

A SCHOOL-BASED SOCIAL WORK PROGRAM
FOCUSING ON EMPOWERING A STIGMATIZED
MINORITY: THE KANADIERS' EXPERIENCE
IN RURAL MANITOBA

BY

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A Practica
Submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the Degree of

MASTER OF SOCIAL WORK

Faculty of Social Work
University of Manitoba
Winnipeg, Manitoba

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ABSTRACT

In the past seven years southern Manitoba has experienced an influx of Mennonites from Latin America, identified as Kanadiers. Because of historic and current factors, the host Mennonite community has stigmatized the Kanadiers and contributed to their powerlessness in advocating for themselves and their children in the community organizations. The two local institutions that had the most involvement with the Kanadier children were the school division and Child and Family Services (C.F.S.). Therefore, a school-based social work program under the supervision of C.F.S. was developed to empower the Kanadiers as well as other children within one southern Manitoba school.

The empowerment approach used as the theoretical framework for the intervention was taken from the literacy movement in the third world and feminism. Paulo Freire's and Jean Baker Miller's theories on empowerment incorporated two additional theories, the ecological perspective and the transactional theory of culture. The reason for this combination was that the ecological and cultural theories focused respectively on interactions between people and between cultures. These two theories, however, did not address the power aspect within the interactions at the base of the empowerment model.

The culturally sensitive social work approach instituted with the Kanadiers has implications for human service professionals who are working with stigmatized minorities. This empowering approach has at least five steps: 1) to acknowledge the oppression that a stigmatized minority experiences; 2) to examine our role in the

oppression as human service workers, community members, and women or men; 3) to ask, as workers, the person to define what the stigma, oppression, and power imbalance means to her or him; 4) to evaluate the process of empowerment with the person; and 5) to strive as human service workers towards empowering the stigmatized minority group in the larger political setting. The empowerment approach was essential for the Kanadiers to reconstruct how they viewed themselves.

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PREFACE

The M.S.W. practicum in this report was not only an academic exercise for myself but also a personal journey. The practicum was an effort to develop within my social work framework an ethical way of working with minorities that met my political commitments. Before I applied to the M.S.W. program I spent several years in the Appalachian Mountains of eastern Kentucky as a social worker working for a voluntary agency. The journey began while working with a woman at that time.

This woman was a single mother whose family had rejected her. She and I had worked together in trying to obtain both financial and material assistance for her. Living in a poverty stricken area of the country, she had no resources available. The social workers from a mandatory agency intervened when we asked for their help. Their help, however, consisted of attaching the label of "schizophrenic" on her, sending her to the state mental institution, and removing her child--the sole family member who had not rejected her. Her only "problem", however, was that she was living in poverty. The social workers refused to recognize the larger systemic injustice in the community because they would then be forced to acknowledge their own role in the oppression.

After that incident I became disheartened with social work. The only people whom I saw working towards social justice were the legal aid lawyers. At this point, I decided to strengthen my own social justice framework by furthering my education. This voyage led me to the feminist theory on empowerment.

My personal journey within the practicum involved the support and encouragement of many people. Without these people my journey would not have taken me to the depths that it did in my self-examination, in my learning, and in my understanding. It is to these people that I dedicate this report because without them the practicum could not have occurred.

To my husband, partner, friend, and guide whose patience and commitment carried me through the rough times.

To the aforementioned woman, who was stigmatized, for teaching me about injustice and the pain of being poor.

To my advisor, Joan, whose insights expanded my education and who never made me doubt my abilities in completing the practicum.

To my supervisors, both at the school and Child and Family Services, who donated a tremendous amount of time in encouraging, advising, and supporting me.

And most importantly, to the many Kanadiers who shared with me, with such honesty, their struggles and their joys

in life. It is my hope that this report will be able to help alleviate the stigma they experience in the community and give back to them a portion of what they gave to me.

CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

The M.S.W. practicum described within the following pages consisted of the development, implementation, and evaluation of a school-based social work program which was clinically supervised by the local Child and Family Services (C.F.S.) agency. The program worked from an empowerment framework that integrated ecological and cultural theories. The school-based program focused on working with Mennonite students and their families who had emigrated from Latin America, that is the Kanadiers.

The practicum unfolded over several years with numerous hours of preparation. Before the practicum began, the host community had many questions about a culturally sensitive approach to working with Mennonites from Latin America, and after the practicum has ended, there are more questions yet to be answered. My purpose in this report is to address within an empowerment framework those questions as they relate to working with minority families who are in an unequal power relationship with the host community.

Throughout the practicum I was struck by the many different perspectives of individuals, communities, and organizations. I considered these perspectives in light of the belief that we all construct reality differently. This belief incorporates two notions: (a) that each individual

formulates in her or his own way transparencies through which she or he views the world of events, and (b) that, viewed in the perspective of time, people test their construction of reality in every situation and therefore, may change it (Kelly, 1955). The majority of the practicum was spent in understanding the diverse constructions of reality and communicating these constructs to other individuals and organizations.

I had numerous aspirations for this program. I hoped that the communication between the C.F.S. agency and the school would be strengthened through a school social worker who was clinically supervised by C.F.S. and based in a school setting. I also hoped that the Mennonites from Latin America would become empowered in regards to their interactions with the host community. My role as a school social worker was to advocate for the Mennonites from Latin America and liaise between them and the school. There were many factors that hindered and helped me as I attempted to meet these aspirations. These factors are elaborated in the following chapters.

The second chapter of the report describes the historical background of the Mennonites from Latin America and their current situation in the host community and school setting. The purpose of this chapter is to acquaint the reader with how the Kanadiers have constructed their reality. The chapter begins with an explanation of the word "Mennonite" and then

recounts the migrations from Russia to Canada and from Canada to Latin America. The chapter ends with an account of the Mennonites who are now returning to Canada from Latin America and an explanation of the barriers they are encountering in the Canadian host community.

Chapter Three describes the theoretical framework used to understand the situation of the Mennonites from Latin America. The overarching empowerment framework incorporates two additional theories, the ecological perspective and the transactional theory of culture. The reason for this combination is that the ecological and cultural theories focus respectively on interactions between people and between cultures. These two theories, however, do not address the power aspect within these interactions which provides the basis for an empowerment framework. The theoretical framework set the agenda for the intervention used with the Mennonites from Latin America in their construction of reality.

The fourth chapter describes the program and how it was developed, implemented, and evaluated. This chapter delineates the projects carried out in the program and the specific evaluations for each project. The evaluations in this chapter address those activities that were undertaken to shape and reshape the program as it was being implemented. The chapter explicates how the theoretical framework guided formulation of the different interventions used with the program participants in creating their own realities.

The fifth chapter looks specifically at the local Child and Family Services agency, the practicum site school, and their interactions. The purpose of this chapter is to analyze each organization and the communication processes between them in order to help them better empower their clientele. The manner in which the members of each organization constructed reality affected the communication processes. An analysis of these two institutions and the communications between the two aided my understanding of how they evaluated and perceived the school-based social work program. This understanding informed my evaluation of the program.

Chapter Six deals with the summative evaluation of the program. The purpose of the chapter is to summarize the outcome evaluation of certain program activities and the overall program. The chapter begins with a brief literature review on ethnographic evaluation which was the main method used to evaluate the school-based social work program. The second part of the chapter reports on the evaluation results of the program activities. The third section summarizes the perceptions of the program participants in regards to the program. Incorporating the feedback of the participants into the evaluation served to empower them and validate the findings. The chapter ends with my own perceptions of the program and the future of social work within my community's school system.

The final chapter consists of my conclusions of the program and the implications they have for human service workers in working ethically with minority groups.

This practicum and its report were rooted in my own social reality. Throughout the practicum, however, attention was given to having those who participated in the program be involved in the report and in this process of constructing reality for me. The chapter on the historical background and present situation of the Mennonites from Latin America was read by several of the minority group members and includes their feedback. To maintain promised confidentiality, program participants and the host community have not been named.

CHAPTER TWO The Kanadier Story

INTRODUCTION

This chapter relates the process of constructing reality for myself in regards to the Kanadiers¹. Each person's construction of reality is different and ever changing. The vital factor, however, is that each person participates in this process of construction in order to "name the world for themselves" (Freire, 1970: 76). Paulo Freire beautifully conveys this concept of naming the world:

To exist, humanly, is to name the world, to change it. Once named, the world in its turn reappears to the namers as a problem and requires of them a new naming. Men [sic] are not built in silence, but in word, in work, in action-reflection (1970: 76).

My reality regarding the Kanadiers has been established through interviews, Kanadier friends, and written material, both historical and analytical. What is written here is accountable to those who so graciously shared their reality with me.

This chapter acquaints the reader with the Kanadier story. It describes their arduous journeys and recounts the Kanadiers efforts to sculpture a life out of the many desolate environments through which these journeys took them. The word

¹"Kanadiers" is a Low-German term used to refer to those Canadian Mennonites who have migrated from Latin America back to Canada. Low-German is a dialect of the German language.

"sculpture" is fitting, for they literally sculptured the harsh, unpredictable prairies into fruitful and nourishing land, and the deserts into groves of blossoms. They also carved their own reality out of every environment in which they lived because they sought to adhere to their distinctive principles.

The journeys of the Kanadiers placed them among societies with different cultural values. The purpose of this chapter is to explain their cultural values in context. In chapter three, with this understanding of the cultural values of the Kanadier, the theoretical framework which focuses on empowering the Kanadiers in their transactions with the dominant society² will be used to analyze the Kanadiers' situation. This framework was used in the intervention from the school setting in order to enable the Kanadiers in their construction of reality.

THE ESSENCE OF THE WORD "MENNONITE"

Through the following historical account of the Kanadiers, the etymology of the name Kanadiers will be explained. First, however, a brief overview of the larger group known as Mennonites is appropriate.

When the Protestant Reformation began in the sixteenth century, Menno Simons (whom the movement was named after) defied state church regulations and directed a counter

²The terms host community and dominant society will be used interchangeably throughout the report.

religious movement that began in Holland and spread to other areas in Europe. His hope was to establish a church in keeping with New Testament principles as he interpreted them. These included Bibliolatry (reverence for the Bible), pacifism, separation of church and state, excommunication, refraining from taking the oath, and adult baptism.

It is correct to think of Mennonites as religious in origin; however, sociologists tend to define Mennonites as an ethnic group. The reason is that Mennonites have developed a special identity through the use of a distinctive language, separate system of beliefs, customs, clothing and food habits (Friesen, 1976). Among ethnic Mennonites there are Russian Mennonites, Swiss Mennonites, and Dutch Mennonites, each of whom have maintained some of the culture from their homeland.

Most Kanadiers are Russian Mennonite in origin and are members of the Old Colony Mennonite church. The Old Colony Mennonites are one of the most conservative of the different Mennonite groups. Although most Mennonites hold to the aforementioned principles, the Old Colony Mennonites hold more conservative values than many groups. These include an emphasis on farm life, a ban on living in cities, the discouragement of education beyond grade six, the right to German parochial schools, and the use of the German language. Excommunication, the main form of sanction, is an effective form of social control in a closed isolated social system (Sawatzky, 1971).

The Old Colony's approach to religion is to express their belief system in concrete action. They tend to consider all social and economic behaviour as an expression of their sacred belief system. Their way of life symbolizes and actually incarnates the will of God. "The forms of dress, the patterns of behaviour, the artifacts of farming and recreation have taken on religious and moral significance" (Redekop, 1969: 216). Material things are worldly because they have been defined that way through a history of striving to express belief in concrete behaviour. Because controversy occurs when a foreign idea is introduced, such a system presents problems in dealing with outside influences and perspectives which threaten the unity of the system (Redekop, 1969).

Driedger (1983) compared Mennonites' dualistic and wholistic views of God and the world in regards to Mennonites. The dualists are the Mennonites who are fundamental in their beliefs (such as the Old Colony), who tend to be separated from the world, and who live in rural ethnic communities. Driedger (1983) states that dualists "set up ideological (fundamentalist theology) and sociological (ethnic communities) subsystems that insulate, and sometimes isolate, individuals and groups so that two kingdoms or societies can be formed" (p. 228). The dualists highly regard social control, personal morality, and the ethnic community. The wholists, on the other hand, are usually urbanites who are

liberal theologically and whose social system is more open culturally.

The Old Colony Mennonites prefer to be separate from the secular world which is partly responsible for their exclusion from society. At times this exclusion from society has been self-imposed, and at times it has taken on the form of ostracism by members of the dominant society (Friesen, 1976). Throughout this report the interplay between this self-imposed exclusion and the ostracism will be presented. The interplay will be referred to as barriers and will emphasize the ostracism by members of the dominant society through the stigma they attach to the Kanadiers and through the low-status the Kanadiers are given in Canadian society. This exclusion, in turn, influences how the Kanadiers view themselves and their place in society and obstructs them from controlling their own lives.

THE JOURNEY FROM RUSSIA TO THE CANADIAN PRAIRIES

The search for religious freedom and for land drove the Mennonites from Holland to Prussia. The Mennonites lived in Prussia for approximately 100 years before continuing their journey to Russia. The Old Colony Mennonites in Russia did not prosper as other Mennonites did because of poor land and weak leadership. They also had difficulty developing their social institutions because they were less educated. In 1874, these more conservative and landless Old Colony Mennonites migrated to Canada and were called Kanadiers, to distinguish

them from those Mennonites who migrated to the U.S. from Holland during the same time period. Many Kanadier Mennonites settled in Ontario, Saskatchewan, and Manitoba. The migration of Mennonites from Russia continued till the early 1920s. Those who came to Canada in the 1920s were generally the higher income Mennonites who had the means to stay in Russia longer and were called Russlaunders (Low-German word for people from Russia).

Before the 1874 group migration, the Mennonites secured from the Canadian government special privileges which allowed them to maintain control over their own Mennonite institutions such as schools (Driedger, 1973: 260).

SCULPTURING A LIFE IN THE PRAIRIES

Once in Canada the Mennonites prospered from the rich fertile land, and their standard of living increased from that experienced by the landless in Russia. They arranged their villages in the same pattern as they had in Russia, and every effort was made to continue the Russian lifestyle in Canada.

As the Canadian government had promised, the Mennonites were allowed to establish their own schools. From 1874 to 1916, they enjoyed complete school autonomy. Education was solely the responsibility of the church which laid down general rules, appointed teachers and strictly supervised all matters concerning education. The main objectives of the schools were religious instruction, moral education and

teaching the three R's. The compulsory school age was from six to fourteen years.

In 1916, the Old Colony Mennonites in Manitoba became uneasy when the School Attendance Act was passed. The Act required instruction in one language (English) and uniform standards and attendance in public schools unless the private schools met the requirements of the Department of Education. These regulations created problems for the Old Colony Mennonites because they taught only in German. The more conservative Old Colony Mennonites believed that a knowledge of English would lead their children to the outside world filled with sin. Consequently, they did not allow their children to attend the public schools. Parents who refused to comply with the new regulations were brought to court, fined and occasionally jailed (Francis, 1955). The Old Colony Mennonites appealed to the government in an effort to save their parochial schools but were unsuccessful.

Francis (1955) states that:

It was no more a question of educational standards which prompted the authorities to destroy the Mennonite private grade schools once and for all, and to replace them with English public schools. It was part of a consistent national policy aimed at the assimilation of ethnics to safeguard national unity and cultural uniformity. In this policy the school figured prominently as the most effective means to wean the children of immigrants away from the traditions of their group and to indoctrinate them with the ideals and values of the dominant majority. (p. 186)

As in every country that the Mennonites have settled, an attempt was made to assimilate the ethno-cultural group in Canada rather than to value their culture. The 1916 School Attendance Act was pivotal in shaping how government mandated organizations view cultural groups today.

THE JOURNEY TO THE DESERT

The school conflict caused at least 5,300 Old Colony Mennonites to migrate from Manitoba to Mexico in 1922. Those Mennonites who remained felt that the Old Colony group could have worked out their problems with the Canadian government if only they had shown "less arrogance and more willingness to talk" (Redekop, 1969: 18). According to Redekop (1969) those who stayed behind felt that:

The most tragic thing that happened to the Old Colony was the move to Mexico. They deteriorated so rapidly there, that they quickly lost the very principles for which they left Canada. They could very quickly have found out that the things they held dear could be retained here much better than in Mexico. Before this, the Old Colonists were rich, prosperous, and progressive people. They lost almost everything financially and everything spiritually by moving. (p. 19)

On the other hand the Old Colony Mennonites who left for Mexico felt that those who stayed were lost to the world while they were staying pure and unmixed with the world (Redekop, 1969). Redekop (1969) also states:

What they [those who left] predicted would happen has. That is, the Old Colonists here [Manitoba] have gone modern; they use cars, dress like the world, go to school and in general cannot be called a people anymore. The Old Colonists in Mexico have retained much of their original character (regarding

values). They did not want to keep pace with the world. They wanted to be separate... (p.19)

These two different views regarding the Old Colony departure depicts how reality was constructed differently between those who stayed and those who migrated to Mexico.

When the Old Colonists left for Mexico, they took along the teachers and the money from the "Gemeents" (congregations). The intention was that those who remained would be following later. A few hundred Old Colonists stayed behind and had to live with very little financially (Janzen, 1990). This left them unsupportive of those who had left for Mexico.

SCULPTURING A LIFE IN THE DESERT

During the last sixty years in Mexico the Old Colony Mennonites' standard of living has decreased markedly from that which they enjoyed in Canada at the time of emigrating. The decreased standard of living is partly a function of the high inflation rate in Mexico and to the Mennonite custom of equally dividing the inheritance (i.e., land) among all the children. The Old Colonists had originally bought a certain amount of land. With the increased population and the practice of dividing the land for inheritance, land has become scarce. The population of the "Anwohner" or landless is increasing within the Mennonite colonies. The landless are usually unemployed because they are discriminated against as labourers in favour of Mexican workers. Differences in

economic status tend to carry over into social relations. There is less social contact between landowners and the Anwohner in the villages (Sawatzky, 1971).

According to Redekop (1969) the Old Colony Mennonites' way of life in Mexico is threatened. The more progressive settlements are quite different from the conservative ones. The former have succumbed to "worldly" practices (e.g., trucks, tractors) as a means of economic survival. The latter have retained more of the traditional values but, as a result, are more impoverished. There is even a great variation in attitudes and behaviour within each settlement. The Kanadiers' future as an ethnic minority is not easy to predict because they are no longer a homogeneous society.

In the mid 1960s a group of Old Colony Mennonites, going against Old Colony beliefs, wanted to use rubber tires. A group of several thousand Old Colony Mennonites who felt that it was wrong to use rubber tires moved to Bolivia from the Mexican villages. Other migrations followed to Belize and Paraguay made up of those who were looking for more land and those who were more conservative in their religious and farming practices (Janzen, 1990).

THE JOURNEY FROM LATIN AMERICA BACK TO CANADA

For purposes of clarification, those Mennonites who are returning from Latin America will be called Kanadiers throughout the rest of this report to emphasize their Russian

Canadian heritage, which at times is overlooked by the dominant society.

