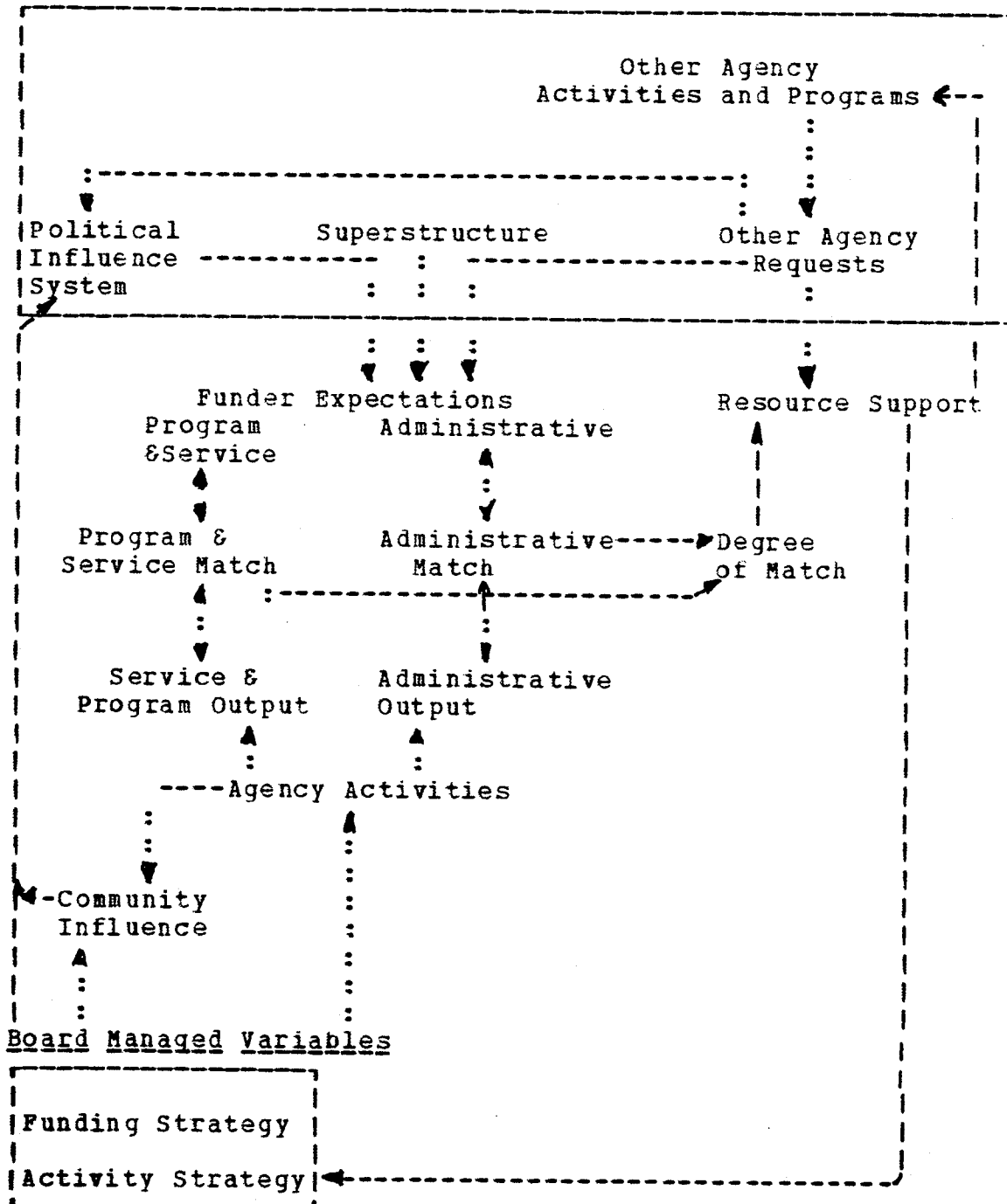
Figure 1:   Influence Diagram for the Funder

The major actors in funding provision are the funder, its superstructure, and the political influence system that affects it. The major actors in fund seeking are the agency and other agencies that request funding from the same body. It is assumed that many variables may be subsumed in simple concept variables. This is not an attempt to fully describe the intricacies of relationships within and among all of the variables but an attempt to capture the main variables as concepts. For instance, a variety of planning, presentation, and activity variables are subsumed under the concept of 'funding strategy' with no attempt to delineate them as they would exist or occur. The important aspect is the relation of the influence of the variable to the others posited.

It can be seen from the figure that the controlling influences for the funders' expectations and level of resources the funder receives for giving to agencies are a functional match of its own goals with the aims and objectives of its own superstructure (how it is organized internally) and whatever political system affects it. The funder's expectations and resources are also influenced by the requests of other agencies and the match between these and the funders' goals, since resource demand will aid the funder in its own bargaining with its superstructure (e.g. cabinet committee).

The funder is part of an overall system that includes the superstructure, other agencies,and the public at large. It is thus subject to the opinions, pressures and ideas of all these sources. These sources may act to change the funders expectations over time. However, the funder will control its own program and service expectations,its administrative expectations of the agency,and its resource giving to the extent possible.

The agency,on the other hand,will control its own fund seeking and activity strategy,and hence its own program and service goals,its own output,and its own administrative procedures. Its funding strategy may include the use of the community or other means of acheiving influence in the political system. As a first approximation,the extent to which its service and administrative outputs match those of the funder (indicated by program and service match and administrative match) will positively influence the continuance of its resource support,albeit after some lag as the influences mentioned take effect. The agency's knowledge of the plans of the funder and the plans of other agencies will positively affect success in deriving a funding strategy and a better match of service and administrative requirements between itself and its funder.

It should be noted that there are incentives in the system that are related to the level of match between the

funder expectations and the agency's output. It is assumed that there is a particular threshold that an agency must meet as a minimum, such that the resources would be stopped if the agency did not meet it. It is possible to argue that there are also incentives for overachieving the funder's expectations. The funder may react by providing additional incentives. It could also react by decreasing the resources if the agency could clearly meet a delimited set of expectations that were the only interest of the funder. This would mean that the funder would reduce its resource support beyond service provision at a specific threshold. This latter is speculative but possible.

2.3.1 Propositions Regarding the Funder and its Effect On an Agency

There are a number of complete loops in the system as described. These loops include the following and may be stated as propositions:

1. Resource support-> activity strategy-> agency activities-> administrative output-> administrative match->degree of match-> resource support. The amount of resources provided influences the amount and kind of activities the board decides to undertake. The activity strategy determines the actual agency activities. These activities lead to administrative output which is checked against the-

administrative outptut required by the funder.
The degree of match influences the funders' per-
ceptions and expectations which affect the
resource support in the future.

2. Resource support->activity strategy->agency activ-
ities->service and program output-> service and
program match-> resource support. The amount of
resources provided influences the amount and kind
of activities the board decides to undertake. The
activity strategy determines the actual agency
activities. These activities lead to service out-
put which is checked against the service outptut
required by the funder. The degree of match
influences the funders' perceptions and expecta-
tions which affect the resource support in the
future.

3. Resource support-> funding strategy-> political
influence-> funder expectations-> resource sup-
port. The amcunt of resources provided by the fun-
der determines,in part,the funding strategy of the
agency.(e.g. they may ask for more if there are
not enough resources to do the things they think
should be done). The funding strategy affects the
presentations and promises made to the funder and
these affect funder expectations. The funders'

expectations and assessments of program and administrative output then determines the level of resource support in the future. A loop may also be drawn directly to the political influence system and from there to funder expectations. This would indicate that the agency chooses a strategy that includes the use of the political system directly. This could be accomplished, for example, by talking directly to members of parliament or other influential people so that they could influence the funding process.

4. Resource support-> agency activities-> community influence-> political influence-> funder expectations-> resource support. The amount of resources provided by the funder influences the agency activities. The agency activities will affect the community's perception of the service. This community perception may or may not influence the community to apply pressure to the political system for the expansion, control, or deletion of the agency's services. This political pressure will affect funders' perceptions and hence influence resource support.

5. Resource support-->other agency activities-->other agency requests--> political influence system to

funder expectations or to funder expectations
directly-->resource support. The resource support
provided to other agencies leads to their activi-
ties in the same manner as posited for this
hypothetical agency. These agencies may influence
funder expectations directly through their service
provision or through the political system and
hence influence the amount of resource support to
the agency. Their choice of service activities and
political actions affects the amount of resources
provided to all agencies. Their efffect is to pro-
vide the funder with a range of activity alterna-
tives from which to choose and a range of criteria
around which to evaluate the agency under discus-
sion.

6. Resource support- >other agency activities and
programs->other agency requests->funder expecta-
tions-> degree of match->resource support. The
support provided to other agencies influences
their requests for support in much the same manner
as outlined for the hypothetical agency. Their
requests and activities influence funder expecta-
tions of the field and consequently their expecta-
tions of the agency in question.

The predominant variables in the chains are resource support-> agency activities-> resource suppport and resource support-> factors in funding request other than agency output that affect funding->funder expectations -> resource support.

It can be seen that the board of an agency must be careful of both its funding strategy and its outputs since they both have effects on funder expectations and resource support. Similar diagrams and assertions will be made at the end of each section. They will be brought together in the system section so that a complete view of a human service can be gathered and integrated.

Chapter III

RELEVANT ASPECTS OF THE COMMUNITY

The community,in which a social service is placed,serves
a key role in the development and operation of the social
service.The 'community' may be perceived as an entire unit
such as a city,when referring to all social services in an
area,or a limited geographic neighbourhood, when referring
to one social service(usually known as the 'catchment' area
cf. Wolfsenberger,1972).   It does not usually include the
funder or board members or other relevant publics and may
best be termed residual community.

Community approaches are   different to institutional
approaches of social care. Community care may be compared
with other forms using a simple grid system as proposed by
Abrams (1977). He argues that forms of social care may be
distinguished each from the other by using the salient char-
acteristics of type of setting and kinds of personnel .This
is illustrated in table 3 .

The systems characterized as community treatment are the
ones to be discussed here.   They are almost always overseen
by a voluntary board in Canada,although there are several
differences in England,Sweden,and France where the approach

TABLE 3

Abram's Social Care Typology

TYPE OF SERVICE

		CLOSED	OPEN
P E R	Professional Specialist	institutional treatment	community treatment
S O N N	Lay/Non Specialist	institutional care	community care
E L			

to care is much different and more dependent on the 'good nature' of it's citizens. The following section attempts to provide the reader with details of some of the relevant aspects of the community in the context of community care.

3.1 PLANNING

The community care approach is usually seen as a comple- ment and not as an alternative in government policy determi- nation (cf.Kincaid,1978).   However,in planning and imple- menting community approaches,the community is anything but a passive setting into which social care is to be placed.   As Abrams notes "The problems of conditions of community care has to be considered as a matter of what can be done within something like our existing normative situation:of how care can be **procured** in a largely uncaring milieu"(Abrams,p.128).

This view of the community as an interactive element that requires careful analysis would seem to be an accurate one. It should be coupled with the realization that altruism is usually self centered (cf. Schwartz, 1967) and that little is known from a social science perspective of the altruistic motive or patterns of community relations that evoke helpful community care situations. Indeed community characteristics have been studied little, if at all.

Most theories assert that altruism varies in individuals. They further claim that altruism can be interpreted as the extent to which an individual is willing to expend effort to see that benefits will apply to someone else. This conception implies motive or need on behalf of those expending effort. It is no wonder then that Abrams(1977) and others argue that the effective social bases for care provision in the community are usually kinship, religion and race, and not community characteristics (Sarason et al, 1977) . Abrams states "community care appears to be a product of strong and pervasive informal social organization culminating in the feeling that one ought to help, not in the feeling that it would be fun to help"(Abrams, p. 136).

The usual paradigm for community services is thus one of 'social reciprocity' and other exchange concepts. The policy tool of governments is usually a cash payment -- enough to cover effective incentive without commercializing the care

relationship. Voluntary boards are usually used to provide financial and program accountability and to reduce administrative costs. The voluntary board is left to run the organization and integrate it into the community.

3.2   IMPLEMENTATION

The community may act both as a source of support and as barrier to service provision. The community may sometimes play an important role by providing public support for funding (Kincaid,1978;Kotler,1975; Hartle,1973). It may act as a source of resources and volunteers for the service (Wolfsenberger,1972) and may provide the service with forms of legitimacy and credibility (Hasenfeld and English,1974;Kotler,1975; Robbins,1972;Lefton and Rosengren,1970).

The community is the milieu into which a resocializing service has to integrate it's clients and thus presents the community standards around which the staff must design some of their goals for clients. This can be seen in the design of community access programs for the mentally handicapped,where the staff must be aware of the appropriate community behaviours in public places so that they may teach their clients to act accordingly (cf.Wolfsenberger,1972 ; Horejsi,1979).

The community may also present barriers to the establishment or the longevity of services. Canada's experience is similar to that of the United States in establishing and maintaining community care and treatment facilities and is recounted here.

According to U.S. national surveys of facilities for the developmentally disabled and other client groups, approximately one third experience opposition from community members at the time of establishment (Baker, Seltzer, and Seltzer, 1974; O'Connor, 1976; Piasceki, 1975). It is more difficult to determine how many facilities were never even opened, although Rutman (1976) estimated at least fifty percent from a large national survey.

The bases for community opposition are usually articulated as fears that crime rates will soar, property values will drop, and that the integrity of neighbourhoods will change (Henderson, 1969; Rutman, 1976). Although there is considerable counterevidence (concerning crime -Sitkei, 1976; Dennis, 1976; Lauber & Bangs, 1974; Hecht, 1970; concerning property-Lauler & Bangs, 1974; Thomas, 1973; concerning neighbourhood-Birenbaum & Seiffer, 1976; Nihira & Nihira 1975; Brawder, Ellis, Neal, 1974; Manula & Newman, and Murphy, Renner, & &Luhins, 1972) it appears that attempts to disprove or discredit them or to change community opinion through education usually increases or actually evokes sev-

ere reaction or opposition(Baker,Seltzer, and Selt-
zer,1974;Sigelman,1976) and that it is perhaps only the
quality rather than the quantity of contact between the
clients and the community that is the most instrumental in
changing negative attitudes(English,1971 ;Gottlieb,1975).

The importance of the community for the board and the
staff of a service will thus vary with several factors and
may be distilled into the following hypotheses:

1. The importance of the community to the agency will
   vary with the legitimacy and credibility required
   by the agency in its funding and activity stra-
   tegy.

2. The community will be more important the more
   integrative the agency's service goals are.

3. The community's importance will vary with the
   agency's need to utilize community resources.

The influence diagram for the community may be found in
figure 2 . As before the diagram attempts to interrelate
concept variables and not accurately describe all possible
forms of the relationships posited.

3.3 DESCRIPTION OF COMMUNITY INFLUENCE DIAGRAM
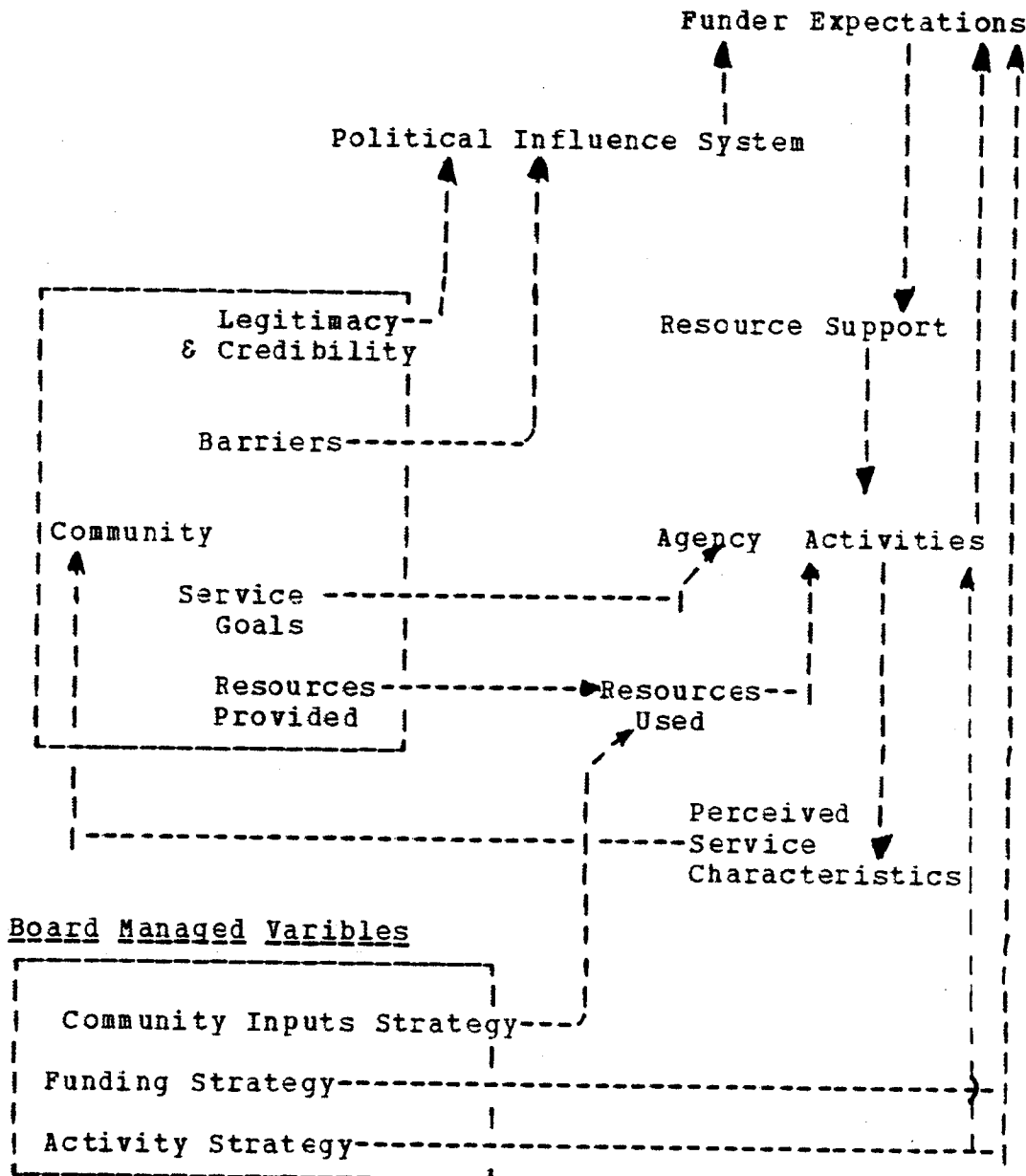
Figure 2: Influence Diagram:Community Aspects

The major actors in this sector are the agency through its strategies; the community, the political system, and the funder. The community is used here in the sense of residual community as first described. It does not include the funder, board, or staff members. When the assertion is made that the community acts or otherwise influences the system, the community is assumed to be a group or individual that is a part of this residual sector. The actor(s), in this case, may be members of the neighbourhood, support groups, or may even be relatives of the clients in the sevice, although this latter is not usually what is meant.

As can be seen, the community controls the amount of legitimacy and credibility or barriers it may extend the organization through the political influence system. These affect funder expectations.

The community also determines the amount of resources it will commit to the organization and these have a direct bearing on the activities of the organization. The community also affects the service goals by acting as the standard for some programs and thus affects funder expectations and organizational activities.

Agency activities affect the perceived service characteristics that the community reacts to in arriving at its level of support, and also affects funder expectations. It will control the community resources extended by a

community inputs usage policy which will affect agency activities by increasing the resources used. Of course situations could arise where agency activities satisfy the funder but not the community and vice-versa. Boundary spanning activities by influential board members might be critical here.

3.3.1 Propositions Regarding the Community and its effect on an Agency

A number of complete loops of influence are evident in the conceptualization as diagrammed above. They include the following and may be stated as propositions:

1. Agency activities-> perceived service characteristics-> community ->resources-> community inputs usage-->agency activities--> funder expectations-> resource support-> agency activities. The agency activities lead to community perceptions of the service. The community's perceptions of the agency's usefullness leads to the amount of voluntary resources the community is willing to provide. These resources are utilized according to a community inputs usage strategy of the agency. The amount of resources thus used increases the agency activities and hence funder expectations.

2. Agency activities-> perceived service characteristics-> community -> barriers-> political system->

funder expectations-> resource support-> agency activties. The agency activities lead to the community's perceptions of the service. These perceptions may lead to the community putting up barriers through the political system which will affect the funders' expectations. The resource support to the agency will thus be affected and hence agency activities.

3. Agency activities-> perceived service characteristics-> community -> legitimacy and credibility-> political system-> funder expectations-> resource support--> agency activities. The agency activities lead to community perceptions through perceived service characteristics. These perceptions influence the amount of legitimacy and credibility that the community is willing to extend to the service through the political system. The amount extended will influence the resource support through funder expectations and thus influence agency activities.

4. Community--> service goals--> agency activities--> perceived service characteristics--> community--> resource support or legitimacy and credibility or barriers or resources--> agency activities- > perceived service characteristics -> community. com-

munity may provide service goals in the sense that an integrative service will try to foster client behaviours that are appropriate to the community. This will be determined in part by the agency's activity strategy. The success in this integrative activity will influence community perceptions of the service and thus the community's resource support ,barriers ,legitimacy ,and act as previously discussed.

One could also provide chains of arguments that the board could also influence the above factors by design. The major factors in the above are outputs-> service characteristics-> community factors affecting funder expectations-> funder-> resource support -> outputs;outputs-> service charactristics-> community resources-> outputs. Again the outputs of the system have major effects on future resource allocation. The board must pay particular attention to the community, especially in regards to its effect on funder expectations and its resource support.

This section and the previous outline the external factors that affect resource support to the organization. The external factors that affect the agency may be combined in one influence diagram as in figure 3 .

As a review,the major actors in the external system include the funder and its superstructure,the political sys-

tem,and other agencies. These actors influence funder expectations in administrative and service outputs required by the agency. The community is a secondary sector in resource provision and may affect the political system to influence funder expectations. The 'rational' agency may control its funding, activity,and community resource usage strategies. The agency activities that occur as a result of these strategies are compared against the funders' requirements and lead to perceived sevice characteristics that influence community actions. The interrelationships are as previously posited.

The next three sections concentrate on the internal influences that affect the allocation and use of resources and include the staff,client, and technology. This external influence diagram will be combined with the internal variables once they have been reviewed in the next three sections.

