THE FORMATION OF POLICY, PROGRAM AND PRACTICE IN AN ALTERNATIVE SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

A CASE STUDY: THE MANITOBA COMMITTEE ON WIFE ABUSE
(1982-1984 inclusive)

BY

CATHERINE LOUISE HILLER

A Practicum submitted to
the Faculty of Graduate Studies
in partial fullfilment
for the degree of

MASTER OF SOCIAL WORK

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Be patient toward all that is unsolved in your heart
And try to love the questions themselves.
Do not seek the answers that cannot be given you
Because you would not be able to live them
And the point is to live everything
Live the questions now
Perhaps you will gradually without noticing it
Live along some distant day into the answers.

--RAINER MARIA RILKE

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It is due to my initial experiences with battered women at Osborne House (1979-1982 inclusive) that I decided to become an activist in advocating for political, social, and legal protection and change regarding their needs. This research study is in appreciation for everything they taught me.

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I love you all,

Cathie Hiller

ABSTRACT

This research study compares the alternative social organization (ASO) model to several other current major administrative organizational theories. Against an historical background of Canadian political, social, and legal responses to the social problem of wife abuse, the formative strategies and processes of one alternative social organization, The Manitoba Committee on Wife Abuse (MCWA), are reviewed.

Critical organizational processes regarding mandate, policy, programming, governance, advocacy and innovation are assessed in terms of effectiveness. Data were gathered through interview and questionnaire processes with board, community and staff members. Government and agency documents were also examined.

On one hand, the MCWA was seen as being strong and productive in areas of programming, advocacy and innovation. On the other hand, a lack of cohesion at the board level provoked a turbulence within the dynamics of governance which caused policy creation to lag behind program initiation. As well, some stakeholders were hindered from identifying with the mandate.

Although normative considerations were presented, they appeared compromised and vulnerable when espoused values were excluded from those activities which promote innovative and progressive political, social, legal and organizational change and order.

In conclusion, the author provides seven recommendations that ascribe to the development of normative, policy and technical requirements essential to the effective development of aspiring alternative social organizations.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.1 A DESCRIPTION: ALTERNATIVE SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS

From its inception, the Manitoba Committee on Wife Abuse (MCWA) was intended to be unique. Providing counselling and advocacy services alone would have meant a duplication of services already offered by established social service agencies and other shelter organizations in the Province of Manitoba. In a press release dated November 19, 1982, the Honourable Len Evans, Minister of Community Services and Corrections, announced:

> ...a new response program...[that] will do much to mobilize Manitobans to protect battered women by providing a vital network of support and assistance to victims of wife abuse (Evans, L. 1982).

Spurred by the women's movement, politicians were anxious to examine and put forth proposals that would respond to the needs of abused women as directed by their constituents.

With the number of recognized abuse cases on the rise, the judiciary (including law enforcement agents and court processes) was frustrated at the ambivalence of battered women to complete the judicial process related to the laying of charges against their abusers. As well, traditional social organizations were slow and reluctant to respond to the emerging needs of battered women and their children. Service workers, strapped for resources and over-burdened by burgeoning case loads, were admittedly hesitant to take on yet another critical social issue. From this context, the Manitoba Committee on Wife Abuse emerged.

Congruent with the general purpose of Alternative Social Organizations (ASOs), the MCWA was founded by local interest groups in an effort to offer alternatives to established or traditional social organizations which the inaugurators believed to be inadequate. According to alternative social organization theory, such initiatives were perceived to be 'alternative' because they would purposefully offer an unprecedented type of service, would employ different methods in delivering the product and would target their services to a specific as opposed to a generic population (Powell, 1986, p. 57). Powell states that ASOs fulfill this function by "filling gaps...innovating...and creating social change" (pp.57-58).

When using the metaphor 'filling gaps', clarification of the term is required. The term can refer either to a service that is non-existent or to a service that is able to give only token acknowledgment to the issue at hand. Alert to 'gaps' in the prevailing social service net of response, ASOs focus on a specific client group by offering new approaches and fresh ideas in challenging if not controversial ways. To avoid or to breakdown resistance regarding proposed new responses, it is necessary to communicate the need for social change in an active and visual manner.

By their very nature, ASOs struggle with contentious issues that may ultimately affect their longevity. Conflicts regarding ideology, mission, structure, governance and process have on occasion unduly cut short the remarkable efforts and achievements of these noteworthy organizations. Lacking in experience and longevity, ASOs expend extraordinary effort and energy in establishing clarity of mandate, as they seek to maintain funds and provide moral support to a work force that is largely volunteer or under-paid (Perlmutter, 1988).

During the first years of the existence of the MCWA, this writer was involved with the MCWA as the original Program Coordinator. From a personal perspective as a participant, then later as an observer, I have come to view with considerable conviction the importance to reflect and to learn from the history and experiences of the MCWA. It is hoped that future ASOs will benefit from the recommendations ensuing from this research study.

1.2 A FRAMEWORK FOR ANALYSIS

From an administrative perspective, Perlmutter (1988) identifies specific issues which she considers to be critical to Alternative Social Organizations. These critical issues - namely mandate, policy, programming, governance, advocacy and innovation will be directly applied to the Manitoba Committee on Wife Abuse.

MANDATE (MISSION STATEMENT). The issue of wife abuse was not perceived publicly as a social problem until the 1970's when authors and activists such as Erin Pizzey (1974), Del Martin (1977), and Lenore Walker (1979) brought wife abuse into the political arena through lobbying for social change and the publishing of their respective books entitled Scream Quietly or the Neighbours Will Hear, Battered Wives and The Battered Woman. The understanding and attention brought to the issue by these women in particular, although certainly aided by countless numbers of advocates, rallied some politicians, social service advocates and volunteers to demand programs that would meet the needs of abused women. However, the demand for programming to meet a newly defined "social problem" (Rossi & Freeman, 1989) required more than merely listing a huge number of needs. The transition of need into definable goals and operational statements would be required to formulate a method of service delivery and eventually to be used for evaluative purposes. Persons initiating ASOs are interested not only in promoting social change, but also in instituting innovative programming (Powell, 1986). The presenting challenge, therefore, is determining how to realistically articulate the organization's mission with specificity and clarity so that its mandate remains attainable.

Perlmutter (1988), in outlining critical aspects of ASOs, stipulates that "clarity of mission and the values which define it" (pp. 106-107) are essential in any analysis of an organization. Hasenfeld (1983) goes one step further by coupling mission clarity with program accountability.

> Once an organization makes a commitment to a set of goals, it is held accountable to them by those organizations and interest groups that monitor it and provide legitimation (Hasenfeld, 1983, p.99).

It is through the organization's culture and value system that goals, translated into the allocation and utilization of human and financial resources, will be determined. How these processes will be interpreted by the members of the organization will depend on the degree of unanimity, or "being of one mind" (Mansbridge, 1983, p. 14). In her book, Beyond Adversary Democracy, Mansbridge discusses the notion of what she calls "unitary democracy" (p.3). Characterized by like-mindedness, equal respect, face-to-face contact and consensus in decision-making, the interests of the polity are assured. For example, within a collective/feminist organization all members have equal input and power in decision-making.