According to the director of the Mennonite Central Committee (M.C.C.) Family Services³, the current wave of Kanadiers from Latin America is made up of families rather than groups or entire villages. The migration is directly related to the marginalization of the Kanadier in Latin America and is essentially a matter of economics. The family ties between those who stayed in Canada and those who emigrated to Latin America have not been broken. Therefore, Canadian Mennonites who visit Mexico boast about the economic advantages in Canada. Young married couples who do not see a future for themselves or their children in Latin America leave for Canada with the intention of providing a better standard of living for their families.

The Kanadiers who move to Canada are usually Canadian citizens. An agreement between the Mexican and Canadian governments provides dual-citizenship for those who migrated to Mexico. The Mexican government, however, is presently threatening to withdraw the dual-citizenship.

Those who leave Latin America are perceived, by many of those who stay, as rejecting God. This is a form of social control in order to keep villages intact. Because of this

³M.C.C. Family Services is a private agency run by the Mennonite Central Committee. The director's responsibility is to provide immigration services and other resources to help the newly arrived Kanadiers adjust to Canadian society.

idea, those who do come to Canada carry a sense of spiritual unworthiness (Janzen, 1990).

The migration from Latin America has decreased since 1988. According to the director of M.C.C. Family Services (personal communication, January 26, 1989), the decline is the result of an improved Mexican economy and a deteriorating Manitoba economy. There are still, however, Kanadiers who are moving from Mexico to Ontario where agricultural work can be found. The number of Kanadiers who have migrated to southern Manitoba is shown in Table 1. It must be pointed out though, that there were many who migrated before 1986 when statistics were not kept.

Table 1. Number of Immigrants from Latin America by Year
Since 1986

Year	Families	Single Persons	Individuals
1986	70	9	416
1987	89	16	461
1988	98	21	535
1989	34	9	169
1990 (Feb)	6	4	30
Total	297	59	1611

Figures from M.C.C. Family Services. Used with permission of the director.

Through this historical account, one can discern many of the cultural values of the Kanadiers. It must be realized that the cultural values of lifestyle, self-sufficiency, and a dualistic view of God are generalizations and do not apply to every Kanadier in Manitoba. These values can be placed on a continuum and according to the director of M.C.C. Family Services the values depend on the country and village from which the Kanadier migrated.

One must also recognize that certain cultural values have altered with the move to Canada. The reason for these changes is that the Kanadiers are relating to a greater extent with the dominant society as they sculpture a life in Manitoba.

SCULPTURING A LIFE IN MANITOBA

When the Kanadiers arrive in Canada they are faced with many barriers which prevent them from controlling their own lives. William Janzen (1990) explains that those who migrate must pursue employment which differs from the agricultural work performed in Latin America. They are forced to live in scattered and relatively isolated places rather than in villages with those who are "like" them. They must also obtain driver's licenses, social insurance numbers, and so forth, which causes them to relate with unfamiliar institutions and government agencies. They no longer have ownership of community institutions such as churches and schools.

When employment is obtained by the Kanadiers in the host community, it is generally low paying manual labour. Many of the men work in the factories such as the steel foundry and small manufacturing plants. The women are commonly employed by the sewing factory and service industries which generally pay minimum wage. According to one Kanadier (personal communication, March 15, 1990), if all the Kanadiers did not arrive at work for one day, "the town would have to shut down". The host community is dependent upon the Kanadiers for cheap manual labour.

William Janzen (1990) views this dependence on Kanadiers as a "positive economic fit with Canadian society". I realize that this quote is in response to many sentiments expressed by the dominant society that the Kanadiers are only here to receive welfare benefits. I, however, view this "economic fit" as an exploitation of labour. The "economic fit" defines the relations with the dominant society. Jean Baker Miller (1986) asserts that dominant groups usually define the acceptable roles for the subordinates. "Acceptable roles typically involve providing services that no dominant group wants to perform for itself" (Baker Miller, 1986:6). Within the host community the Kanadiers are assuming roles that dominant society members will not fill themselves.

Many Kanadiers leave their minimum-wage jobs during the spring and move to Ontario where agricultural work can easily be found. This work usually involves hoeing and picking

tomatoes, cucumbers and tobacco (Janzen, 1990). The Kanadiers are able to make a moderate income in Ontario because the children work in the fields along with the adults. This transient lifestyle presents conflicts with the dominant society. A number of employers in Manitoba are hesitant to hire Kanadiers because they expect them to leave in spring. The dominant society fails to recognize the meagre existence of many Kanadiers. Thoughts of the future are not foremost in the Kanadier's mind. The immediate dilemma of how to survive on minimum wage with a large family is paramount.

Economically, the Kanadiers are faced with barriers such as trying to feed a large family on a minimum wage and being able to obtain only jobs that have little opportunity for advancement. Within the religious sphere, there is a lack of participation and leadership in the local churches on the part of the Kanadiers. According to William Janzen (1990), one-third of the Kanadiers in Manitoba and Ontario do not attend church. Those that do attend church, frequent the more conservative churches such as the Sommerfeld, Reinland, and Zion Mennonite churches (Director of M.C.C. Family Services, personal interview, March 1990). Two Kanadier men (personal communication, March 15, 1990) observed that those who attend church, do not generally hold leadership positions.

The reason for the scarcity of participation is two fold. As a form of social control, many of the Kanadiers who leave Latin America are told by those who stay that they are

rejecting God. Therefore, when they arrive in Canada, many of the Kanadiers feel that it is not appropriate for them to attend church (Janzen, 1990). The other reason for the lack of participation is the stigmatization they experience by some of the host community members who feel the Kanadiers had relinquished their spirituality when they moved to Latin America (refer to the first quote on page 13).

The sparse participation of some of the Kanadiers in the religious sphere has concerned some people. Because of this concern, one of the Mennonite conferences has started a Low-German church specifically for the Kanadiers.

Having to relate to institutions and government agencies presents another barrier. Many of the needs of the Kanadiers in Latin America are supplied by the village; little outside contact is needed to survive. In addition, history indicates that relationships between the Kanadiers and various governments have been poor. The Russian, Canadian, and Mexican governments have rescinded many agreements made with them. Their distrust of institutions and government agencies is, therefore, understandable.

The Kanadiers' struggle to preserve their lifestyle and survive in Manitoba is difficult. Without the closed and separate community, Kanadiers must interact with the dominant society. This interaction opens the way for discrimination and stigmatization. I have observed that the word "Mexican" in the host community has derogatory connotations when used

to refer to the Kanadiers. The term "Mexican" in this context indicates that the more prosperous dominant system does not accept the Kanadiers as Canadians or as Mennonite peers with the same historical roots.

The amount of discrimination experienced by the Kanadiers in Canada sometimes depends upon the individual's prior situation in Latin America. For example, a church conference of the southern Manitoba Mennonite community sent missionaries to several Old Colony villages in Mexico. The missionaries started high schools and conference churches in the villages. The Kanadiers who attend the high schools and mission churches in Mexico are seen as rebelling against the traditional values and are excommunicated and socially ostracized by the Old Colonists. It seems, however, that the excommunicated Kanadiers are less discriminated against once they arrive in Canada. According to one Kanadier man (personal communication, March 15, 1990), this higher status in Canada is a result of those Kanadiers being seen as a "product" of the dominant society through the missionaries. The Kanadiers who come to Canada with a substantial income experience less discrimination. The Kanadiers from countries other than Mexico also experience less discrimination. The economically marginalized Kanadiers from Mexico are, therefore, the ones who experience the most prejudice in the Manitoba community.

By looking at interactions within the host community's organizations and the between them and the Kanadiers,

"parallel processes" (Papiasvili and Severino, 1986) can be seen. For example, hierarchical organizations tend to have administrators who relate to their staff in a paternalistic manner (i.e., dominant knowing what is best for subordinate). Consequently, the staff relate to their clients (the Kanadiers) in a paternalistic and, therefore, oppressive manner. Because of the oppressive situation of the Kanadiers, parallel processes of interaction can also be seen in regards to how the Kanadiers relate to each other. Some of the Kanadiers who migrated six to eight years ago and who are oppressed by the host community, oppress the Kanadiers and immigrants who are now arriving. For example, the earlier Kanadiers who own businesses, pay low wages to the new Kanadiers and give little opportunity for advancement. A portion of the earlier Kanadiers, both adults and children, do not associate with the newly arrived ones.

In addition to the barriers which society presents to the families, the children face obstacles in the school system, in part, because of the different value systems of the Kanadier and the education professionals. In an interview with a teacher (personal communication, June 6, 1990), these differences in values were discussed. According to the teacher (personal communication, June 6, 1990), a teacher's professional goal is to educate the students in order that they may become productive human beings in the dominant society. Formal education is the avenue to being economically

and socially successful. Conversely, the Kanadier's value system regards formal education as being the avenue to the outside world filled with evil (Francis, 1955).

This assumed conflict of values is a postulate of the school system when explaining the poor relations between some Kanadier families and the school. They are presuming that the Kanaidiers are still committed to the old ways. My interpretation, however, is that, with one third of the Kanaidiers not attending church and the transition of moving to a community with similar religious beliefs, the commitment to the old ways is not as important to the Kanaidiers as it was in other countries. This interpretation will be discussed further throughout the report.

Regarding the relations between the school and Kanadier families, school personnel become frustrated when the Kanaidiers withdraw their children from school in the early spring and return late in the fall. In addition, most Kanaidiers observe the first two days after Ascension and Pentecost as religious holidays. Even though the school system is closed for the two holidays, Kanadier children do not resume school till the third day after Ascension and Pentecost. School personnel become exasperated with the disruption in the educational process which can carry over into the classroom relations between the teacher and Kanadier children. Numerous teachers feel that Kanadier children will never be productive because of the disrupted educational

process and lack of parental support regarding education. The extra time and effort given to these children is, therefore, seen as being wasted (School teacher, personal communication, June 6, 1990).

In regards to how some teachers view the Kanadier children's influence on the classroom, Redekop, (1988) states that:

Teachers report that immigrant [Kanadier] children tend to have a negative influence on classroom atmosphere, which they [teachers] in turn attribute to the devaluing of education in the home. Sadly, there is no evidence to suggest that members of the hosting community see any value in the culture of the Mexican Mennonite immigrants and there is a strong expectation and pressure for them to assimilate to the cultural standards of the surrounding group. (p. 21-22)

As with every generalization, many teachers within the host community school division understand the Kanadiers' situation in society. They spend numerous hours with these children to improve their academic standings.

The host community attaches a stigma to people who move from Latin America. The school makes every effort, therefore, to quickly integrate these children in order that they will not "stick out" and be teased by the other children. Even though the actions are well intentioned and necessary in helping the Kanadiers to understand the Canadian way of life, they convey the message to the child that her or his lifestyle is not valued by society and the school.

Another factor which affects the acceptance of Kanadier children in the school system is the language used by school personnel in regards to the Kanadiers. The terms "Mexican Mennonite" and "immigrant" convey an attitude that the Kanadiers are foreigners in the community rather than Canadian citizens which many, in fact, are.

Various school sponsored activities also present problems for the children. Kanadier children are frequently excluded from these activities because of family income levels and different life experiences. For example, ice skating and swimming are events in which many Kanadier children have had little experience and are apprehensive about participating. Many Kanadier parents, also, cannot afford to buy ice skates for their children. At present the school system does not provide ice skates for these children to borrow.

The specific barriers that prevent the Kanadier children from viewing themselves in a positive light vary from school to school within the division. The point that must be stressed is that much is being done to help the Kanadiers adjust to the school setting through English Second Language programs, home-school liaisons and extra teacher assistants. There is, however, little being done to have the school adjust to the Kanadiers. School personnel must be able to highlight the commonalities between the Kanadiers and host community while at the same time valuing the unique life experiences which the Kanadiers bring with them.

Considerably more can, and will, be written in regards to the Kanadier story for it is ever unfolding. The aim of this story is not simply to document the past, but to provide the context in which to understand the present and to frame the future. For my contextualization, I drew from the authentic experiences of the Kanadiers and from literature by non-Kanadiers which, at times, differed in their interpretation of events. In regards to this variation, the dominant group is the one who usually defines social reality for the subordinate group which results in stereotyping and powerlessness (Baker Miller, 1986). My purpose in using an empowering approach in my intervention with the Kanadiers was to make this story more authentic with their participation.

CHAPTER THREE
Theoretical Framework For Analyzing
and Understanding the Kanadiers' Situation

INTRODUCTION

In the preceding chapter, the term sculpturing was used to refer to how the Kanadiers constructed reality in the different countries in which they settled. To understand this sculpturing in Canada, three factors must be considered in order to grasp its complexity. Each factor affected the Kanadiers' construction of reality. The first factor was the transactions¹ that occurred between the Kanadiers and the host society. The unique life experiences of the Kanadiers was the second factor. The third factor was the power relations that developed between the Kanadiers and the host society.

The theoretical framework described in this chapter aids in understanding the interconnectedness of the three factors and sets the agenda for the intervention used with the Kanadiers in their construction of reality. The framework for the analysis of the Kanadiers' dilemma integrates three theories. These theories are Carel Germain's (1980) ecological perspective, Fredreik Barth's (1969) transactional theory on culture, and Paulo Freire's (1970) and Jean Baker Miller's (1986) empowerment theories.

¹The term transactions used in this context means the process of reciprocal social exchanges.

The first section provides a summary of the relevant literature on Germain's (1980) ecological perspective and Barth's (1969) transactional theory. Throughout this section these theories are employed to understand the predicament of the Kanadiers.

The second section of the chapter critiques the ecological and cultural theory and provides the basis for applying Freire's (1970) and Baker Miller's (1986) theories on empowerment with the Kanadiers. The theory of empowerment focuses on the concepts of social justice and power. These concepts are lacking in the ecological and cultural theories.

THE ECOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE IN ANALYZING TRANSACTIONS

The philosophy of social work has changed over the years. The traditional model of social work in the early 1900s centred on the "sociopsychological bonds between client and community and the need for environmental change to meet clients' needs" (Siporin, 1970: 15). This framework was largely rejected when social work became involved with psychodynamics and psychopathology and followed the medical symptom-illness view of social problems (Siporin, 1970).

The recent introduction, however, of ecology in social work has, once again, encouraged helping professionals to view people in continuous interchange with all elements of their physical and social environments (Germain and Gitterman, 1980; Garbarino, 1982; Glasgow-Winters and Easton, 1983; Brown and Swanson, 1988; Bronfenbrenner, 1979). In Germain's article

"The Ecological Approach to People-Environment Transactions", she explains the ecological perspective as being concerned with;

...the transactions between people and environments that, on the one hand, promote or inhibit growth, development, and the release of human potential and, on the other hand, promote or inhibit the capacity of environments to support the diversity of human potential. (1981: 325)

This perspective focuses on how individuals shape and are shaped by their physical and social environments.

In the ecological perspective the physical and social environments are influenced by each other and are divided into layers. The physical environment has a "natural" and "built" layer. The "natural" layer consists of those things in the world that are made naturally, such as trees, mountains, and animals. The "built" layer includes those things that are made by humans, such as buildings, highways, and communication systems (Germain, 1981). In considering the Kanadiers, they were shaped by their physical environment in Latin America. For example, the hot windy weather affected how they dressed.

The social environment is stratified according to the level of social organization. The first layer is the social network of family, friends, neighbours, workmates, and others who are in reciprocal relationships with the individual (Germain, 1981). In the case of the Kanadiers we can look at whether or not they are regarded in a positive light by others and whether or not their differences are accepted by those

with whom they are in contact. In the preceding chapter I recorded the experiences of the Kanadier school children in Canada who are teased by their classmates for the different way they dress and speak.

The second layer consists of those organizations and institutions in which the individual does not participate but which have a significant influence over the individual (Germain, 1981). The manner in which a person views the community's institutions and organizations through their own life experiences affects her or his transactions with those organizations. In addition, the organizations' interventions are a salient factor in how one views oneself. For example, an emphasis by the school system on having the Kanadiers adapt to the host community's values without affirming the values of the Kanadiers causes them to view their own lifestyle in a negative light.

The last layer of the social environment is the "value systems of the culture, by political and economic structures, and by the environment of law, statutes, and policy" (Germain, 1981: 325). An example of this final layer is the emphasis on formal education as a means for economic success in the host society. More highly valued among the Kanadiers is manual labour in a variety of trades. This value generally does not lead to economic success in the host community, especially when the Kanadiers' only opportunity to obtain work is with a member of the host community.

Urie Bronfenbrenner (1979) in his framework for the ecology of human development adds an interface among these layers. This interface is comprised of the relationships and interactions between the different elements of an individual's social network. For example, this fourth layer affects how the child views him or herself by the amount of respect that is shown between the home and the school (Garbarino, 1982).

A worker must intervene at the different layers of the environment to influence the transactions that occur. Germain's (1980,1981) method of intervention suggests strengthening the adaptive capabilities of individuals and influencing their environments so that the transactions are revised. For example, an intervention in the practicum was to help the adapting capabilities of a Kanadier woman by teaching her English. Another practicum intervention was to influence the school to be more responsive to Kanadier children and their families. This intervention produced several programs that will be discussed in Chapter Four and is supported by significant social work literature (Aponte, 1976; Brager and Holloway, 1978; Brager and Purcell, 1967; Germain and Gitterman, 1980; Germain, 1981; Patti, 1974).

The natural and built layer of the physical environment, the four layers of the social environment, and the interactions between these environments and the individual all influence how one views oneself and the world. In order to gain insight into the situation of the Kanadiers and how they

construct reality, the focus on the transactions between people and their environments is helpful as shown above. The framework, however, is not complete until a more specific look at ethnicity is undertaken and the concept of social justice is incorporated.

TRANSACTIONAL APPROACH TO CULTURE

The transactional approach to culture fits well with the ecological perspective because it focuses on transactions between different groups rather than on descriptive cultural traits. Like the ecological perspective, the transactional approach acknowledges and analyzes the ecological interdependence of human beings (Barth, 1969; Bennett, 1975, 1976; Rossevelt, Saleebey, Watts, Lecca, 1983; Green, 1982).

The best synthesis of Barth's (1969) transactional approach to culture is in James Green's (1982) book Cultural Awareness in the Human Services. Green defines culture as "being made up of those things which are relevant to communication across some kind of social boundary" (1982: 7). Another concept that is important to the transactional approach is that of ethnicity. Ethnicity is seen as having three elements, (a) a sense of a shared past and similar origins, (b) a belief in the distinctiveness of the ethnic group, and (c) that ethnicity is most important when members of an ethnic group interact with different groups (Green, 1982). What constitutes the Mennonites in general as ethnic is their sectarian perspective (Redekop, 1969). Even though

the host community is considered ethnic Mennonite, the pervading sectarian perspective of the Kanadiers defines them as an ethnic Mennonite minority within an ethnic Mennonite host community.