Funder Variables (Domain)

Other Agency Activities
and Programs

Superstructure ←------------- Other Agency Requests

Political Influence ---------→ Funder Expectations
System

Intervening Variables

Program   Adminis-
&Service   trative
Match   Match

Barriers

Legitimacy
&Credibility

Community   Degree of
Resources---------   Match

Service Goals--   Program   Adminis-
&Service   trative
Output   Output

Agency Activities-

Perceived
Service   Resource
Characteristics   Support
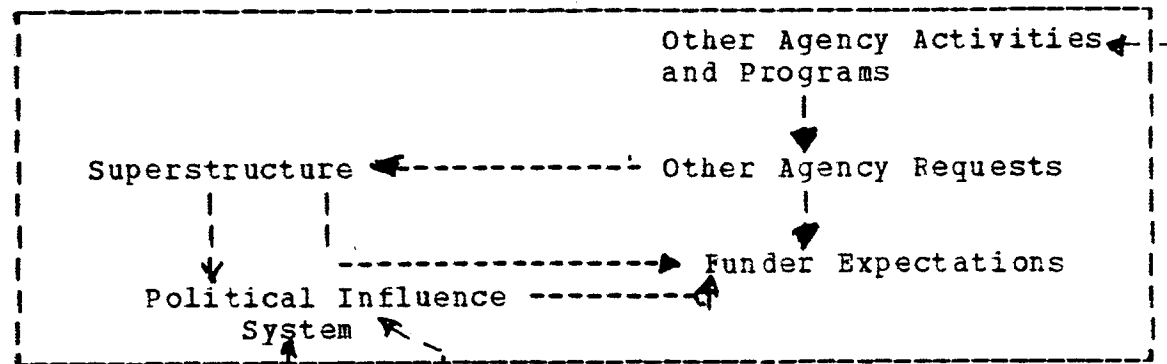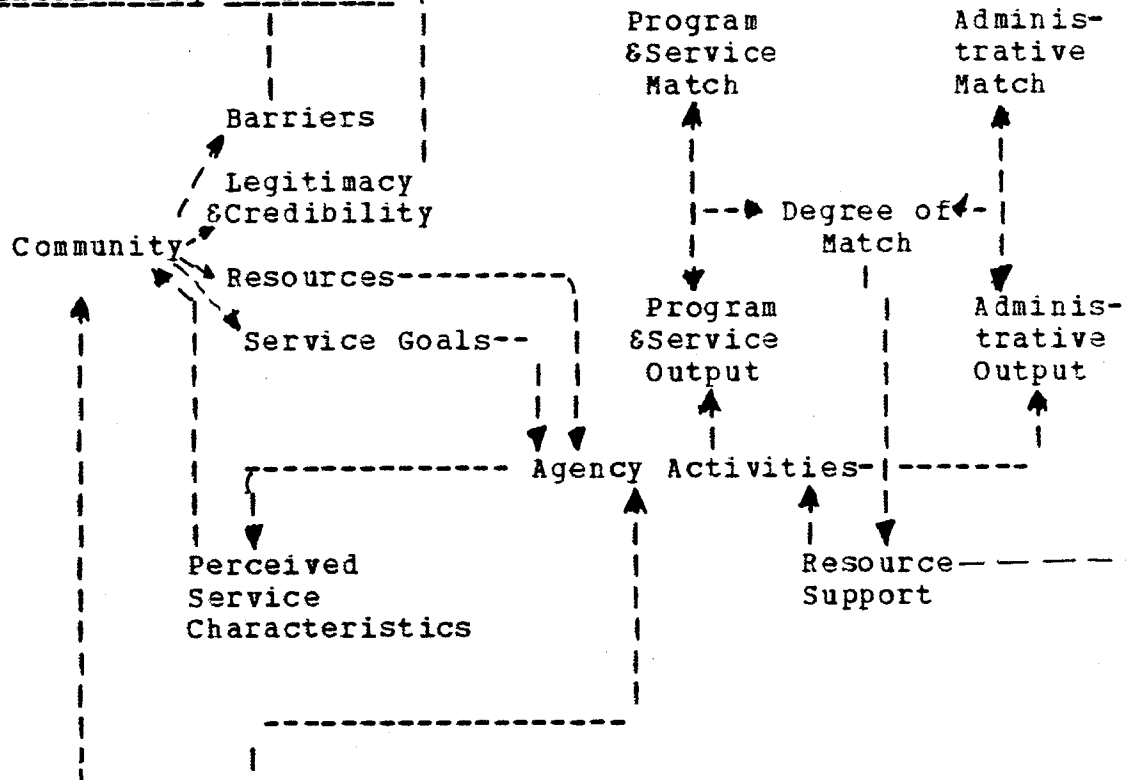
Board Managed Variables (Domain)
Funding   Strategy

Activity Strategy

Community Usage Strategy

Resource Allocation

Figure 3: Joint Community Funder Influence Diagram

Chapter IV

ROLE OF PROFESSIONALS

According to Hasenfeld and English (1974,p.413) human service organizations require professionals because:

1. they possess the technical expertise necessary to implement the service delivery systems.

2. they assist in legitimizing organizational goals and provide liason with relevant publics in the acquisition of needed resources.

3. professionals help to certify that clients,students,patients,or inmates have achieved the new status for which they have been processed or changed.

Human service organizations vary considerably in the number of professionals they employ, and the roles and authority positions these professionals occupy. Several interacting factors may account for the number of professionals. First, the commitment to service goals that necessitate intimate knowledge of the client's private world will require greater reliance on a professional cadre.

Second, when organizational ideologies emphasize client individuality and variability coupled with a beleif that clients need to be changed,cured,or helped,the more likely professionals are to occupy a prominent position in the organization. Third,when the technology requires the application of a coded body of knowledge or 'scientific principles',the greater will be the organization's dependence on professionals.

4.1   PROFESSIONALS AND SEMI-PROFESSIONALS

Services also differ on their relative use of near professionals in implementing their service goals.The relative use is,in part,a function of the technology employed,the social sanctions prevalent in the local area, and the relative costs.

The degree to which the organization serves as a context for professional practice is one element that distinguishes the established professions from the semi professions (Etzioni,1969). The established professions are more autonomous and less constrained by the organization than the semi-professions.

Professional careers are less dependent on the organization. Semi- professionals are locked into the organization and their career patterns are frequently synonymous with their organizational careers, since they are limited in

their pursuit of professional practice outside of the organ-
ization.

Each type of professional would thus be expected to pro-
vide different problem issues to the organization that
employs their services. On the one hand, there is the colle-
gial system of the professional and it's implications for
the implementation of the service goals and, on the other
hand, the organization must deal with the lack of thorough
knowledge and the career interests of the semi-professional.
The problems may work in another direction as well. The
powers of professionals, administrators, or board members may
limit the activities of the semi-professionals in 'therapy'
to the detriment of the client.

4.2   REVIEW OF PROBLEMS CONCERNING PROFESSIONALS

The literature on the relationship between professionals
and organizations has been predominantly concerned with the
dysfunctional consequences of bureaucracy on professional
practice. Billingsley (1964) points out that professionals
face counter pressures from three subsystems--the client, the
organization, and the profession--each of which has its dis-
tinct preference of goals and means.

Other authors have also argued that the professional
is confronted with making choices between commitments to his
profession and to the organization (Scott, 1966; Merton, 1968;

Goldner and Ritti,1967; Mills,1951; Clark,1962). These authors argue an inherent dilemma in the degree of accomodation between professional norms and values and organizational exigencies. They see the critical issue as the extent to which professional norms and values will determine organizational goals, structure,and service delivery patterns or the extent to which organizational demands will influence professional practice.

The sources of incompatibility have usually been related to the underlying principles of bureaucracy versus those of the profession, i.e. auhority vs. collegial, and the operating procedures that flow from the different systems. Several patterns of resolving this dilemma have been identified. These include the relaxation of bureaucratic rules and procedures that minimize conflict and strain,i.e.debureaucratization(Katz&Eisentadt, 1960;Katz, 1964;Scott, 1965);and structural and role seperation between professional tasks and administrative tasks(Goss,1961, 1963;Litwak,1961;and Engel,1970).

Both Litwak(1961) and Goss(1961) suggest that when an organization can clearly separate administrative duties and professional tasks and develop dual authority and control systems (bureaucratic for administrative duties and collegial for professional tasks) the conflicts between the two orientations can be ameliorated. Litwak further suggests

that 'mechanisms of segregation' are necessary to maintain both social forms. He suggests several mechanisms that include a clear seperation of roles among personnel for administrative and professional tasks whenever possible, the development of 'transferral occupations' (people who have the knowledge base in both areas but are assigned to one), and evaluation procedures for telling the organization when to switch modes from one to the other.

Nevertheless, the proposed organizational solutions assume that the profession in question is highly developed and well established. Yet, many services rely on semi-professionals who are characterized by either lack of a systematic theoretical knowledge base, lack of monopoly over the field of practice, or fragmented professional associations (Toren, 1969). As a result, the semi-professional is more likely to be under bureaucratic control and more acquiescent to administrative authority than the full-fledged professional. It has been suggested that 'the counter balance provided by professional ideals and competencies to the bureaucratic omnipotence over clients may therefore be lacking' (Hasenfeld and English, 1974, p.20). The aspirations of the semi-professional may lead to 'over professionalization' which could lead to rigidity and maintenance of excessive social distance from the clients (Walsh and Elling, 1968). The utilization of semi-professonals raises many complex issues for any organization and considerable structural strain in terms of roles the worker will assume.

It should be noted that the employment of professionals does not guarantee that professional norms and standards will in fact prevail in the organization. The implementation is obviously mediated by such variables as participation in the executive leadership, the acceptance of other workers, and the translation of norms into operational goals.

Cloward and Epstein(1965) have shown that screening the needs and problems of the public served by the organization through professionals committed to specific service ideologies ,may lead to service goals that are incongruous with the needs of the public being served. Furthermore, the commitment to certain ideologies tends to exclude other alternate approaches to serve the clients, unless they are compatible with the practices of the dominant profession(s) in the organization(Vinter,1963).

Indeed,Friedson(1970) argues that in the case of the medical profession and the large medical hospitals ''many of the rigid, mechanical and authoritarian attributes and much of the inadequate coordination said to characterize the health services may develop from the dominance of professional organization and not from its bureaucratic dimensions.''

4.3 IMPLICATIONS FOR THE PROPOSED MODEL

4.4 INTERACTIONS OF BOARD MEMBERS WITH PROFESSIONALS AND ADMINISTRATORS

Weick(1969) asserts that there is guiding or controlling influence from the retained set (memory of the organization)to the selection and enactment processes(its organizing processes,e.g. environmental scanning and strategic decision making activities). The nature of this influence(the stock of organizing principles retained from solving past problems) will,in fact, control much of the enactment and selection that the organization does.

It is my thesis that this retained content of the organization will,for the most part,reside in the professional and semi-professonal personnel and resource people.It is further asserted that the presence of an influence from this retained set of this coalition of people will determine,or attempt to determine,for a particular organization:

1. The choice of technologies,the level of its application,and the approach to clients

2. Client admittance and discharge criteria

3. The 'quality' and rate of service.

Further,the interrelation and ways in which the organization solves the problem inherent with professionals (i.e. seperation of bureaucratic and professional tasks) will med-

iate the feedback loop in which results influence the retained set (e.g new standardized procedures for dealing with new problem categories) and may in fact affect the structure of the organization and it's communication processes.

This hypothesis can be argued from another viewpoint. For example, a knowledge of the client characteristics is essential for the planning of the service delivery system. There is some fairly good evidence that matching technology and staffing of individual service units with client characteristics is a cost efficient and desirable strategy (Lefton and Rosengren,1966). It can,therefore,be seen that to the extent that the organization is successful in providing matching information at appropriate points in its selection mechanisms for client entry and in its application of technology,the quality of service will be affected accordingly.

Usually ,but not always, the professional and semi-professional expertise are brought to bear on these matters. But the extent to which they are, is a function of the structure of this process and the relation of these to the enactment and selection processes(committee memberships etc.).

It can be argued then that the way in which the organization resolves the professional versus administrative task issue will determine the structure and some of the feedback

characteristics affecting organizational learning and retention. The quality of the professional expertise and it's commitment to the organization will determine the effectiveness of the matching process.

An influence diagram may be drawn as in figure 4 as a first approximation .It should be noted that the assertions are greatly influenced by the staff and board members who occupy the positions.

As can be seen in the figure a presciption for board activity would require that the board decide upon:

1. type of clients that the agency will serve

2. the hiring of the staff

3. the authority and control system including its division if any into a dual system for professional and administrative practices.

4. the goals or final output criteria for the transformation processes.

5. the resource allocation to units and functions.

The isssue of whether the board does in fact determine these is an empirical question and will be addressed in the case study. These factors act upon clients,staff,and the work flow in interactive fashion as shcwn by the direction and location of the arrows in the diagram.

Board Managed Variables

```
 Resource Allocation----► Staff Plans and ◄-------------
                              Activities

 Authority and Control                    Staff          Goals
 System (Administrative)                  Client -----  Achieved
 &Service)                                Interaction

 Organizational Goals

 Type of Client -----------/   Staff Orientation◄-----

 Staff Selection ------------

                                        Need to Practice
                                        in Organization

                    Professional         Professional
                    Demands              Ideologies
                    of Practice          of
                                         Professionals
                                         & Administrators
```
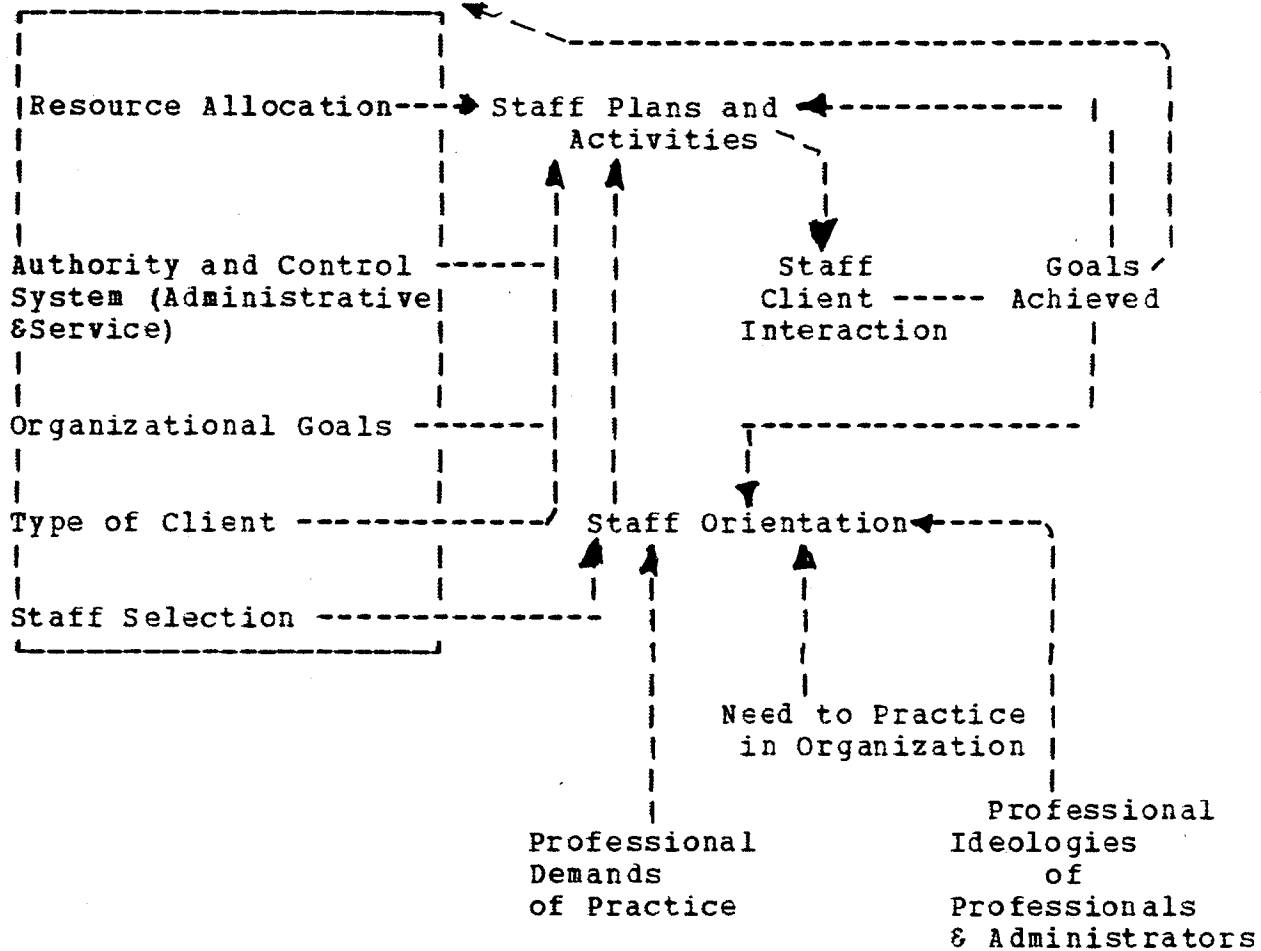
Figure 4:   Influence Diagram:Staff Aspects

The staff are influenced by their profession,their pro-
fessional ideologies,and their need to practice in an organ-
ization. The staff orientation is influenced by the hir-
ing(selection) of staff,the professional demands of practice
as established by peers or a licensing board,and the profes-
sional ideologies of the staff. Staff orientation,resource
allocation,type of client,organizational goals and the
authority and control system developed by the board influ-
ence the staff plans and activities. The staff plans and

activities lead to staff client interaction(the core activity of human services) and produces output known as goals achieved. This output feeds back to the board as information with which to adjust its managed variables,to staff orientation,and staff plans and activities.

4.5 PROPOSITIONS REGARDING PROFESSIONALS AND THE EFFECTS ON AN AGENCY

The closed loops in the conceptualization include the following and may be stated as chains of causal arguments:

1. Goals achieved->staff orientation->staff plans->staff client interaction ->goals achieved. The goals achieved through staff-client interaction provide feedback for the staff on the level of service provided (including the use of professional paradigms) and creates a staff perception of its professionalism. When combined with the staff need to practice in the organization,professional ideologies and demands,the goals further define the staff orientation along such dimensions as professionalism,need to practice in the organization,importance of professional vs. organizational goals etc. These feed back into staff plans and activities to staff-client interaction and hence further influence the goals selected and the goals achieved.

2. Goals achieved->staff plans and activities->staff client interaction-> goals achieved. The goals achieved become information against which the staff may compare their orginal plans derived from their orientation,the organizational goals,the amount of resources allocated,etc. to influence staff plans,interaction,and goals achieved.

3. Goals achieved->organizational goals or resource allocation or authority and control system or type of client ->staff plans and activities->goals achieved. The goals achieved by the staff in interaction with the client may be fed back to the board of directors and compared with their goals and system plans. Discrepancies between the goals achieved and the board's aspirations may be cor- rected by manipulating the board managed variables such as organizational goals,resource allocation to different activities, type of client selected etc. Some of the feedback loops may be short run such as organizational goals which may vary from client to client in short time frames. Others are more long run such as the type of client to be selected into the service. This may be changed only after consistent failure with one type of client for example.

This outlines the possible maps of influence for staff.
The clients will be analyzed more fully in another section.
The next section addresses the issue of organizational con-
text. It attempts to provide a simple framework for the des-
cription of an organization's struture. It thus outlines the
context in which the staff practice their profession and the
ways in which their activity is structured.

Chapter V

STRUCTURE AND DESIGN BACKGROUND AND CONSIDERATIONS

Recent evidence indicates that organizational structure is influenced by the environment, size, and technology of the organization (cf. Inkson et al (1970); Kimberly, 1976; Beyer & Harrison, 1979). They argue that the effects of technology pervade the operating core of the organization. These variables are interactive in ways that are not fully clear and may be mediated by the strategic choice of the organization (Child , (1972))

Certainly, all of these aspects are relevant when comparing organizations. However, one needs a simpler framework to describe the basic parts of a human service's structure. The following relies heavily on the ideas of Mintzberg(1979) and Thompson(1967) who Mintzberg uses extensively. It is an attempt to describe human services within the current literature of organizational structure.

Mintzberg sought to isolate the 'basic' elements of an organization, namely the mechanisms of coordination, the parameters of design, the contingency factors, and the flows of authority, work objects, information and decision processes through these parts. He thus outlined five parts of an organization that follow:

1. The operating core that includes those that work directly to produce the organization's product or service.

2. The strategic apex that includes the top managers and their personal staff.

3. The middle line that includes those between the strategic apex and the operating core.

4. The technostructure that includes analysts outside the formal 'line authority' system that apply analytical techniques to the organization.

5. The support staff that includes those people that provide indirect support (e.g. legal,payroll etc.)

The mechanisms of coordination include direct supervision;the standardization of work processes;the standardization of outputs;the standardization of skills;and mutual adjustment.

His design parameters include job specialization,behaviour formalization, and training and indoctrination for the design of individual positions; unit size and unit grouping for the design of the superstructure;planning and control systems and liason devices for the design of the lateral linkages that 'flesh out' the superstructure;and vertical and horizontal decentralization for designing the decision making processes.

Thus, Mintzberg outlines five basic parts of contemporary organizations--the operating core, strategic apex, middle line, technostructure, and support staff--and discusses how they interelate. To these five parts, he overlays five systems of flows on these component parts--in effect five aspects of how the organization functions: as a system of formal authority, a system of regulated information flows, as a system of informal communication, as a system of work constellations, and as a system of ad hoc decision processes. These are treated as complementary which, in combination, describe the complex workings of an organization.

The organizations that most closely resemble those I wish to address are termed 'professional bureaucracies' by Mintzberg.

These organizations are described as relying on the standardization of skills for coordination once the system is in place and rely on the training and indoctrination of the staff to provide the standardization of processes required to operate the system. Thus, professional bureaucracies hire profesionals and give them control over their own work. This work is highly "specialized in the horizontal dimension, but enlarged in the vertical one"(work processes are specialized by training and indoctrination and the authority for the work process is concentrated in the hands of the professional). The professional works relatively

independently of his colleagues but closely with the clients
he or his organization serves.

As Meyer notes:

'the system works because everyone knows everyone
else knows roughly what is going on.'(Meyer quoted
in Weick,1976,p.14)

The structure of these organizations is essentially
bureaucratic.It's coordination is achieved through the
training and indoctrination of the worker and by profes-
sional standards. The key difference between these and other
bureaucracies (e.g. machine bureaucracy as used by Mintz-
berg) is that the standards originate largely outside it's
own structure. This may be the professional associations of
doctors,lawyers,accountants, or the 'professional' practices
of psychologists. In the case of voluntary boards, it may
also be the requirements of the funders, or governments.

This leads to different sources of power within the
organization. In those without professionals, the power
resides mainly in the position. In professional bureaucra-
cies the power is that of expertise(Blau, 1967-68).

These factors suggest that other forms of coordination,
such as the standardization of output or work process, are
difficult to apply to human services. The work processes
themselves are too complex to be standardized directly by
'work' analysis. Thus, one cannot rely extensively on the
formalization of professional work or on systems to plan and

control it. Both direct supervision and mutual adjustment impede the professional's and the semi-professional's close relationship with his clients. The organization, therefor, must rely on the standards developed in the training of professionals to assure standardization of the work processes and outputs. It cannot, because of its lack of knowledge, seek to standardize any other component of the work process other than quality checks on the outputs or the provision of outside or inside training events.

5.1   CATEGORIZATION

Mintzberg argues that it is helpful to think of the operating core of a professional bureaucracy as a repetoire of standard programs.

> 'these are, in effect, the set of skills the professionals stand ready to use--they are applied to predetermined situations, called contingencies, also standardized. In this regard the staff have two basic tasks 1) to categorize the client's needs in terms of a contingency, which indicates which standard program to use, a task known as diagnosis, and 2) to apply or execute that program. (Mintzberg (1979) p.353).

Clients are categorized because it would take enormous resources to treat every case as unique and requiring thorough analysis. As Mintzberg points out it is the categorization that enables the various operating tasks to be 'decoupled' and assigned to individual professionals or units. The categorization does not deny the existence of uncertainty in servicing a client, rather, it seeks to contain it in the jobs of single professionals or units.

Segal(1974) divides these kinds of organizations into
three categories 'chain-structured',mediatively-structured',
and 'adaptively-structured'. Chain structured organizations
relate only to a small part of the environment and accept
inputs only at one end. Once clients are inducted, they are
processed through a fixed sequence of operations. A custo-
dial unit is an example of this type of organization.

Mediatively structured organizations are designed to
'channel external dissimilarity into uniform organizational
categories' (p.215). An individual treatment center would be
an example of this kind of organization.

Adaptively structured organizations are 'not structured
to screen out the heterogeneity and uncertainty'(p.217). It
adapts to it's clients' individual problems rather than try-
ing to fit the client into one of it's own categories. A
milieu treatment ward would be an example of this kind of
organization(e.g. a ward for all types of psychiatric
disorders).

Professional bureaucracies may thus be categorized by the
amount of uncertainty and hetrogeneity they screen out
through their categorization processes. This screening out
process will usually occur at the entry point to the ser-
vice-the client entry criteria- and would determine the
amount of uncertainty to deal with and the amount of skill
variety needed in the operating core of the organization.