According to Perlmutter (1988), Alternative Social Organizations have an ideological and/or philosophical commitment to consensus and shared decision-making. However, Rai (1985), Gummer (1981 & 1985) and Kramer (1985) acknowledged that participatory decision-making, while the most desired governance philosophy and mechanism, does not of itself assure minimal conflict, total consensus, or the diffusion of self-interest. Instead, it becomes a goal to be sought after rather than a guarantee inherent within an ideological framework. Not only must one become an expert in the promotion of their ideals (e.g., the declaration that every person has the right to live in a safe environment), but also there must be a preparedness to protect the integrity of one's value base (e.g., consensus in decision-making, egalitarian processes regarding issues of power and respect and anonymity related to both mission and practice).

The mission statement, as presented in Bylaw Article 11:4 (June 15, 1984), of the Manitoba Committee on Wife Abuse reads as follows:

> To establish a provincial organization to respond to the social problems of wife abuse and to work towards the elimination of all situations where women are abused by men.

POLICY (SCOPE AND STRUCTURE). Policy statements are essentially guidelines that provide the skeletal framework delineating the scope and the structure of an organization. They can either be procedural, programmatic or basic to the organization itself (Patti, 1978, p. 322). While global policy statements are generally outlined in the organization's by-laws, instructions in the day-to-day manipulation of these statements are usually prescribed in programmatic procedural manuals.

According to Wilkerson (1988), ASOs spend an extraordinary amount of time and effort on process.

> An emphasis on process is necessary in order to carry out the avowed goals of this type of agency and should serve to enhance consistency in organizational purpose, to ensure uniformity in staff behaviours, and to increase effective client outcomes (Wilkerson, 1988, p. 123).

Such processes include practices related to hiring and firing, delineation of tasks, decision-making, mandate conformity, communication, economic resource provision and allocation, supervision and evaluation.

However, it is not difficult to see that an undue emphasis on process may actually retard or diminish program productivity and client outcomes if an ASO unnecessarily engages in the pursuit of process "rituals".

Wilkerson (1988) appears to dichotomize ASOs against "the bureaucratic norm" when he refers to ASOs as "a cleansing of the air, a new ambiance, and a fresh hope" (p.121). However, collective and consensual processes enacted within an ASO may not always be accepted when networking with other community organizations and funding bodies. Therefore, ASOs expediently adopt a mixed model of organizational practices contingent on the situation.

When contrasts are made between ASOs and bureaucratic models of organization, it becomes apparent that the traditional bureaucratic organization distinguishes the role of the organizational member involved in the task of policy formation. Bureaucratic organizations clearly stipulate that policy determination is a responsibility of the Board of Directors or Chief Executive Officer alone. The executive body is responsible not only for the execution of policy, as are staff members, but also for program results as well (Stein, 1962. p. 193). ASOs, on the other hand, by nature and design (Weil 1988) encourage the participatory involvement of all members of the organization in these processes for each person is an integral and vital part of the polity.

PROGRAMMING. Programs are the activities that the organization intends to carry out as a function of its mandate. They are judged in terms of their effectiveness and efficiency of operation. Questions related to program evaluation (Tripodi, 1983, Rossi & Freeman, 1989, Hasenfeld, 1988) such as - Will the program provide the actual mandated services? Will the service reach its targeted population? Will the activity do what it is intended to do? Will the costs of the program be proportionate to the benefits derived? - are essential during the planning stages of program development.

Therefore, the definition and operationalization of organizational goals, the identification of human and economic resources, the prediction of anticipated outcomes and the impact that the program will have on society as a whole are important tasks essential to the aspects of program planning.

GOVERNANCE: POLITICS, CONTROL, AND AUTHORITY. Issues related to governance or power are as important for small ASOs as they are to large corporate business enterprises. There are several faces to the construct of power. Gummer (1988) and Mansbridge (1983) discussed the issue of power in terms of how persons perceive the promotion of their interests. Gummer (1988) also related his approach to power in terms of the ability "to get things done" (p.36) while Mansbridge (1983) directed her perspective on power to matters of democracy and "the common interest" (p.31). Mansbridge states:

> How equally power should be divided in a democracy therefore depends partly on how similar the members' interests--private-regarding, other-regarding, and ideal-regarding-- really are...the greater the common interest, the less need a polity has for equal power in order to protect members' interests equally (p. 31).

Recognizing that there can be negative forms of power, (i.e., coercive, forced/violent, reactive, impedimental and inducive (De Crespigny, 1968, pp. 192-205), ASOs strive to mitigate against these derogatory forms of power by incorporating the more positive expression of power-sharing into their practices. Power-sharing (Rothschild-Whitt, 1979, pp. 230-231), in its most pure expression, would allow all persons within an organization to task-share as well as participate in decision-making processes. This would necessitate opportunities for knowledge-sharing in all areas of the organization. However, when individuals bring unequal experience and training into a work placement, occasions where judgments of expertise and professionalism versus common experience and concern are bound to occur. In these situations, processes of negotiation and consensual decision-making are ways of resolving the dispute or conflict.

Gummer (1988) points out that "there is growing agreement that the major sources of organizational power are "structural rather than individual" (p.37). To counter any possibility of authoritarianism, Powell (1986), Weil (1988) and Mansbridge (1983) agree that the organizational structures of ASOs are purposefully non-hierarchical or feminist/collectivist in nature. The purpose for this particular type of structure lies in the shared belief of egalitarian and/or democratic values. When power, by necessity, has to be concentrated in a particular individual (e.g., tasks of representing an organization, submitting briefs and/or funding proposals), then all other members must believe that the individual acting in a leadership capacity has their best interests at heart.

The acquisition and exercise of power is as common to the ASO as it is to any other larger organization. This particular face of power is not necessarily contrary to the practices and values of an organization. For example, a most common method of obtaining and expressing power is through the creation and maintenance of networks. The practise of networking can stretch horizontally (peers) and vertically (supervisors/board members) within the internal environment of the organization as well as without to the external environment (interest groups). In this regard, the explicit link between the culture and value system of the organization and Mansbridge's (1983) application of "interests" is particularly poignant. The net benefits of networking by ASOs inter/intra organizationally will be in the building of strong alliances which allow for reciprocal sharing arrangements between and among working relationships.

A practical demonstration of this form of networking can be explained as follows: one organization may have particular expertise in training resources while another organization has advanced skills and knowledge in corporate sponsorships and funding mechanisms. Together, the organizations could join forces in sponsoring a workshop for the benefit of a community. Each organization stands to gain in strength and power from the exposure and influence that skill-sharing allowed in such an experience (i.e., a trade-off of strengths as well as allowing for a better understanding of organizational operations between the two organizations). Internally similar benefits are also likely to occur on occasions where tactics of "negotiation, bargaining, camaraderie and persuasion" (Gummer, 1985, p.107) prevail in the carrying out of the organization's processes and mission.