There are two approaches to culture: categorical and transactional. The categorical approach explains cultural differences "according to the degree to which individuals or groups manifest specific, distinctive traits" (Green, 1982: 9). This approach lends itself to stereotyping cultural groups. Barth's (1969) transactional approach considers the manner in which people who are communicating preserve their sense of cultural distinctiveness. Individuals become aware of their ethnic identity through their interactions with those who are culturally different from themselves. The point at which a group maintains its distinctiveness within a social encounter is called boundary maintenance (Barth, 1969; Bennett, 1975; Bennett, 1976; Molohon et al., 1979). Green states in regards to identity:

The ways in which that distinctiveness is defended, asserted, preserved, or abandoned amount to the stuff of ethnic identity. To understand ethnicity, therefore, one must examine the values, signs, and behavioural styles through which individuals signal their identity in cross-cultural encounters. That requires analysis of what Barth calls "boundary maintenance" (1969: 11), rather than the mere listing of cultural traits. (1982: 12)

Barth (1969) also examines varying degrees of lifestyle within an ethnic group in his book Ethnic Groups and Boundaries. He asserts that if one ethnic group is spread over a territory with differing ecologic circumstances, then the group will display regional diversities of institutionalized behaviour² which does not reflect a whole different cultural orientation. In the case of the Kanadiers, who are of the same ethnic group as the Mennonite host community, their life experiences are dissimilar from the Mennonite host community which are reflected in a difference of some forms of lifestyle and values rather than in a completely diverse cultural orientation. For example, as a result of their ecologic circumstances in Latin America the Kanadiers have brought back with them a distinctive form of dress, the ability to speak Spanish, unique ways of preparing food, and different agricultural practices. The point that needs to be stressed is that the Kanadiers are now in a host community with basically the same cultural orientation.

Barth's (1969) concept of boundaries assisted my understanding of the Kanadier's construction of reality. They define their identity through interactions with the host community. The balance of power involved in the Kanadiers' interactions with the host community, however, is not fully

²The meaning of institutionalized behaviour in this context refers to that behaviour which is accepted as a norm for that particular group.

addressed in the boundary concept. When the notion of power is included, the concept of boundaries become barriers for the Kanadiers in how they define reality for themselves. Theories of empowerment acknowledge the existence of power in the interactions and complete the conceptualization of the Kanadiers' situation. To make my case for the basis of the empowerment theory, I will first critique the ecological perspective and the transactional approach to culture.

CRITIQUE OF THE ECOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE

AND THE TRANSACTIONAL APPROACH TO CULTURE

The ecological perspective and the transactional approach to culture as a social work framework do much to help one examine the needs of a person in a holistic manner. These perspectives, however, seek to be neutral in their approach to social work. The perspectives focus on adaptation and adjustment, rather than on change: social change, family change, individual change. The intention of change is to transform the social relations which limit an individual's existence (Goodrich et al., 1988).

It is useful at this point to define the words adjust and change. According to Webster's Third New International Dictionary (1976) adjust is defined as "to come into conformity". On the other hand, change is defined as "to give a different position, status, course, or direction". When a condition of social injustice exists in both the economic and social relations between the Kanadiers and the

host community (as documented in the preceding chapter), empowering the Kanadiers does not mean to enable them to adapt or conform to the condition, but to transform their existing situation.

My own concept of social justice involves taking a stand and working for change. Ending stigmatization and discrimination of the Kanadiers is not a neutral process. Instead, it implies that a conflict exists. Social justice for the Kanadiers means they are freed to construct reality for themselves and, therefore, are empowered to question the structural inequalities and demand change (Mansbridge, 1983).

Paulo Freire (1970) and Jean Baker Miller (1986) address the issue of social justice and the construction of reality for those groups who are oppressed. They maintain that the dominant group generally names reality for the subordinate group. When a stigma is attached to the subordinate group by the dominant, then their reality has been defined for them.

At this point a working definition of the word stigma is needed. The definition used in this report is taken from Erving Goffman's (1963) book Stigma. Goffman defines a stigma as when a person possesses "an undesired differentness from what we had anticipated" (1963: 5). He also states that:

...an individual who might have been received easily in ordinary social intercourse possesses a trait that can obtrude itself upon attention and turn those of us whom he [or she] meets away from him [or her], breaking the claim that his [or her]

other attributes have on us (1963: 5).

Goffman asserts that as a result of placing a stigma on a person "we exercise varieties of discrimination, through which we effectively, if often unthinkingly, reduce his [or her] life chances" (1963: 5).

There is a stigma attached by the host community to the way the Kanadiers dress, the way they speak, the vehicles they drive, the Spanish music they listen to, their large families, and their religious holidays. The stigma is attached to the Kanadiers for the following reasons:

1. The historical disagreements between the Kanadiers and the host community;
2. The economic motivation of keeping them "socially ineligible" for higher paying jobs;
3. The fact that the Mennonite host community has not had to live previously with differences among its sect.

As one Kanadier stated in regards to the host community:

[The host community] is a Mennonite community. Mennonites that come from a 400 year background of isolation. We have therefore lived with very few other cultures that have shown us that differences can co-exist.

Within the school system and the host community, the Kanadier's identity has been defined for them in a manner that is not valued by the community. Because there is such a stigma attached to being a Kanadier, the Kanadier children soon realize that to gain friends and avoid teasing by others, they must neither dress like a Kanadier nor speak Low-German.

One Kanadier child shared with me that she did not have any friends until she dressed and talked like everyone else. When I asked her how she felt about the situation, she replied that she was angry because it meant that "what she was before didn't mean anything to anyone". In contrast to allowing the host community to name reality for the subordinate group, the latter must begin to "name the world for themselves" (Freire, 1970: 76). This is the process of empowerment.

EMPOWERMENT THEORY

Empowerment is defined as "a process whereby the social worker engages in a set of activities with the client or client system that aim to reduce the powerlessness that has been created by negative valuations based on membership in a stigmatized group" (Solomon, 1976: 19).

Freire (1970) describes two stages in the process of empowerment. The first stage is when the subordinate group recognizes that they are oppressed and commit themselves to transforming the situation. The second stage involves the expulsion of myths (stigmas) that were created by the dominant society.

For the host community and the Kanadiers to recognize that the Kanadiers are oppressed, there must also be a recognition that differences of lifestyle and values between the two groups can promote growth. The valuing of differences is an important aspect of the empowerment theory. Baker Miller states that;

Growth [and empowerment] requires engagement with difference and with people embodying that difference. If differences were more openly acknowledged, we could allow for, and even encourage, an increasingly strong expression by each party of her or his experience. This would lead to greater clarity for self, greater ability to fulfil one's own needs, and more facility to respond to others. There would be a chance at individual and mutual satisfaction, growth, and even joy (1986: 13).

Baker Miller (1986) asserts that the acknowledgement and acceptance of differences empowers the subordinate group and the dominant group. Both will grow in their understanding of each other and in their individual and mutual satisfaction. As the host community learns about the Kanadiers, they are also broadening their world view and will grow both emotionally and intellectually.

CONCLUSION

Placing the ecological perspective and the transactional approach to culture within an empowerment framework provides the basis for understanding the Kanadier's situation and the manner in which their reality is sculptured in Manitoba. I see that the Kanadiers are embedded in both the physical and social environments, which influence their social exchanges and their views of reality. As an ethno-cultural group they define their distinctiveness through the social boundaries. The Kanadiers have also entered into a Mennonite community with basically the same cultural orientation as themselves.

I am further enlightened to the Kanadiers' situation when I realize that it is the host community who holds the power

in the social and economic relations between the two groups and, in turn, defines reality for them. With the inclusion of power, Barth's (1969) concept of boundaries evolve into barriers for the Kanadiers. These barriers are at times erected by the Kanadiers because of the stigma they experience from the host community. The Kanadiers frequently perceive themselves as being in the lowest position in society and unworthy to associate with host community members. Generally, though, the barriers are imposed by the host community, both socially and economically, by placing the stigma on the Kanadiers.

To empower the Kanadiers to define their own identity without the stigma attached by the host community, advocacy and mediation work must be done at every layer of the environment. The framework described in this chapter equipped me in my intervention to aid the Kanadiers in their construction of reality. The intervention was enacted from the school setting and is outlined in the following chapter.

CHAPTER FOUR

AN EMPOWERING APPROACH WITH THE KANADIERS The Development and Implementation of the School-based Social Work Program

INTRODUCTION

Throughout the preceding chapters of this report I emphasized how each person creates her or his world view according to her or his particular standpoint. This social-construction-of-reality perspective was uppermost in my mind as I considered the stigma attached to the minority group within my own community, that is the Kanadiers' host community. In developing any program these multiple perspectives of reality should be taken into account. The reason for including the multiple perspectives is that the program participants are empowered when their views of reality are understood and incorporated into the program. The purpose of this chapter is to describe how the different perspectives were included within the development and implementation of a school-based social work program.

Being new to the host community, I listened to others in order to gain insight and to see where I fit into the community as a woman, community member, and social worker. This process of listening led me to my M.S.W practicum which involved several steps over the last two years. These steps serve to organize this chapter and includes the development of the program (the contacts and arrangements made during my

Pre-M.S.W. year), my own preparation (the six months before the program commencement), and the implementation (the six months of the program).

DEVELOPMENT STAGE

One of the first phases in empowerment is to understand, through dialogue, the culture one is entering. It was my intention, during the development of the program, to comprehend how the Kanadiers, the school staff, and Child and Family Services (C.F.S.) staff perceived themselves and the world around them. The development stage, therefore, became an endeavour in understanding these different perceptions. This endeavour began as a Pre-M.S.W. student.

In my first year of Pre-M.S.W. studies a field instruction placement was a requirement. I felt the need to obtain a placement within my own rural community rather than in an urban area. As a social worker I wanted to be aware of the needs in my community and contribute in some meaningful way. A field instruction placement, therefore, with the local C.F.S. agency in my community was arranged. My placement consisted of observation, supervised case work, and intake duties.

Within my placement I observed the social workers' frustration in working with several resisting and self-reliant Kanadier families who believed that secular institutions did not have a role in their private life. At times, the social workers' work with the Kanadiers and other clients included

communicating with the school system. More often than not, this communication was discouraging for the social workers who occasionally saw school personnel as being non-supportive of C.F.S. and its mandate. These strained relationships produced an environment that at times hindered the effectiveness of the social workers' work with their clients.

Being married to a teacher in the community and having my social contacts include mostly educational professionals, I became aware of the school personnels' despondency with the Kanadier parents' lack of participation in their children's education. This non-participation was attributed to the Kanadiers' not valuing formal education. I also observed the discontent of school personnel as they tried to understand C.F.S.'s responsibilities and functions.

I felt the need to further explore this triangular relationship among the Kanadiers, school system and C.F.S., because I expected to come across it many more times in my work and social relations within the community. I, therefore, devoted part of my Pre-M.S.W field placement to investigating an M.S.W practicum addressing these relationships.

Exploring the History of the Kanadiers

My first step in empowerment involved learning the history of the Kanadiers through literature (Driedger, 1973; Francis, 1955; Friesen, 1976; Redekop, 1969; Sawatzky, 1971) and relevant community members. I found that most of the literature was written by members of the dominant society and

not by the Kanadiers themselves. These books dealt only with the Kanadiers' history up to their situation in Latin America and did not address their present predicament in Canada. The Kanadier community members with whom I spoke provided the missing history through the sharing of their own experiences.

I spoke at length with a teacher's assistant who spent her childhood in Mexico. She provided many insights into the relationship between the Kanadiers and the school. As a Kanadier she had several suggestions she would have liked to share with the teachers to increase their understanding of the Kanadier culture. These suggestions included having teachers visit the homes of Kanadier children and having the opportunity to explain the unique behaviour of the new Kanadier children to school personnel. This unique behaviour was a result of a Latin American school experience which was vastly different from a Canadian school experience. For example, the Kanadier students' very timid behaviour when they first entered the Canadian school system reflected the strict school system they were accustomed to in Latin America. When I asked the Kanadier woman why she never shared these suggestions, she replied that she was only a teacher's assistant and that her expertise was never solicited by a teacher. She did state that an elementary school in the community (which will be referred to as School A in this report) had initiated several programs to improve the relationship between the school and the Kanadiers.

One such program was "Low-German Night" in which once a year the Kanadier parents were invited to the school in the evening and the staff provided information in Low-German as to what their children would be learning in school. She felt that these nights were successful because of the high number of parents who participated.

During the development stage I also spoke with a Kanadier high school student who had moved to Canada several years previous. She shared with me her experiences in Latin America and how they were different from her life in Manitoba. She felt that the move was a difficult adjustment because she was very lonely at first. She now, however, had friends and liked her life here in Canada. She did state that her adjustment would have been easier if a person who understood her life experiences had been available at the school to talk with her and orient her to school life in Canada.

In addition, I spoke with the director of the Mennonite Central Committee (M.C.C.) Family Services about his work with the Kanadiers. He had visited the Mennonite colonies in Latin America several times and was familiar with the Kanadiers' situation in Southern Manitoba. He familiarized me with the issues and gave me the names of Kanadier community members who could be of assistance in my learning process.

At this point, I was limited as to the amount of first hand knowledge I could gain because I had yet to become a part of the Kanadiers' environment. I realized that I had only

touched the surface in understanding the Kanadiers' predicament in Southern Manitoba. I did, however, feel that I had sufficient knowledge of their history to begin the next step which was investigating the relationship of social work and education.

Exploring the Relationship of Social Work and Education

The school organization consists of subsystems in which the interactions between these subsystems can become the focal point for social work intervention (Winters and Easton, 1983). I, therefore, examined these interactions as I explored the place of social work in the schools.

At first I reviewed a substantial amount of literature regarding school social work. Most of this literature was taken from the periodicals Social Work in Education and Social Work. These articles addressed such issues as the different social work approaches used (Brown and Swanson, 1988; Dicocco et al., 1987; Costin, 1975), the relationship between the social workers and school personnel (Alexander, 1986; Pennekamp, 1986), and the teachers' evaluation of the social worker's performance (Staudt and Craft, 1983), and other topics.

I interviewed two social workers who were involved in cost-sharing positions with C.F.S. and different school divisions. One worker had a clinical focus while the other had a community development focus. Both workers emphasized

the lack of acceptance by some school personnel who were threatened by the social workers' presence within the school.

Arranging the Practicum

The process I went through in setting up the practicum is important to note because the perceptions of the proposal by those involved affected the outcome of the program. The many meetings that were held are recorded in this section. At the end of the section is a brief analysis of the perceptions of those involved in the development.

During my Pre-M.S.W. year (September 1988 to May 1989) I approached the executive director of C.F.S. about a possible M.S.W. practicum placement with his agency that focused on the development of a school-based social work program that would be cost-shared between C.F.S. and the school division in my community. A cost-sharing program would involve both the school division and C.F.S. contributing equally to the salary of a social worker who would be responsible to both C.F.S. and the school. The practicum, however, would not be a salaried position but the development of such a position.

After receiving approval from C.F.S., I contacted the school division regarding my program. A negotiation process ensued that included the superintendent of the school division, the director of special services for the division, the executive director of Child and Family Services, myself, and the principal of School A which, at the time, was to be the program site.

Several issues arose during the negotiation process. The superintendent explained that the schools were dealing with many social problems among some of the Kanadier families. He felt, therefore, that it would be beneficial to have a person with counselling skills in a home-school liaison position. The principal of School A thought that the school needed someone who spoke Low-German fluently in this type of position. He was also uncomfortable with the idea of a social worker in his school.¹

In addition, the question of who I would be accountable to, C.F.S. or the school division, arose. It was agreed that I would be considered an employee of the school division and be supervised by a C.F.S. worker regarding social work practice issues. A letter of negotiation was drawn up by the executive director of C.F.S. and agreed upon by the superintendent (Refer to Appendix I for a copy of the negotiation). Because the clarity on who I was accountable to was important, my proposal changed from a cost-sharing program to a school-based social work program that was connected to C.F.S. only through supervision.

Two months later on the last day of the school year I was contacted by the superintendent who informed me that the principal had declined my proposal. The superintendent stated

¹Through heresay I later learned that School A had had several negative experiences with social workers.

that he was committed to my proposal and that he would attempt to find another school as a program site.

Throughout the summer I was in contact with the superintendent. At the end of the summer a meeting was held with the superintendent, myself, and a principal who managed both a school smaller and newer than School A and a village school. The school that was managed by the principal is referred to as School B in this report. The principal of these schools was very encouraging about the possibility of my placement within his jurisdiction. He stated that his staff had been experimenting with different approaches to increase the participation of Kanadier parents and was very open to any ideas which I might have. He was also having to deal with more troubled students and felt that he did not have the necessary skills and time to help these students. It was decided that I would begin my program in January 1990 and continue until June of that year.

At this point a personal analysis of the attitudes and perceptions of those I contacted is needed. Many times I was amazed at the acceptance of my proposal by those involved. I attributed this acceptance, as did other social workers and school staff, to three factors. One factor was that C.F.S. had developed and assessed my social work skills. The second factor was that the school division saw me as a member of a family committed to the community. The third factor was that the school division could trust that I would understand an

educational perspective because I had previously worked as a school social worker and that my husband and in-laws had years of teaching experience in this school division.

As a result of the perceptions of reality of those mentioned, the program design was adjusted to include the valuable perspectives of those involved during the development phase. School personnel struggled with the concept of school social work because the only contact they had had with social workers was through C.F.S. and a local mental health agency. In an attempt to root the concept in their own reality, they defined a school social worker as both a guidance counsellor and home-school liaison. At this point I knew that for the program to be successful in their own reality I had to meet their expectations of these roles while retaining my social work perspective.

The following section is a brief description of the program proposal. The program procedures were intentionally described in a general manner in order to allow for program adjustments throughout the implementation. In regards to ethics, it was important to include the input of the participants in the program.

Program Description

The description of the program consists of the program objectives, the focus population, the setting for the program, program personnel, the procedures to be used in the program,

the types of recording to be used, and the type of program evaluation.

The objectives for the program were to comprise of the following:

1. The program was to increase the problem-solving, coping and communication abilities of students and their families. This objective focused on the interactions within the students' and families' environments.

2. The program was to assist students and their families in obtaining resources. These resources were to consist of both social and material means.

3. The program was to help community organizations be responsive to students and their families. This objective would require close contact with the involved agencies and families to ensure that the families' needs were being met.

4. The program was to provide culturally sensitive social services to Kanadier students and their families. These services were to concentrate on empowering the Kanadiers in their present situation.

5. The program was to offer education to students and school personnel regarding child welfare issues. These issues were to centre mainly on prevention services.

6. The program was to provide liaison services between the school division and the child welfare agency in obtaining resources and strengthening communication. The liaison

service would entail interpreting to each organization the different perspectives of the other.

The focus population of the program was to be the families of the students who attended School B and the village school and presented difficulties with school attendance, coping, and social stresses. A highlighted aspect of the program was to be the interactions between the Kanadier students and their families, school, and community.

The setting for the program was to be at School B as well as the village school. School B was in its seventh year of operation and had a student population of approximately 350 in the kindergarten through sixth grade. The village school was in a small Mennonite community about five kilometres from the host community and had approximately 70 students in the first through eighth grade. The rationale for the program to be based within a school was to have myself, as the social worker, viewed as part of the students', school staffs', and Kanadiers' environment. The reasons for having the program based in these particular schools were to promote early intervention and to work with Kanadier students.

The personnel for the program was to be myself, in the capacity of social worker. I was to be directly accountable to the principal but to receive clinical supervision from a C.F.S. social worker.

Brown and Swanson's (1988) article on trends in school social work practice was used as a starting point for the

program procedures. The methods were to include case coordination, collaboration among representatives of various systems, case conferences, consultation, and community development. The interventions were to be guided by an attention to cultural sensitivity to enhance the interactions between cultures².