5.2 OPERATING CORE

Mintzberg asserts that the operating core is the only one
that is elaborated in these kinds of organizations. When
staff are elaborated it's focus is very much support activi-
ties for the operating core. The technostructure and middle
line management are not highly elaborated. Likewise the mid-
dle line is thin.

> With little need for direct supervision of the
> operators, or mutual adjustment between them,the
> operating units can be very large with few manag-
> ers at the level of first supervision ,or for that
> matter,above them (Mintzberg(1979)).

Thus the middle line in a human service need not super-
vise the work of professionals closely. This work is stand-
ardized by the professionals' practice that evolves from
their training and indoctrination. Given the lack of direct
supervision required, the middle line of a human service is
thin and can handle a large number of units. There is thus
no need for 'mutual adjustment' between units,since the
'standard programs' are applied to individual clients within
units and not across units. A great deal of power over the
operating work rests at the bottom of the structure with the
professionals of the operating core. Usually democratic
administrative structure emerges for the operating core.
The administrative structure relies on mutual adjustment
among professionals for coordination,which indicates that
liason devices are important design and coordinating parame-
ters in the middle line. Managers in these types of organi-

zations are predominantly in charge of secondary activities.
They administer the _means_ to the major activity carried out
by the staff.(e.g.budget,equipment, subsidiary resources).
Mintzberg argues that the primary roles of the managers are
ones of handling internal disturbances,securing resources,
maintaining liason contacts,acting as a figurehead and
spokesman. To these are added the key roles at the boundary
of the organization, i.e. those of negotiating with outside
agencies,and acting as a buffer to the the inside struc-
ture(cf.Melcher,1976).

5.3 SUMMARY OF STRUCTURE AND DESIGN CONSIDERATIONS

Staff-client interaction is the core activity of a human
service. These interactions cannot be standardized by admin-
istrative structure. The organization must rely on the
'standard programs' that are the jurisdiction of the profes-
sional or the semi- professional. The coordination of the
staff-client interactions are accomplished through the
mutual adjustment processes of the operating staff. Stand-
ardization is accomplished through training and indoctrina-
tion and by quality control procedures. The amount of uncer-
tainty and heterogeneity may be screened out through the
client entry criteria and other screening processes. The
strategic apex of a human service may control these and the
division of its authority system into an administrative and
a professional part.

Chapter VI

RELEVANT ASPECTS OF THE CLIENT

Perhaps the most distinctive feature of human services is
that the relations between the organization and its clients
is central to their existence.The importance of these rela-
tions is an obvious consequence of their mandate,since
staff-client relations become the most important tool with
which the organization attempts to achieve its service
goals.

One dimension in these relations is the amount of infor-
mation about the client that is needed to operate the sys-
tem. A second dimension refers to the compliance system
employed vis-a-vis its clients.

Following schemes proposed by Lefton and Rosengren(1966)
and Etzioni (1961),further classification can be formulated
as in table 4 .

Those organizations that limit their interest in the
client biography face the inherent problem of isolating a
specific set of client attributes for processing. The prob-
lem is twofold:to determine relevant attributes and to avoid
the tendency of staff to incorporate additional attributes
in the service process as a way of reducing uncertainty in

TABLE 4

Classification by Client Information and Compliance System

Interest in Client Biography
Limited   Extensive

Client's	Normative	University	Treatment Hospital
Compliance	Utilitarian	Medical Clinic	Nursing Home
System	Coercive	Police	Correctional Institution

their intervention processes. For instance, a nursing unit in a hospital uses a chart system to isolate facts so that the nurse can apply his or her skills. The chart seldom indicates whether the patient is terminally ill. A nurse may want this information so that he or she can better cope with the family's needs. The information is seldom available since most hospitals leave this function to the doctor.

Those organizations, where interest in the client biography is extensive, are in constant search for relevant and significant client attributes. The compliance system also raises distinctive issues that must be resolved. A normative compliance system is highly dependent on the ability of the staff to develop effective interpersonal relations with the clients and to serve as models for identification. A utilitarian system requires that the organization controls the

necessary resources required by the client. A coercive system must ensure that the client will not escape,or develop mechanisms to counteract or neutralize the coercive measures.

The raw materials of human services are human beings. The raw material is,thus, not value neutral(cf.Perrow,1965).Consequently the organization is constrained in its choices of change technologies by the value system prevalent in the milieu in which it operates. The clients that are processed have identifiable social locations and affiliations which cannot be ignored. Every service must develop mechanisms to cope with the self-activating properties of its clients.

The above has fundamental implications in the design of the system and in the choice of technology to be used in the service. Among these are:

1. The choice of clients to be served is perhaps the most fundamental choice the board,or top management, can make since it really determines the type of staff and technology that will work.

2. The way in which the organization allows the client or his representative to have a say in what happens in the service to the client will be important both from the perspective of what the

goals will be and what the role of the staff will be in relation to the clients. It may at times determine the power of one over the other.

3. Clients are reactive. They influence the application of the change technology by being influenced by it or not. Aspects of their makeup determine the approach to the type of technology that staff may assume will work and influences the effectiveness of the approach as well.

4. Client goals are influenced by the choices of clients or their representatives. Clients bring with them into the service, by virtue of their social location, a number of preferred goals that are associated with their culture without regard to their individual orientation. This may be seen in the goals of native peoples in a resocializing agency whose cultural patterns are to be linked with the normative prescriptions of the agency. This factor can be combined with point 2. The organization may establish formal ways and means for the client or his representative to have influence.

5. The interelationships among clients in a unit can either aid or deter certain programs or goals.

An influence diagram that summarizes the above is shown in figure 5 .

BOARD MANAGED VARIABLES

```
 ┌─────────────────────┐
 │  Client or          │
Representative ◄─────────────────────────────────────────┐
Goal Influence ───────┐                                   │
 │                │   │   ┌─────────────────────────┐     │
 │                │   │ │ │                         │     │
 │                │   ▼ ▼ │                         │  │  │
 │  Client        │  Staff     Staff        Goals
 │  Information ──────► Plans ───────►Client───►Achieved
 │  Policy        │  &Activities    Interaction
 │                │     │      ▲                ▲
 │                │     │  Staff        │
 │                │     │ Orientation   │
 │                │     ▼               │
Technology ───────►Effectiveness───────┘
 │                │     ▲
 │                │     │
Type of Client────────┘
 └─────────────────────┘
```
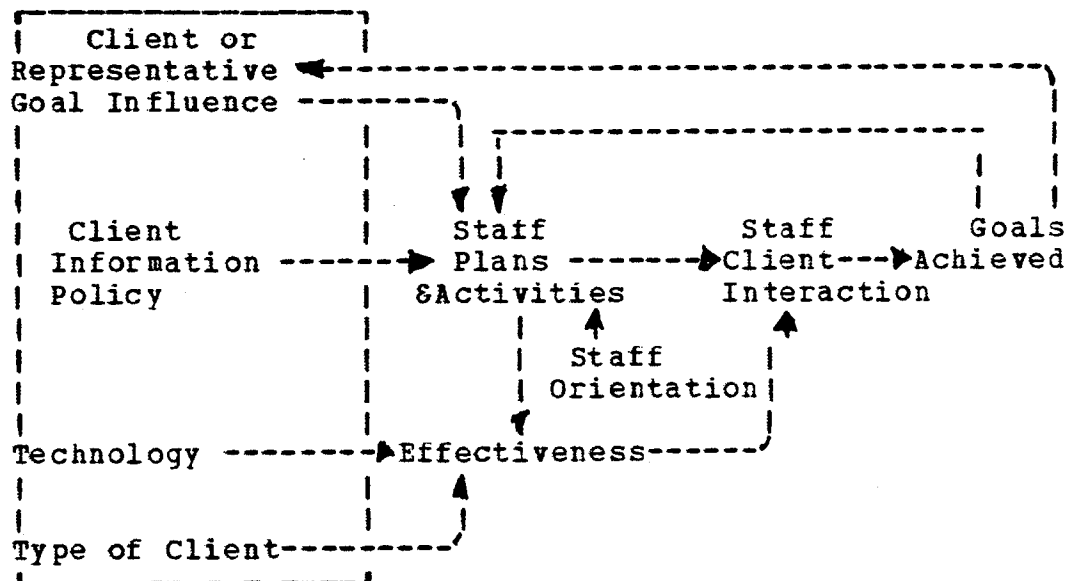
Figure 5:   Influence Diagram:Client Aspects

As a first approximation the board chooses the type of client,the technology,the amount of say a client or his representative has on the program planning,and indirectly (with the variables mentioned in the staff section) the staff orientation.The amount of say of the client influences staff plans for the client. The board's client information policy influences the amount of information available for staff plans and activities.

Since there is no clearly defined way to predict the effects of varying staff procedures as they apply the technology used by the agency in staff-client interactions the staff plans,client characteristics,and technology yield a catchall category called effectiveness. This variable is meant to indicate that the staff,client characteristics,and technology interact in sometimes positive and sometimes negative ways. This may be indicated by a surrogate variable (effectiveness). This variable when combined with staff plans yields staff client interactions(the main activity of the service). The quality of staff-client interaction and its frequency produces service goals achieved. The results are fed back to the board to influence board choice;to the staff plans to influence future program goals;and to the client power variable so that the client or his representative may influence staff plans.

6.1 PROPOSITIONS REGARDING CLIENTS AND THE EFFECT ON AN AGENCY

The closed loops of the system for the clients include the following and may be stated as causal chains of arguments:

1. Goals achieved->type client,technology,and effectiveness->staff client interaction->goals acheived. This loop is meant to indicate that varying effects of goal oriented programs over a per-

iod of time may positively or negatively affect
staff-client interaction and hence improve or
detract from the goals achieved.

2. Goals achieved->technology,type of
client->,effectiveness->staff plans-> staff client
interaction->goals achieved. The staff pick up
both the goals achieved and effectiveness of their
programs to include in future plans to further
produce staff client interaction and goals
achieved.

3. goals achieved->client or representative pow-
er->staff plans ->staff client interaction->goals
achieved. The goals achieved become information
for the client or his representative to indicate
their preferences to the staff or the organization
in developing or changing plans for the client.
The staff plans lead to staff client interactions
and hence to further goals achieved.

4. Goals achieved->staff orientation->staff
plans->staff client interaction->goals achieved.
The goals achieved by the staff influence the
staff orientation(ideologies,need to practice in
the organization, professionalism) which influence
staff plans that lead to staff-client interaction
and hence to further goals achieved.

5. goals achieved->staff plans->staff client interac-
   tion->goals achieved. The goals achieved become
   information for the staff directly in their plan-
   ning processes who may modify or develop new plans
   for staff client interactions and hence for future
   goals to be achieved.

Chapter VII

RELEVANT ASPECTS OF TECHNOLOGY

Few have made the study of technology at the level of the
organization their focus. Thompson and Bates(1957) compared
the   technologies   of   a   hypothetical   hospi-
tal,university,factory,and mine,and postulated "that the
type of technology available......sets limits on the types
of structures appropriate for organizations." The importance
of technology to the structure of an organization continues
as an open question although Perrow(1967) suggested that a
view of organizations as technological systems offers a bet-
ter basis for comparing and comprehending them.

Conceptualization of an organization's technology is
still at a stage where the word technology may have many
meanings. The concept appears to have three facets that,when
taken together,encompass the meanings that have been devel-
oped:operations technology,materials technology, and know-
ledge technology.

Operations technology has been described by Pugh et al
(1963) as the techniques that an organization uses in its
work flow operations. This conceptualization would thus
define technology as the methods used in equipping and

sequencing activities in the work flow. Materials technology relates activities in which the characteristics of the material themselves are important(cf.Rushing, 1968;Thompson, 1967). Knowledge technology has been developed primarily by Perrow(1967b) and is usually associated with "a number of exceptional cases encountered in the work" (1967:195) and the degree of logical analysis achieved. It has been generally shown that the level of determinancy of technology is a function of three variables:

1. the extent to which desired outcomes are tangible and well defined

2. degree of stability and invariability of raw material

3. the knowledge available and the degree of it's completeness about cause and effect relations in the raw material.

As Perrow(1965) has noted the materials in human services(people) are not value neutral. The choice of technology is thus limited by the willingness of the clients to participate and the value system of the overall milieu.(cf.Goffman,1961).

The goals of human services are not well defined in an exact behavioural sense. They are usually expressed in global statements such as 'I want my son to be a better per-

son'. Even when they are a bit more defined as in 'I want my son to be better adapted' they do not answer the questions of 'to what?' or 'how well adapted?'.

Certainly,clients are self-activating and not 'invariable'. Also, the knowledge of cause and effect in the link between client and the manipulations inherent in human service technology is not evident in any of the literature that has been written. One can only conclude,like other writers,that the technology of human services that change people is indeterminate.

7.1 PROPOSITIONS REGARDING TECHNOLOGY AND THE EFFECT ON AN AGENCY

The technology does fall broadly into what Perrow(1967) has classified as knowledge technology,and what Thompson(1967) has called intensive technology. Several propositions may be made:

1. The technology chosen will in a broad sense determine the effectiveness of the service. That is, there appears to be some correlation between type of therapy and client characteristics(e.g.the client must be able to use the verbal media to derive any benefit from psychoanalysis)

2. The level of technology will be determined by the nature of the problem, the ability of the staff,

their competence,and the values of the milieu in
which it occurs.

3. If clients or their representatives cannot indi-
cate clear goals that may be operationally defined
then the board or the staff will do so. This fol-
lows from the fact that the funder and other rele-
vant publics are interested in goal achievement.

4. The type of technology chosen will determine the
need and presence of observable and hence measura-
ble data.

5. The ability to measure effects will be determined
by the data available, unless the credibility of
the profession involved is extremely high.

6. The ability to verify by measurement or to assert
that change has occurred, will determine the
agency's ability to verify the value of its ser-
vice.

7. If measurement instruments are not used,proof of
success will be subject to the causal beliefs sup-
plied by professional ideology,the causal beliefs
of a funder,or the causal beliefs of those clients
served.

The internal influence diagrams may now be combined.   The diagram of this is contained in figure 6
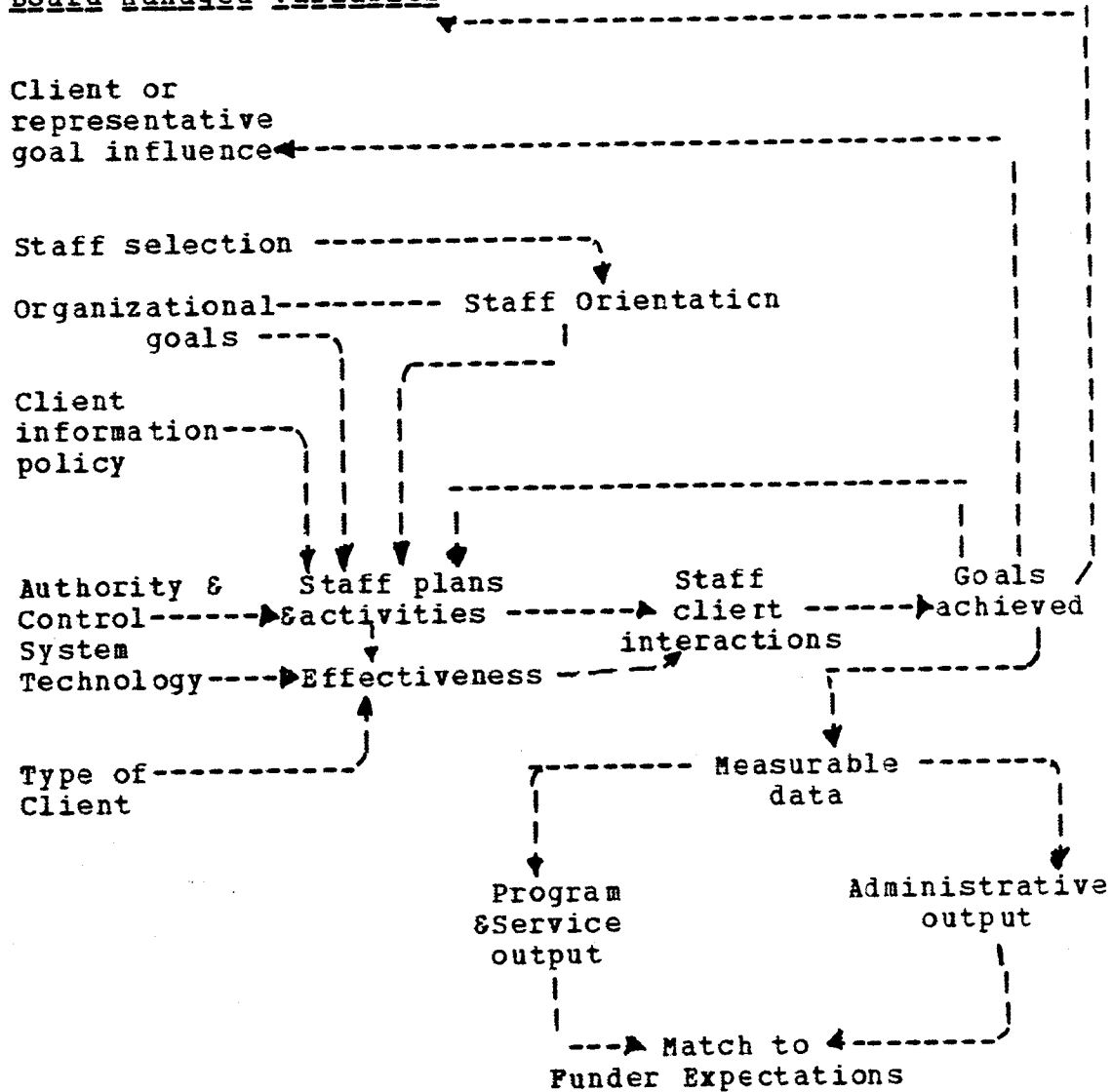
Figure 6:   Joint Client Staff Influence Diagram

The relationships are as asserted in the previous texts except that the goals achieved result in measurable data that become the program and service and the administrative output that are matched to the expectation levels of the funder. The internal and external influence diagrams will be drawn together in the next section that analyzes human services as systems.

As a review, the board of directors of an agency may control the type of client the agency will serve, the staff that will work with the clients, and the kind of technology the staff will use in interacting with the clients to achieve either the client or the organizatinal goals.

The board may choose the goals it wishes to achieve with the clients and the amount of say a client or his representative may have in determining these. The board may choose the kind of authority and control system used to structure the staff activities(bureaucratic,collegial,or a combination of both) and may determine the kinds of information available about the client through the use of a client information policy.

The staff will use the end results of these policies as information for their plans in working with the clients through staff-client interactions. These interactions will achieve certain goals that will become the basis for future decisions of the client or his representative,the staff,the board,and the funder.

It should be noted that this analysis fails to consider the potential role of a funder in influencing the choice of clients, staff, technology, or other variables related to the agency activities. This was not indicated in any of the literature reviewed by he author and will be reviewed in the case analysis.

Chapter VIII

HUMAN SERVICES AS SYSTEMS

8.1 SYSTEM THEORY

Modern approaches to organizational theory consider organizations to be open systems in interaction with their environment. The key concepts of general system theory will be reviewed and followed by one possible contingency view of human service organizations.

General concepts applicable to many different types of systems have been put forth by various writers (Kast & Rosenzweig,1979; Chin,1976; Ackoff,1971; Bertalanffy,1968; Berrien,1968; Buckley,1968; Miller,1965; Hall & Fagen,1956; Parsons,1951). It may be stated that every system has at least two parts,and these parts are interconnected. The system may be closed or open.

Open systems exchange information ,energy or material with their environments while closed systems do not. However, the open closed dimension is a continuum--systems are relatively open or relatively closed.The open system can be viewed as a transformation model. It receives various inputs,transforms them in some way,and exports outputs.

Systems have boundaries that seperate them from their environments. Closed systems tend to have rigid,impenetrable ones,whereas open systems tend to have permeable boundaries that seperate them from a broader suprasystem.

An open system may attain a state in which the system remains in dynamic equilibrium through the continuous inflow of materials,enegy, and information. A system maintains equilibrium by using feedback. Information concerning the outputs or the process of the system is fed back as input to the system perhaps leading to changes in inputs, or processes,or outputs. Feedback can be positive or negative. Negative feedback is informational input(together with the subsystem that it tries to correct) which indicates that the system is deviating from a prescribed course and should be readjusted.

A basic concept in systems is that of hierarchical relationships between systems. A system is composed of subsystems of a lower order and is also part of a suprasystem. Thus,there is a hierachy of the components of the system.

Closed systems tend to move toward entropy and disorganization. In contrast, it appears that open systems move in the direction of differentiation, elaboration,and a higher level of organization. This is a general assertion of the literature. The literature does not indicate the direction

of movement of open systems if they are open to 'wrong' inputs or processes(e.g. superstitious learning,misattribution of causality etc.).

There are significant differences among various types of systems. Social organizations , unlike physical or biological systems , are contrived(cf. Katz & Kahn,1978). They have structure, but it is the structure of events rather than that of physical components,and "it cannot be seperated from the process of the system"(Kast & Rosenzweig, 1979). Where simple physical and mechanical systems tend to exhibit rigid cause and effect relationship between initial conditions and final states, social systems tend to exhibt equifinality. Equifinality suggests that certain results(final states) may be achieved with different initial conditions and in different ways. This suggests that the difference between social and physical systems is that,given a set of initial conditions, the final results will be known in a physical system once the processes are specified whereas they will be uncertain in a social system. This suggests that social organizations can accomplish their objectives with diverse inputs and with varying transformation processes.

As Kast & Rosenzweig assert "an organization is not simply a technical or a social system. Rather, it is the structuring and integrating of human activities around various technologies. The technologies affect the types of inputs

into the organization,the nature of the transformation pro-
cesses,and the outputs from the system. However,the social
system determines the effectiveness and efficiency of the
utilization of the technology."(Kast & Rosenz-
weig,1979;p.108). They argue that the organization may be
seen as a composite of strategic, coordinative,and operating
levels as diagrammed in table 5

TABLE 5

Kast and Rosenzweig Composite Levels

```
-------------------------------------------------------------
|     ENVIRONMENT OF THE SYSTEM                             |
|   -----------------------------------------------------   |
|   |   STRATEGIC SUBSYSTEM                            | |   |
|   |   -------------------------------------------  | |   |
|   |   |   COORDINATIVE SUBSYSTEM               | | |   |
|   |   |   ---------------------------------- | | | |   |
|   |   |   |   OPERATING SUBSYSTEM         | | | | |   |
|   |   |   |                              | | | | |   |
|   |   |   -------------------------------| | | |   |
|   |   |                                  | | |   |
|   |   ----------------------------------- | |   |
|   |                                      | |   |
|   ------------------------------------- |   |
|                                        |   |
-------------------------------------------------------------
```
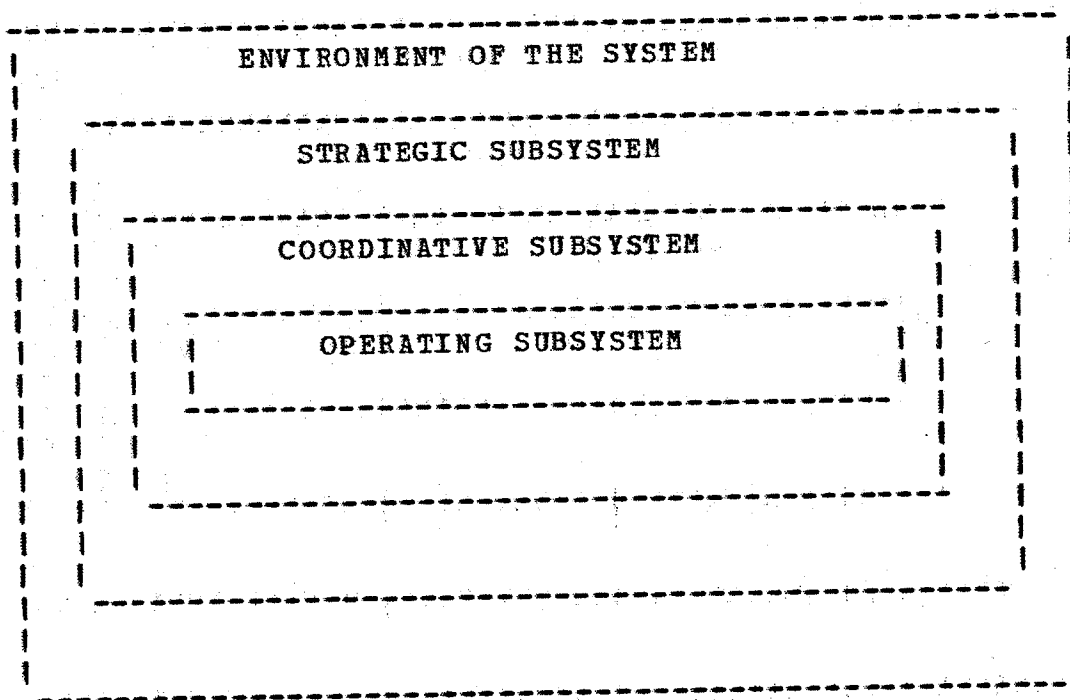
environmental influences   boundaries

The operating subsystem is concerned primarily with the economic- technical rationality and tries to create certainty by 'closing the technical core'(cf. Thompson,1967) to many variables. A relatively closed system view is applicable to the operating core.