ADVOCACY AND INNOVATION. ASOs, in their quest to serve particular target populations (e.g., battered women, rape victims, persons with AIDS, the underprivileged with few resources for maintaining their health, legal or financial rights, suicidal persons) are engaged in providing 'different' or 'unique' programs. As mentioned before, ASOs are involved in social change activities (i.e., lobbying governments, advocacy and public education) and innovative interventions (e.g., peer support groups, assertiveness training, crisis-line interventions, resource development). Whatever the task, political and entrepreneur skills are required. This is primarily so because it is not uncommon for the ASO to reflect a different value or culture base than the public in general or their hoped for funding sponsors. In fact, such a discrepancy is usually the case rather than the opposite. For example, where the ASO may believe and practise empowerment of the individual as well as consensus in decision-making, funding sponsors (usually corporate or government bodies) believe and practise power monopoly and rule from the top down. Therefore, before entering into any negotiating relationship an understanding of the political processes and practices of alternate organizations is a necessity if not a prerequisite to engagement with the same.

For the ASO, innovative planning and programming is based on believing in and providing allowance for the creativity of its staff (i.e., encouraging enpowerment of staff as well as enpowerment of the target population). It is trusting that their behaviours will be governed by their knowledge and awareness of the available organizational resources open to them. In ASOs, human and financial resources are held in common for the interests of the whole. Therefore, the probability of resources being squandered or misappropriated for the purpose of self-interest is particularly remote.

Wilkerson (1988) provides the rationale for ASOs when he writes:

> In one sense, the objective is to create something 'unique' for 'special' clients. In another, it is to revive and enhance longstanding, uncorrupted service ideals: a generosity of outreach, whatever the human plight; a practice that represents the best human relations principles; and form and climate that ensure client self-determination and participation, and that are infused with democracy for staff (p. 120).

In achieving the above, ASOs respond to the same set of questions and conditions that are expedient for political and social entrepreneurship, namely: the capitalization on opportunity, the accessing of resources and the creation of a flexible structure. Change is the ideal as well as the strategy to be pursued. "As society changes...organizations that carry out the work of society must also change" (Gummer, 1986, p.91).

1.3 PRACTICE ISSUES AND SOCIAL CONTEXT: GEOGRAPHIC REALITIES RELATED TO EXISTENT SHELTER-STYLE SERVICES.

In Manitoba, at the time of the formation of the MCWA in 1982, geographically, there were four existing shelters, as if making four corners on a map, i.e., The Pas and Thompson in the north, and Brandon and Winnipeg in the south. Immense areas separated these shelters. As well, five rural/northern crisis-centres were in existence or in the early stages of organization. None of the latter offered shelter-style services. Their prime services centred on counselling the victim and the provision of resource referral for the purposes of financial, legal, and alternative placement intervention.

Distance and fear of detection by the abuser (long-distance phone calls being listed on the monthly telephone bill) are critical issues which often hinder women from access to shelters when they live in remote or rural areas.

Therefore, in the minds of the initiators of the MCWA, the role of safe-homes was envisioned as one service along a continuum of services for the battered woman. As well, the need to create a toll-free crisis counselling service was thought to be required to link the battered woman to the most appropriate and accessible shelter or alternate safe-home. Prior to the conceptualization of the MCWA, a toll-free crisis-line did not exist in any social service program that offered services to the battered woman.

In light of such needs one stated objective of the Manitoba Committee on Wife Abuse reads:

> The establishment and maintenance of a safe home network throughout the Province of Manitoba (Report to the Solicitor-General: August, 1984, p.4).

This objective was in keeping with the philosophy of the MCWA which was stated as "every person has the right to live in a non-violent environment" (Report to the Solicitor-General: August, 1984, p.2). While the demand for transition housing (or shelters) in a small community may be insufficient to require a permanent facility, the development of private homes to act as a refuge for the abused woman was thought to be a more effective and efficient response.

In the National Film Board of Canada film: Loved, Honoured and Bruised (1979), the story of a battered woman from rural Manitoba supports this fact. Jeanne F. knew of

Osborne House in Winnipeg, but lacked the means, transportation and support to get there.

> The obstacles a battered woman in a rural community may confront in seeking help can be monumental...(Crist, 1982, p.17).

Crist (1982) and McKenzie (1985) offer a summary of obstacles rural women face in leaving a violent home environment. According to these authors, the obstacles are:

1) Geographical isolation (i.e., safe and confidential places are non-existent or unknown to battered women in their community),

2) Poor transportation/roads (i.e., there is no effective transportation on which to rely in time of crisis),

3) Lack of anonymity (i.e., the embarrassment associated with personal matters becoming public information),

4) 'Party-lines' and the need to make long distance calls for assistance may deter women from seeking help. "Information or help becomes difficult to obtain due to a lack of privacy or the fact that repercussions may ensue when a husband receives the telephone bill" (McKenzie, 1985,p.69).

5) A lack of resources (i.e., rural women traditionally seek help from family before they will seek assistance from social/legal/medical services). Unfortunately, too often these 'official' resources have been lacking in support

and/or are inattentive to the severity of the battered woman's needs. When this occurs, a lack of trust is generated between the battered woman and those to whom she should be able to rely.

It is not always the required or best action to remove a woman from her 'natural support system' - i.e., her family, friends and community. It is, therefore, essential that battered women and their families become aware of the options, alternatives and choices at their disposal so that personal and informed decisions can be made by the individual(s) involved prior to leaving the community.

Crist (1982) and McKenzie (1985) believe that it is through the development of strong informal support networks within rural communities (many of which already exist) that linkages can be made to assist the battered women in these communities and their access to essential services.

> Developing the capacity of informal support networks to help battered women requires identifying and educating key members of these networks about domestic violence and available resources (Crist, 1982, p.19).

The safe-home concept has been perceived by some (within Manitoba as well as in other provinces of Canada) to be in competition with shelter formation. For example, Trudy Don, Coordinator of the Association of Battered Women's Shelters in Ontario, is adamant that safe homes will never be developed in Ontario. Her work in lobbying for shelter creation in the Province of Ontario was, and indeed, remains remarkable. Her main criticism regarding the establishment of safe homes was that government would see it as a "cheap way of providing services to battered women" (In conversation with Trudy Don, 1984). However, at that time as well as today, important differences in the geographical and demographic make-up of the two provinces - Ontario and Manitoba, persist.

In Ontario, there exists many small cities with populations exceeding 8,000 persons. As well, there remains a greater accessibility to an assured means of transportation and network of highways that allows for a reasonable and safe conduct to a shelter-style setting. The only exceptions may be in North-western and Northern Ontario. Even in these areas, the Department of Social Services in Ontario had created several district centres which were capable of providing a full range of services to the populations in question. Each of these centres were located in relatively large populaces with sizeable catchment areas surrounding them. Because of this, there were probably few areas in Ontario that could not support a shelter for battered women, that is, in assuring a cost-efficient utilization of beds.

Winnipeg was seen as being the only 'hub' within the Province of Manitoba (author's conversations with representatives from several Departments of Social Services in Central and Western Canada - 1983-1984). Social service provisions, while existent, were more widely distributed throughout the province. In contrast, Ontario was seen to have many 'hubs'.

Further lack of recognition to the formation of safe homes is evidenced in the House of Commons Report on Wife Battering (1982). This government report is glaring in its omission to suggest the development of safe-home development or existence. The closest suggestion that alternative ways of assisting battered women in rural or isolated communities comes in its recommendation under the heading of "Funding for Shelters":

> Research and funding programs within the Department of National Health and Welfare should be used to suggest plans and help implement proposed projects for housing rural women and women from isolated areas who do not want to be removed to urban centres but whose numbers do not warrant the establishment of a transition house (Recommendation #9, p.20).