In addition, the program was to entail an ethnographic evaluation which would allow for the negotiation and renegotiation of the intended goals of the program. This on-going evaluation was to assist the program in being responsive to the expressed concerns of the different cultures.

The type of evaluation activities to be conducted were to consist of formative and summative studies. The formative studies are those activities that would provide myself and the participants with information on how to improve the on-going program. These activities would include a needs assessment, observations by program participants, and ethnographic interviews. The summative studies are those methods that assess the overall outcome of the program (Herman et.al., 1987). The results of the formative studies are described in this chapter while the summative activities are included in Chapter Six on program evaluation.

²The school system and the C.F.S. system are considered as cultures along with the Kanadier and host communities.

The recordings to be implemented in order to furnish the school with an account of my activities were to include assessments, contact logs, and progress and closing summaries.

SELF PREPARATION STAGE

Before the program began I thought it was important to prepare myself in regards to my role and the different cultures I would be entering. Freire (1970) explains this process of entering into different cultures as "cultural synthesis" (p. 181). In cultural synthesis a person enters another culture not as an "invader" to teach something, "but rather to learn, with the people, about the people's world" (p. 181). The process of cultural synthesis is what I aspired to as I approached each culture.

Examining My Role in the Situation

The first step in preparing myself for the program was to examine my own role as a school social worker in the oppression. As a non-Kanadier I belonged to the social strata of the dominators and was placed as an intermediary within an organization that was part of the host community. I felt very uncomfortable with this role because social justice was very important to me. This uneasiness, however, pushed me to enter into further dialogue with the Kanadiers.

Entering the Kanadier Culture

Entering the Kanadier culture required an approach that sought to equalize the power imbalance between myself and the Kanadiers. I, therefore, committed myself to a "mutual aid"

(Gitterman and Shulman, 1986) relationship that created an alliance with the Kanadiers because of the need to work on a shared problem, that of language.

A few months before I started the program, I contacted the English Second Language (E.S.L.) teacher at School B. I stated that I needed to increase my Low-German vocabulary before I started the program. I asked her if she knew of a Kanadier woman who would like to learn English while at the same time teach me Low-German. The E.S.L. teacher contacted a young Kanadier mother who had moved to Canada several months previous. The E.S.L. teacher introduced me to the Kanadier woman on a home visit, and we began our learning process immediately thereafter.

The Kanadier woman did not know any English, and with my limited Low-German skills, verbal communication was restricted. She helped me, however, with my Low-German and she was rapidly learning English words that were relevant to her everyday life. I felt a bond develop as we were able to laugh at how we incorrectly pronounced words. I met with this woman once a week for two months. One day, as quickly as the lessons began, they ended. She told me that she could no longer continue meeting with me without giving any reason. At this time, I realized how important language was. Even though I had taken a community class on Low-German, my vocabulary was such that I was unable to gently inquire why she wanted to discontinue the lessons.

The E.S.L. teacher found another Kanadier woman who wanted to improve her English and was willing to help me with my Low-German. As a mother of thirteen children whose time was very precious, I viewed our weekly time together as a great sacrifice on her part. She had a daughter in her late teens who could speak English very well but could not read or write the language to her own satisfaction. The daughter sat in on our times together, and I was able to learn from her also. These two mutual-aid relationships provided me with many insights and assisted my understanding of empowerment. The Kanadier woman and her daughter were empowered by the fact that their language and lifestyle were valued enough to be taught to someone.

Entering the School Culture

I felt the need, during my preparation stage, to enter into the school environment slowly and in a non-threatening way. To ethically understand a culture, a worker must not enter as an "invader" to teach, "but rather to learn with the people, about the people's world" (Freire, 1970: 181). I, therefore, positioned myself in a role of a student and not as an expert. I was there to learn about the school culture and its relationship to the Kanadiers. Entering the school environment involved meeting with school personnel, a school board trustee and, assisting in school activities.

A month before the program began I attended a staff meeting at School B. The principal invited me to present my

program to the staff. I provided the staff with a brief two-page outline of the program, because I knew that their free time was limited as Christmas was fast approaching. The principal stressed the image of my being a home-school liaison, while I tried to convey myself as a school social worker. At this point I knew that my position within the school would be unclear at times as a result of how each teacher constructed his or her reality in regards to the staff meeting.

In addition, I spent several hours helping the teacher assistants and teachers at school B with two of their Christmas activities. The teacher assistants receive the information that I would be working at the school as a social worker. They assumed I was a student teacher before I explained my role to them. I speculated that the gap in communication was because of the control of information that is part of any hierarchal organization (Mintzberg, 1979; Morgan, 1986).

I also wished to learn more about the school organization, especially the kind of impact the cultural values of the host community had on the school division. I interviewed a school board member about the role of the board in decision making and its relationship to the parents. The trustee provided me with a wealth of information. She maintained that, in many ways, the school division was like a private school that received public funding because it

operated in the midst of a predominantly Mennonite community. I also talked briefly with her about my program that was to be implemented at School B.

In an effort to grasp further the concept of guidance counselling and its relationship to Kanadiers, I interviewed one of the two guidance counsellors at the only collegiate in the division. I told her about my program and she expressed the concerns that she had in her work with the Kanadier students. Over the past year they were registering more Kanadier students. This was a result of the discontinuation of the correspondence courses the ninth grade Kanadier students were previously taking in the village schools. They were able to take these courses until the age of sixteen at which point they were allowed to withdraw from school.

In the discussion with the guidance counsellor the relationship between the school division and C.F.S. arose. In an attempt to improve this relationship the guidance counsellor set up a meeting with the counsellors, principals, and C.F.S. social workers to discuss child welfare issues. She felt fairly positive about the meeting, but did feel that more meetings would help clarify some issues. She stated that if any more meetings were arranged she would be sure to invite me. The invitation confirmed the feeling that school personnel were viewing my program as non-intimidating.

Entering the C.F.S. Culture

During my Pre-M.S.W. field placement with C.F.S. I spent a great deal of time entering this culture in the role of a student. My preparation at this stage, therefore, involved meeting with my clinical supervisor at C.F.S. in order to negotiate his role in the program. He was hopeful about the program and stated that it was a "ripe time" for the school division to have a social worker. He thought the school system was ready to have a social worker because of the many contacts C.F.S. had recently had with the school division and his concern for the children who were "falling through the cracks" in human services. My supervisor expressed a concern that I might have to deal with too many "bosses" who were coming from different helping perspectives, such as the school principal, my practicum advisor, and himself. At this point my supervisor and myself were not sure as to what kind of clinical activities he would be advising me on because I had left my methods fairly open-ended.

The self-preparation that took place during this time period enhanced my understanding of the interactions between the different cultures, particularly of the school division, C.F.S., and the Kanadiers. I was still unsure as to the practical ways in which I could help improve these interactions. I was confident, though, that throughout the implementation I would have several cultural resources as program participants with whom I could learn. These cultural

resources were people from the different cultures who were able to inform me of their values and philosophies.

IMPLEMENTATION STAGE

To empower those participants involved in the program, I engaged in a set of activities with them that sought to reduce their powerlessness that had been created by the interactions with their physical and social environments.

As the program progressed, I found that the activities separated into three categories and at times intertwined. The first category consisted of the formative studies that assisted in shaping the program during the implementation. The second category was the community development activities connected with Kanadier students and their families. The final category was working with individual students and their families. This section on the implementation stage will be divided into these three groupings. The sections on the community development activities and the individual student activities includes the objectives, description, and evaluation of the process of each activity.

Formative Program Studies

The needs assessment and ethnographic interviews were the formative studies for the overall program. Each activity implemented in the program incorporated a formative study and is included in the evaluation of the process of that specific activity.

The purpose of the needs assessment was to discover what the participants might expect in the way of services (Rossi and Freeman, 1989). In the beginning of the program the only identified participants were school personnel. The needs assessment was, therefore, carried out in the form of a questionnaire completed by school personnel in the second week of the program.

The questionnaire asked for the types of services the staff thought I should be providing, the types of students with whom I should be working, and the social work roles they saw me fulfilling (refer to Appendix I for a copy of the questionnaire and the results). A majority of the staff stated that counselling individual students who were emotionally disabled should be a high priority for me as a school social worker. Most of the staff viewed my role in the school, in order of priority, as providing short-term crisis intervention, counselling individuals, families and groups, and acting as a home-school-agency liaison. The needs assessment supplied me with acceptable and expected program activities with which to begin.

Another formative study included the use of ethnographic interviews throughout the implementation stage. The ethnographic interview is a technique to gain information from a person who is a cultural resource. This technique involved asking several types of questions (descriptive, structural, and contrast) in an attempt to learn from the resource person

the themes within their culture. What is meant by themes is the values, lifestyles, meaning of language, and social behaviours of a culture. Descriptive questions ask the cultural resource to describe familiar scenes. Structural inquiries are questions that seek more information regarding a scene that was described. Contrast questions ask the cultural resource to compare the similarities and differences of the cultural scenes being discussed (McCullagh and Roberts, 1988; Spradly, 1979).

Over the course of the program these interviews took place with a teacher to learn about the school culture and with five Kanadiers to learn about their culture. During these interviews I was able to glean facts about the school structure and environment, the way of life for the Kanadiers in Latin America and Canada, and the interactions between the two cultures. The needs assessment and the ethnographic interviews increased my understanding of how the program participants constructed their reality and how the program needed to be shaped to empower the Kanadiers.

Community Development Activities

The community development activities attempted to improve the interactions between the host community and the Kanadier community. Freire's (1970) and Baker Miller's (1986) theories on empowerment were the basis for these activities. I interpret Freire's (1970) process of empowering a person as first understanding and valuing that person's culture. The

worker must then help form an environment which is safe for that person to name her or his reality. Empowering the Kanadier students and their families entailed three phases. These phases were entering into dialogue with the Kanadiers, changing the school environment, and working with the Kanadiers in naming their reality.

Entering Into Dialogue

Freire states that "dialogue is the encounter between men [and women], mediated by the world in order to name the world" (1970: 76) from their own experience. Entering into dialogue with the Kanadiers not only began during the development stage but was also an integral part of the program throughout the implementation. As previously stated the five Kanadiers who served as cultural resources, guided my actions with the sharing of their personal experiences at home, in the community, and at school. Three of the Kanadiers were vitally involved both in planning and implementing two of the program activities.

Changing the School Environment

There are many factors and interactions within an environment that contributes to the inequality of the subordinate group when the dominant group defines that group as inferior (Baker Miller, 1986). It was, therefore, important to help form a safe and supporting school environment in order that the Kanadier students could define their perspectives. Two approaches were undertaken to foster

this change. First, work needed to be done at the school level to encourage the students to respect different life experiences of others. To accomplish this work a theme week was developed for the school that highlighted multiculturalism. Secondly, several teachers mentioned the need for conducting small groups with the fifth and sixth grade students which focused on interpersonal problem-solving.

Multicultural Week

Development. The E.S.L. teacher and I had many discussions about the stigma attached to the Kanadier children in school. The idea of a Multicultural Week emerged as a way to deal with this stigma. We believed that respecting differences and focusing on similarities should be addressed with the staff and children. We felt that the Kanadier children needed to see the school value their life experiences instead of ignoring them. I presented the idea of Multicultural Week to three of my cultural resources who provided ideas and feedback. They directed us to a video on the history and predicament of the Kanadiers and we were able to show this video to the staff before Multicultural Week. This video is one of the few histories that present the Kanadiers in a positive light.

After we received approval from the principal, we presented our idea to several teachers individually. Some teachers responded positively to the idea while others felt that we would be singling out the "Mexican Mennonites" who do

not want to "stick out". After presenting the idea at a staff meeting in which the majority of the staff respond favourably to our plan, we began pulling our resources together.

Objectives and Description. The objectives of Multicultural Week were (a) to recognize and learn about the cultural diversity of Canada, (b) to recognize the Russian Mennonite heritage among most of the students, and (c) to appreciate and respect the life experiences of others.

Two weeks before Multicultural Week a survey was sent home with each child to be brought back to school. The survey asked the parents about the cultural origins of each child. The parents were also asked if they would like to help with or participate in Multicultural Week. Through these surveys several interesting facts were discovered. A majority of the students (95%) had Russian Mennonite origins. Most of the students who were born in Latin America were not able to trace their origins past their grandparents. There could be many reasons for this unknown part of their lives. One reason being that because families were mainly concerned with surviving in the harsh economic and geographic environment of Latin America, time for discovering their origins was scarce. Through these facts we realized that we would need to provide the Kanadier students with basic information regarding their history.

The first few days the E.S.L. teacher and I went into every third through sixth grade classroom to run the

Multicultural Week sessions. We prepared for the week by doing a session beforehand on what respect meant in practical terms. This session centred on the how students showed respect and disrespect in their interactions with others.

Our goal was to have the children recognize that differences of lifestyle and values between two groups can promote growth. We, consequently, showed a film on the first day of Multicultural Week which highlighted the cultural diversity of Canada and how the world is the largest school in which we can learn about other cultures. After the film we picked a culture the class had been learning about and had them compare it with their own culture by looking for differences and similarities. The E.S.L. teacher, who was of Russian Mennonite heritage, then shared her family tree with the classes. She stressed the points that we all may be related and that our ancestors may have been neighbours in Russia. At this point a portion of the Mennonite history was communicated to the children. We gave a family tree and a world map to each child to fill out at home with her or his parents.

On the second day we discussed the civil rights of students and had them apply those rights to their own situation at school. We then divided the class into small groups and had them share their family trees and maps while we went from group to group. This was especially hard for some children who had been born in Latin America. We felt the

pain of those who had been in Canada for eight to ten years and had to reveal for the first time where they were born. We made sure we stayed in those groups and emphasized the positive aspect of having a unique life experience and also the similarities in the heritages of each child. Once the similarities were discussed we could see those students from Latin America become more comfortable. The family trees of those children who were born in Latin America usually revealed that their grandparents were born in Canada and either their great-grandparents or great-great-grandparents were born in Russia. Many children who were born in Canada were surprised that the Kanadier children's roots could be traced to Canada and Russia just like their own.

One important aspect of empowerment was having the Kanadiers speak from their own experience. This aspect was included in Multicultural Week when we invited seven Kanadier mothers to the school one evening to teach the E.S.L. teacher and me how to cook different foods from Latin America. We tried to make it a very relaxing atmosphere by speaking Low-German. After the cooking we sat around drinking coffee and tasting the different foods. We visited with the women about their children and what it was like in their country. It was a very beneficial time having the mothers come and teach us. We learned about their culture and the fact that they wanted to participate in removing the stigma from their children.

They were also able to make social and emotional connections with other mothers who were in their same situation.

The third day we asked several parents and grandparents to come and talk about the different countries they had lived in. These countries included El Salvador, South Africa, Bangladesh, Russia, Paraguay, and Canadian native groups. The parents and grandparents brought slides, pictures, and artifacts in which the children were very interested.

On the fourth day, in order that the Kanadiers could speak from their own experience, we had the Kanadiers who helped us develop the program come and tell about their life experiences in Mexico. In several of the classes this sharing was the most moving part of the week. The presenters were very direct and interacted well with the children because two of them had been teachers in Mexico.

The Kanadiers started off their presentation by first speaking in Spanish and then Low-German, which only the children from Latin America could understand. By the end of the presentation we had Kanadier children raising their hands and stating that they or their parents were born in Latin America. One Kanadier child was so moved by having someone who was relating to her life experience speak to her class that she burst into tears and ran into the arms of the presenter. After they presented to each grade we passed out the food the Kanadier mothers had cooked and ensured that the classes were aware of whose mother prepared the food. In our

evaluation the children rated eating the different foods as one of their highlights of the week.

Throughout the week we encouraged the children to bring artifacts and pictures from other countries for displays on the last day. We had numerous countries represented as we took each class on a tour of the displays. That afternoon we had a Multicultural Assembly with skits, songs, and poems that centred around the theme of respecting differences and looking for similarities in others. We had the local newspaper send a reporter and we made sure that everyone who was involved with Multicultural Week was mentioned in the article.

Evaluation. The evaluation consisted of pre- and post-test measures and the observations of teachers and students. The results of pre- and post-test are reported in Chapter Six.

The observations of the teachers and students regarding Multicultural Week provided a basis for evaluating the process of the week's activities. Observations of the Kanadier women who provided the cooking for the week were also solicited for the evaluation. A majority of the students and teachers stated that the most successful part of the week was the presentations of different countries by the guests and the sampling of the different foods. Many of the students stated that filling out the pre- and post-test forms was the most disliked part of the week. Most of the teachers felt that if Multicultural Week was implemented again, more time should be allowed for the guests to answer questions. Two teachers

stated that they noticed changes in the Kanadier students who were now acting more confidently and proudly (refer to Appendix I for a copy of the responses from the teachers).

Several weeks after Multicultural Week the E.S.L. teacher and I met for coffee with the Kanadier women who had come to cook at the school to gain their valuable input. We asked for their thoughts and feelings about their participation in Multicultural Week. Each mother enjoyed the time and felt it was important that their children's classmates were exposed, in a positive manner, to the foods and way of life which they experienced in Latin America. Two of the mothers were very open about the concerns they had for their children in regards to the teasing by other students in the past.

The evaluation for the Multicultural Week led the E.S.L. teacher and me to believe that centring on the similarities and respecting the differences of each culture produced a safer environment for the Kanadier students to express themselves. In Baker Miller's theory of empowerment she explains that when we increase and accept the expression of each person's experience, it leads to a better "clarity of self, greater ability to fulfill one's own needs, and more facility to respond to others" (1986: 13). It was this process of empowerment that we tried to accomplish with each student who participated in the Multicultural Week.

Student Problem-Solving Groups

The student problem-solving groups were based on the belief that the students possessed the ability to help themselves and others. This belief "moves us beyond the self-centeredness of our age,...to a social-centeredness which emphasizes the relationship between the one and the many" (Gitterman and Shulman, 1986: 362). The group mutual aid system attempted to universalize the students' problems, thereby, diminishing their stigma and isolation (Gitterman and Shulman, 1986).

Objectives and Description. The student groups started several weeks before Multicultural Week and were conducted once a week for six weeks. The format for the groups was taken from Winters and Easton's (1983) book called The Practice of Social Work in Schools: An Ecological Perspective. The objectives of the groups were (a) to improve self awareness, understanding of others and the ability to express feelings, (b) to become familiar with the process and rules of small group discussion, (c) to learn and practice the steps in interpersonal problem-solving, and (d) to develop self-help among peers.

Several sessions were held with the four fifth and sixth grade teachers to design the groups. Because these teachers asked for such groups, I thought they should be involved in both the planning and facilitating of the groups. It was decided that the groups would fit well into the school's

health curriculum. The students, however, would not receive marks regarding the groups.

Each teacher divided her or his classroom into two groups, each consisting of 10 to 12 students; and the teacher facilitated one group and I facilitated the other. One teacher felt that it should be mandatory for each member of the group to talk, while another teacher and myself stated that the freedom to remain silent should be given to each member. I encouraged the teachers to facilitate the groups in a manner that was comfortable for themselves. I realized that each group would be facilitated differently depending on the personality of the teacher and, thus, the outcome of the groups might differ.