The strategic level faces the greatest amount of uncertainty. It must relate the organization to its environment over which it has little or no control.Strategic level management should have a relatively open system perspective and orientation.

The coordinative subsytem operates between the operating and strategic levels and serves to mediate and coordinate the two. This level transforms the uncertainty of the environment into the economic- technical rationality necessary for input into the operating core.

8.2 HUMAN SERVICES

Human service organizations should be open systems. Their function is to accept clients (input) from society (environment) and process or change them (transformation processes) and to return them to society(the environment).

In its simplest form a human service receives inputs from the environment applies conversion processes,and exports outputs.A human service receives its personnel,clients,monies,and materials from society(suprasystem),

organizes its personnel and other resources to bring to bear on clients, and returns the clients back to society.

The services that I wish to address are usually publicly funded. They are overseen by a voluntary board and usually apply change technologies in their operating cores. The clients are usually perceived as deviant or malfunctioning, and may or may not have the power to influence the system.

A skeleton input output diagrqam is drawn, using the above ideas , in table 6

TABLE 6

Input and Output Flows of a Simple Human Service
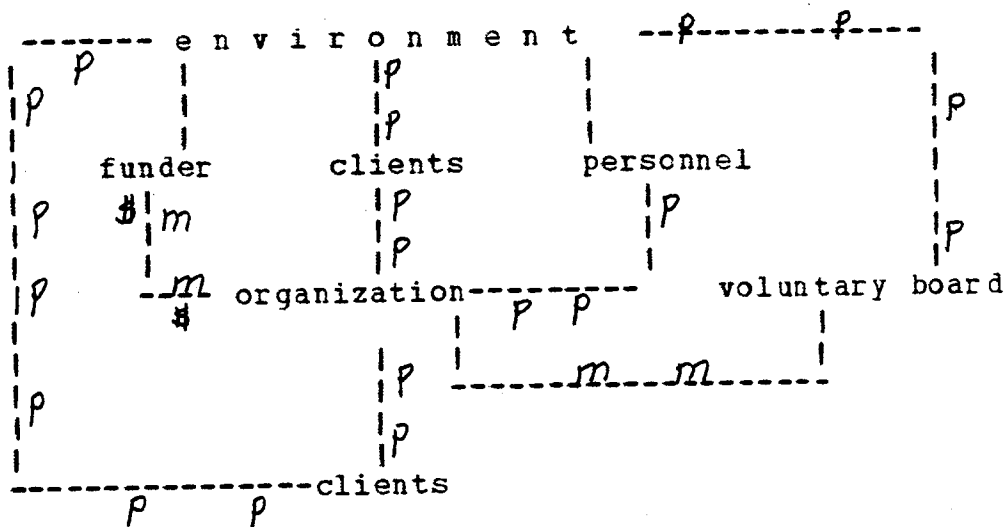
p=flow of people (clients or personnel)
m=material and other rescurces
$=funds

It may be asserted that a human service is a collection of parts that are organized for a purpose(Forrester,1968).The parts include the decision rules or policies by which the system is controlled,and the information linkages within the system.As Coyle(1977) has noted:

> The way in which the parts are connected together, or organized, is an important aspect of the system, and the information link parts are the major means by which organization is achieved........ clearly,the overall behaviour of the system will be strongly affected by the parts themselves and by the manner of their organization.

The operating core of human services,in contrast to the overall system is of the closed system type.[1] The distinguishing feature of closed systems is a feedback path of information, choice or action connecting the output with the input.This creates a closed chain of cause and effect.

The imporant thing about feedback loops is that they cause the dynamic behaviours of the system which are created by the attempts to control the system in the face of external variation.

The structure of a closed loop system includes the way in which it's flows of materials and information are connected and the way in which these flows are modified or transformed by delays and decision rules embedded in the loops. As Coyle notes(p. 34):

----

[1]Which is an open system in Kast and Rosenzweig's parlance. A closed feedback system simply implies that the variables affect each other in a closed chain or loop form.

a closed loop which is trying to control a
system,requires two factors for it's operation:

1. a discrepancy between a desired value
   and an actual value. These may be cur-
   rent or forecast.

2. A rule or policy that specifies the
   actions to be employed for a given size
   of discrepancy. If the discrepancy is
   zero and all is going according to
   plan,the decision rule may specify that
   no changes are to be made and everything
   is to carry on as before. This 'do
   nothing' rule is perfectly valid.

The feedback loops of any organization may thus be com-

pared,and in many cases are analogous to,the decision making

processes.

The dynamics of a system arise from three sources:

1. Shocks imposed by the environment or other actors.

2. operating policies of the system.

3. policies and reactions within the environment.

The stableness,expansion, and control of the system under

analysis may,thus,be seen to be the results of decision

rules within the organization and the actions and reactions

of the environment and other actors. It may also be a func-

tion of the delays in the feedback loops as well. For

instance,a decision to change a policy may not have an

effect until well after it is implemented. If the effect

does not appear until well after a human service has been

evaluated it may be said that the delay in the feedback loop

influences or mediates the stableness,expansion, or control of the system.

Each human service will have its own unique set of clients,resources, processes,controlling agents,and personnel. It should be evident that some general characteristics will affect the organization of human services. These can be pointed out as follows:

1. funders' preferences

2. strengths and abilities of the board members and their interests

3. strengths and abilities of the staff, and their interests

4. technologies available

5. type of the clients

6. relationships between the funder and the community.

7. relationship between the board and the staff

The assertions made in the previous sections may now be brought together in the form of a system influence diagram as in figure 7 . The primary relations are those asserted in previous sections.They are simply gathered together here so that a first approximation of what a human service looks

Chp. 7. Fig. 7. Joint External and Internal Influence Diagram.

Relations with Environment

Other Agency
Activities &
Programs

Other
Agency
Requests

Pereived
Service
Characteristics

Political
Influence
System

Community

Barriers
Legitimacy
Credibility
Resource
Provision

Funder
Expectations

Super
Structure

Resource
Support

Program &
Service Match

Administrative
Match

Relations within Human Service

Strategic Apex
Board Decisions

Funding & Activity Strategy
Community Input Usage
Community Strategy

Client Info Policy
Authority & Control System
Resource Allocation

Type Client
Technology

Staff Selection
Organization Goals
Clients & Rep. Goal Influence

Agency
Activities

Technical Core
Staff   Staff
Plans   Client
&   Inter-
Activities action

Effectiveness

Staff
Orientation

Program
&
Service
Outputs

Adminis-
trative
Outputs

Need to
Practice in
Organization

Professional
Demands

Key: ——→ Influence on
      ——→ Information about

like may be garnered. An attempt is made to distinguish the operating core, as asserted by various authors in the client section (staff-client relationships), from the coordinative and strategic levels said to exist by Kast and Rosenzweig(1979). The Operating Core is seperated by a box in figure 7 .

As can be argued, a rational board would attempt to control at least the variables listed under board managed variables. I would argue that to the extent that they do, the system will have the opportunity to run smoothly or at least be controllable (i.e. the effects of the feedback loops will be manageable by changing the variables in either size or direction). This of course assumes that the feedback loops are seen by board members and are in the direction hypothesized.

The effects of unmanaged variables or uncontrollable ones can only be discovered by the analysis of real organizations. Indeed this is the main thrust of the case study to be undertaken. The questions to be answered are related to whether the real system has the hypothesized relationships and, secondly, whether these relationships are perceived as such, and managed.

From the perspective of the organization, and the voluntary board in particular, the overall system may be reduced to important boundaries as in table 7

TABLE 7

Organizational Boundaries of a Human Service


```
                    funders
         --------------------------------------
  c   '                                      '  s
  l   '                                      '  t
  i   '          organization               '  a
  e   '                                      '  f
  n   '                                      '  f
  t   '                                      '
  s   '                                      '
         --------------------------------------
                  community
```
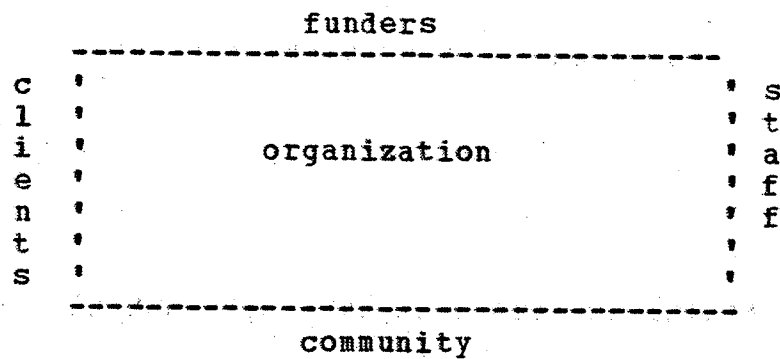

It can be seen that the voluntary board must decide about and coordinate, or decipher the primary influences of each of these boundaries, and organize their combined effect on the organization's goals. Board members will have specific interests and varying skills in dealing with each aspect. To the extent that they can align the organization with the expectations of the dominant coalitions of outsiders(funders or their bosses) they will have the resources to carry out their work. To the extent that they can match the skills and the technology of the staff and the structure of the organization with the requirements of the clients, they will successfully process or change the clients of their service. To the extent that they meet the perceived needs of the community and handle the interface between the community and their clients and staff they will receive the community's support and it's beneficial consequences on their funders.

The main determinants of the system,as outlined,are the policies and rules that the voluntary board uses to manage the system, and the interactions of these with the staff,funders,and community. It should be noted that we are essentially talking about the effects of the feedback loops and the uncontrolled time delays inherent in the loops as well. In well managed organizations these may be the descriptors of the planned management controls.

Using the Kast & Rosenzweig model, it should be further evident that the strategic and coordinative subsystems are properly the jurisdiction of the board of directors. In larger services,these subsystems are seperable and identifiable and usually augmented by staff. In smaller services,it is more likely that both subsystems are found in board functions only, which may or may not be further elaborated by coordinative staff. The issue,of whether these decisions are in the levels asserted,is a matter of empirical investigation and will be examined in the case study.

The previous sections have provided a description of a human service in an abstract fashion. The model presented in figure 7 is sufficiently general to enable broad comparisons among agencies which will,of course,vary in their relative emphasis on subsystems and have different goals.

8.3 IMPLICATIONS OF THE MODEL

Several important relationships may be drawn from the influence diagram for the total system (Figure 7). Perhaps the most important is the amount of external influences that affect the operation of an agency. The funder and other agencies dominate the provision of resources needed to operate the service. Since the allocation of resources is in part determined by a political process, there is no clear way to determine the future allocation of resources. As argued in chapter 1 (Table 2), the funder may emphasize service or administrative output depending on its orientation at the time. Evaluation thus depends in part on how the funder is arguing for its own budget and also on the operations of the other agencies in the field.

For the most part, the orientation of the staff and the direction of the technology are also determined outside the agency's control. An agency may use the 'standard programs' of the staff selected but it must be careful to match these with the clients that it chooses to enter the service. The client needs are also predominantly a function of the external environment determined by and large by the parental home and training or the institutional setting.

When operating the services the agency must be careful to match its activities to the requirements of the funder and the scrutiny of the community and devise managerial systems that look at the interface of both with the agency.

In a broad sense,the strategic part of the organization should focus on the funding and community aspects. The coordinative part of the organization should focus on providing resources for the operating core,and the operating core should focus on staff-client interaction and technology.

The next section attempts to look at the organizing processes of an agency. It will use a highly abstract model developed by Weick(1969) and will attempt to integrate it with the general model proposed in figure 7 .

Chapter IX

WEICK'S THEORY

The lack of understanding of the interrelationship of structure and communication in organization has been referred to by Mintzberg as:

> Most of the contemporary literature fails to relate the description of structures with that of the functioning of the organization. The reader is seldom told what really goes on inside the structure, how work, information, and decision processes flow through it. (Mintzberg 1979)

Also, Conrad(1973) concludes after an extensive search of the literature that would link communication flows to organization structure:

> Numerous concepts of organization structure can be found in the organization literature. .... unfortunately, few of these can be related to properties of communication, and those that can are primarily restricted to the study of small groups.........in no cases were the communications data used to evidence the properties of structure(p.592).

On the other hand, Weick posits a 'content free' theory of information processing based on evolutionary learning that details three processes in an organization. These processes can be identified as enactment, selection, and retention. The exposition of these processes relies heavily on the work of Hall(1980),Campbell(1965,1969), Notz(1979),and Weick(1969).

<u>Retention</u> can be equated to an organization's storehouse of knowledge --its memory so to speak.It will be contained in the written rules of the organization and in the memory(cognitive maps) of its actors. The way it operates will be specified by standard operating procedures,and the consistent application of internalized rules by staff.

<u>Enactment</u> can be equated to the actions of an organization in it's exchange with it's environments. The enacted environments consist of an external environment created and evolved from the actions of the the organization or it's actors when it secures resources and operates it's services. Similarly an internal environment is created and evolved from the hiring and using of it's staff and other human resources to accomplish it's purposes.

<u>The selection</u> process may be equated to the 'attention' or 'registering' device in a learning analog. Information discernible from the organization's actions and the environment's reactions is differentiated by the selection process and made available for future use by the organization's 'retention processes'.

Weick posits an interrelation among all sets such that retention affects the selection and enactment processes. This is diagrammed in table 8 .

TABLE 8

Weicks Conceptual Model

Enactment	Selection	Retention

	Enactment			Selection			Retention	
	E			E			E	
ER		AR	ER		AR	ER		AR
	BC			BC			BC	

The abbreviations are as follows: E=Equivocality;
AR=Assembly Rules BC=Behavioural Cycles;ER=Equivocality
Reduced

He further posits that the nature of the feedback loops
from the retained set back to the selection and enactment
processes will be the major determinants of the system cha-
recteristics. The similarity to Coyle and Forrester should
be noted. All assert controlling influences from one part of
a system to another. If the nature of the feedback is nega-
tive then the system will seek to control itself around some
value(state) that is stable.

Weick asserts that the primary job of an organization is
to process information in such a way that equivocality is
reduced. This 'equivocality ' may be equated to uncertainty
or ambiguity. He proposes that the three processes are
linked together by 'behaviour cycles' (i.e. actual interac-

tion of the person to person,or information to person type).
Each process may then be reduced to a stimulus response
sequence,or series of sequences. Weick posits that informa-
tion passes from process to process. As equivocal informa-
tion comes out of the enactment process,for example,it
evokes a number of assembly rules for reducing the equivo-
cality. These rules may be as simple as 'choose behaviour
cycles that have been successful with the problem in the
past',or 'choose behaviour cycles that are demanded because
of authority constraints'(e.g. choose cycles favored by the
v.p. finance because he has to approve the budget) or much
more complicated(e.g. a combination authority plus political
plus success behavioural cycles).

Weick theorizes that there will be an inverse relation-
ship among the equivocality,assembly rules,behaviour cycles,
and equivocality reduction. For instance if information is
extremely equivocal, then the number of assembly rules will
be small,the number of behaviour cycles large,and the amount
of equivocality reduced greatly.

There is some common sense to this. It is reasonable to
assume that, if a piece of data is highly uncertain, the
interactions required to bring the information to under-
standable form will be greater than if there is little
uncertainty or 'equivocality'. It is also reasonable to
assume that organizations have 'learning properties' that

are understandable within the current learning analog of psychologists. This learning analog posits that an external stimulus triggers internal processes which,when combined with the memory in some yet unknown way, produces a response that is reproducible. If it is successful the response becomes a strong candidate for retention for later use in a similar circumstance. That is,it moves up in the response hierarchy controlled by the stimulus. The stimulus,in this case,may be as simple as the type of data processed or as complicated as the current political allignment in the organization(i.e.physical or social cue).

9.1 INTERMEDIATE VARIABLES

Clarification of the effects of several variables is needed before research may accurately test Weick's theory. These variables may be described as intervening ones and have a direct bearing on the interrelationships that Weick posits.

9.1.1 Behavioural Cycles

By far the most obvious variable is the structure of the organization. This will be a major determinant of the possible sets of interlocking cyles and may also determine the frequency and form. For example, an organization that creates committees as the major decision arenas for all issues, will have more cycles than one that structures it's

authority flow into 'offices' occupied by an executive. The
structure of the organization may also determine the fre-
quency by establishing several levels of authority to their
decision making process. This will affect the frequency of
behavioural cycles by creating a larger number of higher
levels to go through.

The structural assignment of authority and the delegation
of tasks to these positions will also influence the number
of behavioural cycles,because a person without the authority
will have to interact more for approval than one who has the
authority for the task.

Group norms will also play a part since ,particularly in
human services,some information is coded or better under-
stood by someone who has the same encoding and decoding lan-
guage as the sender. This will be particularly true of pro-
fessionals. Group norms may also act as a shorthand among
other actors(e.g. finance people). Finally one has to con-
tend with the findings of psychologists like Asch(1952) who
concludes that the presence of an ambiguous stimulus leads
to an increase of the saliency of group norms when the
information is processed. It is unclear as to whether this
will increase behaviour cycles or limit them. Presumably,if
the information is acceptable to group norms it will
increase the assembly rules and limit the behaviour
cycles;if the information is made more uncertain by the
group norms than the opposite will occur.

The form and function of decision arenas will also affect the functioning aspects of Weick's theory. This relates to committee composition and the interrelation of the various groupings of decision makers. The composition will determine the number of possible interactions inside each group. The function will influence the kind of information that the members deal with. Certainly, assigning knowledgeable people to a program or a finance committee will influence assembly rules(e.g. may limit them to 'choose behavioural cycles of people who have knowledge') and influence group norms as well The form,function,and structure of decision arenas will influence the 'informal system' and thus also affect the assembly rules and behavioural cycles.

This study will look not attempt to study Weick's model directly. It will look at the assembly rules of a human service organization by direct questioning, and look at the behavioural cycles from the analysis of organizational structure; particularly the informal and formal systems. The ideas presented will be used in the concluding section to determine both the usefullness and the applicability of Weick's model in understanding human service operations.

Chapter X

RESEARCH FORMAT

10.1 CHOICE OF AGENCY TO BE STUDIED

The agency chosen for study operates three residences for
mentally retarded adults in the city of Winnipeg. The
author's role as an employee of the organization has pro-
vided easy access to agency records and to personnel in the
field. The agency will be referred to as the RS agency in
the case analysis.

10.2 RESEARCH STRATEGY

The basic methodology of the study is the descriptive case
method. As outlined in Chapter 1, this method was thought to
be apprpriate because of our lack of knowledge in the field
of human services. The basic purpose of the study is to see
if the model of interactions/influences (Chapter 7, Figure
7), Mintzberg's "professional bureaucracy" model, and Weick's
model of processes/content of interrelations can explain
what actually happened. It is an attempt to interpret the
past with a new framework and add credibility to the propo-
sitions developed in the earlier chapters.

The case study, and its analysis, includes the following:

1. Historical setting of funders and the development of Mental Retardation services in the province of Manitoba(Chapter XI)

2. Agency history to date(Chapter XII).

3. Views of four classes of actors(Chapter XIII).

   a) board members who want expansion

   b) board members whose chief priority is to main- tain current services and whose secondary objective is to expand.

   c) staff members

   d) the consultant

   e)
4. Case analysis using the model(s) and proposi- tions(Chapter XIV)

5. Pathologies of the processes and pitfalls to be avoided(Chapter XV,XVI)

10.3 METHOD

The author used structured interviews with an open ended format. This format was thought to give the most information from those interviewed and to avoid the bias that might be created by a closed format of questioning. These questions

were combined with a procedure similar to that used by Axel-rod (1972). The basic tenets of influence diagrams were explained to the interviewees who were asked to draw influence arrows between variables they thought important so that an estimation of the structure of their 'cognitive maps' of the decision arenas could be developed.

The written documents of the funder and the agency were analyzed to discover the stated goals,stated operating policies and procedures,and to trace their history and development in the organization. The formal structure was also determined from these sources.

The performance measures used by the agency were analyzed to provide anectodal data from which some of the structural propositions could be tested. An external source was used to check the reliability of these and the author's categorization of board minutes.

10.4   PURPOSE OF THE INTERVIEWS

The purpose of the interviews was as follows:

1. To establish the cognitive map of board and staff members.

2. To discover the informal system of influence and communication used by the board and the staff.

3. To discover the influence system between all members of the organization.

4. To assess the interrelationships posited among the funder,community,staff and clients asserted in the text.

5. To examine aspects of the professional bureaucracy model posited by Mintzberg(1979).

The interviews were conducted with the following people:

1. Board and staff members of the agency in question.

2. Selected board and staff members of the Canadian Association for the Mentally Retarded,Manitoba Division.

3. Selected board and staff members of the Canadian Association for the Mentally Retarded,Winnipeg Division.

4. Selected members of the Mental Retardation Division of Community Services Division,Province of Manitoba.

The interviews with the Association members and the Community Services Staff were undertaken primarily to develop the history of the field of Mental Retardation in the private and public sectors in the province. This analysis was

undertaken to provide context for the case study and to pro-
vide examples of the relationships posited in the develop-
ment of the model in the text.

The questions asked in the interviews are listed in
appendix 1.

Chapter XI

HISTORICAL REVIEW

11.1 HISTORY OF COMMUNITY MENTAL RETARDATION PROGRAM Introduction and Levels of Retardation.

The history of the Community Mental Retardation Program is presented from two perspectives--that of the funding personnel and that of the community members involved.[2] Both views are presented in the interests of fairness, and to give the reader a flavour for the motives of the major actors and the environmental constraints that are placed on most human service planning. It is given to provide a backdrop against which the case analysis of an agency may be analyzed.

Experts in the field of Mental Retardation have developed a means of categorizing clients along a continuum of mental handicap. Those clients that are the closest to normal functioning are described as borderline. The next level of retardation is mild. The next lowest is moderate (both high moderate and low moderate). The lowest levels of retardation are described as severe and profound.

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[2]Sources for this presentation include members of the funding body and members of the community agencies mentioned in the text. It was gathered through extensive interviews and through the examination of old records.

11.1.1   The Funder Perspective

11.1.1.1   1967-1973

The Community Mental Retardation Program has its roots in the Portage School for Mental Retardates-otherwise known as Manitoba School. The Manitoba School had a client population in excess of 1000 in 1967 and there were severe pressures on the facilities, staff, and resources. The staff, especially the Director and the Social Service department of the school, wanted to deinstitutionalize the large number of mildly functioning clients who "had no business even being placed in the institution". (Winnipeg Regional Director, 1980)

These staff people established the Kilglen residence in 1967 and began to look for other community placements for the clients. They placed them in such facilities as Broadway and Optimist homes (the only community facilities in the city of Winnipeg at the time), board and room settings; and foster homes throughout the province. They used the financial resources and assistance of Income Security and the staff time of the Manitoba School Social Service department. The major efforts of placement were in the Winnipeg area.