Because crisis shelters for battered women continue to have financial difficulties, any alternative initiative in providing for the needs of these women is seen to be financially attractive to funding bodies. It is this perception that has fostered a competitiveness between service providers and, at times, a concerted effort to misrepresent the utility of safe homes.

Wilkerson (1988) states that despite the common interests and goals of alternative social organizations (e.g., shelters, crisis centers, safe homes), the competitive factor in the search for dollars remains strong. "Indeed, the creation of alternative agencies...has increased the competition and rivalry among them" (p.124).

Families in crisis due to violence in the home need a safe place to stay, sometimes for a short while and other times for an extended period. Therefore, (it is necessary to repeat), it was the belief of the initiators of the MCWA that a network of safe homes throughout Manitoba would provide safe, supportive assistance and immediate shelter to the victims of domestic violence in rural or remote areas of the province. The intention was to link the woman into whatever services she required, (i.e., shelters for battered women, family or individual counselling, support or treatment groups, legal protection, financial assistance, and medical aid to name a few). In reality, both safe homes and shelters provided immediate short-term crisis intervention to the battered woman. Despite the fact that mandated shelters could potentially provide for longer stays and greater opportunity for counselling, each provided 'safe space' during which respite, support, and options could be offered. Because safe homes, at times, could be the means through which referral to a shelter was arranged, safe homes and shelters would be encouraged to work in conjunction with one another.

1.4 AN ORGANIZATIONAL INTERVENTION: THE MANITOBA COMMITTEE ON WIFE ABUSE.

The following is intended to provide a preface to Chapter Four in which the case study of the MCWA will be presented. Excerpts from the original proposal, presented to the Manitoba cabinet, are provided.

> It is proposed that a broadly based response to the problem of wife abuse be implemented in Manitoba responding to the clearly stated need for: Public Education, Professional Education; Advocacy for the Abused Wife; Family and Child support and counselling; development of support mechanisms for abused women in rural areas; and coordination of the above responses (Proposal: Wife Abuse, A Manitoba Response to the Needs of the Battered Woman, 1982, p.4).

Conclusions drawn by the Standing Committee on Health, Welfare and Social Affairs (1982) - Report on Violence in the Family - strongly supported the direction that the MCWA wished to take, that is, the need for public education (p. 24, Paragraphs: #47,48,49), advocacy services (p. 24, Paragraph #46) and protection for the battered woman (p. 23, Paragraph #44).

Because programming for battered women had been on an informal and/or ad hoc basis prior to the formation of the MCWA, the development of practical, structured, and proficient counselling, education and social action processes and practices were required. In this regard, it would be the responsibility of the MCWA to devise, test, and disseminate training materials as well as to provide knowledge, skills and expertise to rural and urban crisis centres, shelters and the professional community as requested.

By taking seriously the need for rural and northern representation on the Board of Directors, provincial needs were to be shared, regional interests recognized and a unified approach to programming for battered women commenced.

> The Wife Abuse program must ensure that it develops the appropriate linkages with concerned individuals and groups. It is essential that no human service program operate in a vacuum relative to other organizations and agencies in the community. Linkages presently exist or are being explored with a wide cross section of organizations...(Proposal: Wife Abuse, A Manitoba Response to the Needs of the Battered Woman, 1982, p.11).

Regardless of where she lived, a battered woman would be able to receive support, counselling and referral to the centre closest to her residence and/or farther away should she require anonymity. This caring and sensitive approach to the needs of the battered woman throughout the province as well as an understanding of frustrations in service provision being experienced by existent shelters (due to limited funding bases) would become the normative framework upon which the physical structure and policy strategies of the MCWA would be based.

1.5 AIMS OF THE RESEARCH STUDY

The problems facing battered women are complex and multi-faceted. She is deluged with concerns involving child welfare, economic continuity, employment uncertainty, low-rental housing availability as well as legal issues pertaining to such matters as marriage dissolution, property settlement and her own future personal safety. Each of these problem areas involve skilled and knowledgeable persons to advise and provide her with the emergent services she requires. Despite the fact that a vast array of professional and social service agencies were in existence, workers felt that they lacked the awareness, knowledge and skill to properly assist the battered woman in a proficient manner. As well, workers were constrained in their efforts by the specific mandate of their particular agency. Into this milieu entered the Manitoba Committee on Wife Abuse.

The central question of the research study is: To what degree and in what manner did the MCWA meet the model requirements of an Alternative Social Organization? Available literature on ASOs establishes the criteria which sets apart ASOs from traditional organizations. The objectives of the research study will be to examine and analyze the MCWA in keeping with the ASO model. Consistencies and/or discrepancies with the ASO model will be duly noted as they pertain to the conceptualization and formation of issues related to policy, program and practice.

Resulting from the analysis, proposals will be provided in an effort to assist other ASOs in their developmental processes.

There has been a growing interest in the political analyses of organizational and administrative behaviour within organizations (Gummer and Edwards, 1985). The construct which framed this research study include the following questions. In what way and manner did the MCWA evolve? What was its mission? How narrow or broad was the scope of the organization? In what manner was the MCWA structured? How were issues related to governance managed? Were the program components effective? Did the MCWA restrict itself to any particular philosophy and/or administrative theoretical framework?

Scurfield and Ryant (1978) state that "slippage between components of policy-goals, objectives, programme, work roles and administration becomes a real risk in these organizations" (p. 108). Hopefully, other ASOs will benefit from the case study analysis of the MCWA as they struggle in their search for strength and significance within the prevailing social service community.

Chapter Two of the thesis will provide an overview of major organizational theories, a review of structures and a discussion of funding practices characteristic of social service agencies, in general, and in their application to the MCWA. As well, the methodology by which the case study will be conducted, a qualitative research model, will be addressed. Such qualitative analysis (Patton, 1987 & 1989, Guba and Lincoln, 1987), that is, observations that are not easily reduced to numbers as in quantitative analysis takes on a narrative or descriptive format. The overall value of qualitative research is that it provides an opportunity to gather information that can be useful in understanding the management of program processes in depth and detail (Patton, 1987). Sources of information will come from agency documents, formal evaluations, governmental/professional reports and interviews with former staff and board members.

Chapter Three of the thesis will confine itself to addressing the issue of wife abuse from a Canadian perspective. References will be drawn from government reports, conversations regarding the manner in which police and courts viewed battered woman as well as several booklets which convey legal rights and provisions of women who are victims of domestic violence.

Through the means of a case study approach, Chapter Four will critically examine the formation of processes related to mandate, policy, governance and structuring, programming, advocacy and perception by the external environment regarding the MCWA. A questionnaire was mailed to those persons who were actively involved and/or associated with the formation of the MCWA during 1982-1984. The questionnaire specifically dealt with issues related to mandate, organizational structure, programming, governance and advocacy. Informal interviews were conducted with as many participants as possible for the purpose of eliciting further detailed and in-depth descriptions of the above-mentioned areas of study. Government reports and papers related to the MCWA were also examined. In the examination of these documents, a determination was made as to whether or not the MCWA was a provincial response to the programmatic needs of battered women in Manitoba or whether or not it was primarily controlled and directed by the prevailing interests of the provincial government at that time. Agency documents (e.g., the proposal, by-laws, annual and government reports and evaluation report) were examined to determine whether or not the MCWA commenced in practice and programming what it established itself to do in policy.