I provided the teachers with an outline which stated the objectives and suggested activities to help them reach those objectives for each 35 minute session. We also met several times throughout the six week program to discuss observations, propose changes, and share ideas.

In the first session the students were asked to make the rules for the group. Any rule that was brought up was written on the board. The only rule which the teachers and I included was that of confidentiality. The students learned about how to express their problems by using "I statements" and about the six steps in problem-solving. These six steps were (a) to state a problem, (b) to brainstorm alternatives, (c) to make a small plan, (d) to make a commitment to the group to

carry through with the plan, (e) to supply feedback and outcomes, and (f) to evaluate the outcomes. The students also participated in warm-up activities to help each student feel comfortable and valued as a member of the group.

The rest of the sessions were devoted to going through the problem-solving steps with each problem that a student brought up. At first, in a few of the groups, the students were reluctant to share a problem with the group. One teacher had them anonymously write on pieces of paper problems which they would like to share and the teacher read these written statements to the group. Several other teachers used the same approach when the students seemed hesitant about stating their problems. Usually by the end of the group, the student had taken ownership of the problem once they realized that the other students and teacher did not think the problem was irrelevant. Within my own groups, the students were not hesitant to share problems. I attributed this lack of hesitation to the fact that I was not seen as an authority figure within the school.

An emphasis was put on the groups, especially in the ones with which I facilitated, to be creative in their problem-solving in order that the students would become empowered. Previously the students had had little opportunity to participate in creative problem-solving and, therefore, were weak at first in developing solutions. As the sessions progressed, however, their ability to be inventive expanded.

The last session consisted of a group activity which the students chose by consensus. These group activities were mainly playing a group game and bringing refreshments. A group activity that involved having each student anonymously state what they liked about each member was conducted by the group facilitator at the end of the session.

Evaluation. The evaluation entailed a pre- and post-test that measured the extent, severity or magnitude of a problem that a student had with his or her peers. The results of the test were considered part of the outcome evaluation and are reported in Chapter Six. The evaluation of the process of the student problem-solving groups consisted of the observations of the teachers who facilitated and the students' statements of what they learned in the groups.

Several of the teachers stated that learning in group situations about conflict with others was an effective way to improve the interactions between the non-Kanadier students and the Kanadier students. Refer to Appendix I for the rest of the teachers observations in regards to the groups. The students, however, had difficulty in seeing how the problem-solving process could improve their interactions with Kanadier students when they were asked what they would do if they disagreed with a student from another country.

The positive observations and comments by the teachers in regards to the Multicultural Week and the student problem-

solving groups led me to think that the school environment had been prepared for the Kanadiers to name now their reality.

Naming Their Reality

In order for a member of a stigmatized minority group to reconstruct how she or he views the surrounding world, the member must feel that the struggles she or he experiences are not endured in isolation. A sense of unity and interdependence must be felt by the member to empower her or him in the naming of her or his reality (Freire, 1970).

This sense of unity began to manifest itself several weeks after Multicultural Week when the student groups had ended. I had asked the fifth and sixth grade Kanadier students to meet me after school to discuss their perspective of Multicultural Week. The fifth and sixth grade groups met separately. Both groups stated that the other children were interacting and including them more in activities. They felt that the increased interaction was because the other children saw "their culture valued" during Multicultural Week.

In the fifth grade group, students shared their experiences when they first came to Canada and the difficulties in making friends. Most of them had lived in Canada for four or five years. They were very open and perceptive about what it was like for them at school and in the community. After the group ended they decided they wanted to do this on a regular basis. Because there were only four weeks left in school they decided to meet twice a week after

school for activities and discussions about coming from another country. I received permission from the principal and the students' parents and began these groups without any concrete objectives. For the students to feel empowered, I thought it was important that the students felt ownership of the groups by deciding the objectives.

The only direction I used to facilitate the approach of naming their reality was that of Freire's (1970) "conscientizacao" which is translated as "critical consciousness" (Alshuler et al., 1977). This approach consisted of the Kanadier students naming the reality which has been constructed for them, analyzing with the students how it was constructed, and acting with them to change that reality.

In the first group session I relayed to the students their history which I had learned from the Kanadier adults. They were captivated with the Kanadier name and how it related to them. As a result they called themselves the "Kanadier Klub". The students were the ones who set the agenda for the group. My only responsibility was facilitating discussions and acting as a resource for activities. I told them they could speak Low-German in the group which would help me learn it better. They were surprised to hear that I was learning Low-German and wondered why I wanted to learn their language. I believed the students felt their culture was once again affirmed by my use of their language.

Some of the activities included sharing pictures and memories of their country and playing games. I was able to join in on these activities because I was also born in another country. The discussions focused on their Kanadier history, their prior and current situation at school, the stigma that is attached to those from Latin America and what these circumstances meant to them. At this stage of the group they began to see how they acted while experiencing the situations we discussed. For example, some of the students were able to recognize that their shame was a result of how other students interacted with them. Through this process, Freire's (1970) concept of perceiving reality differently began to happen as we talked about how to make Mexico or Paraguay "beautiful" in Canada. Several of these perceptive students felt that if they were proud of their identity (and saw their own reality differently) others would see their country in a better light.

Throughout the discussions I checked with them how the other students in the school were responding to this group. One girl stated that her peers respected her more because she had something special for once. I was surprised to learn that some of the Kanadier students' friends were non-Kanadians. The other Kanadier students' friends were in the group and two others stated that they didn't have friends. For the last group I told them they could invite one or two friends or classmates to the group. By having their friends join the

last group the Kanadier students were able to transfer what they had learned in the groups to the larger school context.

In the last group the principal spent time alone with the Kanadier students asking for their evaluation of the group. During that time I spent time with their friends and classmates getting their perception and ideas about the group. They were all positive about it and felt that it was time those students had something of which they could be proud. We then met together in closing and brainstormed ideas for the future.

In the evaluation an insightful Kanadier child stated that the Kanadier group would not have worked if they had not experienced the student problem-solving groups or Multicultural Week beforehand. She felt that both activities had "prepared the way" for the group. This child affirmed the fact that there were certain chronological steps in the process of empowerment.

The after-school group was an instrumental activity in empowering these students. One Kanadier student, who was very reluctant to participate in the student problem-solving groups, willingly came to each after-school group and participated more than any other member. I knew that within a group that was affirming his life experience he felt the self-confidence and power to express his feelings and views.

As the facilitator for the after-school group I found myself being taught while in dialogue with these students.

By the end of the group I found these students to be the program's most important cultural resources. In many ways I wished that I was developing the program at that point because they would have made the program even more accountable to the Kanadiers. The group and their families could have assisted other Kanadiers in naming their reality and provided consultation throughout the different stages of the program.

There were other community development activities that are worth noting because they too helped a Kanadier to construct reality in an empowering manner. I had an agreement with a young Kanadier woman that if I would help her understand mathematics and learn to drive a car she would be a cultural resource. I spent many hours with her as we both discovered new aspects of each other's culture. She shared with me that she wished she had been able to finish her education because she had always dreamed about becoming a teacher. It was at this point that we arranged with the E.S.L. teacher for the Kanadier woman to help out with an after-school reading club. She attended two of the club meetings before the school year ended and helped the first graders with their reading lessons. It was a courageous act on her part to once again enter an environment that at one time had stigmatized her. She enjoyed her time at the reading club and felt more confident about her vision of someday becoming a teacher.

The community development method was a major part of the program. Throughout the supervision process these activities were not considered counselling by my supervisor from C.F.S. I viewed them, however, as a vital part of the counselling process because counselling must include political work to empower those who are powerless (Goodrich et al., 1988; Marchant, 1986). This political work includes changing the environment by first transforming how dominant society constructs reality for the subordinates.

Individual Student Activities

The community development activities involved the process of empowerment as well as the individual student activities. The students with whom I worked were feeling powerless in many situations in their lives, both at home and at school. During the course of the program the individual student activities also concentrated on the interactions among the students, their teachers, their families, and involved agencies. The focus on empowerment and the transactions were accomplished through individual and family counselling, consultation, and home-school-agency liaison work. At times these activities included Kanadier students and their families.

Individual and Family Counselling Activities

During the six months of the program there were five students and their families with whom I counselled from an empowering framework. This framework helped the students and their families to acknowledge their weaknesses and limitations

with the belief that they were not shameful or inferior. The goal of this acknowledgment was to turn the weaknesses into strengths. These strengths were then perceived from the students' and families' own life experiences. Jean Baker Miller states that "if one could turn readily to other people in seeking to deal with these feelings, if one could do this repeatedly with faith and ease, there would be many more chances of productively dealing with life" (1986: 38).

Objectives and Description

The specific objectives of the counselling depended upon each situation. The major focus, however, was on the interactions between the student and the different systems. During the counselling sessions I worked with the students and their families to empower them within their family and school situations and in their interactions with others.

The duration of the sessions depended upon what the child was comfortable with and we met in situations that were acceptable to the student. At times these meeting places were at the Dairy Queen, the town park, and the resource and health room at the school. It was my intention that by having the student decide on the logistics of the session she or he would take ownership of the counselling process. Not one child abused the power she or he had in the decision.

Presenting Problems. The presenting problems included a crisis situation in the home and difficulties in relating positively to peers and teachers. When a student was referred

to me, I met with the student to discover his or her definition of the problem. If the child wanted to continue to meet, either the principal, the teacher, or I would contact the parents to explain my position at the school. I also asked for permission to continue meeting with their child. Every parent contacted gave their permission for me to meet with their child.

Empowerment Model in Action. The process of empowerment could take place when the student was able to define and acknowledge the problem. When the students were asked to give their definition of the problems, four of the five students were able to acknowledge that there was a problem. In order to explain how the social work intervention was empowering and when it was limited, two case examples are contrasted.

Case Example No. 1. One student, who was referred to me because of problems in interacting with peers, was empowered through the counselling process. The school had already done extensive ground work regarding this student's problem by meeting with the student and family to discuss the predicament. When I was brought into the situation, the parents and student recognized that there was a problem that needed to be addressed. My involvement consisted of two family counselling sessions, five individual sessions with the student, and several consultations with the teacher.

The concept of "externalizing the problem" (White, 1989) was used with the student and her family in order to empower

them in their interactions. In this process the problem was considered separate from the student, the family and their relationships. This process gave them the opportunity to describe themselves, each other, and their relationships from a perspective that did not view the student as a "problem child". The perspective empowered the student and family to view those positive aspects in their lives that could assist in controlling the problem. At the end of my involvement a certificate stating that the student had successfully reconstructed her view of herself was given to the student in order that she could show this to the significant others in her life. In the evaluation of the counselling the family stated that through the process they were able to encourage and take responsibility for their part in their child's life.

Case Example No. 2. The empowerment model was limited in one case when the parents declined to meet together with their three children as a family. Never the less, empowerment took place with two of the siblings by enabling them to redefine their role in the crisis situation at home. The two siblings (both were females) acknowledged their feelings of vulnerability when they perceived themselves as being responsible for the home situation. We were then able to externalize the problem and focus on the strengths that each of them brought to the situation when they realized that they were not the cause of their parents' actions. The other sibling, who was entering adolescence, was not able to

externalize problem. He found it hard to accept his feelings of weakness in the situation because he had always been taught that men were not to acknowledge that they could feel vulnerable.

The empowerment process was not fully accomplished because I was not able to counsel the siblings along with their parents. The family was involved in counselling with a mental health agency; however, after two sessions they refused to engage in the process again as a family. I was, therefore, not able to address the gender aspect within the family context. I was able to encourage the parents to talk with their children about their situation and they carried through with the suggestion. The two female siblings were satisfied with the dialogue with their parents while the male sibling was uncomfortable with his father informing them of the situation.

During a stable period in the home the parents agreed to meet with the principal, the male students' teacher, and myself. The session focused on the strengths of the parents as they were, at the present time, dealing successfully with their predicament. The parents were able to view the school staff as empathetic and non-condemning.

Confidentiality Issue. The issue of confidentiality in regards to keeping the student's teacher abreast of the counselling process was dealt with through the empowerment framework. One question that was addressed when I counselled

a student was the type of information which they were comfortable with their teacher knowing. The child became empowered when she or he was allowed to participate in the decision. Generally, it was agreed that their teacher should know the objectives we were working on in order that the teacher could become part of the counselling process in the classroom. One student decided to inform his teacher of his home situation by inviting the teacher to one of our sessions in order that he could disclose the information himself. Another student wrote in her journal to the teacher regarding her home situation.

Evaluation

The evaluation of the counselling process was based on the empowerment model by discussing with the child and family what aspects should be changed and what aspects were helpful. Two of the students were confident enough to let me know when I had gone too fast or too slow. One student did not like the idea that he was seen by his classmates as being singled out when he came to see me.

Consultation Activities

Another aspect of the program was empowering the school staff regarding their interactions with students and families. After community development, I spent most of my time on consultations. Even though most of the teachers did not refer the students to me, they did consult with me on the concerns they had regarding their students.

Objectives and Description

The two objectives of consultation were as follows: (a) to empower myself by gaining knowledge from experts in other areas about how to address a specific concern, and (b) to provide knowledge to other school and agency personnel to empower them. Consultation took place at a variety of places and times. Typically, the teachers spoke with me during their daily preparation period. I also consulted with different agency personnel who were involved with the students. Generally, the consultation consisted of discussing the different perspectives brought to the given situation.

Case Example. An illustration of the consultation process involved a student with whom I was counselling because of a crisis situation within the home. The child was acting out his anger at the home situation in the classroom. Both the student and myself explained to the teacher what was happening in the home. The teacher was a very caring person and, therefore, found it hard to set down limits for the student in regards to his acting out. Through the consultations, which informally involved the principal at times, the teacher was able to recognize how her interactions with the student were negatively interpreted by the student and was able to reconstruct a positive relationship with the student.

Evaluation

The evaluation of the consultation procedure was included in the final assessment of the program by the teachers,

parents, and agency personnel. The findings are discussed in Chapter Six.

Home-School-Agency Liaison Activities

Objectives and Description

Communicating between the home, school, and other agencies was the activity in which I spent the third most time. The main objective was to communicate the different perspectives and concerns to and from these different systems in order that they could be empowered and better empower their clientele.

The liaison activities included explaining student dental forms, bus schedules, and scheduled school appointments to the parents who did not understand these situations. This activity also involved expressing concerns about a student to other agencies who were involved with that student.

Evaluation

The evaluation of the home-school-agency liaison activity is reported in the final outcome evaluation of the program by teachers, parents, and agency personnel in Chapter Six.

CONCLUSION

In many ways I was amazed at the number of activities that took place within the program. I attribute the number of activities to the receptiveness of the school personnel, parents, students, and agency personnel who were willing to be a part of the program.

The methods that were used in the program centred on changing the unequal power structure within a situation. Whether these methods included community development with a stigmatized population, individual or family counselling, consultation, or liaison work, each activity aimed at reducing the powerlessness of a person. Empowering the person involved having the person define the reality which had been constructed for her or him, analyzing how the reality was constructed, and acting with her or him in changing that reality.

Throughout the whole development, self-preparation, and implementation of the program I sensed that the program could achieve its intended objectives until difficulties in the communication process between the school and C.F.S. became apparent. These obstacles in communication propelled me to analysis further the communication process between the two organizations in hopes that it would improve and strengthen in the future.

CHAPTER FIVE

Organizational Analysis of the Local Child and Family Services Agency and the Practicum Site School and Their Communication Patterns

INTRODUCTION

One of the main objectives of the practicum was to improve and strengthen not only the transactions between the school and the Kanadiers but also between the school and the local Child and Family Services (C.F.S.) agency. To improve the transactions between the school and C.F.S., I needed to understand how the organizations functioned and how each staff constructed its reality. The purpose of this chapter then is to analyze each organization's culture and the communication processes between the two institutions in order to enhance their ability to collaborate with each other. In addition, an analysis of these two institutions and their communication processes aided my interpretation of how they evaluated and perceived my program.

Through the examination, I concluded that each organization perceived the other differently than how the other viewed itself. These disparate constructions of reality, at times, hindered effective communication between the two organizations. Within their constructions of reality the staff emphasized the differences between the institutions and overlooked the similarities. Both organizations wanted to empower their clientele and believed the other was not able to be empowering in their intervention.

The analysis focuses on the similarities between the organizations. It is my hope that this emphasis will help each organization to understand the other better and, thereby, improve the communication process and promote empowerment of their clientele.

The frameworks used to analyze the organizations were contingency theory and social-construction-of-reality theory. Mintzberg (1979) identifies within the literature on organizational theory that there are different ways of interpreting contingency theory.

One interpretation of contingency theory is the "linear concept" which describes certain situations in organizations. Mintzberg (1979) states that the "linear concept" views the design of the structure being " 'contingent' on the organization's situation" (p. 221). In the following analysis the linear concept is applied to the situations in which the structure of the organization is dependent upon its environment and technology.

Another interpretation is known as the "interactive concept" which regards the linear concept as being unclear about the reciprocal relationship between variables (Schoonhoven, 1981). The interactive concept asserts that an organization's effectiveness is contingent upon its environment and structure in which these variables are relating mutually to each other (schoonhoven, 1981). Throughout this chapter I state when the linear and

interactive concepts of contingency theory are being applied in the analysis.

Within this chapter each organization's effectiveness is determined by the extent to which it can empower its clientele. The degree to which an organization is able to empower its clients is dependent upon its mix of environment and structure. The variables of environment, structure, and technology mutually act upon each other to create a level of effectiveness or empowerment.

The contingency factors that are addressed in this analysis are the organizations' environment and technology. The social-construction-of-reality perspective states that each person fashions their world view differently according to their standpoint in life. There are, however, givens in life that we become habituated to and incorporate into our reality rather than creating them. Through habituation, the contingency factors are considered givens.

What follows is not an exhaustive organizational analysis, but an endeavour to describe the similarities and differences between the organizations and how they influenced the communication processes and the effect on empowerment. It must be noted that I was on the periphery of both these organizations, therefore, my construction of reality regarding the two institutions differs, in part, from those who were a central part of the organizations. The information on each

organization in this chapter was collected through interviews with various staff members and through my own observations.

The chapter begins with an analysis of the relationships among the school's environment, structure, and technology. The second section examines the relationships among the contingency factors of C.F.S. The degree to which the organizations are effective in empowering their clients is also related to the contingency factors in the examination. The final section analyzes the communication patterns and how these patterns influenced each organization's view of each other and my program.

THE SCHOOL ORGANIZATION

Organization's Function

Meyer and Rowan (1978) claim that educational bureaucracies reflect the dominate values of society by generating a standardized type of graduate who is then placed in the economic and stratification system of society, based upon his or her certified educational training. The function of educational organizations is to maintain the "societally agreed on rites defined in societal myths (or institutional rules) of education" (Meyer and Rowan, 1978: 84). The particular functions that the practicum site school (School B) performed were contingent upon its environment, structure, and technology.

Environment

The organization's environment consisted of the conditions and influences surrounding the organization. The environment of the School B included the political environment, the local economic climate, and the social and cultural environment of the community. The purpose of this section is to examine the impact the rapidly changing environment had on the organization and its members.