This deinstitutionalization process continued informally until 1969 at which time approximately 80 mild and other high functioning clients had been placed. The staff noted that most of the easily placed clients (i.e. the high func-

tioning) had been sent out. But,since the institution still had a population of well over 900,the staff became interested in "exiting" the more difficult high moderate group.

The same process as outlined above now began with the high moderates but concentrated in the rural areas (especially the Eastern and Parklands regions of Portage,Virden,Morden,and Steinbach). The focus of placements was to return clients to their area of birth. Parents in the areas assisted in finding placements. Interestingly, the process did not generate a community demand for alternate facilites for those mentally retarded individuals already living in the area. There appeared to be an acceptance of people who had been away returning to their home areas. There was litle expectation that members already in the community should receive the same services.

This period,from 1967 to 1969 coincided with the development of local Associations for the Mentally Retarded[3] in the private sector as this movement started to spread across the country.

The entire program was,of course,very informal. The government did not have specific targets or programs in mind at the time. This is perhaps best illustrated by the
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[3] Commonly known as AMRs or Associations. The Associations are the most common form of private sector organization. They are spread throughout the province and each has representation on the Manitoba Division of the Canadian Association for the Mentally Retarded.

developments in the Dauphin area in 1969.

At that time, the Dauphin community wished to establish a sheltered workshop for the mentally retarded in their area. They had eight clients who were already living in the area but they needed twenty to thirty clients to make the workshop viable using government allowance for clients. The Manitoba School staff were aware of the plans and the two groups made contact. Within one month, fourteen people were placed in the Dauphin community from the Manitoba School and other clients were placed on the school's staff waiting list. They were clients who were originally from the Dauphin area and were placed in three 'group' homes for which the Manitoba School staff and the Dauphin group found sponsors. These group homes were started without formal regulations or stringent expectations. The emphasis from the political superstructure was on cost minimization of these 'community services'.

From 1967 to 1972, two hundred and eighty mild and moderate clients came from the Manitoba School to such facilities as Broadway and Optimist house in Winnipeg, and to board and room or foster homes in Winnipeg, Dauphin, and other towns in Manitoba. Parents throughout the regions became involved and built up support for services and for community groups, consequently expanding the Associations. The Manitoba School staff continued to press for community facilities and as a

result of the internal pressure and external pres-
sures(especially from the local Associations for the Men-
tally Retarded) the Community Mental Retardation program*
was established in 1973. The program had to be rationalized
because government workers in the field of Mental Retarda-
tion had impossible caseloads in excess of two-hundred
clients each. This caseload had naturally evolved from the
small number of staff involved and the ambitious program
objectives.

11.1.1.2 1973 to 1975

The Community M.R. Program started in Winnipeg with a
staff of five people,primarily from the Manitoba School (or
close associates of these people) with the Director of the
Manitoba School as the program coordinator. This group had
the following formal and informal goals:

1. Evaluate the program at the St. Amant centre(the
    major institution in Winnipeg).

2. Exit more clients from the Manitoba School to the
    community.

3. Follow up on previous placements.

4. Develop the community M.R. programs.

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*Hereinafter referred to as the Community M.R. Program

The first emphasis was placed on the St. Amant Centre. It had been the only institutional facility for children for a long time and, consequently, had accumulated a broad range of clients (profound to borderline) with no particular plan for deinstitutionalization or programming. The community M.R. staff fought and won a protracted battle for the final word in the placement decisions for the facility.

The program staff began to use the same approach they had adopted four years earlier. St. Amant centre was to become an institution only for the profound and the severe. They started to use Child Welfare and Income Security to provide respite care or other placements for the high functioning.

In the meantime, the Association for the Mentally Retarded idea had strengthened in Winnipeg and the rural areas, partially through the development by government staff but largely through the efforts of the private sector (the rural associations and other commited community members). As community members became aware of the growing number of placements in the community, they saw the Associations as a vehicle for securing services for their sons or daughters.

The Community M.R. Program staff began to negotiate with the Winnipeg and the Manitoba Associations from 1970 to 1972 to start community residences in the Winnipeg area. They offered assistance in the ways and means of developing proposals and acceptable rationales for funding from their own superstructure.

The Community M.R. Program proposed that a certain per-
centage of the placements in such community residences had
to be from the Manitoba School since,as outlined earlier,the
initial plan from their perspective was to bring the moder-
ate group into the plan. There was little argument that some
clients had to come from the institution,but there was con-
siderable argument about what the percentage should be.
Since the Associations had pressures from their constituents
for placements directly from the community and did not want
to become an adjunct of the program staff,they argued for a
lower percentage than the 60-80% proposed. None the less the
program quickly brought about the opening of more residences
as listed in table 9 .

TABLE 9

Residence Development in Winnipeg

YEAR	SPONSORING AGENCY	NUMBER CLIENTS	RESIDENCE for HANDICAPPED
1973	STEINKOFF CAMR WPG.	SIX TEN	SHERBURN 886 ALVERSTONE
1974	STEINKOFF CAMR WPG. L'ARCHE	FOUR SIX EIGHT	CANORA 880 ALVERSTONE TRANSCONA
1975	CAMR WPG.	EIGHT	720 EBBY
1978	ST. AMANT	SIX	TRACY CRESC.
1979	DASCH COVENANT	SIX EIGHT	TUXEDO NOT CHOSEN

The first two years of residence openings(1973-1974) saw the placement of relatively high functioning clients into what came to be known as domiciliary residences(residences with no particular training expectations on the clients). The community agencies found some implementation problems. Generally,however, the residences opened smoothly. The entry criteria,beyond the percentage rule, and placement decisions were in the hands of the agencies and their staff.

In the period from 1969-1974, any residence that opened was required to put up ten percent of the capital cost and ten percent of the operating costs. This proved difficult for some poorer regions but allowed the development of several community residences under the sponsorship of well organized groups.

11.1.1.3 1975 to 1978

In 1975 the program staff began to wonder why the lower functioning and problem clients from the Manitoba school were not chosen by the community residences. This led to discussions with the Associations in the Winnipeg area and the establishment of the training residence concept. At the same time the higher echelons of the government had hired a consultant whose initial recommendations were for the provision of a continuum of services, including children's residences,residences for the severe , profound, and the multiply handicapped.[5] Although some staff argued against this

'targeting' approach as unnecessarily costly,it was tentatively accepted by the political hierarchy of the time.

These discussions,and the new stated directions of government policy,led to the development of a training residence at 720 Ebby with the winnipeg Association as the sponsor.

From 1975 to 1978 the program staff concentrated on the development of services in the rural areas. Their priorities for the entire program now included:

1. Requirement for a residence wherever there was a sheltered workshop in the rural areas.

2. No one rural region would have more resources than another(equity of funding).

3. Winnipeg would always get matching resources.

These last two priorities need futher clarification. The Birkhouse report recommended that the ten percent capital and ten percent operating fund requirement placed an undue bias and advantage in the richer areas to the detriment of poorer ones. This led the program staff to a blanket policy that included the development of residences with government funding only. (Although, they would have preferred that richer areas be required to meet the costs if they could

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⁵Birkhouse report,1975-1976.

since this would mean the opening of more residences).

The requirement that Winnipeg get matching resources came from the continual pressure from the Winnipeg groups. This was a result of the population pressures in the city that were not present in the rural areas. For example, Winnipeg has the second highest[6] incidence of moderate retardates. This client group was consequently underserved in the Winnipeg area.

In any event a number of residences were opened in the rural areas that closely matched the models established in Winnipeg. There were more domiciliary residences but the primary difference was that the rural area model was much more of a houseparent than a 'professional' model of service delivery.

In 1975 the Winnipeg Association embarked on a residential task force that outlined the community needs. This led to a policy paper and a set of residential guidelines in 1977. This paper was adopted by the government and outlined the role of the community service worker in the establishment and operation of residences. The basic change incorporated the use of the Adaptive Functioning Index and the use of Individual Program Plans in residences.[7] There was now a
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[6]Manitoba Incidence Study,1976. Prepared for the Provincial Government.

[7]The AFI is a behavioural scale for measuring life skill related behaviours,the IPP is a formal planning process for

shift to more formal tools of evaluation.

In 1978 a staff member of one of the agencies success-fully sued the Winnipeg Association. The case involved the payment of a salary during the night shift which was previ-ously not paid. This resulted in discussions between the program staff,agency members,and the Department of Labour which led to the development of a contract system. The con-tract system effectively meant that the agency which spon-sored a service had to contract out the full time staff role to a contract person. This changed the staffing pattern in the residences. Previously,the agency had simply hired a full time staff person and replacements for him or her,all under the agency's employment and jurisdiction. This changed to a contract person who was not an employee,and who hired his or her own replacements. Training residences were given funds that equated to five hours per client per week. The agencies were told that they were to assure that these training hours were used in the same manner as they had been previously. They were also told that they were to implement the contract system regardless of how they felt about it.

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an individual client that includes resource people and the staff involved in the client's life.

11.2 THE CHANGING ROLE OF STAFF

It should be noted that the role of the staff changed through the years. What started as a development function in the early seventies, gradually changed to a monitoring function as more residences opened with the development of the private sector. The staff were often placed in the posiion of recruiting and developing community groups and then acting as the formal evaluators once the proposal was in. Also, as the program expanded,the community gradually evolved its own philosophy. The difference was that it did not have the same pressures for deinstitutionalization that was evident in the earlier program,and had different priorities. These priorities differed in the kinds of clients they wished to serve(children services and clients in the community who had aging parents for example) and different means for providing the same residential services(training residences vs. domiciliary).

It is also interesting to note that an'internal culture'developed in the program staff. This culture,it may be argued,was competence oriented and imbued with the values of deinstitutionalization. Comparable ideas have been put forth by such writers as Pettigrew(1973) who argue that an organization develops an internal culture consonant with the beliefs and drives of its members.

11.2.1   The Community Perspective

11.2.1.1   1953 to 1973

The organization of community groups also began at the Manitoba School when a group of parents met with the superintendent of the institution to form a parents' auxiliary.

This group recognized the dearth of services for those individuals not in the institution and began to work for education in the city under the name Manitoba Association for Retarded Chidren. By 1953 they had established the first class for 'trainable' retarded children in the Broadway Optimist Club Comuity centre.They moved to St. Andrews church in the next year and began to plan for a larger facility.

In 1956 the Kinsmen club approached the Association and offered to build a school. Up to this time the operations had been financed entirely by the Associations' appeals to the public. There were no grants from either the province or the municipal governements.

The group became quite adept at organizing. The idea for the Canadian Association was developed in Winnipeg in the Royal Alexandria hotel and established in Toronto in the following year(1958). The group also established the Winnipeg Association and looked to the establishment of AMRs in the rural areas. This was the time when the private sector began to look beyond the education question to the matter of community living and community workshops.

By May 1957 the Kinsmen school was opened with provincial and municipal funds. The community groups oversaw additions to the school in 1959,1962,and 1963,and the development of workshops in Winnipeg and the rural areas. The end of June 1967 saw the transfer of responsibility for classes for school aged children from the Association to the public school system.

As the Manitoba Association became the developer and the representative of other local Associations(the organization is similar to a federation) it began to take on the role of leader,planner,and coordinator for the private sector funders and operators. The Winnipeg Association took on the role of service operator including the revamped Kinsmen School workshop and the ARC industries workshop.

As the Manitoba School staff began to expand services from 1967 to 1973 they relied heavily on the community contacts of the Associations. They used the political influence of the Manitoba Association to assist in meeting their and the Association's objectives of community living.

The private sector planning in this period is of particular interest. In the late sixties the Association was very influenced by what was happening locally. The only real model of a professional service was the Manitoba School itself. This fact is reflected in the Association's plans for a combined residence and workshop in the Winnipeg area.

The facility would have had twenty beds and serviced about sixty in the workshop.

11.2.1.2   1973 to 1975

From about 1973 the number of services in place began to generate the spontaneous development of groups willing to start their own services through government funding (the only source available at that time unless the group had private means). The Winnipeg Association's role as the private agency that put in proposals began to decrease. Both it and the Manitoba Association started to become 'resource providers',although this role was well established in the Manitoba Association by this time. These roles solidified around 1974-1975 with the sweep of the"normalization principle"of Wolfsenberger(1972) across the continent and the development of the 1975 policy paper and residential guidelines.

The"normalization principle" stressed a philosophy that called for the integration of the mentally retarded into the community and the importance of developing services that fostered normal behaviours. This meant,in practical service terms, a change from the previous houseparent model of residential care to the more professional 'training for community living' approach that emphasized sex and age appropriate behaviours and an increasing ability to use community facilities and resources as normal adult members of the com-

munity. It also stressed the evaluation of services in these terms through the use of the Program Analysis of Service Systems(1972). The Associations'plans of the 60's for large combined residences and workshops were now viewed as misguided and too institutional in thinking.

The principle was embraced by the government and by the private sector. In part, it aided the establishment of the training residence concept recommended in the Birkhouse report. Because it also espoused the development of smaller service units it aided the Birkhouse recommendations for streaming clients into units designed for specific client groupings.

Between 1972 and 1975, the Manitoba A.M.R. became increasingly sophisticated. It expanded contacts with other associations across the continent,embraced normalization,and began to strenthgen its leadership and planning role.

11.2.1.3   1975 to 1978

As the government focussed on the rural areas between 1975 and 1978 the increasing population pressures in the city led the Manitoba Association to an increasingly political orientation. When coupled with its growing technical sophistication,this created differences in perspective between it and the Community M.R. program staff.

In May 1976,the Winnipeg Association created a residential task force to develop long term plans and strategies for the Winnipeg area. They recommended innovative programs and set the stage for the private sector in the city for years to come. These programs resulted both from the agency's knowledge of programs in America(with the guidance of Manitoba A.M.R.) and from an extensive community analysis. The recommendations included comprehensive residential,development,and volunteer programs such as infant stimulation,integrated day care,child development services, parent to parent groups,parent education and training,and respite care,and etc. These programs were broken down by age and functioning level and included staff development, the creation of an M.R. program at a community college, and other large scale sophisticated programming objectives.

The time had arrived when the private sector planning went beyond government planning and outstripped the government's ability to support it. The government at this time, was still concentrating on residential development in the rural areas. It still had its primary objective of deinstitutionalization and the split orientation between the community and the Manitoba School because of its Director's joint responsibility. The community agencies,on the other hand,received the brunt of citizen demand for services and were forced to say that lack of government resources held tham back. This strenghthened the differences between the

Association and the government staff and forced the executive to adopt tactics aimed at the political hierarchy.

The sweep of the "normalization principle" ,the Birkhouse report,the policy paper,and the residential guidelines were all signs of the growing sophistication in the field. In 1977 the Associations began to evaluate services using the PASS system and to develop programs based on the relatively sophisticated models developed in Nebraska,Alberta and elsewhere and to develop training programs in Normalization for staff.

The government,for its part, absorbed the ideas. Its representatives attended the same conferences and seminars. It incorporated the use of the Adaptive Functioning Index and the Individual Program Plans as part of its programming requirements in 1977-1978. It is impossilble to tell the role of the community in this period by documentation. Most of the political actors of the time have left. But there is considerable evidence of cross-fertilization between the private and public sectors from personal interviews with the staff of each sector, and with some of the board members involved,especially in the development of the guidelines and the requirements for IPPs and AFIs.

The period(1976-1978) is important in that two things happened. The city agencies were evolving and adopting the"normalization principle"to the point where there was a fundamental change in the direction of planning away from

the houseparent-institutional model of care and toward the small specific-target professional model. Although the government became reactive as opposed to proactive in the planning process,it secured some rudimentary tools that emphasized programming as opposed to simple bed counts and budgets. The services that were offered,however,suffered from the previous lack of evaluation and incentive for change. The new evaluative tools were not yet in extended use and consequently,it seemed unlikely they would change the services in any fundamental way.

11.2.2   Joint History 1978 to Present

11.2.2.1   Community Direction

The private sector has been the most active in this period. The ideas from the National Institute for Mental Retardation,Wolfsenberger's 1976 philosophy statement and the views of other leaders came to Manitoba in this time. These ideas emphasized the difficulty of political and community action for the improvement of services when one was responsible for their operation. The central theme in these ideas were the adoption of a monitoring role, the development of community groups with parent representation to operate and plan services at a more local level,and the use of advocates and volunteers to improve and increase programming in residences and other care programs.

The Winnipeg Association thus had developed community councils in St.James and East Kildonan and other areas in 1977. In 1978 it split itself into two boards--one to operate residential services(Winserv Inc.) and one to run workshops. Winnipeg's new role was to act as a monitor and to develop community groups.

Between 1978 and 1980 the Winnipeg Association spent considerable time, without an executive director, developing a plan of action to meet their new thrust. The administrative functions were taken over by the Manitoba Association in the interim.

The Manitoba Association ,for its part,included some of the innovative programs developed in the residential task force report in its budget submission to the provincial government in 1978. There was considerable reluctance on the governments part to fund the Association, but they were finally partially funded . As a result,the Manitoba Association decided to seek public funding through the Marathon.[8] funding event.

The successful Marathon assured the Manitoba association of a funding base in the forseeable future and provided a secondary source of funding for community projects. The Marathon subcommittee used the task force report and the recent

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[8]The Marathon is a public fund seeking effort that usually occurs in mid-June.

Manitoba association's planning as its base for funding objectives. They have emphasized the development of a residential continuum, support to the community councils, and the development of parent support, and programs for staff, and volunteers. This has assured and increased the role of the Manitoba Association as the senior leader and planner in the private sector and placed Winnipeg largely in a front line development position.

It should be noted that the private sector is not as homogeneous or as organized as it appears. The best example of this is the DASCH group. This group began prior to the split in the Winnipeg board and was interested in severe and profound clients. This client group was not a priority due to the fundamental changes occurring in the associations. The group basically split away from the association and relied on the auspices of the government funding personnel for the funding of its sevices. Numerous other examples may be cited of course. They would all attest to and reflect the political infighting and competition that occurs when there are limited resources controlled by one or two groups, in this case C.A.M.R. Manitoba and the government.

11.2.2.2   Government Direction

The government in this time commissioned two more residences . This small number is accounted for by the restraint program of the Conservative government in this period (1977 to present).

As indicated earlier,the government adopted the"normalization principle" and other new techniques such as the IPP and the AFI. In reaction to the private sector planning and organization,the government used the residential guidelines to formalize its relationships with groups seeking funds. Groups would be required to use the AFI as the measurement of client progress and to use the IPPs as the client planning method. It also used the guidelines to assert the role of its staff--the community service workers. They were to assure that an IPP occurred for each client at least once a year(this included assessment using the AFI). They were also to be involved in the hiring of staff and to act as the representative of clients under an order of supervision.[9]

In 1978,the change to a contract system for full time residential staff coupled with declining grants in real terms,forced the staff to allocate training hours on a client per week basis(five hours per client per week) to those units with a training label,and to once again emphasize budgets in their review procedures. At this time all entrance decisions were in the hands of the private agencies,including screening procedures,applications,and final selection.The agencies had only to live within the

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[9]An order of supervision states that the person under the order is a legal ward of the state. In this case the authority flows from the office of the Public Trustee to the Regional Director for Mental Retardation to the community service worker.

percentage rule requiring that 60-80% of clients entering be selected from the Manitoba School.

The period of restraint meant an increasing workload for the community service workers and a declining budget for residences and other programs. It was during this period that the program staff priorized the use of IPPs and AFIs to residences only. The idea appeared to be that the community service workers could not accomplish them and handle their caseload. The residential staff could,however,still accomplish this since they did not have the same pressures. During this time,there was an increasing pressure for changes in the percent rules(applying to client entry) since the entrance of Portage School clients into residences meant an increased burden on staff time. The staff time was now being newly assigned to the implementation of IPPs and AFIs. Agencies argued that there should at least be a seperate training unit for Portage clients since they usually had more severe behaviour problems. At a minimum there should be an increase in the training hours assigned to units that accepted them. The program staff argued,on the other hand, that programming could be expanded through the use of volunteers. They pointed to the latest adoption of Wolfsenberger's ideas which stressed parent and volunteer input as a means of accomplishing the same objectives with fewer directly funded service hours.

The development of the Marathon committee forced the government to try to develop better liasons and some control over where the private funding went. The government was afraid that they would be asked to take over the new services once their 'demonstration' period was over. This implied a loss in ability to plan,and a genuine concern for clients placed in services that might not receive continued funding. At this time,however,the government itself did not have concrete long term plans.

The increased community pressure for training for all clients coupled with declining real value of funds has recently forced the government to propose a plan that would have training hours follow the clients and not be assigned to specific service units. This would entail identifying clients with training needs and assigning a certain number of hours to them. It would not necessarily mean that clients in training residences would receive training hours since they need not necessarily be classified as requiring them. This would,in effect, make the domiciliary-training distinction in residences meaningless. It is viewed by most members in the private sector as a means of spreading the same number of training hours over many residences and other units,thus reducing the effectiveness. In short, it is viewed as a political ploy designed to make the government look good by being able to claim that the number of units receiving training hours has increased. It should be noted

that no formal evaluation of the effectiveness of training hours was undertaken.

Also, recently, the government, with Manitoba Association's blessing, has centralized the admission function and process. A regional liason committee has been established to accept all applications for placement. This committee assigns a list of five clients to each residence in the province. When an opening occurs the five names are given to the agency and it must choose one of the five. Although the plan may be an attempt to create order in a previously chaotic system, one has to wonder about the control an agency can exert when the allocation of clients and the allocation of training hours are out of its hands. Both the choice of client and the number of training hours per client influence the staff's ability to effectively service clients. The uncertainty of client selection makes the commitment of hours to current clients difficult to assign because future requirements of training hours for new clients is made more uncertain.

11.3 SUMMARY OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF SERVICES

This review is given from the perspective of a private agency interested in one particular group of mentally handicapped clients--those suitable and desiring residential services.

People who are mentally retarded do not have physical, monetary, or vote getting power. Their power, if any, comes from their kin or other interested community members who speak or demand services on their behalf.

In the early stages of development of the Community M.R. program, the thrust into the community came from well-meaning staff at the institution in Portage. As the community placements increased, a growing awareness sparked the interest of family members in local associations and, through it, government activity.

The first kinds of residences were based on the house parent model and funded on a shoestring. The emphasis was on cost and the number of placements. As the program staff began to develop services in the rural areas the population pressures in the city increased the demand for sevices in the city. This created an increasingly political orientation in the city associations and fostered competition among smaller groups. The growing demand also forced the private sector to plan and priorize a 'shopping list' that was largely developed by importing ideas and principles from outside the province. This led to the development of the residential guidelines, a comprehensive plan for future services, and an increasing emphasis on efficiency and effectiveness (particularly through the normalization tool, the IPP, and the AFI).

Since the government had assigned the Director of the Portage School as the program director,the community was perceived as not having as much attention paid to it as it should have received. Community members thought that the director had a dual role,either of which was antithetical to the other. There were no evaluation procedures for the residences that opened in the 1973-1977 period,only adminis- trative requirements that emphasized costs. This implied a direction of minimal service provision and created a need in the private sector for sophisticated program knowledge and development.

As the associations developed plans for comprehensive services,the government reacted by incorporating selected parts(the IPP and the AFI) that could be standardized across all settings. Evaluation was now based on where the program had fallen down in relation to what it had promised. The program staff did not have the tools in place,nor the staff time,nor the desire to evaluate on more professional crite- ria such as behavioural change.

With the increasing leadership role of the Association the government staff became a funder in its more bureauc- ratic sense. They could only wait for proposals to be sub- mitted,attempt to push them through an increasingly cost oriented hierarchy,and rationalize the result. The develop- ment of a second funding base in the private sector further

relegated the government to a reactive role. It has been further reinforced by a Conservative government with its restraint philosophy.