The concluding chapter of the thesis, Chapter Five, will address the bond between theory and its application. The MCWA provides us with a valuable lesson in the administration and program development of an ASO. It demonstrated an innovative and creative approach to the provision of programming for the battered woman. In retrospect, when analyzed in terms of its successes and failures, a more efficient and perhaps lasting model can be envisioned. The application of essential strategic proposals related to policy, programming and practice could have made the difference between what was and what could have been. The proposals that were made will hopefully benefit other ASOs as they work towards creating lasting social change.

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 CONCEPTUALIZING ADMINISTRATIVE THEORY

Organizations, whether industrial or social in nature, have experienced evolutionary changes related to ideation, design and implementation over the past two hundred years. From the late 1800's to the present time, creativity and innovation have altered the way we think about organizations, how their structures and configurations are planned as well and how we implement and interpret the purpose, environment and politics which constitute their framework.

Labour, by its very nature, requires organization. It can, therefore, be argued from earliest times that human kind has devised various ways and means of structuring the task at hand. Whether it be individual or group employment, consideration to matters of 'how best to get the job done' have preoccupied the thoughts of the working individual. On most occasions, these thoughts have been generated by the desire for economic gain. That is, when the cost factor dominates the quality of the product, the emphasis is on efficiency. On the other hand, where the notion of quality dominates both standards of operation and production results, the emphasis is on effectiveness. Alternative

Social Organizations (as one particular kind of social service agency) influenced by ideology, structure and funding, attempt to combine both efficiency and effectiveness into their day-to-day operations. These agencies, unlike free-enterprise which is primarily ruled by profit-making, are particularly governed by considerations related to fiscal restraint, government (the primary funders) and other interest group opinions. However, regardless of whether one is referring to private industry, a traditional bureaucratic service agency or a non-traditional alternative social organization (ASO), a common denominator exists between these diverse operations. It is the deduction of the author that dual exigencies of program and service accountability remains pertinent to each structure despite the fact that each organizational type is influenced by dissimilar principles of operation.

Compton and Galaway (1979) discuss the nature of social work in relation to meeting both client needs and the needs of society at large:

> This issue is complex in that the individual social worker's function is defined, and the worker's salary paid, by an agency (public or voluntary, traditional or non-traditional) which receives its sanction from and is accountable to the community or to some community group whose members differ from, although they may include, the members of the client system. This point is of fundamental importance since the parameters of the service any particular professional can offer are determined by the parameters of the agency's societal charge (p. 479).

Primarily during the 20th century, organizational theorists have offered their opinions on 'how best to get the job done'. These theories, which have greatly influenced the administration of organizations in modern times, have also left their impact on alternative social organizations. In an effort to understand the particular methodology and structure of the MCWA (as an alternative social organization) it is first of all important to review the dominant administrative theories that were prevailing in society during this time period. As the administrative theories are presented, comparisons will be made to the alternative social organization model which, at different times, has been referred to in terms of being 'collectivist' or 'feminist' in nature (Rothchild-Whitt, 1979; Weil, 1988; Perlmutter, 1988). In Chapter Four, when the case study is presented, further parallels will be drawn between the following administrative theories and the MCWA .

2.2 AN INTRODUCTION TO ADMINISTRATIVE THEORY

Administrative theories can be plotted along a continuum of time and management style. From bureaucracy's hierarchical chain of command to the Japanese Model of minimum intervention by the administrator, the author believes that the importance of process, alternative strategies, performance evaluation and job satisfaction are as applicable to the ASOs as they are to huge, complex organizations. Each operative aspect, as mentioned above, has an attending administrative theory which provides a basis for understanding and application. It would seem that as the administrative pendulum has swung back and forth at various times from conservative authoritarianism to feminist collective decision-making, moderates have opted for an adaptable and holistic balance between the two extremes.

The prevailing administrative theories, with their attending organizational structures, which will be examined here include Weber's **Bureaucratic Theory** (Miner, 1982; Abels & Murphy, 1981; Rothschild-Whitt, 1979), Taylor and Fayol's **Scientific Management** (Burack & Mathys, 1983; Harvard Business Review, 1979; Skibbons, 1974), Simon's **Decision Theory** (Miner, 1982; Richards & Greenslaw, 1972), Odiorne's **Management by Objectives** model (Abels, 1981; Stoner, 1982; Burack and Mathys, 1983; Raider, 1980), McGregor's **Human Relations Theory** (Sashkin and Morris, 1984; Slavin, 1985; Stoner, 1982; Miner, 1982), **Contingency Theory** (Jones, 1984; Glisson, 1985; Kramer, 1985; Burack and Mathys, 1983), and Ouchi's **Japanese Model** (Smith and Doeing, 1985; Rule, 1987; Abels, 1981).

The thesis will also make reference to literature pertaining to what might be considered the "feminist model". However, this author believes that feminist organizational models have selected the most positive of the characteristics of the above-mentioned major organizational theories to fit a particular political ideology. For example, the concept of process is as important to feminist theory (Wilkerson, 1988 and Gummer, 1988) as it is to both the bureaucratic and scientific management theories. Values related to consensus and equality as respectively reflected in the Management By Objectives model and Human Relations Theory are significantly portrayed in writings by feminist authors such as Mansbridge (1983) and Perlmutter (1988). A democratic egalitarian structure as depicted in the Japanese Model is similarly ascribed to in feminist organizational theory by authors such as Weil (1988), Rothschild-Whitt (1979) and Morgan (1989). These processes and values, with the accompanying organizational structure, are examples intrinsic to an alternative feminist model for organizational theory.

2.3 PREVAILING ADMINISTRATIVE THEORIES

BUREAUCRATIC THEORY: Bureaucracies are generally thought of in terms as being 'large', 'complex', 'impersonal', 'hierarchical' and 'regulatory'. Miner (1982) remarks that the application of bureaucratic theory is the inevitable form for governing large and complex organizations (p. 424).

Max Weber, a sociologist writing in the early 1900's, conceptualized and viewed the bureaucratic structure as being the most efficient way to run a complex organization

(Abels & Murphy, 1981, p.25). Indeed, bureaucracies have become a capstone of the capitalist society.

Government, industry and large social service organizations are bureaucratic in nature and form. The bureaucratic organizational structure is characterized by division of labour (i.e., specialization of tasks), an hierarchical authority structure with centralization of power, control and decision-making in the echelon of senior management circles alone, regulation (i.e., protocols for every procedure of operation) and impersonality.

Bureaucracy features employment based on technical qualifications, promotion contingent on merit, seniority or both, written contracts describing the terms of employment and protection from arbitrary dismissal. Therefore, the probability of establishing a 'life-career' is heightened within this form of organization when compared to smaller organizations where individuality and creativity are deemed essential for survival. However, should values for innovation in bureaucratic systems of organization exist in the top levels of management, creativity will no doubt also occur. If management merely maintains the status quo, then stagnation will follow.