The political atmosphere influenced the school in several ways. It affected the mobilization of resources by the school through the Ministry of Education, the school board, the school division's administration, and the provincial teachers' association. For instance, the school buildings in the division are owned by the province and any new buildings or additions must be approved by the government. At the present time the school population is declining in the province so the government is hesitant to approve funds for new buildings in the division even though the division population is increasing. Also, in an effort to save money, it was division policy to hire more teacher's assistants and fewer teachers, which the teachers' association considered a deterioration in the quality of education.

The economic climate of the community also influenced the ability of School B to obtain resources. The community's major economic base is agriculture. Service and manufacturing industries located in the town are of secondary importance.

The present hard economic times for farmers have caused a reluctance to raise local property taxes which constitute twenty percent of the school board's budget. Budgetary restraint directly affects School B's operating budget.

The town's service and manufacturing industries are growing and bringing in new people. The school division will, therefore, be building a new elementary school in town. The school division was also closing down several schools in the surrounding villages which were decreasing in population. The principal of School B also managed a village school that was included in the scheduled closures. School personnel have had to deal with the village parents who feel that the school division is being unfair to them by closing their school.

School B's enrolment has increased each year because of the town's growing population. In the last four years School B's staff had doubled along with new additions to the building. The increase in students and staff has affected the working environment of the school. Comments were heard in the staff room as to how many "extra bodies" the staff could handle. With the staff increasing in size some social grouping has occurred. During breaks teachers generally socialized with teachers and teacher's assistants usually formed their own group. Teachers were also being asked to fill more specialized roles such as working with students who are gifted, emotionally troubled, immigrants, and learning disabled. The change in the homeostasis of the environment

was difficult for some staff members to adjust to while others welcomed the challenge.

The social environment of the community included the religious views of the predominately Mennonite community and the influx of a group of people, the Kanadiers, with different lifestyles and values than the host community. The importance of Christian values in the community also permeated the school system. School board trustees were able to run successfully on the platform of maintaining Christian morals in the school system. As one trustee explained to me, the school system "is like a private school division receiving public funding". These religious values provided the cultural norms for those working in and attending the school.

The changing environment has led to organizational alterations. The flow of incoming Kanadiers over the last six to seven years has made the school system emphasize certain functions more than others. The function of socialization has become more important with the influx of Kanadiers who are unfamiliar with the Canadian way of life. As a result of this influx, several new programs have been developed within the school division to aid in the "socialization" process.

The aforementioned influences indicate that School B is operating within an unstable and uncertain environment. The environment has also become more complex with the addition of new programs and roles as a result of changing demographics. The student population was also extremely diverse in that the

school system has been mandated to serve every child within a geographical area. The unpredictable environment compelled the organization to develop a structure that would enable it to cope with this type of environment.

Structure

The structure of School B had bureaucratic characteristics which included a hierarchal line of authority, division of function, specialization, precision, continuity, rule following and discretion (Katz, 1972). Elements of the internal structure of the educational organization is described in several ways: "flat", "loosely coupled", and "tightly coupled".

By looking at the number of levels within the school system we see that it is a "flat" organization. The school system has five levels: trustees, superintendents, principals, teachers, and teacher's assistants. Few levels depicts an organization where a greater number of subordinates report to a given supervisor, and where the subordinates have greater autonomy in making decisions about technologies (Weick, 1979). For example, the principal at School B encouraged the teachers to be creative in their method of instruction and did not dictate to them how they should teach their students.

The principal's style of management encouraged many democratic staff decisions which at times created long staff meetings. The principal placed a considerable amount of trust in the teachers' abilities. He did not believe in regularly

observing the tenured teachers in their classrooms for the purpose of evaluation. There was also a strong emphasis on professional development within the school and the focus on "peer coaching". This technique involved teachers obtaining advice and professional feedback from their colleagues. From a linear concept of contingency theory, these practices were incorporated into the structure as a means of coping with the ever changing environment

Particular elements of the school's internal structure can also be described as "loosely coupled". When two elements of the organization are "loosely coupled" it means there are several different means that can be used to achieve the same end (Weick, 1979). To illustrate this concept, a teacher can employ diverse methods of instruction and still achieve the expected outcome in regards to what the student has learned. In the above example the elements of process and outcome are "loosely coupled".

Meyer and Rowan (1978) argue that there are certain aspects of the organization that are "tightly coupled". These aspects include the "ritual classifications" of curriculum, students, and teachers. For example, the curriculum was divided into specific subjects, the students were classified according to grade level, and the employees were classified according to whether or not they were certified teachers. The reason for the "tight coupling" in this area is that it gave meaning to and justified the internal activities of the

school. These elements of ritual classifications were contingent upon the cultural norms of society which the schools conformed to, incorporated, and controlled in order to gain resources from society (Meyer and Rowan, 1978).

Even though the structure of the School B was considered hierarchal and bureaucratic in nature, the organization has had to be loosely structured among certain elements in order to be proactive in its response to an unstable environment. The organization has also had to be tightly structured in other parts to remain credible from society's viewpoint. Within contingency theory's linear interpretation the structure of School B was dependent upon its environment.

Technology

Hasenfeld (1983) defines technology as "a set of institutional procedures aimed at changing the physical, psychological, social, or cultural attributes of people in order to transform them from a given status to a new prescribed status" (p. 111). In regards to the educational organization, the technology consisted of the procedures that were employed to change the cognitive attributes of students in order to empower them. Within the school organization these techniques were the method of instruction and the selection of curriculum content.

The staff at School B were limited in how effective they could be in empowering their students. Using the interactive concept of contingency theory, the organization's

effectiveness of empowerment was dependent upon its structure and environment.

According to Hasenfeld (1983), people who pass through organizations are not neutral human beings. A student's attributes were perceived not only as objective information, but also as statements about his or her's social and moral status. The way in which a student was perceived at School B was contingent on the cultural and societal norms of the community, as in the case of the Kanadier students.

School B was embedded in a community with strong ethnic and religious values that influenced the organization's technology. The school day in every classroom began with a time of prayer and a bible devotion. The types of books and materials that a student studied were closely monitored by most parents. The majority of the staff at School B was from an ethnic Mennonite background. The manner in which the teachers interacted with students was contingent on the cultural values of the community.

The technology was practised within an organizational and social context; therefore, these contexts had a major influence on the type and outcome of the technology (Hasenfeld, 1983). The traditional method of instruction at School B was what Freire (1970) calls "banking education" (p. 58). Freire (1970) defines "banking education" as the process by which a student is seen as a receptacle to be filled with information by the teacher. The technology was contingent

on the organizational structure because the structure limited the amount of individualized attention teachers were able to give their students (the student-teacher ratio is generally 25:1). As a result of the high ratio, the technology of the organization focused more on content than on process. Also, the school system was expected by the Department of Education to produce a student with a certain amount of knowledge in different areas. For the school to meet these expectations an emphasis on content of material was required.

Within the last several years, however, there has been a thrust toward different methods of instruction which are empowering. Two of these methods are teaching higher level thinking and the whole language teaching method, which focuses on the process of learning. According to Cochrane and Scalena (1986) the basic principles of whole language are that:

Teachers must accept and respect the language and experiences the child is bringing to school. The teacher starts with what the child knows and builds from there. (p. 1).

My observation during the program was that many teachers at School B were using the whole language concept and teaching higher level thinking in one form or another. For instance, the teachers that facilitated the student groups had little trouble emphasizing the concept of process. Once they were given a suitable environment to work in, focusing on how a situation was addressed and processed by the student came naturally to the teachers. Many teachers at School B work

with their students in small groups in the classroom so as to emphasize the process of learning.

School B also viewed the child as part of a larger system that included the family and the community. In order for the school's technology to be empowering, the staff realized that the larger system had to be involved and included in the child's learning process.

Relationship Among Organizational Elements

The interdeterminancy among the school's environment, structure, and technology was shown in the above sections. The environment influenced both the structure and technology through the cultural norms and values, funding resources, and so forth. The relationships among the environment, the structure, and the technology of the organization also limited the extent of how empowering the facilitator and intervention could be.

THE CHILD AND FAMILY SERVICES ORGANIZATION

Organization's Function

Child and Family Services was a private agency mandated by the provincial government to provide services to the children and families of Manitoba. These services to families included protection, prevention, preservation, counselling, foster care, adoption, and services to single parents (Manitoba Community Services, 1985). Within C.F.S. there were two groups of social workers with each being responsible for a specific geographic area. The group responsible for the

area in this report is referred to as the team of social workers.

As a human service organization, C.F.S.'s "principal function is to protect, maintain, or enhance the personal well-being of individuals by defining, shaping, or altering their personal attributes" (Hasenfeld, 1983: 1). How the local C.F.S. agency performed this function was dependent upon the environment, structure, and technology of the organization.

Environment

The environment of C.F.S., which was also changing rapidly, impacted on the organization in several ways; politically, economically, and socially. As a mandated agency most of the funding for its services were directed through the budget of the province's Department of Family Services. The agency also received private funds from six United Way organizations and through local fund raisers.

The agency's budget was contingent upon the amount of funds the governing party allocated to the Department of Family Services. The budget was also contingent upon the economic state of the catchment area because it affected the amount of private funds solicited. Over the last few years there has been a shortage of funding which has affected the specific functions of the agency.

The demographics of the catchment area influenced the number and type of clients served. The local C.F.S. caseload

has expanded with the increasing awareness of child sexual abuse and the rise in population. More social workers are needed to cope with the increase in demand for services. The lack of funding, however, has constrained the recruitment of staff. Five years ago the service delivery model of the agency changed from a generic approach to a specialized approach as an effort to cope with the escalating caseloads (Service Delivery Model Handbook, 1986).

As a mandated "people-changing" (Hasenfeld, 1983: 140) organization, the agency worked mainly with non-voluntary clients. This type of situation created an environment where a segment of the client population resented the role the agency played in their lives. The increase in the awareness of child sexual abuse and the shortage of staff has made most agencies focus on protection services rather than prevention. This focus, at times, undermined the community's image of the organization, which the organization has diligently worked to improve.

Like the environment of the school organization, C.F.S. was operating in a climate where it was accountable to the provincial government and the local community for funding. It was also working with a diverse client population because of its mandate. The changing and uncertain environment compelled the organization to alter its delivery of services. Using the linear concept of contingency theory, the structure of the organization had been constrained by the environment

in an effort for it to effectively cope with the unpredictability.

Structure

The internal structure of C.F.s had bureaucratic characteristics, such as a hierarchal line of authority, division of function, specialization, rule following, and discretion. The same type of adjectives are used with the C.F.S. organizational structure as with School B, which are "flat", "loosely coupled" (focus on process), and "tightly coupled" (focus on content).

The C.F.S. organization had five levels in its structure. These levels include the board of directors, the executive director, the team supervisors, the social workers, and the case aides. The structure of C.F.S. was not as "flat" as School B's structure because the supervisor-social worker ratio (1:8-10) was lower than the principal-school staff ratio (1:25). The social workers, however, still had a certain amount of autonomy over their technology.

The supervisor's style of management was indicative of a "flat" organization. The social workers had a lot of discretion in their work with clients, while the supervisor was there for direction and advice. The social workers were able to participate in the decisions regarding the team. During the staff meetings the role of facilitator was rotated among the team members. The social workers had a major role in the direction of service delivery for their region when the

specialization model was developed (agency social worker, personal communication, January, 1989). The team also incorporated the use of peer supervision which sought the expertise, advise, and supervision of other team members.

Certain elements of the agency's structure were considered "loosely coupled". The relationship between process and outcome illustrated this concept. There were numerous therapeutic methods that a social worker could use with a client to reach the intended goals. The structure had to be "loosely coupled" in certain elements for the organization to be able to respond to its uncertain environment (linear concept of contingency theory).

There were other parts of the organization's structure that were "tightly coupled" and constituted the content segment of the agency. As a case in point, the procedures regarding protection cases were "tightly coupled". Any team member who received information regarding protection issues was required to act immediately according to the provincial Standards Manual. These "tightly coupled" procedures justified and gave meaning to the existence of the agency by society. Society had expectations as to how children are to be cared for by their primary caretakers. The C.F.S. organization was given the mandate and moral obligation by the government to enforce the societal norms regarding child care. If C.F.S. failed in its mandate, its ability to gain resources from society would be jeopardized.

Another "tightly coupled" element of the organization was the classification of social workers. The agency made a practice of hiring people with a B.S.W. or a M.S.W. as social workers. There was an agency emphasis on the workers expanding their professional skills by attending various workshops. The organization also provided assistance if the workers furthered their education. These types of practices also gave the agency authority in society's view by having their workers regarded as professionals with expertise in social work.

The C.F.S. organization, like the school, was hierarchal and bureaucratic to a certain degree. As a means of coping with the changing environment certain elements of the structure was "loosely coupled". In order for the organization's existence to be justified by society other parts of the structure had to be "tightly coupled".

Technology

The therapeutic methods and procedures that the staff at C.F.S. used to change the attributes of their clients were regarded as the technology. Many of their treatment techniques focused on "empowering" the client and were considered process oriented as opposed to content orientated. The empowering techniques concentrated on activities with clients that aimed to reduce their powerlessness by helping them to develop skills in order to change or cope with their situation. The techniques also viewed the client as a part

of larger systems, that is the family and societal systems. The degree of how empowering the worker could be, however, was contingent on several factors.

The environment of the organization which caused an increase in the caseloads limited the amount of time each worker was able to spend with a particular client and the type of services they provided. The mandate of the agency also limited how empowering a worker could be. When a team member initially worked with a non-voluntary client the needed trust by both the client and worker was usually absent. The absence of trust in the counselling relationship hindered the empowering process.

Another area that limited the degree to which the techniques were empowering were the cultural values of the social workers themselves. The staff's value of the importance of professionalism and expertise created the use of the one-way mirror in therapy. The use of the one-way mirror was an effort for the therapist to gain and refine his or her counselling skills by having other team members on the other side of the mirror relaying their advice and observations through a hearing device. A critique of the use of the one-way mirror in therapy involves the issue of power. The use of the one-way mirror indirectly strengthens the therapist's power to influence the client by not introducing

the other team members. Young (1989/90) states in regards to this power imbalance that:

There is a risk, however, that a more powerful therapist means a less powerful client. de Shazer (1988) warns us of the dangers of using metaphors that lead clients and therapists to become opponents. He prefers metaphors of co-operation. (p. 10)

There has been a recent move within the agency to incorporate the use of reflecting teams in regards to the one-way mirror. These reflecting teams would join the therapist at a certain point in the counselling session and discuss their observations and suggestions with the therapist in front of the clients. The practice of reflecting teams is more empowering for the clients than having the other team members remain anonymous and out of the clients reach.

The technology of C.F.S. was influenced by the structure and environment of the organization. The staffs' technology focused on empowering their clients, however, the extent to which their intervention realized this aim was contingent upon the environment and the structure of the organization.

Relationship Among Organizational Elements

The relationship among the contingency factors in C.F.S. parallel the relationship among the same factors in the school organization. Using the interactive concept of contingency theory, effectiveness was constrained by the technology, environment, and the structure since these limited how empowering the staffs' intervention could be. In addition,

the structure was contingent upon the stability of the environment.

Each person within the organizations had categorized their world as to their interpretation of the events surrounding them. Also, the staff at School B and C.F.S. were testing their construction of reality with every new situation they encountered. As a result of this testing, their reality was continually affirmed or changed. This process of testing gave additional meaning to the organizations' functions and the workers' roles as organizational members. The testing also gave new meaning to the workers' interactions and their transactions with students/clients and the community. It was this construction of reality that influenced the communication patterns between the school and C.F.S.

COMMUNICATION PATTERNS

I entered the practicum with the belief that I would be working with two completely different organizations. These differences were to be found in their structure, environment, and their approach in working with those who used their services. I found, however, more similarities than differences and realized that those within the organizations did not perceive the similarities. The focus on differences at times adversely affected the communication processes between the two organizations.

The staffs' comments and interactions led me to believe that C.F.S. viewed the school's organizational structure as inflexible and "paternalistic" in regards to their employees and students. There was the belief that educational professionals were only "content" oriented and had difficulty in discerning the "process" component of a given situation. For its part, the school viewed C.F.S. as an organization that was loosely structured and at times "chaotic" and "ambivalent" in its lines of communication among the staff, their clients, and other agencies. These perceptions affected the communication patterns between the two organizations.

When the school staff presented a concern to C.F.S., it was communicated in a manner that required a very structured and detailed response and was very content oriented. This approach reinforced C.F.S.'s reality of the school system. The school staff presented their concern in this manner because of their perception that C.F.S. was an agency that was vague and ambivalent in their intervention with clients and in dealings with other agencies.

When C.F.S. staff expressed a concern to the school, it was in a manner that required many ways of looking at and dealing with a situation. The way in which C.F.S. communicated their concern reinforced the school's perception of C.F.S. The child welfare organization took this approach because they saw the school as an organization that was inflexible and too concentrated on content.

During my practicum, this communication pattern was evident in the joint supervision meetings and in the contacts between the school and C.F.S. In my individual supervision meetings, I found both supervisors stated the same empowering concepts but they used different terms. In the joint meetings, however, they respectfully stated opposing concepts which, at times, blocked effective communication. I remember feeling very frustrated in these meetings and believed that my discouragement was due to the differences in philosophies. In my analysis, however, I realized that the frustration was because each organization mistakenly viewed the other's beliefs.

CONCLUSION

It is my belief that the manner in which the staff in one organization perceived the other organization affected the communication patterns between the two. It must be recognized that the perceptions held by each staff had evolved over time. For example, the image that C.F.S. had of schools may be based on interactions with local schools much different than School B. I believe that a better understanding by the organizations of each others' structure, environment, and intervention and an effort to include both the process and content in their communication would enhance the interactions and, therefore, better empower their clientele.

One method of achieving a better understanding between the organizations is to provide an orientation for the other

organization's staff regarding its structure, environment, and technology. An orientation hopefully would increase the staffs' trust in the other organization and, thereby, improve their working relationship in order to empower the same families with whom they both work.

The manner in which School B and C.F.S. constructed reality regarding itself and each other greatly influenced how the staff viewed and evaluated my program. The following chapter on the evaluation of the program must be interpreted in light of what was presented in this chapter.

CHAPTER SIX

Evaluation of School-Based Social Work Program

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this chapter is to provide the reader with the outcome evaluation of certain program activities and the overall program. It must be noted that many of the program participants viewed me as the program because the services I provided were the only visible element of the program. The evaluations of my program, therefore, include the participants' degree of satisfaction with the services which I provided as well as their thoughts as to the place of social work in the school system. Seeking the degree of satisfaction of the participants was a method of empowering them within the program evaluation.

The chapter begins with a brief literature review of ethnographic evaluation which was the primary design used to evaluate the school-based social work program. The second section supplies the results of the pre- and post-test completed by the students regarding Multicultural Week. An interpretation of these results is included. The third part of the chapter provides the results and interpretation of the students' pre- and post-test for the problem-solving groups. The fourth section summarizes the questionnaire results completed by other agencies, several Kanadiers, and a family that was involved in the counselling part of my program. The

fourth section reviews the results of the teachers' questionnaire regarding my program. The chapter ends with my own perceptions of the program and the future of social work within my community's school system.