The program staff and the hierarchy have,however,centralized considerable power in the regulation of residences. This has been accomplished through the centralization of admissions,the role of the community service workers in the hiring of staff,and more recently in the plan to allocate training hours in such a way as to follow clients and not be assigned to specific service units. Of course all of the above may be considered as the normal course for a government that is interested in assuring the proper allocation of its funds. It is interesting to note however that the government has never bought the private sector's shopping list outright. It has always dealt with each service agency that applied for funding,one at a time and with varying criteria.

The only overall conclusion that can be drawn is that there are now two powerful funders in the M.R. field,each with limited power in a different fashion,each with different objectives,and each with fewer areas of agreement on how to operationalize the objectives of service.

On the one hand , the senior member of the private sector has an extensive shopping list of innovative programs that it wishes to see the province adopt and some funds to see

that they are implemented. On the other hand, there is a government funding agency with an emphasis from its staff on reducing the number of people in Portage School and the operational control to see that its wishes are enforced.

The issue for the agency that wishes to operate services is that once an agency is funded in the private sector it must approach the public sector for ongoing operational funding. These facts have implications for the funding strategies of smaller service agencies who are interested in the development of residential services.

Chapter XII

CASE HISTORY OF A HUMAN SERVICE AGENCY

The following history is meant to provide the reader with a detailed history of the agency. The actual events are not necessarily told in order of their occurrence. Some are highlighted in this section while other points are made in seperate sections that highlight the operations of certain committees.

12.0.1   History Under C.A.M.R. Winnipeg Division

12.0.1.1   Creation of The Residences

The services that the agency operates began under the auspices of the Winnipeg division of C.A.M.R. with the opening of residence A in 1973 for ten mentally retarded adults. This was followed in 1974 with the opening of residence B for eight clients. The Winnipeg Association assigned its Director of Residences as the overseer of the services. His role thus included the development of residential services in the city and the management of the residences. His salary was paid by the Winnipeg Association.

The services were offered on a per diem cost basis. The per diem covered the mortgage of the house, food costs for the clients and staff and the salaries of staff. It also

provided a small amount for the replacement of furniture and the maintenance of grounds and building. The per diem for food was $1.77 per client per day. Residence managers were paid approximately $10,500 per annum. The annual cost for a residence for ten mentally retarded adults was roughly $60,000.

Clients were to attend a workshop during the day and were expected to learn basic skills(dressing, bus training,cooking,etc.). Residence A was assigned staff funds for a part time cook since the residence had ten clients. Each residence was to be managed by a residence manager and staff funds were assigned for replacements during the weekends.

The selection process for the clients included the use of the percentage rule(requiring 60-80% from Manitoba School) dictated by the provincial grant. The two services thus had approximately 80% of their clients from the Manitoba school. The staff were older with little background in training for the handicapped.

The services reported to a Residence commitee of C.A.M.R. which was composed originally of board members and some community service workers. There was a heavy emphasis,in the initial stages,on parental help which was provided by parents who had previously been members of the parent's auxiliary of the Manitoba school.

Since there were no formal procedures or adequate tools,the first year of operation was a process of adjustment for both clients and staff. Several clients were found not to be suitable and were replaced with others who had fewer behavioural problems. There appeared to be an acclimatization process that involved the clients unlearning institutional behaviours and becoming accustomed to community living.

The staff reported to two committees. These were the Admission and Discharge committee(for client entry and exit) and the Program Evaluation committee (for the development of programs). Both committees included staff,board members,and community service workers. The meetings were really client programming meetings that included discussions of what kinds of activities to undertake with clients and what kinds of programs would work the best. The community service workers played a more professional role acting as resources.They became the liason for client selection in their roles as case workers for community clients not in the services. Board members,who were active on both commitees,were remarkably well informed of client goals, staff activities and plans,and the pitfalls of the system.

Since the staff pay was low, the staff turnover was high. And,since few records were kept and there were few instruments then available for measuring behavioural change, the

stock of knowledge of staff activities and workable programs rested primarily in the longterm staff and the active board members. The programming differed between the residences, since residence A had younger clients who stood a chance of picking up skills, and residence B had older clients who were perceived as less able to learn.

As the Winnipeg Association began to grow in importance and itself be influenced by the models and ideas of other sources (Nebraska, Alberta, etc.), the expectations of staff and programs began to increase. Those staff people that left, were replaced with personnel with marginally better qualifications and were sent on training courses for program planning and behaviour modification as they became available from the Association and the government.

12.0.1.2   Addition of a Training Residence

In 1974 as the two residential services began to improve and as the Winnipeg Association began to adopt ideas about the 'continuum of services' and the "principle of normalization" the Association submitted a proposal for a training residence (residence T) to the government.

In the meantime the actual residence activities and programs became relatively fixed, but predominantly determined by the residence manager who ran them. For instance, Residence A became increasingly program and train-

ing oriented,gladly accepting a government budget decision to cut the salary of the part time cook so that the residents could receive more training in cooking. The residence and Program Evaluation committees moved from active planning and involvement in client activities to more of a supervisory role. Relationships that had previously been informal became more formalized. The parental input that had previously been easily accessed and tapped by board and staff became less so. The relationships with parents became more formal at a staff level as well. The number of informal programs per client averaged 2-3. The critical issues in management related to the acquisition cf resources for the physical plant and for clients. The relations with the government amounted to living within the budget. There were no expectations about training and no formal evaluation procedures.

The staff received training in the Adaptive Functioning Index and in behaviour modification as these techniques became available and emphasized by the Winnipeg and Manitoba Associations and the government in their long range planning. The Residence committee became involved in the long range planning and the development of Residential Guidelines. As a result of these factors,the programming in the residences increasingly became the jurisdiction of the residence manager. At this point (late 1975) one residence manager was professionally oriented and emphasized the acquisi-

tion of social and community behaviours and one was more oriented to the houseparent model emphasizing more basic skills with little emphaisis on social or community skills. The residence committee board members were satisfied with both staff,since they perceived them as serving different clients.

The Winnipeg Association's plans for a training residence came to fruition in 1976 with the actual opening of residence T for eight clients. The proposal for the residence emphasized training and included a separate budget item for training hours. It also included a 30 month time line for clients to move from the training residence to more independent living situations. The entry criteria were more 'professional' than the entry criteria for the two residences (these were the first to open in the city) and included the use of the Adaptive Functioning Index in the selection ,and a list of skills that clients had to have. However,there was little correspondence between these criteria and the characteristics of the clients selected. This was a function of the selection process(somewhat political),the lack of use of the AFI in the field as a whole(it should be remembered that the governemt had priorized the use of AFIs in the residences and not in the entire field) and the availability of clients who were ready for placement at the time of selection.

The new staff were absorbed into the committee structure. The staff became a little more professional with the inclusion of 'training staff' although the training function and procedures were unclear to those staff that were selected. This was due,in part,to the lack of objectives and procedures in the committee. Training goals and procedures had not been part of the work of the committee in the recent past since the work of the residences had been left to the residence managers. Even though one residence used the AFI and behaviour modification,the committee itself had not evolved procedures for the planning and review of such programs. At about this time the staff person of residence A and selected board members argued that the residence ought to become a training residence since it was well staffed and training was a growing concern of the government. The argument was successful and residence A became the second residence with training in the province beside residence T.

12.0.1.3   Creation of a Management System

The management of three residences and the addition of a training residence, forced the residence committee to ask for the use of a resource person from the government in early 1977. The government provided a psychologist to act as the resource person. This person began to develop,with the staff,written observation and reliability procedures for the AFI and to require that client programs be written up

with formal procedures. The format of the programs became increasingly behavioural. The residence committee per se was no longer involved in client programming or staff supervision. They focused instead on the funding and the resource support roles.

Up to this point the agency had control of the selection process. They maintained lists of applications that came to them from interested community members. The agency also had control of the actual procedures and planning methods used in the residences for the clients. The resource person added a professional approach to these activities but the decisions were in the hands of the board of directors and the staff on the Program Evaluation committee.

The resource person, the staff, and the director of residences began to evolve a management package for the running of residences. The package evolved in response to the concerns of the staff and the board. It was developed primarily by the staff and the resource person over a six to eight month period. The concerns of the groups were as follows:

1. Board members-- Many of the board members were parents themselves. They wanted the residences to run smoothly and to operate with reasonable quality by a non--professional director of residences and a non-professional board.

2. Staff--the staff wanted to operate a high quality service that provided them with some guidelines and scme objectives. They were aware of the growing trend toward a professional model and wanted to enhance their positions and qualifications as semi--professionals. They also perceived that the management package would afford them some protection and would formalize relationships with the board and the parents.

3. Resource person--the resource person wanted a high quality service that met some professional criteria and that also met the needs cf the government.

The resulting package was very behaviourally oriented,reflecting in large part the orientation of the resource person and the dominant staff.

Concern was expressed by board members that untoward incidents in the community be picked up and dealt with early to avoid getting a bad name for the service. They were also concerned that the parents of the clients perceived the service to be a good one. To this end,the package included a parent questionnaire to elicit parent opinion and to measure changes in satisfaction, and a system of reporting incidents. The board and staff also knew that the parents and the community were more likely to perceive the service to be a good one if the clients and the plant were clean and neat

in appearance and if there was a resonable stock of food in the residences. To this end the package included a client appearance check and a physical plant check that included a list of basic foods. This was viewed as a precautionary measure developed from a perception that the community had the potential of influencing the service. This potential had been recently demonstrated in the community reaction to the opening of another residence(Tracy Crescent) that had been blocked by community fears that the residence would destroy property values.

The administrative duties of the residence managers were included in an administrative check and a budget check. The quality of the services was subsumed under several measures. There was an outings sheet that kept track of how many times the clients went out in the community each day and measures that summarized the clients AFI scores and changes in it,and the number of training goals that were actually achieved.

At about this time (1976 early 1977) the government began to require that the AFI be used in every residence and that the Individual Program Planning method be used in residences that were funded by the government. At about the same time the Winnipeg Association split itself into two boards. One to run the workshops and one to run residences.

The IPP requirement was included in the management package. It was not a serious change to the method of operation

since parent opinion was usually sought out by the staff
when planning programs for the client. The split in the Win-
nipeg board was handled in a very different way.

12.1   CREATION OF THE AGENCY

The split of the Winnipeg board created the RS agency in
late 1978. It was the ideas of Wolfsenberger in action. The
Winnipeg Association was to become the monitor of services.
The services themselves were to be run by parents and volun-
teers who were committed to the organization because it
served their offspring.

Those parents and other community members that formed the
board had definite ideas.They had watched and some had par-
ticipated in the Winnipeg C.A.M.R. board. They did not like
the dominance of the staff in the policy and direction set-
ting that had evolved. They wanted the new agency to be a
small,close knit,working board of directors with each member
responsible for one area and consequently 'expert' in that
area.

The new board took over operations of the three resi-
dences in late 1978. They organized themselves function-
ally. For example,an accountant was the chairman of the per-
sonnel and finance committee,a lawyer was the chairman of
the constitution committee. Since there was no technically
trained person, the resource person from the government was

asked to be the head of a committee that amalgamated the Admissions and Discharge and the Program Evaluation committee into one called the Program Management and Client Movement committee. He was later also made the chairman of the Future Planning committee. It appeared that the government was willing to let him do so because they wanted the agency to succeed and because they wanted to assure themselves that the agency met their standards and followed their operating procedures.

The expectations of the Winnipeg Association were that the RS agency would spearhead a movement to consolidate the operation of residential services in the Winnipeg area under one umbrella organization. It would,after some time, also be expected to continue to develop new services thus expanding the 'continuum of services'.

The majority opinion of the RS board was that its members were relatively new to the field and needed to get a feel for the operation of residences and consolidate skills and knowledge in the field.

The salary of an administrator was guaranteed for the period of three years, with the understanding that as the agency grew the salary would be paid by government. The previous director of residences was hired and made an ex- officio member of the board. His role was to oversee the operation of the residences including budgets,liason with other

agencies,and act as the enabler for the board. C.A.M.R. was to pick up the accumulated deficit of the residential operations and to hold the mortgages of the residences.

12.1.1   First Two Years of Operation

12.1.1.1   External Influences

In the first months of operation the members of the new organization concentrated on developing a working knowledge of the transfer of title of the residences,the development of the constitution, understanding the financing of the operation,and a preliminary analysis of the requirements of the funder. In this time the funding pattern for the residence manager changed. The residence manager had previiously been the full time staff of the residences under C.A.M.R.. He or she had primary responsibility for staff and client supervision. The position was changed to a contract position.The two residences that were classified as training residences received the equivalent of five training hours per client per week. The residence was now staffed by a residence manager who was now a contractor that hired his own replacements,since the contract required providing 365 days of care(he was paid $5.75 per client per day) with no provision for holidays.

The original trainers left and were replaced by more qualified people(e.g. B.A. in Psychology and previous experience with behaviour modification at the Manitoba School).

The agency pooled the training hours of each residence (50 in residence A and 40 in residence T) and created a senior training position with the advice of the resource person. The senior trainer became responsible for a pool of part-time trainers(two at residence T and one in residence A) This change in staffing pattern formalized the training function much more than it had been. It included more profesional staff (the senior trainer) and made the senior trainer formally accountable for programs.

The change in training hour allocation raised the issue of programming objectives for residence T. Was it still expected to train clients for independent settings in a 30 month period? The issue was left hanging by the government funder. Presumably they wanted the transition from one allo-cation base to another to be accepted and were willing to leave the original training objectives open.

12.1.1.2   Internal Operations

The staff activities and planning (operating core) became the jurisdiction of the resource person who chaired the Pro-gram Evaluation and Client Movement committee with the administrator as co-chairman. As the new training staff acclimatized themselves,the residences continued to function smoothly;especially with the application of the performance measures incorporated in the management package. The new staff and the growing influence of the resource person for-

malized the operating procedures of the operating core even more as the behavioural procedures became the method of training. Staff reports became more formalized and more concentrated around the measures in the mangement package. This group asked the board for training funds to support the purchase of training aids. This was not provided in the transition from direct training staff to the allocation of training hours per client. The board asked for such funds for three years in a row before they were granted.

12.1.1.3 Operations in 1979

In the latter part of 1978 one or two staff people prepared a brief for an 18 bed apartment facility.The board submitted the proposal to the government for funding. At the same time the resource person and the staff argued for a small demonstration project that would place two of the RS's clients in an apartment on a trial basis. The model differed from the 18 bed proposal in that it proposed intense training over a six month period with the clients being transferred to the supervision of a community service worker at the end of the training. The 18 bed proposal included full time supervision on a funded basis. Funds for the demonstraion project were submitted to and received funding from the newly formed Marathon committee.

The project was successful and led to the development of an extension of the model that would see the same idea

applied for nine apartments of two people each. The target

of nine apartments came from an estimate of needs given to

the staff by community service workers. The proposal went to

the board of directors from the Program Management and

Client Movement committee in June of 1979 and was approved.

It receivd funding from the Marathon committee in August of

1979. The resource person became the chairman of the commit-

tee that operated the project.

In the meantime the board had worked out some of its

operations. The finance committee settled into the job of

reconciling the 1978 budget and developing the 1979 submis-

sion to government. The constitution and bylaws were devel-

oped and approved at a members' meeting. The board received

a report and presentation from the trainers and were

impressed with the actual operations and client improvement.

Also during the first year of operation,the Winnipeg

Association cut back the administrator's salary from full

time to part time. They did this because they felt that

there was not enough for the administrator to do with only

three residences in operation. It appeared that the Marathon

committee wanted the expansion of services as the Winnipeg

Association had originally envisioned. They were not then

prepared to fund a salary that included the operation of

only three residences. The board included the administra-

tor's salary in the proposal to the Marathon committee for

the apartment project but were unsuccessful in getting it.

Around this time,the 30 month time frame originally pro-
posed for the movement of clients to more independent set-
tings in residence T elapsed. The board argued that the
change in training budget allocation established by the fun-
der in the changeover from residence manager to independent
contractor left the RS agency with insufficient resources to
carry out the original intentions,as worded in the original
proposal for funding under C.A.M.R., The government left the
matter unresolved. The board and the funder did not reach
any longstanding agreement on the role of residence T.

By October 1979 the apartment project,as funded by the
Marathon committee, was underway and fully staffed. The
board had devised a set of objectives for 1980 that
included:

1. Obtaining permanent funding for the administra-
   tor's salary.

2. Researching operational requirements that would
   arise if the agency was asked to take on the
   administration of more residences in the future.

3. Preparation of a brief for more and better train-
   ing funding.

4. Setting up a fund raising commitee to solicit
   funds from the public.

12.1.1.4   External Influences

In late 1979 the government announced the creation of a central Admissions commitee that would receive all applications for entrance into residential services in the Winnipeg area,screen the clients for functioning level and priorize five clients for placement into each residence.

This meant that the applications in the hands of the RS agency were transferred to the central committee. The agency no longer had full control of client entry. It had only partial control through the inclusion of board members in the selection process(two board members would attend as voting members in the decision as to which of the five clients would enter the service) and the limited power of veto over any of the five. Previously the selection of clients had been made by the Admissions and Discharge committee and later the Program Management and Client Movement committee using the AFI and the staff of the agency. Once a client had been selected he or she was usually asked to come for dinner to see if he /she would fit into the residence and if the other clients would get along with the client. The parents were then interviewed and a selection made. The agency tried to ensure that client turnover was accomplished quickly since they lost the payment for the time between clients. The new system was perceived by most of the staff as detrimental,since it took away their ability to plan services effectively. They felt that they could no longer choose a

client whose skill deficits matched their abilities or who would 'fit in' with other clients. The staff felt that the board was losing touch with the operating core as they became occupied with funding arrangements.

12.2 AGENCY OPERATIONS 1980

In the early part of 1980 the apartment project ran into trouble. The 40 or more clients,that the community service workers had identified as being high functioning and available,did not materialize. The staff were now forced to wait for the central Admissions committee of the province to priorize clients. When this didn't work out well the staff began to solicit and interview clients in other places in the hopes that they could be screened speedily by the central committee. Eventually the project decided that the committee should be bypassed if the original target dates for apartment openings were to be met.

As the staff were looking around for clients,they were asked by another agency to take on two clients that had been placed in an apartment by the other agency. The clients were interviewed and found not to meet the criteria as originally proposed to the Marathon committee.They were rejected on these grounds. The head of the other agency and one other influential member of the M.R. community raised questions at the Marathon committee. The answer was quick and abrupt. The apartment staff was cut by one staff person for not meeting

'the needs of the community'. This presumably meant not taking in clients with behaviour problems- a kind of client the criteria of the original proposal explicitly stated was not a suitable candidate for a project with a six month time line for making clients independent.

The agency's board of directors had several meetings with the funder and the staff,and finally had them agree to return the staff. The entry criteria was changed at the same time. It is unclear,even to this day,whether the staff is to adopt a longer time line for making clients independent in the eyes of the funder.

Two other significant events happened in the early parts of 1980. The board successfully argued for the inclusion of funds for training supplies. The government,with pressure for cost cutting,suggested that the training hours not be assigned to specific residences but assigned to clients. The senior trainer and an independent contractor suggested to the board that such a scheme would severely limit the abil-ity of the staff to plan activities, since it was unclear that the training hours would remain in the residences clas-sified as training residences. The senior trainer suggested that if the board wished to have training for all of its clients, they should write a brief suggesting that residence B receive training hours on the same basis as residences A and T. The board is currently proceeding with this strategy.

The potential outcome is unclear because the agency does not really know the full reasons for the change in training hour allocation.

12.3   THE EVOLUTION OF THE OPERATING CORE

When residences A and B first opened,the expectations of both the Winnipeg board and the government were that the facilities would run smoothly. The clients would learn the basic skills of living in the community, as opposed to the institution.

The original entry criteria were not very well thought out and were implemented hastily. People of different ages and different functioning levels were mixed. As has been mentioned, those clients with behavioural problems were eventually replaced by those who were more easily placed in services managed by people with little professional training.

The operation of the residences settled into a relative routine with the staff emphasizing the acquisition of basic skills,such as bus training to get to work,and helping out in the kitchen. In general,the operation could be characterized by a 'houseparent model' with low training expectations. This view matches well with the funding emphasis of the government at that time(1973-74).Parents were happy to see their offspring leave the institution and come closer to

home. Clients often went to their parent's home for the weekend.

The emphasis in residences changed as the field grew through the importation of ideas and the residence committee of C.A.M.R.,as one of the leaders in the field of M.R., started to hire marginally better staff. Clients were now expected to acquire community and social skills and to become more independent(the tenets of"normalization").The houseparent model began to switch to a more professional one,primarily through the training of the staff in the new orientation. As the board started to concentrate on the long range planning,the staff were left increasingly to apply the newer techniques on their own.

With the development of the training residence concept and the growing professionalization of the staff,the emphasis of the staff changed. Clients were now on informal programs managed,by the residence managers and formal programs managed by the training staff. Some of the training programs aimed at independence of the client began to change the expectations or alarm the parents. For instance,a program might include decreasing the frequency of a client going to his parent's for the weekend and changing his or her perception that his home was not his parent's place,but the residence in which he lived.

With the introduction of the AFI and the coming on stream
of residence T (the training residence) the staff procedures
became more formalized. Admissions and Discharge meetings
began to focus on the AFI scores of the client seeking
entry. The decisions centered on whether the client's needs
matched the current abilities of the staff. The mixing of
functioning levels was questioned because the staff had lim-
ited time and expertise. They could not be expected to pro-
vide service to many clients with behavioural problems since
the programming time would be taken away from other clients
who were in the service. These clients had programs outlined
and the group was committed to seeing them through.

The operation of the residences was now more or less
divided. The independent contractor(previously the residence
manger under the C.A.M.R. system) managed informal programs
with the clients. The trainers operated formal programs. The
planning was accomplished by informal discussion using the
AFI score as the basis for determining skill deficits. These
were combined with the intuition of the staff and the infor-
mal input of the parents.

With the introduction of the resource person,IPPs,and the
new trainers in mid 1978 the procedures became even more
formalized. The use of behaviour modification meant the
development of written programs,the collection of
data,reliability procedures,and the application of such

procedures as chaining[10] etc. This created a knowledge gap between the board and staff and especially between the staff and parents.

The residences continued to operate as before except that the planning process had to include the formal involvement of the parent,a community service worker,the staff, and possibly the person from the client's workplace. The results of these IPP meetings were to become one of the measures of the government in its evaluation of the residences.

The Program Management and Client Movement committee focused on the plant checks,independent contractor skill checks,and the training report of the management package. The actual operation of the residences from day to day was left to the mutual adjustment of the trainers and the independent contractors.

The proposal for an apartment project was generated by the staff who adopted the 'residential continuum' idea. They were concerned about the general level of service provided in the M.R. field and perceived that the current services were insufficient to meet the 'need' for more independent settings. The successful demonstration project spurred them on to writing the nine bed apartment proposal. Both of these projects were generated by the staff. They were

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[10]Chaining is the selective use of reinforcement. It is used to shape the small steps,that are part of a larger task,until the whole sequence is learned.

written,however,knowing that the goals of the board included the expansion of services. The formal process included the passing of motions at the Future Planning committee and later presentations to the board of directors.

Some issues should be mentioned. After using the AFI for some time,the staff and resource person became concerned that it was a poor instrument to measure change if the procedures and reliability measures were not properly done. Since it was the minimum required by the government for decisions on client entry,the procedures and reliability measures were undertaken by the Program Management and Client Movement committee. The rest of the M.R. community ,except for cne other small agency,did not do this however. Secondly,the IPP process,as originally proposed,included using the IPPs on a quarterly basis. Since the planning and implementation processes of the agency were far ahead of the other services , the resource person argued that the agency should only have to do them once a year. His arguments were backed up by a time analysis undertaken by one of the staff persons. The government accepted the idea.