Stoner, 1982; Burack and Mathys, 1983; and Richards and Greenslaw, 1972, speak to the fact that bureaucracies do not allow for rapid change and uncertain environments. The thrust of bureaucratic thought was that situations being dealt with were both certain and complex. With senior management endowed with superior skills and 'know-how' and rules and procedures developed to cover every conceivable possibility, rigidity becomes the glue that maintains the structure. For some workers a feeling of alienation, helplessness and depersonalization ensues. Because of estranged feelings toward the over-all success of the organization, their input into the decision-making processes is essentially non-existent. Instead they are encouraged towards conformity and compliance to all regulatory procedures, thus stifling their working lives and personal growth. Organizational existence, whether directed toward the worker or the entity, is seen to be mechanical and routine. Order and stability are their mainstay.

York and Henley (1986) blame bureaucracy for the ills of human service administration. Their criticisms are directed primarily toward factors such as depersonalization, the restriction of professional autonomy and the tendency of regulatory procedures which inhibit a social worker's pursuit of meeting the needs of their clientele. To the degree that too much of a good thing can be detrimental, they assert that the plethora of rules that proceed from policy hampers creativity. Abels (1981) refers to Barbara Lerner's description of bureaucracy and its effect on social service organizations:

> ...the modern version of authoritarianism... transforming service delivery systems in ways that have profoundly adverse effects on those who

receive it, and on the nature of service itself (Lerner, 1972, p.14).

Robert Pruger (1973), on the other hand, indeed argues that, "social workers are bureaucrats" (p.26). Within their role they are called upon to negotiate the stresses, opportunities and constraints that permeate organizational life regardless of his/her position in the organization. Through competence, staying power and the understanding of legitimate authority, Pruger asserts that the social worker can make a contribution to clients while increasing professional expertise. Compton and Galaway (1979) echo Pruger's thesis. They assert that whether the organization is small or large, traditional or alternative, the ability to understand the basis of its function, structure and processes is both a complex and difficult task (pp.486-490).

a) Alternative Social Organizations (ASOs) and Bureaucracy: It is against the theory of bureaucracy that all other administrative theories are pitted. When compared to alternative social organization theory, proponents of ASOs consider 'bureaucracy' to be the anathema of what they represent and practise. When a comparison is made between a bureaucratically-structured organization and a collectivist-style agency striking contrasts are seen. Rothschild-Whitt (1979) and McGill & Wooten (1975) are three authors who compare bureaucratic organizations with collectivist or 'third-sector' organizations. It should be noted that ASOs are considered to be collectivist in structure and nature. In contrast to bureaucratic organizations, values related to enpowerment, equal power, equal respect and consensus in decision-making dominate the management philosophy and practices of collectivist agencies.

Bureaucracies, as evidenced by their structures, are hierarchical or pyramidal in shape. By design and intent, authority, power and control centres are fixed at the top of the structure. Through delegation of authority, commands/requests/expectations are filtered down through successive layers of senior and middle management until finding their intended course with the workers at the bottom of the construct. Such organizations (e.g., government, corporations, child welfare and social assistance agencies) are characterized by having fixed roles; social control of employees is regulated through direct supervision of tasks and performance in keeping with established guidelines; and employment is predicated on expertise and corresponding wage scales. Social stratification is depicted along vertical lines of hierarchy with incremental increases of prestige and privilege accelerating the closer one climbs to the top.

Collectivist organizations, on the other hand, are portrayed by flat or horizontal structures of design which allows for a maximum of three of four layers of role delineation. These organizations (crisis centres, shelters etc.) ascribe to consensus formation with shared decision-making practices, rather than the top-down model of control as evidenced in hierarchical organizations, and stipulate few rules preferring to base social control on adherence to a common philosophy and ideological appeal. The mission statement affirms the organizational purpose and goals and as such becomes the primary and mutually-agreed upon raison-d'etre of the agency. The egalitarian nature of these agencies allow for administration to share in all tasks with a minimal division of labour. Collectivist organizations differ from bureaucracies in that material incentives are considered to be secondary to purpose, solidarity and shared value systems. Unfortunately, the skilled and highly qualified workers who are attracted to employment in alternative social organizations are frequently forced into accepting minimum wage or below par salaries when compared to their counterparts in hierarchical 'professional' social agencies (Perlmutter, 1988). Funding agencies, while recognizing and commending unique and radical programming, exchange acceptable salary levels for commitment and cheap labour. Only in recent years, through affirmative action proposals and directives, has wage parity been struggled for and reluctantly obliged through incremental government measures.

SCIENTIFIC MANAGEMENT: The historical foundation for scientific management (Miner, 1982) lies in the work of

Robert Owen and Charles Babbage. Robert Owen, a British industrialist, reformer and socialist, instituted a number of specific work procedures that increased productivity. Babbage, an English mathematician, was an early advocate of the practice pertaining to division of labour (i.e., selecting the most skilled person for a particular task). Frederick Taylor (1856-1915), who is credited with laying the foundation for scientific industrial management, introduced time-and-motion studies as well as systems of incentive pay for labour. It was the first systematic attempt at job analysis and design (Burack and Mathys, 1983).

Scientific management theory stressed the central importance of a well-designed system of work as a common link between the employer and the employee. Its intent was to break down each job into small components to determine the most effective way of combining elements and performing each sub-task. Abilities were then matched to each task. The theory has been criticized for disallowing worker input into job design as well as making jobs so differentiated that some became monotonous, annoying and boring in their repetition.

The methodology was designed to eliminate managerial inefficiency and employee dallying at work. It included an analysis on personnel practices and motivation as well as the role of management in making all parts of the system function together (Burack and Mathys, 1983). Taylor believed that management and labour had a common interest in increasing productivity. That is, the needs of both parties could be satisfied in a cooperative environment. His was the first attempt to empower the worker even though the motivation for the same was grounded in the profit motive. Fayol upholds the view that labour disputes are the result of a poor application of sound management principles. The traditional belief regarding conflict in the workplace was that labour unrest was unnecessary and harmful to everyone concerned. Therefore, it was management's responsibility to communicate to workers the common interests that bind management and labour together in an effort to minimize work disruptions while endeavoring to increase production.

Fayol, a French engineer, administrator and management theorist, who was aligned with Taylor as being a founder of the theory, developed a rational approach to the design and operation of an enterprise. Fayol acknowledged the managerial functions of planning, organizing, commanding, controlling and coordinating the day-to-day operations of an industry (Abels, 1981, p. 31). He emphasized that organizational objectives must be clear and once plans were in operation, proper records, inspections and monitoring must take place. Fayol outlined the "Fourteen Principles of Scientific Management":

1) Division of Labour,
2) Authority and Responsibility should be co-equal,
3) Unity of Command (i.e., "one employee, one boss"),

4) Unity of Direction,
5) Subordination of individual interests to the general interest,
6) Centralization regarding authority and decision-making,
7) Scalor Chain of Reporting Relationships,
8) Order,
9) Discipline (i.e., obedience and respect),
10) Remuneration: fair and of maximum satisfaction to the employee and employer,
11) Equity: Loyalty and devotion by the worker is balanced with justice and kindliness by the employer,
12) Job Security,
13) Initiative: Task delegation by supervisors to workers,
14) Espirit de Corps: Teamwork and the importance of communication (Burack & Mathys, 1983; Miner, 1982).