ETHNOGRAPHIC EVALUATION

Ethnographic evaluations view programs "as social systems in which program goals, treatments and results are defined through interactions among program participants" (Britan, 1981: 49). The ethnographic evaluation was used to understand all aspects of the program only in relation to the participants' specific culture¹, which varied within each organization and the community. This type of evaluation incorporated the concept that each individual constructed reality differently which, in turn, influenced his or her evaluation of my program.

The school-based social work program was an innovative trial run for the school division; therefore, many factors needed to be taken into account to refine the program so that it could be of future use to the school division and community. The ethnographic evaluation provided the knowledge needed to adapt the program to its environment in the future.

¹ Within this framework what is meant by culture is the knowledge that people use to interpret their experiences and, thereby, create social behaviour (Spradly, 1979). This definition of culture is consistent with the definition used throughout the report.

The basis of the ethnographic evaluation was to examine the program's "goodness of fit" (Morgan, 1989) in regards to how it empowered the participants. If the program "fit" the different cultural settings, then it was effective in empowering those who participated. The ethnographic evaluation of the program had four objectives. The evaluation sought to understand the following:

- 1) How the program worked;
- 2) How the program fit into particular cultural settings;
- 3) How the program achieved results; and
- 4) How the program could be improved (Britan, 1981).

The evaluation allowed for the examination of quantitative outcomes regarding certain program activities. The most significant goal of the ethnographic evaluation was that it attached any program changes or interventions to the culture of the program, organization, and community. (Schwartzman, 1983).

The major part of the ethnographic evaluation was included throughout the report because it entailed learning through interviews about the various cultures and contextual evaluations of the different program activities. The interviews and contextual evaluations were what assisted the program to adapt to the various cultures. This chapter focuses on those evaluations that form the participants' judgements about the program and its value. The data from the outcome evaluation follows.

OUTCOME EVALUATION OF MULTICULTURAL WEEK

The English Second Language (E.S.L.) teacher and I developed a test measure for the students based on the information found in Renwick's (1980) Evaluation Handbook: For Cross-Cultural Training and Multicultural Education. The test measure involved four open-ended sentences for the fifth and sixth graders and three open-ended sentences and an adjective check list for the third and fourth graders. We wished to use a test measure that addressed the school's unique situation with the Kanadiers. We also wanted to measure whether or not the program successfully changed the environment for the Kanadiers through the students reconstructing their understanding of other cultures. The aim was to measure the change in the students' knowledge of immigrant groups, their perceptions regarding those groups, and their behaviour towards students from other countries.

When we examined the surveys (discussed in Chapter Four) regarding the cultural origins of each child, we realized that ninety-five percent of the students came from a Russian Mennonite heritage. The roots of the other five percent came from South Africa, El Salvador, Bangladesh, United States, and other places in Canada. As a result of this information we felt it was safe enough to focus the test measure on "students from other countries" and not have the Kanadier students feel that the measure was singling them out.

After we developed the measure we presented it to several teachers for their feedback as to its readability and made needed changes. The test was in English because every child could read and speak the language. We administered the pre-test to the students as we entered their classroom for the first time and before they knew the objectives of Multicultural Week. Because of the reading skills of the third and fourth graders, we read each question to them in order that we could be assured of their comprehension. The post-test was completed by the students the week following Multicultural Week. The students did not write their names on the tests. The students, however, supplied their birth date, country of birth, and gender in order that we could match the pre- and post-test.

We decided what constituted a positive and negative answer on the test. We then tabulated the number of positive and negative changes in the answers of the pre- and post-test. Our aim was to examine what type of impact the week's activities had on the students' knowledge, perceptions, and attitudes towards those children from other countries. The positive and negative changes of each item by the entire student sample are reported in Table 2 in Appendix II. The positive and negative changes of each item by gender and country of birth, are displayed in Appendix II in Tables 3 and 4, respectively.

Although inconclusive, the results of the pre- and post-test showed more positive than negative change. Twelve percent of the students' answers changed from a negative to a positive answer, while only four percent of the answers changed from a positive to a negative answer. The majority of responses, however, were considered neutral because no change occurred.

Gender and nationality appeared not to affect the responses. When the responses were divided by gender and country of birth, there was only a two percent difference in the percentage of negative changes between the two groups that were compared (i.e., female and male; Canada and Other). The percentage of positive responses remained the same for each group.

There were several weaknesses and strengths of this measure. The fact that we were not able to use a control group weakened the interpretation of the results. We were not able to assert that the differences in the answers could be solely attributed to Multicultural Week. Another weakness of the measure was that we were not able to calculate the reliability or validity of the measure. We knew that by not using a standardized test measure we would be weakening the evaluation of Multicultural Week. Our intention, however, was to use a tool that was appropriate to our situation.

Our instrument may not have adequately measured change and a more sensitive measure may be the teachers' positive

observations as will be recollected in Chapter Four (and in Appendix I). In addition, the majority of the students disliked completing the questionnaire which may have affected the sensitivity of the test measure.

The fact that a higher proportion of the answers changed from a negative to a positive answer and the many positive observations by the teachers and students led us to believe that the activities involved in Multicultural Week helped reconstruct in a positive manner the students knowledge, perceptions, attitudes towards those children from different countries. The Multicultural Week activities empowered the students by providing the needed information in order that they could construct reality for themselves.

OUTCOME EVALUATION OF STUDENT PROBLEM-SOLVING GROUPS

A pre- and post-test was given to each class by their teacher prior to the start of the groups and within two weeks after the groups ended. The test measure used for these groups was the Index of Peer Relations (IPR) developed by W. Hudson. The scale measured the extent, severity, or magnitude of a problem the student had with peers. Each teacher had the class define the term peers as their classmates.

Hudson (1987) reports that the IPR is considered a reliable test measure because it has a mean alpha of .94 which indicates excellent internal consistency. The IPR has a low (4.44) Standard Error of Measurement; however, Hudson did not provide data on a test-retest situation. Hudson (1987) states

that the IPR has excellent known-groups validity, "significantly distinguishing between clients judged by themselves and their therapists as either having or not having peer relationship problems" (p. 400). The norms for the test measure were taken from a group of 107 children who were involved in counselling. The therapist evaluated fifty of the children as not having interpersonal problems with their peers. The means for these groups were 55.9 for those having problems and 20.8 for the children who were not having problems.

My rationale for using this particular instrument was the test measure's emphasis on the interactions among the students. In addition, the test measure revealed how the students perceived their relationships with their classmates. Our objective of the problem-solving groups was to empower the students to be able to solve interpersonal problems among themselves.

The IPR had a cutting score of 35 (± 5), with scores above 35 indicating that the student had a significant problem relating to his or her peers. The tests were not completed anonymously because the teachers felt that, if the students gave their names, their responses would not be affected. The teachers were also interested in the scores of each student and wanted to be able to identify which score belonged to which student.

When comparing the pre- and post-test scores for all students, little change was evident. The average for the pre-test was 25.22 and the average for the post-test was 23. Since a positive change is indicated by lower scores, a decline of 2.22 points indicated limited movement towards better peer relations. When the results were separated by classroom, gender, and country of birth, some noteworthy changes were found in contrast between Canadian and foreign born students.

The mean, the standard deviation of the mean, and the median of the pre- and post-tests for each classroom are reported in Table 5 (Appendix II). Because of the number of extreme scores, medians were calculated for each classroom. It was found that there was little difference between the pre- and post-test scores whether represented in means or medians.

When the scores were divided by gender (refer to Table 6 in Appendix II) there were a noteworthy changes in one female sub-group and one male sub-group. In the other six sub-groups there were no sizeable changes in scores when they were divided by gender. Generally, it can be concluded that gender did not seem to affect whether or not the students benefited from the student problem-solving groups.

I was particularly interested in how the problem-solving groups contributed to how the Kanadier students perceived their interactions with other students. The mean of three of the Kanadier sub-groups declined while the mean in the fourth

sub-group improved to an observable extent. The mean on the pre- and post-test for the Kanadiers deteriorated from 30 to 31.9 while the mean for the non-Kanadiers improved from 23.9 to 21.3. The scores of the Kanadiers before and after the groups showed that they had more problems in their peer relations than the non-Kanadier students. In regards to the non-Kanadier students, the mean of three of the Canadian sub-groups improved while the fourth sub-group's mean deteriorated. These patterns led me to believe that the problem-solving groups were designed primarily for main stream Canadian children and were not culturally sensitive to the Kanadier students.

These patterns were seen in the problem-solving groups when many of the Kanadier children did not participate verbally because of their low self-esteems. The significant improvement in the scores of one Kanadier sub-group were explained by the group having an informal leader who was able to verbalize for the other Kanadier students in the group. It was my conclusion that a group consisting of only Kanadiers would diminish their feelings of inferiority and empower them to be able to verbalize their thoughts and feelings, which was observed in the after-school groups with the Kanadier children in Chapter Four.

Another pattern among the Kanadier students was noticed. The mean for the fifth grade Kanadier students improved while and the mean for the Kanadier students in sixth grade

regressed. There could be two explanations as to this pattern. The different scores could be a result of how the groups were facilitated and/or the differences in ages and, therefore, social development of each group. The differences in the two sub-groups showed me why the fifth grade Kanadier students suggested meeting as an after school group and why the sixth graders did not suggest meeting regularly. The student problem-solving groups might have created negative interactions between the Kanadier and non-Kanadier sixth grade students, thereby, discouraging them from entering into another group experience. It must also be noted that the test was not culturally sensitive and might not have accurately assessed the Kanadier students' interactions with their classmates.

Contrary to the evidence from the IPR scores the teachers' observations were that subsequent to the problem-solving groups, the students' peer relations improved. Every teacher was able to notice positive changes in the behaviours and attitudes of their students (refer to Appendix I for the teachers' specific comments). This contrary evidence can be explained by several factors, one of which is time. One teacher presented her observations to me several weeks after her students completed the post-test measure. The time lapse between the post-test and her observations could have given the students more opportunity to apply and demonstrate what they learned in the problem-solving groups. Secondly, the

questionnaire's format may have affected the students' responses. The other teachers and I felt that the switch back and forth between questions presented negatively and positively might have confused several of the students who had extreme scores. Thirdly, the type of test measure was dependent upon how the child perceived her or his relationship with classmates which was likely to change daily. The observations from the teachers, therefore, provided more valid and reliable data as to the impact of the student problem-solving groups.

In regards to the IPR being appropriate for the student problem-solving groups, I would have been able to more accurately measure the impact of the groups if I could have obtained a culturally sensitive measure that contained test and re-test data. In addition, I can not attribute the negative or positive impact solely to the student problem-solving groups because control groups were not used. There were probably other significant factors that could have affected the test measure, such as Multicultural Week.

PERCEPTIONS OF THE PROGRAM BY OTHER PARTICIPANTS

Several weeks before my program ended I sent out nine questionnaires to three Kanadier adults, to a non-Kanadier family whom I counselled, and to five agencies that were involved in the program. The total number of responses that I received were seven (77% response rate). The questions given to each person varied as to his or her role in the

program and are addressed in each section. A cover letter was sent along with the questionnaire that asked respondents to notify me if they would like to see the results of the evaluation; only one participant asked for the results.

Kanadiers' Perception Regarding Program

Questionnaires were given to the three Kanadiers who were involved in planning two program activities and to a member of a voluntary agency that worked with the Kanadiers. The questionnaire asked what were the advantages and disadvantages of having a school-based social worker focus on improving the interactions among the school, the community, and the Kanadiers.

The responses to the questionnaires stated that the program improved the interactions of the school and Kanadiers in several ways. One person stressed that, because of the "negative attitudes entrenched in the community", it was important to communicate the positive aspects of being a Kanadier by a "non-family member of the school". Another person felt that the program had helped improve the interactions and that my presence in the school was important because I listened to the Kanadier students' stories and feelings with an "open ear and mind". A Kanadier also believed that the school social worker could act as a mediator between the school and the community and further help the interactions among the school, host community, and Kanadier community. One Kanadier stated that the program helped the

school community to view the Kanadiers "in a more positive light". It was also asserted that a school social worker could "raise awareness of the way we [Kanadiers and host community] are different and yet the same". One Kanadier stated that having a school social worker would be a disadvantage if that worker claimed that the Kanadiers are a problem and "have to be treated as a distinct group".

A Family's Perception of the Program

The family was questioned about the advantages and disadvantages of a social worker based in the school and under clinical supervision by C.F.S. The family, whom I was counselling, felt that the student problem-solving groups were "excellent". They stated that through these groups the school and peers could be a part of solving relationship problems. The family wished that the school would continue with the groups. In regards to the counselling process the family believed that they were "able to encourage and take responsibility for [their] part in [their child's] life".

Agencies' Perception of the Program

The people who returned their evaluations were a member from a voluntary human service agency, a member of the Child Care and Development branch of the Department of Education, and my supervisor from Child and Family Services (C.F.S.). The evaluation from C.F.S. is discussed separately from the other agencies in this section.

The questionnaire asked for comments on the disadvantages and advantages of a school-based social worker who was supervised by C.F.S. An agency member stated that because C.F.S. was perceived by the community as an agency that "removes children from parents (enforcement)" a school social worker has the advantage of working with the families in a "neutral" and "less threatening" environment. Another agency member felt that the program helped with the interactions between the home and school because I was seen as a "neutral individual [for the families]...to lean [on] for support in regards to school/home issues. In addition, the agency member thought that the program enabled a family to receive services more promptly than if the program had not been in place. The family received services because of the increased communication between agencies.

Child and Family Service's Perception of Program

My C.F.S. supervisor thought one of the advantages of the program was that it provided the agency with an "additional avenue to address issues [regarding school concerns] in the 'grey zone'". The "grey zone" refers to those areas in service delivery which are not mandated.

The C.F.S. supervisor also felt that the preventative work with the students would have "long term benefits" and that the program increased the dialogue between the school and C.F.S.

The disadvantages that my supervisor observed were an "occasional contamination/confusion of roles/boundaries

[regarding] accountability, supervision, lines of authority, and etc.". The supervisor felt that the program increased school expectations of C.F.S. regarding case involvement, intervention, and the sharing of confidential information. As mentioned in Chapter Five, C.F.S. felt the increased expectations because of the school's focus on content in the communication process between the two organizations. The emphasis on content led C.F.S. to believe that the school wanted information which C.F.S. was not able to give. Overall, the C.F.S. supervisor believed that in the light of the increasing C.F.S. caseloads and the need for more social workers in the community:

It would appear realistic that the school system seriously consider hiring full-time social workers, to address systemically, the multiplicity of concerns at the front end without the struggle of jurisdiction and supervision, i.e. C.F.S. and/or school.

PERCEPTIONS OF THE PROGRAM BY SCHOOL STAFF

The staff's perceptions of the program were gathered through questionnaires. I distributed 21 questionnaires to the staff two weeks before the end of the program and received nine responses. It must be noted that this was also the last two weeks of the school year which could account for the low response rate (43%). The questionnaire was divided into three areas: the type of involvement that the staff member had with the program, the degree of staff satisfaction with the services which I provided, and the perceptions by the staff

regarding the place of social work within the school system. The results from the questionnaire are reported in Tables 8, 9 and 10.

The chief involvements that the staff had with my program (refer to Table 8 on page 124) were consultation regarding students' behaviour and school activities (i.e., field trips, intramurals, and reading club).

Table 8. Percentage of Responses That Were Involved With the Program Through the Following Activities

Activity	Percentage
Multi-Cultural Week	67%
School Activities	78%
Home-School-Agency liaison	33%
Student Problem-Solving groups	44%
Consultation regarding students' behaviour	78%
After-School Groups for Kanadier students	22%
Consultation regarding social welfare resources	0%
Individual and/or Family counselling	56%

Every staff member that returned the questionnaire expressed satisfaction with the services I provided, as seen in Table 9 on page 131.

Table 9. Satisfaction With Services Provided

SD=Strongly Disagree, D=Disagree, U=Undecided,

A=Agree, SA=Strongly Agree, NA=Not Applicable.

Type of Service	SD	D	U	A	SA	NA
1. Worker has not established rapport with staff	100%	--	--	--	--	--
2. Worker is not flexible in meeting situational demands.	100%	--	--	--	--	--
3. Worker provides adequate follow-up.	--	--	--	44%	56%	--
4. Worker follows her schedule.	--	--	--	44%	56%	--
5. Consultation with worker re: student's behaviour not helpful.	56%	22%	--	--	--	22%
6. Worker is not sensitive to parent needs.	78%	22%	--	--	--	--
7. Worker is sensitive to teacher needs.	--	--	--	44%	56%	--
8. Worker does not provide adequate coordination with other agencies.	33%	22%	--	--	--	44%
9. Oral and written communication of the worker is open and effective.	--	--	--	56%	44%	--
10. Worker understands the situation of the Kanadiers in the school and community setting.	--	--	--	56%	33%	11%

In regards to the place of social work in the school (refer to Table 10) a majority of the staff felt that addressing the social concerns of students and their families from the school setting was beneficial, with eleven percent being undecided. Every respondent agreed that school social work could facilitate interactions between the school, community, and Kanadiers; thereby, empowering the Kanadier students at school. A majority of the responses agreed that a close connection between C.F.S. and the school fostered trust while eleven percent were undecided.

Table 10. Percentage of Responses Regarding the Place of Social Work in the School System

Place of Social Work	SD	D	U	A	SA	NA
1. Providing social work services in school is valuable in dealing with social concerns of students.	--	--	--	22%	78%	--
2. School should not be the setting for addressing concerns re: students' home.	78%	11%	11%	--	--	--
3. School social work is needed to help immigrant students with school life.	--	--	--	56%	44%	--
4. School social work can facilitate communication between immigrant community and the school.	--	--	--	67%	33%	--
5. A close connection between C.F.S. & school does not foster trust between the family and the school.	44%	44%	11%	--	--	--

MY PERCEPTIONS OF THE PROGRAM

In the development stage of the school-based program I had hoped that it would be incorporated into the structure of C.F.S. more than what resulted. My original vision was that I would be based in the school but still be a practicum student who was part of the C.F.S. team. I thought my position in the school could focus on those prevention services which the C.F.S. workers were limited in providing because of increasing caseloads.

During the development stage of the program, the executive director of C.F.S. and I were negotiating with the principal of School A who wanted very little C.F.S. involvement. When the practicum site was changed in the last minute, the principal of School B expected more C.F.S. involvement than which had been negotiated.

As a result of my restricted time in the practicum, however, I spent most of the program time entering and becoming part of the school environment. If more time had been allocated to working with C.F.S., the program might not have accomplished as much as it did in the school system.

Towards the end of the program, the school principal was advocating for a future school-based social work program that would be financially supported by both the school system and C.F.S. From the principal's willingness to hire me, I concluded that school staff viewed me as not only a school social worker but also a co-worker. The reluctance, however,

of my C.F.S. supervisor to agree to such an arrangement led me to believe that each organization viewed my program differently.