The Program Mangement and Client Movement committee also developed criteria for client entry into the residences. The minimum acceptable was a level 2.[11] When one residence

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[11] level would indicate that a client had generally mastered the basic skills for community living(personal hygiene,rocm cleaning,household chores). The client would not have many community or social skills.

accepted a client from the Manitoba school on a trial basis,they found that the staff could not handle the behavioural problems that ensued. This led to a belief of the staff that they had to be careful in the selection of clients so that the programs and objectives that were already in place could be protected. When the government decided to centralize the selection process,the staff were concerned that the lack of sophistication in the use of the AFI by the committee would lead to inappropriate placements in the services,and hence to a lack of goal achievement. There was an increasing discussion in the Program Mangement and Client Movement committee on the effects of the operational requirements of the government funder. These focussed on the lack of government planning in matching the client need with the number and type of residences available. They were confounded by the lack of standardization of the AFI or the IPP in use by the community service workers,and the consequences of these on the actual operation of the agency activities.(e.g. applications for client entry sometimes had good and reliable AFI scores and thorough IPPs whilst others did not).

When the government began to talk about using volunteers to reduce the number of training hours,the staff responded by actively seeking out volunteers to participate in the provision of services. This was viewed as a logical move by the committee. In fact the demonstration project used volun-

teer students to replace the staff person at residence B, while he went to work with the clients in the apartment. Since then the contractor in residence A has used volunteers extensively to take clients out to places in the community and the training staff have used volunteers to run simple training programs in residences A and T.

In summary the staff became increasingly professional over time. This was aided and abetted by the inclusion of methods and ideas at the leading edge of the field. By incorporating the procedures and formalizing standards, however, the staff created a knowledge gap between the staff, the board, and the parents. This was handled in the structure of the agency by assinging a professional to be the head of the committee that managed the staff and by assigning he and other staff to the Future Planning committee. During his tenure, the resource person and staff worked on a mangement package to further standardize procedures and assure quality in the services. The package was also meant to provide a vehicle for the administrator to manage the services even though he was a non professional. At the current time the resource person has discontinued his involvement with the agency. He had always perceived his role as the development of a mangement system that would allow a group of volunteers to operate a high quality service. He felt that he and the staff had accomplished this objective. Since other work was pressing, he and the government decided

that it was time for the board to operate the service on
their own.

Chapter XIII

VIEWS OF FOUR CLASSES OF ACTORS

The questionnaire of appendix A was used to gather information about the respondents views of how the organization functions and where the board and staff perceive the agency heading. Because of time restrictions, two new members of the board were not interviewed. Five board members and five staff people were interviewed.

13.0.1 Activity Strategy and Satisfaction with Current Operations

The summary of interviews suggests that all staff and board members interviewd have similar views of the current activities and their relation to the stated objectives of the organization. All perceive the running of the three residences and the apartment project as the operational definition of 'providing service' to the mentally retarded. All could describe the agency's current activities in terms of the number of clients served. The board and staff agreed on the objectives of the apartment project (independence of clients within six months) but differed in their views of the goals of residences.

All respondents perceived the current organization to be different from their previous experience in organizations. Those board members who had previous experience in human services(e.g. C.A.M.R.) said that the agency was more satisfying and more directly related to service. The staff with previous experience at the Manitoba school found the organization to be more relaxed, freer of restrictions,and more client oriented. Those staff without previous experience in the M.R. field found the work to be satisfying with a great deal of autonomy. Few staff perceived the agency as a long term employer. This was especially true of those with more training qualifications or more educational experience. They saw the potential for advancement in larger organizations that were more professionally organized .

13.0.2   Structure and Operating Core

Sixty percent of the board members indicated that they had a rudimentary knowledge of the technology used in the organization(behaviour modification). One board member had been exposed to behaviour modification in a course and the government sponsored resource person had considerable knowledge. Three board members(including the resource person) could identify the clients served in terms of the range of retardation levels. All board members could identify the clients of the residnces as "lower functioning" and of the apartment as"high functioning".Only the resource person

could identify individual client goals in each residence and the apartment.

The next most informed was the administrator. Other board members could identify the individual goals and characteristics of their son or daughter. All board members indicated that they could get the goals from the agency records. Only the resource person and the administrator could identify more than two items in the management package. The other board members indicated that they could get the information from agency records. Only the resource person, administrator, and one board member with a long history in the field of M.R. could identify the lead time required for a training program.

All board members indicated that they communicated with the staff through the administrator or the resource person. All board members indicated that the staff were coordinated through the Program Mangement and Client Movement committee.

All staff could identify items in the management package, were aware of the client goals in the residence in which they worked, the level of retardation, and client programs in the residences. The trainers could identify these accurately in residence A and T and partially in residence B.

All board and staff could identify the number of clients served in the residences and the apartment project. No one

could give a precise answer to the relationship between this number and the number of residential placements needed in the city of Winnipeg. Even though a government staff person had recently indicated that the number of required placements would exceed 1000 in the mid 1980's,the experience with the government's inaccurate projection of 42 immediate placements in the apartment and the subsequent lack of placements appears to have created distrust in government projections.

Most board members had little idea of how the staff carried out their work. The exception was the resource person.They perceived a clear difference between the epectations placed on the contractor versus the trainer. When asked to compare the services , functions,and the limitations of the agency's services, the board perceived that the services were limited to low functioning in residences and high functioning in the apartment. The staff,on the other hand were more concerned with the limits to the technology. The board,except the resource person,did not relate the technology to any limitations. The board members perceived the quality of services to be related to the type of client and the orientation of the staff. The staff saw the quality related to the access to resources,the allocation of training time,type of client,and support from parents in the operation of programs. They also saw the strong role of the operational requirements of the government funder and the

lack of consistency in their application in the field as
detrimental to the operation of the residences. This was
especially true of the use and reliability of the AFI in the
selection processes and the lack of a strong role of the
board on the selection committee. This would indicate that
the funder does not necessarily understand the effects of
their policies on the actual operations of a residence and
that the policies designed to meet its needs might conflict
with those of the agency and its staff.

13.1 INFLUENCE SYSTEMS

When asked about who they listen to the most in the organi-
zation,the staff indicated other staff. This was related to
the amount of time the other staff had been with the service
and the technical qualifications of the staff person. The
board listened most to other board members in their respec-
tive area of expertise. All board respondents indicated that
they were the most influenced by the resource person in the
development of goals. The person described as having the
most influence on policy was the board chairman.

Both the chairman and the resource person were perceived as
having the most influence in dealing with problems. There
was some division along lines of expertise as well. All mem-
bers agreed that they were influenced by the different
chairmen in their area of expertise. The board differed in
their perceptions of influence in funding decisions,although

they all agreed that the members assigned to the task were influential.

13.1.1 Future Planning and Funder Expectations

The most important split in perception occurred in the area of future planning and its relation to funders. The board was basically split into two groups. One group of board members did not want the services to expand at the expense of the services that were currently operated.They perceived expansion,if it was to occur,neccessary in areas similar to those already offerred-low functioning"clients in residences and"high functioning"to apartments.The members of this group usually had a relative using the service of the agency.

The other group perceived expansion as necessary and the dominant reason for involvement in the organization. One member,who was a parent of a client in the service,had associated with the Winnipeg and Manitoba Associations to the extent of investing a considerable amount of time. The person believed strongly in the "continuum of services". In another case,the person's involvement was predicated on the needs of his offspring in about nine years hence.

Those staff that had been with the service for a long time or were training oriented,believed strongly that the organization should continue to expand its residential services.

The two views do not necessarily conflict. Although those who beleive in expansion believe in the need for a variety of services beyond the two models use by the agency,they would be satisfied with expansion into more residences and apartments. There was also a difference in emphasis between the ideal and the lowest acceptable service. Those associated with expansion along a continuum beleived strongly that the minimum service required training. This was not emphasized as strongly by those who wished to expand without hurting current operations. Those associated with expansion also emphasized professional qualifications in the selection of staff. The staff stated a preference for increased technical qualifications as time went on.

13.1.2 Perceived Funder Expectations

When asked how the funder worked,all board perceived the funder as setting service objectives and mentioned the effects of other agency applications in the funding process. The picture presented was that of one agency in competition with another. Those involved in the funding process could highlight selected aspects(e.g.training for independence). No members could identify the actual criteria used in the funding process or the exact political processes involved after a proposal was submitted.

Those members that wanted to expand services without prejudicing the current ones, perceived the government as a

better source since it was more stable than the private
sector. Those who wanted active expansion perceived the
government as less able to meet their needs and less likely
to have plans similar to theirs or the private sector fun-
der(emphasizing 'continuum of services').

Those staff,that had been involved in funding,perceived
the funders as having inadequate knowledge of agency opera-
tion and service delivery to be effective. They emphasized
the lack of consistency in the training hour allocation and
indicated that the government simply wanted some service at
a minimal cost and were not ready to stand behind normaliza-
tion or the continuum idea. They emphasized the lack of sup-
port to the apartment project as evidence that the private
sector funder did not really understand the operational
requirements of the service.

The board has recently decided to seek funding from all
sources including the public. They see the need to become an
autonomous agency. This was generated by the failure to
finance the administrative salary and the tying of funding
the salary to the expansion of services.The failure of the
private sector funder to fully support the apartment project
and the political manner in which the cut in funds was gen-
erated, also added support to this view.

All board members and staff believe that the funder plays
an important part in the resource provision to the agency

but believe that the agency has to control its own operations. They beleive that the funder expectations change too quickly and that there is little margin for error or flexibility in the amount of their support. The change in training hour allocation and the lack of support in the apartment project are given as supportive evidence.

The staff further emphasized the role of the funders in establishing standards, but at the same time controlling many of the important variables that determine the quality of the service(e.g.type of client selected,the kind of techniques to be used in the operating core).

13.2 AGENCY MEMBERS

The picture that emerges may be related to the general model of Chapter Seven,figure 7. The board members see their role as providing and securing resources for the operating core. They have left the integration of the staff activities to the resource person(a professional), and sought to control the staff only through performance planning evaluations.

In terms of the general model(Fig.7),the board has sought to control the authority and control system through the division of the administrative duties to the administrator and the professional work to the resource person. It has left the staff selection to the resource person and the

administrator together. The board members see this as the primary way to control the agency. Of the other variables outlined in Fig.7 as being under direct board control,the board of the agency appear to seek only to control the organization's goals,its funding strategy,and its resource allocation for the physical plant and food. Its disatisfaction with certain aspects of its funders has recently led it to seek funding from the community,although this role is not yet well developed.

13.3 WEICKIAN INTERPRETATION

In a Weickian sense,the board has isolated the uncertainty of the operating core through the creation of a specific committee. It has then proceeded to deal with acceptable uncertainty by taking control of the funding process and some aspects of resource allocation that do not involve staff activity.

The Program Management and Client Movement committee has controlled the activity strategy and carried out most of the agency's activity planning. It has manged the client information policy and the allocation of training hours in a general way. The direct allocation of training time and the development of community volunteer input has been left directly with the staff.

A good deal of the operation is determined by an external source. For instance the selection of clients is predominantly determined by the government Admissions and Discharge committee. The client or representative influence on client goals has been standardized by the government's requirement of the use of Individual Program Plans. The tool for measuring behaviour change has been standardized by the government, also, in the requirement for the use of the Adaptive Funcioning Index.

At least some of these phenomena may be explained by Weick's theory. The organizing processes of the operating core has been dominated by staff and a profesional. Planning in the operating core has included staff activity and the development of new projects. These have been accomplised generaly through interlocking behavioural cycles in one decision arena (the Program Management and Client Movement committee) composed predominantly of staff with a set technology and orientation. They have evolved very organically with the staff, the resource person and administrator, learning from the development of the management package and its application. Staff attempts and desires to standardize the use of the AFI and IPP in the field as a whole may be viewed in Weickian terms as attempts to reduce uncertainty or in Thompson's terms as a way of 'closing off the operating core'. The growing differences between staff and the parents may be viewed as the process of locking in the behavioural cycles to one group.

The weaknesses,inherent in professicnal bureaucracies as
outlined by Mintzberg become evident with the recent depar-
ture of the resource person. It is difficult for the board
to integrate the activities of the operating core in terms
of to managing staff activities and in particular in rela-
tion to the future activity planning of new projects. This
factor was mentioned over and over again in the interviews
as a 'large hole we can't fill' or as the 'greatest weakness
in our system'. It can be solved by acquiring another pro-
fessioal to manage a similar committee,or by choosing dif-
ferent means of organizing the organization (e.g. division-
alizing into projects with staff project leaders that would
report and be responsible for their project).

13.4   INTERPRETATION USING THE GENERAL INFLUENCE MODEL
             OF FIG.7

This section is designed to analyze the potential and
past strategies of the agency in view of the weaknesses out-
lined in the Weickian section. These may be stated as a lack
of board ability to integrate staff activities without pro-
fessional assisstance and a potential inability to plan
"professional" services without staff or professional input.

An analysis of the actor's views of the control and
direction of the policy variables of Fig. 7
is,therefor,instructive. It may,perhaps, best be viewed
using the restraining and driving forces of force field ana-

lysis. Force field analysis is sometimes used to analyze organizational change. It posits a set of driving forces that push an organization in one direction and a set of restraining forces that hold the organization back.

The analysis is provided both from an historical and a present point of view. The following section outlines the current use and attitudes of participants with respect to the policy variables. The following section attempts to explain the events of the agency's life in terms of the policy variables of Fig.7.

13.5 CURRENT VIEWS AND USES OF THE POLICY VARIABLES

Cognitive maps have been used by others to explain and predict organizational behaviour(Axelrod, 1972);Hall, 1977;Roos&Hall, 1978;Hogarth et al, 1979). Since Axelrod's(1972) method of determining cognitive maps was very time consuming,his methodology was only approximated in the study. Thus, only a general sense of the major actors' ideas of influences and not the 'causal paths' can be provided.

The approximated maps of the actors may be usefully described in terms of the policy varibles described in Fig.7(Chapter 7)

The interviews have indicated that the board variables(as described summarized Fig.7) are generally controlled as in table 10 .

TABLE 10

Control of Policy Variables

Board	Staff	Funder
Funding Strategy	Technology	Type of client
Community Strategy	Resource Alocation to Clients	Technical Requirements (AFIs,IPPs)
Resource Allocation to Units		Client and Representative Goal Influence(IPP)
	Community Inputs Strategy	
Staff Selection		
Org. Goals	Client Information Policy	
Client or Representative Goal Influence		

13.5.0.1   Board Group 1

Those board members who do not want to expand services at
the expense of current ones generally beleive that the
government funder is the most secure and the most reliable.
They do not neccessarily beleive in a professional staff
since they do not commit themselves to the organization They
would want the staff to fulfill funder expectations with a
minimum of disruption in the day to day operations of the
residences,and not necessarily with any increase in the pro-
fessional orientation. They would want to meet the funder's
expectations while maintaining autonomy.

13.5.0.2   Board Group 2

The board group that is interested in the expansion of services would want to match their funding strategy to that of a funder interested in the expansion of services. They would want the staff to operate the current services effectively and efficiently, but would want them to be able to take on new projects. They have an interest in the professional development of the staff and in matching the organization's activity strategy to the future plans of the funder to take advantage of new developments as they arose. The staff would thus have to match their plans and strategies to the requirements of the funder and the organization.

13.5.0.3   Staff

The staff would like to have the funder match the operating requirements to the operational needs of the agency(e.g. stable entry criteria, and standardized application of measurements). They can be assumed to want to increase the profesional abilities of the staff and to follow the general direction of the expansion oriented group of the board but not to be as flexible. For instance, if the funder wanted to change some aspect of the operating core so that the board could take on a new project they can be assumed to not be as flexible as the board groupin accepting this.

13.5.0.4 Resource Person

The resource person is included,even though he is leaving,since his preferences would,most likely, be mirrored by another professional. The resource person is interested in service to the mentally retarded as a whole. He has a preference for the use of professional techniques and would want staff to be as professional as possible. He is more prone than the staff to live within the demands of the funder. In the RS agency,the resource person had a definite objective of meeting government expectations of the operational requirements.

13.5.1   Analysis of Policy Preferences

13.5.1.1   Funding Strategy

Group 1's preference for stable government funding may be placed in contrast to group 2's preference for innovative funding from the private sector. The resource person has left the funding strategy to the board. He has provided information,when necessary and has provided the needed credibility to assure the funders of project successes. The staff has emphasized matching the funding strategy to projects they are able to handle and to funding sources that match the criteria of group 2.

This has created a set of restraining and driving forces that pull in two directions--stable funding with projects that are not "innovative" and private funding that is inno-

vative but not stable. The staff emphasis on matching abilities and synergy between operational and funding requirements has added a second dimension to the funding strategy question.

It is intersting to note that the lack of clear direction and the lack of support for the administrator's salary has created a desire of both groups to seek public (community funding) to increase autonomy.

13.5.1.2   Community Strategy

The board has used reference letters from other organizations in its applications for funding. They have not directly involved the community in a political strategy aimed at receiving funds other than the inter-agency network. The recent attempts at public funding to increase autonomy may be the beginnings of the development of a community strategy.

13.5.1.3   Authority and Control System

The authority and control system has evolved organically from the staff and the resource person. Group 1 would emphasize its use to maintain current services. Group 2 has emphasized its use to assure the technical ability to expand services and assure quality. The staff has used it to provide direction, to operate the technical core, and to add credibility to their actions.

There are thus two different forces at work. One operates to control the staff and the other operates to legitimize activities. Both the nature of its development in the agency and the board's lack of technical ability provide an opportunity for the authority and control system to serve the legitimacy function rather than the control function.

13.5.1.4   Staff Selection

Group 2 and the resource person emphasized a professional staff. Group 1 would emphasize maintaining existing services with existing staff. The objectives of the two groups do not neccessarily conflict,but ,the staff issue is related to the issue of professional vs. non-professional services and is part of that ongoing discussion.

13.5.1.5   Activity Strategy

The activity strategy (core operations) has been left largely in the hands of the staff and the resource person. Group 1 would emphasize maintaining current services with current resources and assigning new resources to new projects. Group 2 would use current resources in the development of new projects at some cost to the current serviecs. The amount that the group is willing to sacrifice is unclear since their understanding of the operating core is not complete.

13.5.1.6 Resource Allocation

The board has assigned resources to units,while the staff have assigned resources to clients. Group 1 has emphasized current services(e.g. the proposal to get training hours into residence B) while group 2 seeks even more profesional services. The resource person has emphasized training in units and the development of management procedures in the allocation process.

13.5.1.7 Community Inputs Strategy

The operational control of this variable has been left to the staff who recuit volunteers to work in the residences. Group 1 perceives their use as an additional method of providing quality services in the current services. Group 2 and the resource person see the use of volunteers as a mechanism to decrease current staff commitments so that the time can be freed to use in other endeavours(e.g. the demonstration project for the apartment proposal was carried out by using student volunteers to replace a staff person while he worked on the project).

The staff perceive the use of volunteers as a means of increasing quality in services and an increasing expectation of the funder as the funder increases its emphasis on cost cutting measures.

13.5.2 Summary

The diverse views of the major actors may be viewed as a set of driving and restraining forces. It should be noted that a 'rational' service would emphasize synergy between the policy variables. For example,if the organizational goals emphasized the development of services,the board could use its community inputs strategy to free staff to develop serviecs. They could emphasize the selection of staff that were professional in the area being expanded to,and select funding routes that matched an expansicnary activity strategy. The current views of the actors and the development of the agency may be explained by an anlysis of the policy variables over time. This is undertaken in the next section.

The views of the board and the staff may be explicated in terms of the boundaries of the systems section which is replicated in table 7 in Chapter 8 as follows:

1. The non expansion oriented board group would emphasize a stable funder and staff boundary.

2. The second board group would emphasize a flexible funder and staff boundary.

3. The staff would emphasize a stable staff boundary and would vacilate on the funder boundary.

13.6   EXPLAINING THE AGENCY'S HISTORY USING FIG.7

This section is designed to explain the relations inside the organizational boundary(board and staff) and some of the external relations of the board with its environment. The key concepts include the acquisition of control of the variables by the various groups,its effect on agency operation,and the increasing influence on the policy variables by outside sources.

13.6.1   Early History

In the initial stages of service provision under C.A.M.R.,very few of the policy variables were controlled by the board of the agency. The Residence committee and the staff operated the services through the Admissions and Discharge committee and the Program Evaluation committee. The staff selected was such that the non-professional staff could not handle some of the clients from the Manitoba School. The organizational goals were simply the provision of service.

Since C.A.M.R. had control over the type of client that entered the service, they were able to bring in clients that more closely matched the skill level of the staff.

As the board began to take on the development of the residential guidelines it became more sophisticated in its expectations of staff and programming(activity strategy).

During this time,however,the staff were left increasingly to operate the servieces on their own.

The funding strategy changed to match the growing sophistication in funder expectations. The funding strategy of C.A.M.R. changed to accomodate the "normalization principle" and training concepts in 1974. The need to control the policy variables changed as well.The Residence committee began to hire staff with marginally better qualifications and to increase the expectations of their activity strategy by asking fcr informal programs that related to community and social skills. This produced a change in staff orientation to a more professional one and led the way for the for C.A.M.R. to ask for help in managing the system. C.A.M.R. asked for and received help from a government professional.

The resource person developed the management package with the staff of the agency. In terms of the influence diagram the authority and control system changed. A dual authority system developed that closely matched the suggestions of Goss(1961) and Litwak(1961) as outlined in the text. The director of residences for C.A.M.R. managed the adminstrative side and the resource person managed the professional side.

The Admissions and Discharge committee and the Program Evaluation committee began to bring the client information,the resource allocation,and the technology variables

under more control. The authority and control system began to take on a life of its own. The resource person and staff began to integrate and manage the application of technology, client information policy, client and representative goal influence into efective staff plans. As these variables came under managerial control, the sevices improved in quality, especially with the change in technology to behaviour modification.

It was this effective control and mangement of these variables that allowed the the RS agency to take over from C.A.M.R. to the RS agency not to interfere with the activities of the operating core.

In the initial stages of development of the RS agency, the board concentrated on learning the operational aspects of funding, finance, and securing resources.

The organizational goals in this period were simply the provision of service. Since the professional side of the authority and control system was secure in the hands of the professional whilst the administrative side was not (C.A.M.R.'s funding was only for a three year period) the board took on a different funding strategy. They argued that the administrator's salary should be fully funded. The government realized that the resource person was part of their support to the agency and would not fund the position.

In the board's initial year,the government changed the residence manager position to that of an independent contractor and introduced the five training hour per client system. This introduced a resource allocation and a funding strategy problem. The board solved the allocation problem by pooling the training hours and hiring a senior trainer. They asked the government about the potential change in status of "training residences". The government,for its part,was unclear about its own expectations and could not answer whether the thirty month period for residence T still applied.

The senior trainer brought with him a specific orientation that balanced the increasingly professional expectations of the staff. This aided and abetted a change in activity strategy,as managed by the professional side of the authority and control system,to a more training oriented one.

The level of application of technology became more formalized and more behaviourally oriented.The other variables that were managed by the Program Mangement and Client Movement committee began to reflect this orientation.(e.g. written program requirements for the client information policy).

Midway in the board's initial year the government began to require the use of IPPs and AFIs. This changed the form of the client or representative influence variable from the

staff seeking parent opinion informally to the staff requiring their participation in a meeting. It also changed some of the operational requirements in the authority and control system by introducing the AFI as the instrument to measure behavioural change.

The staff were sufficiently sophisticated by this time to incorporate the use of both instruments. They fed back information to the board that indicated that quarterly IPPs would cost too much in terms of staff plans and activities with clients. The resource person successfully argued with government for annual IPPs.

The lack of any severe difficulties in the operating core provided the staff and the resource person an opportunity to look outward and to argue for a demonstration apartment project. This introduced community input in the form of students who were used to replace a staff at a residence while he ran the demonstration project. This introduced a new type of resource allocation that allowed board group 2 and the staff to lock into the expansion of services.