Based on the works of Abels (1981) Weil (1988), Rothschild-Whitt (1979) and Fishman (1988) if a comparable list of principles should be compiled for ASOs, the following contrasts could no doubt be paralleled:

1) Egalitarian Role Relations,
2) Shared Authority and Responsibility,
3) Collaboration in Planning Strategies,
4) Open Communication,
5) Maximization of Individual Talents and Energy,

6) Consensus in Decision-making,
7) Unified Reporting Relationships,
8) Fraternity/Sisterhood,
9) Mutual Cooperation,
10) De-emphasis on Material Gain,
11) Equitable Work Environment,
12) Unstable - Minimal Funding Base: The Challenge Exceeds the Risk,
13) Creative Encouragement and Support,
14) Commitment to the Task and to Each Other.

From the above we can make the following deductions:

a) Power comes from 'within' the group rather than being exercised 'over' the individuals that make up the group,

b) Cooperation, consensus and collaboration replace the 'I' with the 'We' feeling,

c) Self-actualization through challenging and creative opportunities replaces robot-like responses that flourish in de-personalized settings, and

f) Behaviours are more likely to have a humanistic base rather than a profit-seeking base.

In the Harvard Business Review (1979) we read the following interesting observation:

> Since Henri Fayol introduced the four words: he plans, organizes, coordinates, controls...we have an indication of some vague objective managers have when they work...but it tells us little of what managers do" (p. 104).

In fact, it is management who designs the organizational structure, delegates authority and responsibility, establishes the work task of employees, hires and fires workers, supervises and uses financial incentives to increase productivity as well as determines how a job is to be done. While the foregoing is duly noted, Miner (1982) provides the analysis that hierarchical systems, (e.g., bureaucracy and scientific systems of management) while creating a dependency relationship between the employee and the employer does not necessarily imply that individuality, ability and motivation is lost just because one is dependant on the other for financial rewards.

Skibbons (1974) describes scientific management as maintaining centralized decision-making with management reacting to work situations through control measures. Organizations employing this methodology were: "...homeostatic organizations...run by the book and slow to change...innovative, efficient and highly profitable" (Skibbons, 1974, p.4).

In management literature, Bureaucratic and Scientific Management Theories became known as "Theory X". MacGregor and Douglas, both human relation theorists, concluded that these types of organizations provoked a negative view of human nature when compared to those attributes of workers in organizations whose structure and policy allowed for democratic decision-making and active involvement in all workplace procedures. According to Burack & Mathys (1983) workers employed in a "Theory X" organization were most likely to portray:

a) a dislike, avoidance and disparagement towards work,

b) constant vigilance on the part of management to see that workers achieve the goals of the organization,

c) workers who prefer to be directed and dependant upon management rather than creative and innovative according to their own talents and expertise,

d) indolence, and

e) an extraordinary concern for security as well as the need to work in a totally stable environment.

DECISION THEORY: Decision theory, as considered by Simon - a leading proponent of the theory, involves the evaluating of pay-offs under consideration of risk and uncertainty. Simon asserted that management and decision-making were synonymous terms. Decisions were to be rational and acceptable to the goals of the organization. This particular theory is unique in that its application can be usefully employed in both the bureaucratic authoritative style organization and the collective egalitarian style organization.

In essence, the manager constructs a pay-off matrix in order to assess the optimum strategy which would minimize risk when weighing situations and conditions which were certain to those which were uncertain. Burack & Mathys, 1983) describes the conditions of decision-making theory as follows:

a) Certainty: we know what will happen in the future,
b) Risk: we know what the probability of each outcome is, and
c) Uncertainty: we do not know the probabilities or outcomes (pp.171-173).

When decisions were bounded by time and costs, the manager would have a limited number of alternatives from which to choose. This scenario is considered to be hampered by "bounded rationality" (Richards & Greenslaw, 1972).

Programmed decisions are those made in accordance with some habit, rule or procedure. Non-programmed decisions involve risk and uncertainty. The latter usually deal with unique and unusual problems.

A decision-making process usually involves:

a) a clear statement and recognition of an organization’s goal and objectives,
b) problem identification, and
c) the development of alternative strategies pertaining to situations of certainty, risk and uncertainty (Richards & Greenslaw, 1972, p. 36).

In areas of certainty, the management team would rely on its intuition, experience and governing principles to select the strategy with the optimum payoff. In areas of risk, the management team would select the strategy with the highest expected value of expected utility. Finally, in areas of uncertainty, the management team would carefully determine a decision criterion (i.e., coming to terms with making the 'hard' decision) and then select the strategy whose pay-off best met the decision criterion. In political theory, this would be called adopting the 'maximin' solution. That is, rather than selecting the best of the best possible outcomes (the 'maximax' solution) as would be the case in areas of certainty, one may very well have to settle for accepting the best of the worst possible outcomes in times of uncertainty (Barry, 1973, p. 88). Because decision-making is in itself a very political process, assessing trade-offs which yield the highest possible dividend is crucial for survival and stability of the organization. However, what is settled for is sometimes less than what one would desire.

Being confronted with differing views (i.e., individuals often perceive problems in different terms) managers will often settle for a decision that is satisfactory to the majority rather than attempt to seek a best solution. This practice is known as 'satisficing' as opposed to 'maximizing'. While employees may affect the decision, they are omitted from the formal scheme of the decision-making process. In organizational terms and in accordance to hierarchical structures, employees and middle management may influence final outcomes, but it is senior management who makes and ascribes the final decision.

Such practices would be contrary to the principles and practices of an alternative social organization. In an ASO each member is seen as part of the polity and therefore has input into decision-making processes in keeping with the principle of participatory management (i.e., consensus). Shared decision-making implies that all categories of employees will be consulted in those decisions which will affect their work (Fallon, 1985). In describing the decision-making process of one particular ASO, Mansbridge (1983) takes the principle of participatory management one step further. She writes: "... no decision involving the organization as a whole could be taken without the agreement of every one of its members" (p. 163). Mansbridge concluded that the members of the organization agreed that the consensual manner of decision-making was a description of "how human beings ought to act toward one another" (p. 182).

MANAGEMENT BY OBJECTIVES:

> Management by Objectives (as defined by Odiorne) is a process whereby the superior and subordinate managers of an organization jointly identify its common goals, define each individual's major areas of responsibility in terms of the results expected of him/her, and use those measures as guides for operating the unit and assessing the contribution of each of its members (Abels, 1981, pp. 170-171).

The major focus of Management by Objectives (MBO) is to improve the existing position, provide a detailed description of objectives, define goals within a measurable format and establish a feedback mechanism for the evaluation of performance at regular intervals. Stoner (1982) and Richards (1972) impress the need for commitment to the program by all members of the organization. MBO provides an opportunity to tie together the goals of top managers with the ideas and aspirations of subordinates. Together, higher and lower echelons learn to communicate, participate and evaluate performance within the organization as it pertains to individual and program outputs. From one evaluation period to the next, goal levels tend to generate higher achievement. Although pre-planned goals may initially appear to be impossible, as the employee's performance improves, goal attainment levels increase accordingly. The crux of the strategic planning process related to the definition and outlining of goals is to set challenging yet achievable goals.