The school had incorporated my program into its structure; and the program had furnished the school with a "tangible" aspect of C.F.S. My program had assisted the school staff to gain a clearer vision of C.F.S. Because the program was not incorporated into the C.F.S. structure, its staff felt the increased expectations of the school but did not see the program as an added resource in meeting those expectations. A weakness of my program was that it did not communicate a clearer vision of School B to C.F.S. Through my organizational analysis in Chapter Five, it is hoped that the vision of School B is communicated to the staff at C.F.S.

In regards to having two supervisors, I did not perceive a confusion of boundaries regarding supervision. My C.F.S. supervisor did not interfere with any of the community development activities which I conducted within the school. The C.F.S. supervisor was supportive and encouraging concerning those activities but did not attempt to invade the principal's area of supervision. The principal conducted his supervision in the same way as my C.F.S. supervisor. The principal never interfered with the "few clinical" activities that I performed. He was supportive of them and asked only that I keep him informed, in a general manner, as to my activities.

My belief regarding the program is that clients are empowered when there is an integration of services. As one voluntary agency member stated in the evaluation, a family received services faster because of the communication between the school and C.F.S. My recommendation is that the program remain integrated with C.F.S. and develop more of a "matrix structure" (Morgan, 1989) in regards to accountability and supervision. The matrix structure would allow the program social worker to cut across functional areas and work with two perspectives in mind. The dual focus would allow the program team (i.e., school principal, C.F.S. supervisor, and program social worker) to combine skills and resources to better empower its clientele. The fact, however, that C.F.S. is presently experiencing financial constraints limits the possibility of the program developing a matrix structure with C.F.S. and the school division.

CONCLUSION

The outcome evaluation of the program consisted of certain program activities and the perceptions of the program's participants. Overall, there were many positive aspects of the program that were addressed by the participants. Through the evaluation one can see the numerous constructions of reality that had to be considered within the program. The evaluation of my program led me to believe that the program accomplished a majority of its objectives. The one objective, however, that it did not accomplish was

improving the communication process between the school and C.F.S.

The evaluation of the program also led me to several conclusions regarding an empowering approach in working along with the Kanadiers that has implications for social workers and school personnel. These conclusions are discussed in Chapter Seven.

CHAPTER SEVEN
Conclusions and Implications for
Human Service Workers

I started the practicum with the belief that there was a difference in cultural orientation between the Kanadiers and the host community. In other words, I thought that the fundamental values and beliefs of each culture diverged. I was led to believe by most host community members that the Kanadiers wanted and strived to remain separated from the community in order that their existence as a "cultural entity" would survive. The staff from the school system and other human service agencies stated that the reason the Kanadiers were not willing to participate in the greater community institutions was the conflict between the cultural values.

In their Latin American home countries, Kanadiers maintained a sectarian lifestyle for the purpose of preserving their culture. It is my conclusion, however, that moving to a Canadian community with many historic, ethnic, and religious similarities, the Kanadiers are no longer emphasizing a sectarian lifestyle. This conclusion is supported by the fact that Kanadiers returning to Canada are not setting up their own communities and are not advocating for their own institutions. Every Kanadier with whom I interacted wanted to learn English, to obtain a driver's licence, and to participate in meaningful employment within the community. The Kanadiers wanted to take part in the host society. The

barriers that prevented the Kanadiers' participation were present because of the stigma that was placed upon them by the host community. This stigma, which was attached to the Kanadiers' values and lifestyle, disempowered them and prevented them from having the self-confidence to advocate for themselves and their children in the community's institutions.

This conclusion has several implications for social workers and school personnel who are working with minorities. My practicum allowed me to experiment and develop an approach in working with a minority group who was dis-empowered by having certain traits that were considered "inferior" by a dominant group. This type of an approach can be applied to other stigmatized minorities because of their dis-empowerment. The empowerment approach involves at least five steps.

1. To acknowledge the oppression that a stigmatized minority experiences. By recognizing the oppression we stop regarding the minority as a member of an insignificant group. We view the minority group as being dealt with unjustly and deprived of their voice in constructing their own reality.

2. To examine our role in the oppression as human service workers, community members, and women or men. When we belong to the social strata of dominant society either as workers or as community members a power imbalance is created. This imbalance exists because we have more choices in constructing our own reality than a member of a stigmatized

minority. We must also recognize that the imbalance of power can hinder the development of trust in the relationship.

3. To ask, as workers, the person to define what the stigma, oppression, and power imbalance means to her or him. Working with the person in constructing her or his reality involves cooperation and dialogue. The worker does not impose, does not manipulate, and does not require the person to conform to a certain standard. Cooperation and dialogue does not mean that the worker lacks objectives, but means that the worker helps the person to focus her or his attention on the surrounding reality. When this reality is posed as a problem, then the reality challenges her or him to act upon transforming it, that is empowerment.

4. To evaluate the process of empowerment with the person. This step is vital in helping the worker to remain accountable to the person. When a person's judgements and opinions are sought and acted upon, then the person is furthered empowered because her or his experience is viewed as valid.

5. To strive as human service workers towards empowering the stigmatized minority group in the larger political setting. Work must be done with human service organizations who are involved with the stigmatized minority group to enable them to better empower their clientele. There are many constraints on the organizations that limit their effectiveness in being empowering. In times of financial and

political restraint, a worker must assist organizations in cooperating with each other and integrating services. Cooperation and integrated services provides organizations with a larger resource pool from which to address the oppression of the stigmatized minority group.

This necessity of empowering the Kanadiers in order that they become able to participate in the community was established by my program. For example, the Kanadier children in the after-school group were empowered by defining their own reality and then acted upon transforming it.

Too many times, we as human service professionals flinch at addressing the issue of power in the helping relationship. As seen in Chapter Five, there are many constraints on an organization that limit the staff in addressing the issue of power. Without addressing the element of power the family and/or student will not allow themselves to trust. The building of trust is vital to healing the wounds that have been inflicted by society through stigmatization.

I believe there were three reasons why the program was able to include as many activities as it did. The first factor was the school staff's willingness and openness to view me as a co-worker within the school. The second reason for the program's accomplishments was the colossal amount of time that my supervisors (i.e., the principal and the C.F.S. worker) spent in supporting, encouraging, and advising me.

The final and most important reason is that the Kanadiers I worked along with were willing to teach, guide, and direct me within the program. By the Kanadiers sharing their struggles I was able to strip the preconceived notions I held regarding their place in the community. I learned from them the pain that is associated with the word "stigma".

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APPENDIX I

Dear [REDACTED];

LETTER OF NEGOTIATION

Re: Linda Loepky's Proposal
M.S.W. Practicum

Thank you for your courtesy in having me attend a meeting with you, Linda Loepky, [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] on Wednesday, 28 June 1989. I believe the meeting was fruitful and resolved some of our concerns about Linda's M.S.W. practicum proposal. This letter is intended a re-statement of the agreement we reached at that meeting. This is my recollection of the agreement so if I am off base in my recall, I invite you to correct it by return letter.

The primary issue we resolved is the relationship of our Agency to your School Division in this matter. The resolution as I recall it is:

1. Linda is the School Division's employee and is accountable to your organization for her employment.
2. Referrals to Linda come from the School Division staff and feedback is to those persons.
3. Child and Family Services of [REDACTED] only role is to consult with Linda on Social Work practice issues that may arise as a result of her work with the School Division. Our staff, [REDACTED], will be that consultant. Dr. Joe Ryant is Linda's Faculty of Social Work based practicum advisor.
4. If, in the course of Linda's work, she has suspicion that a child is in need of protection, we assume that the School Division's protocol on reporting would be followed.

Finally, I view our role with Linda as somewhat peripheral and focused on the social work issues. I trust this perception fairly accurately reflects our understanding.

SCHOOL PERSONNEL QUESTIONNAIRE

The purpose of this questionnaire is to help me as the school liaison and social worker to understand and include your expectations in the program. The questionnaire takes 10-15 minutes to complete and is anonymous. If you have additional comments or suggestions, they would be greatly appreciated.

The questionnaire is in three sections. The first section looks at the type of services you would like me to provide. The second section looks at the appropriateness of different student populations for me to work with and the third section looks at how you see my role as a social worker in the school.

Type of Services

Please check off the services you see me providing and prioritize the three services viewed as most needed (with 1 indicating the highest need). If you would like a more detailed explanation of what the services may entail, a section at the end of the questionnaire explains each service.

Priority	Provide	
Individual student counselling	_____	_____
Liaison between home, school, and other agencies	_____	_____
Consultation with school personnel re: student, family, child welfare and cultural issues	_____	_____
Family counselling	_____	_____
Parent counselling	_____	_____
Referral of student to other agencies	_____	_____
Group work with students	_____	_____
Parent-support groups	_____	_____
Community development (assessing needs and supporting the immigrant community whose children attend [School B])	_____	_____
Other services	_____	_____

Continued on next page.

School Personnel Questionnaire cont.

Focus Groups

Please prioritize the seven student populations in terms of appropriateness as a group to work with (1 indicating most appropriate and 7 least appropriate).

- Emotionally disabled students _____
- General education students exhibiting problems _____
- Mentally disabled students _____
- Learning disabled students _____
- Immigrant students _____
- General education students exhibiting no problems _____
- Physically disabled students _____
- Other Focus Groups _____
- _____
- _____

Social Worker's Role

Please prioritize the three social work roles that you view as important (with 1 indicating the most important).

- Short-term crisis intervention _____
- Ongoing direct services (counselling with individuals, families, and groups) _____
- Prevention services _____
- Parent education _____
- Teacher services (consultive) _____
- Community development _____
- Home-school-agency liaison _____

Additional comments and suggestions

Thank you for your time and ideas!

TEACHERS' EVALUATION FOR MULTICULTURAL WEEK

Evaluations handed out = 8
75% response rate

Evaluations received = 6

1. What do you think was the most successful part of Multicultural Week?

-Visitors to classrooms. Posters in groups.

-The students seemed to really enjoy the presentations where they were able to learn about and experience other cultures. I think that it was during these presentations that students started to appreciate some of the cultural differences of other students and some of the student from different backgrounds started to feel special and more comfortable.

-Probably the talk about respecting other people and the pride shown by the "immigrant" children that they were put in the spotlight.

-The visits from guests; the two of you coming in versus me teaching it; food; organization; "positiveness" of Latin American Mennonites.

-I think the guests coming in to share about their background was very successful at our grade level.

-Seeing the Mexican Mennonite culture as one of others also represented in our school. That we can all be proud of where we come from. All the guests that came in to help. The food.

2. If Multicultural Week was to be done again in the future, what changes would you suggest?

-Get the teachers more involved in the planning, and organizing of the event (so you don't have to do all the work). Some of the presentations were rushed because of time pressures- we could have used a little more question and answer time.

-More time for guests (especially for questions).

-None that I can think of at this time except to try and include the younger grades. The younger they are to teach respect to the better.

-More small group activities. It allows cross-cultural groups to work cooperatively.

Continued on next page.

Teachers' Evaluation of Multicultural Week cont.

3. What reactions or changes in your students have you noticed as a result of Multicultural Week?

-I noticed that some of the students from Mexico started to feel like they were important and special too. This helped them feel more comfortable and not so out numbered. One student was proud of where he was born. Several students were proud that their moms had made the food that all the students were eating.

-More acceptance of kids from other places. Real pride and more confidence in the "immigrant kids".

-Hearing the comment from a student "I had a problem, now I'm working on it" (also connected to group sessions). Positive comments in students journals "I liked learning about ...".

-No real changes. It's good to be able to remind the students about things they learned during the week.

-They all enjoyed the activities during the week. Not all were willing to risk trying the new food, but many were.

TEACHERS' OBSERVATIONS AND EVALUATIONS OF
STUDENT PROBLEM-SOLVING GROUPS

1. Have you noticed any changes in your students' interactions and problem-solving capabilities since the student group began, if so, what are they?

-Mexican mennonite students seem to feel more comfortable. One example is [] and [] starting to overcome shyness and inferiority complex. They have really tried to fit in with the other girls this term. I think it really helped to have taking part in the group sessions compulsory. Those students who are normally quiet didn't have the option to just sit and listen. They had to take part too.

-Although there are still problems it seems that most students still have the "steps in problem-solving" in their minds and use them as they see fit.

-My group of "boys" had some official "club meetings" and seem to get along better. Two girls are now good friends. I've dealt with both of these problems inside group and also outside.

-I have noticed the kids are using the language taught in the groups, e.g. no putdowns, I statements, etc...

2. What changes would you suggest if these groups were done again?

-It would be good to continue over a longer period of time. Maybe a fairly concentrated series at the beginning of the year, and then continue at various points throughout the year.

-I think smaller groups might lead to more open sharing of problems.

3. Did you feel prepared in facilitating the groups?

-Yes, with your lesson plans that you provided us with and the discussions that gr. 5 & 6 teachers had with you ahead of time I felt prepared.

-Most times I did.

-Yes, thanks to you Linda.

-Yes, the notes for each session were helpful.

Continued on next page.

Teachers' Observations and Evaluations of Student Problem-Solving Groups cont.

4. Do you feel that learning in group situations about conflict with others is an effective way to improve the interactions between established students and those students who move here from other countries? If you do not see it as an effective means, what suggestions do you have?

-Yes it is helpful. However, the carryover to the real-life recess interactions are not easy for the kids to do. It is easy to say it in a group, but not so easy to act it in real. -I'm not sure I noticed that there were any specific changes in that area. I think the "after school group" is helping that specific area better.

-Yes it is effective. It helps students realize that many share the same types of problems. It helps to talk about it in a non-threatening setting.

-Yes, example in (question) #1.

INDEX OF PEER RELATIONS

This questionnaire is designed to measure the way you feel about the people you work, play, or associate with most of the time; your peer group. It is not a test so there are no right or wrong answers. Answer each item as carefully and as accurately as you can by placing a number beside each one as follows:

- 1 = Rarely or none of the time.
- 2 = A little of the time.
- 3 = Some of the time.
- 4 = A good part of the time.
- 5 = Most or all of the time.

- _____ 1. I get along very well with my peers.
- _____ 2. My peers act like they don't care about me.
- _____ 3. My peers treat me badly.
- _____ 4. My peers really seem to respect me.
- _____ 5. I don't feel like I am part of the group.
- _____ 6. My peers are a bunch of snobs.
- _____ 7. My peers really understand me.
- _____ 8. My peers seem to like me very much.
- _____ 9. I really feel "left out" of my peer group.
- _____ 10. I hate my present peer group.
- _____ 11. My peers seem to like having me around.
- _____ 12. I really like my present peer group.
- _____ 13. I really feel like I am disliked by my peers.
- _____ 14. I wish I had a different peer group.
- _____ 15. My peers are very nice to me.
- _____ 16. My peers seem to look up to me.
- _____ 17. My peers think I am important to them.
- _____ 18. My peers are a real source of pleasure to me.
- _____ 19. My peers don't seem to even notice me.
- _____ 20. I wish I were not part of this peer group.
- _____ 21. My peers regard my ideas and opinions very highly.
- _____ 22. I feel like I am an important member of my peer group.
- _____ 23. I can't stand to be around my peer group.
- _____ 24. My peers seem to look down on me.
- _____ 25. My peers really do not interest me.

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APPENDIX II

Table 2. Percentage of Positive and Negative Changes on Pre and Post Test Scores by All Students for Multicultural Week.

Number of Students Sampled = 177

Question Item	Changes in Answers	
	Positive	Negative
1. People from another country move to [host community] because . . .	5%	1%
2. When I am with a group of students from another country I feel . . .	18%	4%
3. When a new student from another country joins our class I like . . .	6%	1%
4. Check list with positive and negative adjectives describing the behaviour of a student from another country (only for 3rd and 4th graders-shown in brackets).	[22%]	[15%]
4. When I disagree with a student from another country I feel . . . (only for 5th and 6th graders-shown in brackets).	[18%]	[4%]
Combined responses for Question 4.	20%	10%
Percentage of change for all answers	12%	4%

Table 3. Percentage of Positive and Negative Changes on Pre and Post Test Scores by Gender for Multicultural Week.

Females = 93

Males = 84

Question Item	Positive		Negative	
	Females	Males	Females	Males
1.	5%	5%	1%	1%
2.	20%	15%	2%	6%
3.	5%	7%	0%	2%
4. (3rd and 4th graders shown in brackets)	[15%]	[31%]	[12%]	[19%]
4. (5th and 6th graders shown in brackets)	[24%]	[12%]	[5%]	[5%]
Combined responses for Question 4.	19%	21%	9%	12%
Percentage of change for all answers	12%	12%	3%	5%

Table 4. Percentage of Positive and Negative Changes on Pre and Post Test Scores by Country of Birth for Multicultural Week.

Number of Students from Canada = 145 Other = 32

Question Item	Positive		Negative	
	Canada	Other	Canada	Other
1.	5%	6%	1%	0%
2.	18%	19%	5%	0%
3.	7%	3%	1%	0%
4. (3rd and 4th graders)	[9%]	[24%]	[10%]	[35%]
4. (5th and 6th graders)	[18%]	[20%]	[4%]	[7%]
Combined responses for Question 4.	20%	22%	8%	22%
Percentage of change for all answers	13%	13%	4%	6%

Note: Other includes the Latin American countries.

Table 5. Index of Peer Relations Pre and Post Test Scores by Class for Student Problem-Solving Groups.

N = 88

Grade & Class	Mean				Median	
	Pre	[S.D.]	Post	[S.D.]	Pre	Post
5th A	19.3	[11.5]	23.2	[14.2]	16	18
5th B	26.7	[17.4]	23.9	[19.8]	23	18
6th A	31.1	[21.3]	27.2	[17.2]	27	28
6th B	23.3	[17.5]	20.0	[17.4]	18	16
Total	25.22		23			

Table 6. Index of Peer Relations Pre and Post Test Scores by Gender for Student Problem-Solving Groups.

Females=44 Males=44

Grade & Class	Females		Males	
	Pre [SD]	Post [SD]	Pre [SD]	Post [SD]
5th A	21.7 [13]	20.3 [10]	17.0 [9]	25.9 [17]
5th B	31.8 [21]	27.8 [22]	19.9 [9]	18.8 [16]
6th A	30.6 [20]	23.1 [15]	31.5 [23]	30.2 [18]
6th B	18.7 [17]	17.0 [16]	28.3 [17]	32.1 [20]
Total	25.8	22.3	24.2	24.8

Table 7. Index of Peer Relations Pre and Post Test Scores by Country of Birth for Student Problem-Solving Groups.

Canada=72 Other=16

Grade & Class	Canada		Other	
	Pre [SD]	Post [SD]	Pre [SD]	Post [SD]
5th A	18.3 [12]	21.5 [14]	25.3 [12]	34.3 [10]
5th B	24.8 [17]	23.8 [21]	35.2 [20]	24.2 [13]
6th A	32.4 [21]	26.3 [18]	25.5 [24]	30.7 [16]
6th B	20.4 [15]	14.4 [13]	32.4 [24]	37.6 [19]
Total	23.9	21.3	30.0	31.9

Note: Other includes Latin American countries.

Mada Loepky

Dear Ms. Loepky;

This letter is in regard to granting you permission to include the Index of Peer Relations in your M.S.W. practicum report. I understand that this report will not be published and that only two copies will be given to the University of Manitoba in Winnipeg, MB, Canada.

Sincerely,

Walter W. Hudson, Ph.D.,
Professor