With the success of the demonstration project, the staff argued for another larger apartment project. This included the transfer of clients to a community service worker once they became independent. It also reflected the increasing professionalism as the staff became more behaviourally oriented. It forced a change in the board's funding stra-

tegy from using the government only to including the private
sector funder. Since the board strategies did not include a
forecast for the service, the staff depended on government's
projections for apartment placements.

As the apartment came on stream and the government pro-
jection failed Marathon cut a staff position. This forced
the board to argue for the replacement of the resources.
They had to agree to accept more dificult clients for place-
ment because of political interference from another agency.
This brought the control over the type of client out of the
hands of the staff. The staff adjusted by expanding the time
frame for independence. The funder did not accept a change
in the targeted number of clients. This created and fostered
a growing belief of the staff that the funder was out of
touch with agency operations,and that the agency needed to
match its funding strategy with its activity strategy.

The government's recent proposals for centralizing the
admissions process is viewed by the staff in the same fash-
ion. The government is viewed as wanting to place difficult
clients into residences where the resources provided and the
staff skills do not match the operational requirements of
some of the clients.

In summary,many of the views and much of the agency's
history may be interpreted through an analysis of the con-
trol of the policy variables in Fig.7.

Chapter XIV

THE STRUCTURE OF THE ORGANIZATION

We will now turn our attention to analyzing the propositions concerning the structure of a human service as stated in Chapter 8. Since the agency records were not found to be complete for the purpose at hand, the analysis will proceed only with some of the simpler assumptions. It may be recalled that Mintzberg asserted that the strategic apex and the middle line of the organization were concerned with securing resources for the operating core of professionals and maintaining a boundary spanning role in the interface with other organizations. The operating core was controlled by professionals that used their technical knowledge to achieve change in clients. The standards for the operation of the operating core originated outside the boundaries of the organization, primarily in the standards of the profession.

14.1 STRATEGIC APEX AND MIDDLE LINE

To analyze the assertions of Mintzberg(1979), the researcher analyzed the minutes of the board of directors for the year 1979. The board undertook the drafting of the constitution and the transfer of leases of the three resi-

dences in this year. They reconciled the 1978 budget from the government and developed the budget for 1979,changed banks, assigned an auditor,and began to discuss the funding strategy for the future. After they had organized themselves internally,they received reports from the Building and Grounds,legal,constitutional,fund raising,and Program Management and Client Movement committees,and established objectives for 1980. They also received a presentation from the training group on the operation of training in the residences,accepted and discussed a staff proposal for several apartments and discussed and planned the funding strategy for these projects. They secured registration,as a registered charity, and received requests to take over and operate the services of other agencies. They reviewed and discussed a brief from the trainer on the allocation of training time,asked for the provision of a fund for training supplies in the 1980 budget,and discussed a proposal from the staff to secure a training component for residence B.

The minutes were analyzed and the items discussed by the board seperated into categories relating to administration,budget matters,internal operations not related to staff activity(e.g.building and grounds),resource securing activities(funding and planning),and external affairs. The reliability between the author and an outside source on the categorization of items was 87%.[12] Since there was no way to

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[12]Reliability was taken as a ratio of total agreements by

assign a time element to the items,they were simply tabulated.

As can be seen in table 11 the board discussed 59 items some of which occured repeatedly. Of the 59 items,55 related directly to resource securing activities.This lends strong support to the hypothesis of Mintzberg(1979) that the middle line adopts the role of securing resources for the staff and interfacing with external groups to 'protect the operating core'.

One important point may be made. When the professional bureaucracy is a voluntary agency,it is impossible to distinguish the strategic apex from the middle line. Even though the committees may be considered to be a middle level of mangement, they are usually chaired by a board member. The role of the administrator may also be viewed as a middle level position. The administrator is an ex-officio member of the board and as such any distinction between his activities and the activities of other board members is an artificial one.

14.2 THE OPERATING CORE

Mintzberg puts forward the idea that the professionals organize their own work with standards predetermined from outside the organization-the professional norms of the

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both persons to the total possible agreements.

TABLE 11

Summary of Board Minutes

MTG.	ADMINIS TRATIVE	BUDGET	INTERNAL OPERS.	RESOURCES SECURING ALLOC.	STAFF PLANS ACTS.	FUNDING	PLANNING	EXT.
1	CONST.	79	MERGE COMMS.	TYPING		GOVT(I)		
2	CONST. LEASES	79 79	COMM. REPTS.			MAR. ADMIN.$		SWQ
3	CONST. LEASES I/C TIME ADMIN.				PROG. EVAL. GOVT.		FPP APT.	
4	CONST. LEASES INS. I/C		APT.		EVAL. INT.	MAR.		
5						APT.	APT.	
6	LEASES INS.	YEAR BANK	COMM. RPTS.					
7		MILE AGE	COMM. RPTS.			APT. ADMIN SAL.	RESPITE	
8	LEASES I/C REG. C	AUD.	COMM. RPTS.		TRAIN PRESENT	ADMIN. SAL.		
9			RESPITE		TRAIN TIME	FUND RAISE TRAIN TIME	OBJS.	APT. A&D
Tot.	17	7	15	1	4	9	4	2

total =59

Source:Minutes of the Board of Directors
April 4,1979 to December 31,1979

staff. The analysis of the operating core is complicated by the fact that the staff are semi-professionals(the Province of Manitoba does not assign professional status to a person working in psychology unless he or she has a Ph.D. and submits to an examination). The case history outlines the importation of professional tools ,such as the AFI and the IPP, by the government to assure that the services met some standards of practice and were used by the semi-profesional staff. The selection of training staff that were competent in behaviour modification also assured that standards outside the organization were met(this was assured by the appointment of a pychologist as the chairman of the Program Management and Client Movement committee). It is also true that the committee developed a mangement package that assured standardized application of the technology used in the service. These facts indicate that the staff acted in a similar fashion to professionals. Unfortunately the minutes of the committee meetings were not taken consistently enough to use anectodal evidence to forcefully demonstrate what appears to be a reasonable assumption.

Some supportive evidence does exist,however,to indicate that the staff orientation plays a major role in the delivery of services. The strongest evidence may be found in an analysis of the measures contained in the management package of the agency. An analysis of the outing scores (see table 12) indicates that residence T(the residence with the original

TABLE 12

Recreational Data for Residences

MONTH	RES. A OUTINGS		RES. T OUTINGS		RES. B OUTINGS	
	TOTAL	AVERAGE /CLIENT	TOTAL	AVERAGE /CLIENT	TOTAL	AVERAGE /CLIENT
JAN.	201	20.1	79	9.8	73	12.2
FEB.	224	22.4	89	11.25	65	10.8
MAR.	246	24.6	82	10.25	89	14.8
APR.	276	27.6	83	10.38	98	16.3
MAY	299	29.9	85	10.63	95	15.8
JUNE	358	35.8	84	10.50	n.a.	n.a.
SEPT.	503	50.3	72	9.00	n.a.	n.a.
OCT.	481	48.1	89	11.25	87	14.5
NOV.	462	46.2	82	10.25	93	15.5
AVGS.		33.8		10.28		14.3
% IND.		72%		55%		18%
% < 2		86%		65%		35%

Source: Agency Records

IND=Independent outings; <2=outings with less than two clients
AVGS.= Average number of outings per client per month for the period.

Note: The months of July, August, and December are not included because the different holiday arrangements in the residences would bias the data.

goal of making clients independent in 30 months) averaged only 10.28 outings per client per month. Although it had the lowest of the three residences, it scored second in the percentage of outings that were independent and second in outings with less than two residents at the same time (outings with many clients at the same time are frowned upon by advocates of "normalization"). Residence A, that did not have the original 30 month time frame for independence, scored the

highest in all outing categories. Surprisingly,residence B scored second in outings per client per month but had no training component and consequently no trainers. One explanation of these seemingly contradictory results is the compensating effect of staff orientation.

Further evidence for differences in staff orientation may be found in table 13 . The larger number of informal programs in residences A and T may be associated with the presence of trainers in these residences. However the number of social programs(those aimed at the acquisition of social or community skills) at the training residences differ markedly from residence B.

The rate of discharge to more independent settings is about equal in residences A and T and both differ substantially with residence B(see table 14)Client appearance also differs from residence to residence as does the appearance of the physical plant.

The differences in scores would appear to be, in large measure,determined by the original selection of clients, the rate of staff turnover,the access to community facilities,and other factors associated with the operation of each facility. The fact remains,however,that there are differences in scores between residences that operate with the same number of training hours per client and the same basic system. The only factors that do vary are the staff and

TABLE 13

Training Data

	Res. A	Res. T	Res. B
Number Training hours	50	40	0
% time in Training	76%	76%	n.a.
Formal programs per client	1.9	1.9	0
% social programs	68%	53%	
% basic programs	32%	47%	
Informal programs per client	2-3	2-3	1-2
% social programs	65%	35%	10%
% basic programs	35%	65%	90%

Source:Training Group Report
March,1979
and interviews

client selection. There is some further supportive evidence
provided by training staff interviews that the contractors
differ in orientation. For example,one emphasizes the acqui-
sition of community and social skills more than the other
and appears more knowledgeable about programming.All of the
above indicate the effects of standardized procedures and
the effects of the individual staff orientation in the dif-
ferent residences.

The differences in resource allocation may also be seen
in the data. Residences A and T have substantially higher

TABLE 15

Performance Data

	Res.A	Res.T	Res.B
Discharge to Independent Settings	1/11.5mn.	1/11mns.	1/21mns.
Client Appearance Checks	82-90%	85-95%	85-95%
Physical Plant Checks	80-85%	85-96%	85-94%
Incident Reports	1/mn.	1/2mns.	1/3mns.

Source:Interim Report Program Management
and Accountability Procedures,Province of Manitoba.
Agency Records and Interviews

scores in the programming areas than residence B. This is accounted for by the allocation of training hours. The differences in outing scores in residence A reflects the larger use of volunteers in residence A as well. In summary,it appears that the semi profesionals act in the same fashion as Mintzberg posited for professionals.

Chapter XV

ADDING CREDIBILITY TO THE GENERAL MODEL

The following section will examine the facts presented in the case history to detail the influences posited in the general model (Chapter 7, Fig.7).

15.1 EXAMPLES OF FUNDER INFLUENCES

Direct support may be found for only a few of the influences asserted.

The decision of the board against expanding its services influenced the decision of Marathon committee not to fund the administrator's full time salary in 1978 . This provides evidence for the assertion that there is a link from the funding strategy to the political influence system and funder expectations. These changes in funder expectations may have an effect on the resources provided to an agency.

The failure of the apartment project to meet its original objectives is an example of the sevice output of an agency affecting funder expectations and influencing the resource support to the agency. In this case the funder cut off one staff person. It is also an example of the activity strategy influencing the service output in the same manner as outlined above.

The emphasis on cost containment by the Conservative government and subsequent reallocation of training budget to the residences is an example of the influence of the funder's superstrucutre. Several board members mentioned that the funder appears to change focus with changes in governments.

The active application for funding for two clients in an apartment,and the subsequent cancellation of a staff position in the apartment project provides an example of the relationships posited between other agency requests and resource support. The cancellation was due to the interference of another agency spokesperson, who wanted the RS agency to pick up the other agency's clients. The argument used related to the urgent need for apartments. Several agencies were competing to provide the same service if the funds were allocated to them.

The lack of funds to carry out an apartment project is evidence for the relationships between activity and a combination of funding strategy, the superstructure of the funder,and political influence system. The active lobbying of the board and the direct application cf a project phrased explicitly to meet the criteria of the funder illustrate the pattern of influences.

The relationships,that could not be demonstrated,were those between administrative output and resource support and

the relationships posited between the funding strategy and the community and resource support. This does not mean that they do not exist but that clear evidence was not found to illustrate these relationships.

15.1.1 Community

The only demonstrable influences from the case study concern the agencies active search for volunteers to aid residence A and the apartment project. These were related to funder expectations in that the ideas of Wolfsenberger stressed the use of volunteers and the government emphasized their use to offset its declining ability to provide resources for training in times of fiscal restraint. Some evidence does exist that the agency used the community in actively seeking public donations through its funding committee. The other relationships posited in the model were not observed.

15.2 STAFF

15.2.0.1 Type of Client

The types of clients first chosen in the residences influenced staff plans and activities. Residence A had younger clients than residence B and consequently had more social skill and community programs.

15.2.0.2   Staff Selection

The hiring of more professional staff with more of a training orientation produced more social and community programming over time and across residences.

15.2.0.3   Staff Orientation

The profesional demands of the psychologist and the professional ideologies of the staff have affected the amount of social and basic programming that occurs in the residences and led the staff to propose apartment projects.

15.2.0.4   Authority and Control System

As was demonstrated in the analysis of structure, the board split according to Mintzberg's model. The board managed the acquisition of resources and the staff group managed the operations of the technical core.

15.2.0.5   Resource Allocation

The number of training hours per client, allowed by the funder, has affected the number of training goals among residences and influenced the amount of social and basic programming.

15.2.0.6 · Goals Achieved

The training format includes changing plans once the target behaviours have been learned. The goals achieved are fed back to the board through the management package.

15.2.0.7 Organizational Goals

The organizational goals influenced the staff in preparing the apartment project. The goals of running reasonable quality residences influenced the staff to develop the management package.

15.3 CLIENTS AND TECHNOLOGY

The IPP process assured that the goals of the parents or the clients would be taken into account in the planning of staff activities. It will be remembered that the IPP is required by the funder. It calls for a meeting of the staff with the parent and the community service worker for a review of the programming for the client. The client information policy (e.g. the AFI scores) has influenced staff plans by providing a means of finding skill deficits. The choice of behaviour modification has influenced staff planning and the activities of the operating core.

15.4 REVIEW

The influences that were not found included the use of administrative output as a major variable in the determina-

tion of resource allocation. It does not seem that the inclusion of administrative requirements (e.g. paper work) is a significant factor in this agency. If, however, the AFI and the IPP techniques are considered as requiring administrative activities (e.g. the filing of reports) then administrative requirements do play a significant role in resource provision and hence in the operation of an agency in the M.R. field. Although the RS agency has had such a reporting requirement, it has not been officially made a requirement of the mangement package. It is viewed as a simple administrative procedure that includes mailing the IPP forms off to the funder. It is unclear what the results would be if they were not sent.

The system model of a human service organization has received support from this analysis of anectodal data.

15.5   THE PROPOSED MODEL

The case analysis has pointed out the neccessity of including several factors in the general influence model. These include:

1. The funder's control of some of the policy variables developed in the literature review as part of the board managed varibles (e.g type of client, client or representative goal influence (IPPs)).

2. The major effects of ideas developed outside the funder's or the agency's domain(e.g. the "principle of normalization").

These will affect the board managed variables ,especially technology.

The other major changes to the influence model include the deletion of the Administrative Outputs.
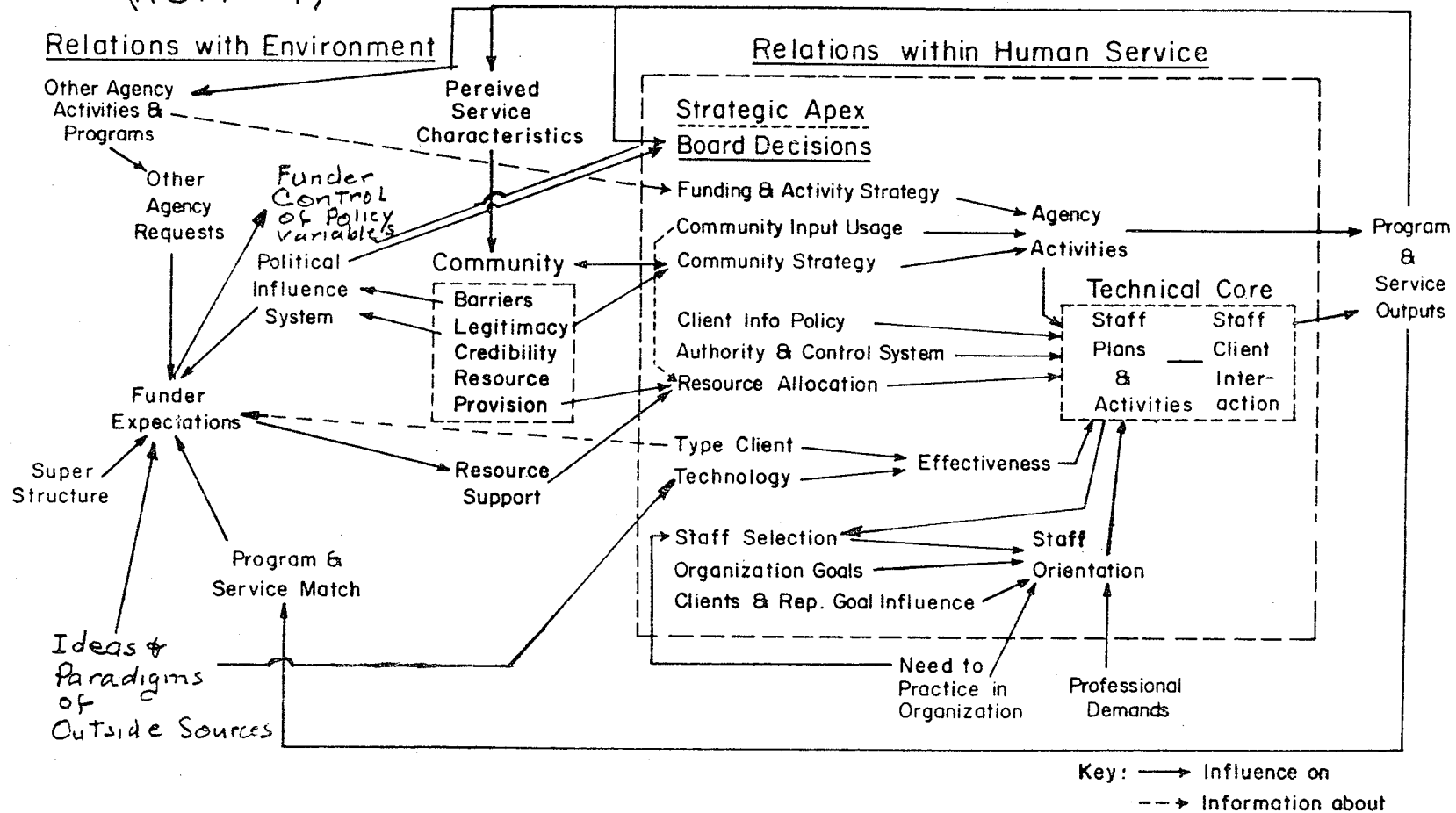
Some of the variables were found to operate in both directions. These are:

1. Staff plans and activities should be drawn to influence staff selection. For example,the RS agency hired marginally better staff when their plans were not advanced enough. This variable should also be drawn to influence professional demands as an information loop.

2. Program and service output should be drawn to influence other agency activities and programs. The best example of this was the arguments put forward by another agency that the RS should accomodate some of the other agency's clients. This led to the other agency requesting arbitration from the funder and to cutting off a staff person in the apartment project.

3. The type of client variable should be directly linked to funder expectations. Many of the decisions of the funder were based on the funder's policy for specific client groups.

The new diagram is contained in the figure 8

Chp. 7. Fig. 7. Joint External and Internal Influence Diagram. (Revised)

Relations with Environment | Relations within Human Service

Other Agency Activities & Programs
Pereived Service Characteristics
Strategic Apex
Board Decisions

Other Agency Requests
Funder Control of Policy variables
Political Influence System
Community
Funding & Activity Strategy → Agency
Community Input Usage →
Community Strategy → Activities

Program & Service Outputs

Barriers
Legitimacy
Credibility
Resource
Provision

Client Info Policy
Authority & Control System
Resource Allocation

Technical Core
Staff Plans & Activities
Staff Client Interaction

Funder Expectations

Super Structure

Resource Support

Type Client
Technology → Effectiveness

Program & Service Match

Staff Selection ← Staff
Organization Goals → Orientation
Clients & Rep. Goal Influence

Ideas & Paradigms of Outside Sources

Need to Practice in Organization
Professional Demands

Key: ——→ Influence on
      — — → Information about

Chapter XVI

CONCLUSIONS AND FINAL REMARKS

Although the study was of an exploratory nature,it has been instructive in uncovering some of the complexities of managing a human service agency with a voluntary board.

The model developed from the literature review is more of a normative than a descriptive one--it indicates the variables a voluntary board should try to manipulate. The model of general influences is one of many that could explain what happened in the RS agency. The strongest support was provided for the propositions related to structure.

The case study demonstrated the extensive number of influences that affect the operation of a human service. The most significant of these were the funder and the staff.

The case study provided ample evidence of the difficulties of management of a complex system by a group of volunteers. These difficulties included the funder's desire to control policy variables that strongly influenced the operations of the agency,and the inability to integrate staff activities or plan professional services without staff or professional input. Both of these are related to the large number of policy variables that an agency should try to

control, the interactiveness of these variables, and their effect on the external environment.

Three major reccomendations emerge from this study:

1. Training programs are required to equip voluntary board members with a sufficient understanding of the boundaries between the agency and its funders.

2. Similarly, training is required to help voluntary boards integrate technical and operational knowledge about its "technical core" in a more systematic way.

3. Somehow, the funders have to be made aware of the effects of their changing expectations and plans on agency operations.

The most noticeable deficiency is the small part that the client or client's representative played in influencing agency activities. New ways of organizing have to be found that direct the services more toward the interests of the client and away from the interests of the staff and the funders. This will entail further research in the areas describe as significant boundaries in the study. These include the funder, the staff, the client, and the community and the interactive effets of managing all four toward a common purpose.

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Appendix A

Questionnaire

A.1 QUESTIONS -STRATEGIC LEVEL

1. How do you think the system works. Be specific, include funder, staff, board, clients, parents, resource people.

2. What is the purpose of the organization?

3. What are the long range plans for the organization?

4. What is the organization currently doing?

5. What is the strategy for implementing the current short range goals?

6. Who do you listen to the most in the organization?

7. Who has the most influence in deciding goals,policy,dealing with problems

8. What is your past experience with organizations? How does this one work in comparison to the ones you have worked in or been a part of before?

9. Do you have a relative in the service?

10. What does the funder want? How much attention do you pay to what they want? How important are they to the organization?

11. How much leeway do you have with the funder?

12. How does the funder work?

13. Are you meeting funder expectations?

14. What type of client do you serve,now? Can you give characteristics that are important in choosing clients to the current service?

15. What is the size of the current client population? Do you know the approximate percentage of the total client population you are serving in relation to what is needed? in relation to what you're goals state?

16. What kind of client will you serve in the future?

17. What kind of service will you provide in the future?

18. How do you communicate with the staff?

19. What do you know about the technology and proce-
    dures that the staff use in the service?

20. Is the community important in relation to your
    service?

21. How is it important? why?

22. What are your funding plans?

23. What are the clients like?

24. What do they need at a minimum?

25. What would the best possible service be ?

26. What are the limitations of your service? your
    technology?

A.2 COORDINATIVE

1. What lead time is required for a training program?

2. How is the staff coordinated? What qualifications
   are required to become a staff person?

3. Are you aware of the short term goals for the
   clients?

4. How successful are the staff in working with the clients ? How do you know?

5. What aspects of the community does the management package deal with?

6. What is the management package?

7. What areas does it cover?

8. What clients have what kinds of goals?

9. Explain how you think the staff work.

10. How long will it be before a client can move out if he joins the organization tommorrow and is high functioning?

11. How long will it be before a client can move out if he joins the organization tommorrow and is low functioning?

12. What client groups should the organization expand to given that the staff qualifications do not change?

13. What is the difference in functioning level between the apartment clients and clients in the three residences?

14. If there is a conflict between an independent con-
    tractor and a trainer which should have authority
    over the other?

15. What is the role of the parent in the organiza-
    tion?

16. How should a conflict between a staff member and a
    parent be handled?