Effective planning depends upon the commitment and integration of an organization's physical, financial and human resources. It is the task of every manager to clearly delineate well-defined measurable objectives negotiated between him/herself and the employee that specifically apply to individual functions. If the measures have not been correctly designed, then functional success will be skewed. The Harvard Business Review points out areas of potential discrepancy. That is, there can be misconceptions of what actually needs to be appraised. Perceptual differences in achieving an objective and the determining of how the objective was attained could vary (Harvard Business Review, 1979, p. 80). Therefore, the 'means' is just as important as the 'end'. It is through the process of discussion and agreement (top and lower levels of the organization and on a continual basis) that bias and distortion are minimized and expectations are judged to be fair.

The purported strengths of MBO are:

a) Expectations of each worker are precisely known and laid out in a written form,
b) The theory is intended to be an aid for the purpose of planning goals and target dates,
c) Employees do not work in a vacuum. The worker believes that he/she has a vested interest in the productivity of the organization. One way in which this is measured is through regularly scheduled performance and achievement appraisals,
d) MBO allows for the improvement on communication within the vertical structure of the organization, and
e) Because management and workers have previously agreed to terms regarding performance appraisal, the evaluation process is seen to be more equitable (Wiehe, 1985, pp. 107-109).

Four major weaknesses of the MBO theory are:

a) The appraisal task of employees can prove to be difficult. This is particularly so should an employee's performance be sub-standard and a perception of low aspiration to achieve the ascribed objectives is determined,

b) The review process may provoke tension,

c) Because not all objectives are communicated at any given time, discrepancies can occur between the attempts of lower level management to detail the objectives and the perceived intentions of top level management, and

d) The implementation of MBO is time-consuming (Burack & Mathys, 1983, pp. 131-132).

Burack and Mathys (1983) further stipulate that there are seven key problems that need to be controlled if MBO is to be successful. They are:

a) The theory must be established and supported throughout the entirety of the organization,

b) The organization must have a flexible environment to provide for adaptation and change to new/unexpected variables,

c) Good interpersonal communication skills are a necessity at all times,

d) Job Descriptions must be clearly written and communicated to each worker,

e) The establishment and coordination of objectives needs to be definitive when there tends to be an over-reliance on quantifiable measures,

f) The means by which goal achievement methods are controlled, and

g) The probability of conflict between creativity and the specification of MBO (p. 132).

Impetus to use MBO often originates in service organizations with the need for greater accountability to funding sources through the demonstration of program effectiveness with increased efficiency. Raider (1980) suggests that MBO should be introduced on a modest scale to begin with because such an introduction means initiating major organizational change. MBO often means a shift from "intuitive planning to precise, pre-planned management" (Raider, 1980, p.118). The emphasis is on consensus through the inductive process of establishing goals. Through solicited worker input the risk of impractical and unrealistic goals as sometimes prescribed by administration who are detached from actual service deliver can be reduced. Diversity in goals is lessened "through common objectives of the agency, which in turn are expressed in the mission or purpose of the organization" (Wiehe, 1985, p.114). While MBO is not a cure-all for all management problems, it is intended to be a helpful tool in performance appraisal and program-planning in a social service agency.

How does such a theory impact on ASOs? The primary attribute of MBO that has significance to ASOs is inclusion of all staff in decision-making strategies and planning. Employees realize that they have and are part of the invested interest of the organization. In other words, their input is important, necessary and appreciated. The well-being of the organization is paralleled with the well-being of the worker in principle and practice. In other words, the three 'C's of participatory management are maintained - namely: cooperation, collaboration, and consensus.

HUMAN RELATIONS THEORY: Human Relations Theory is considered to be a 'grass roots' approach to organizational management. This theory has been designated as "Theory Y". In administrative management literature (Miner, 1982, p. 136, 139; Burack & Mathys, 1983, p.305; Richards & Greenslaw, 1972, p. 160 and Stoner, 1982, p. 356) several proponents of the theory are McGregor, Douglas, Maslow, Likert, and Argyris. Human Relations Theory can be traced to the Western Electric Hawthorne Plant experiments in the 1920's. The purpose of the experiments was to determine the effect of certain physical conditions, in this case the degree of illumination required to perform specific work tasks, upon worker output. The conclusion of the experiments indicated that human and social factors were often more important than physical factors in influencing productivity. Therefore, Human Relations Theory introduces the human ingredient into management consideration and responsibility (Richards & Greenslaw, 1972).

> Not only was the Human Relations Movement rooted in its outcomes (i.e., the Hawthorne studies), but the primacy of the role of the work group, and the impact of the informal structure as a normative force, were firmly established" (Abels, 1981, p.36).

Important considerations underlying the basic tenets of human relations theory are issues regarding job satisfaction, work conditions, job efficiency and how well employees relate to one another. Career values center on the importance of informal social behaviour among members, which in turn, influences the pacing of work, behavioural norms and relations with supervisors. Therefore, the level of production is established on the basis of social norms and not technical considerations. Formal leadership, as designated by management, and informal leadership, as indicated through worker consensus, play roles in the setting and enforcement of these social norms.

Horizontal groupings become buffers against vertical links in the structure (Miner, 1982, pp. 136, 139 and Burack & Mathys, 1983, p. 305). Group formation, that is, those instances when workers act as members of a group rather than independent from one another, is often a primary tactic of workers to resist changes by management. These informal groupings inspire loyalty to each other. An atmosphere of confidence and trust pervades the workplace as workers strive towards common values and goals. When employees are empowered to make their own decisions on the job, a spirit of conformity and reciprocity in achieving shared goals is engendered.

Participative management, implying a democratic approach to administration in contrast to the authoritarian methods of bureaucratic management, is dependant on systematic communication between all levels of the organizational structure. The participatory model assumes that all parties are roughly equal (Hudson, 1982, p.121). Leaders are employee-centered and portray a constant perception of support to the workers. There is no need to enforce management's authority because supervisors, attentive to the needs of their workers, treat their employees with respect and due consideration.

McGregor and Douglas stipulate positive attributes of human nature to "Theory Y" organizations when compared to those mentioned earlier that apply to "Theory X" organizations. Employees in "Theory Y" environments find that their work experiences can be both natural and enjoyable. Under right circumstances (a rather nebulous euphemism) employees will commit themselves to organizational goals while exercising self-direction, self-control and responsibility (Stoner, 1982, p. 443).

Stoner, Argyris, and Maslow furthered this progression of thought by stating that self-actualization provided the motivation through which a commitment to objectives found its functional reward. "Theory Y" acknowledges that creativity and ingenuity are not the sole domain of executives and managers (Stoner, 1982). Stoner explained that the capacity for creativity, ingenuity and imagination to resolve organizational problems is widely distributed in the work population. He concluded that the intellectual potential of the average person was only partially utilized in the industrial world. Human Relations Theory, through its participatory/decentralized approach was designed to acknowledge and redress this error. When introduced to large bureaucratic organizations, participatory management has tended to improve morale and motivation in staff ranks.

> Happy is the administrator who has learned the virtues of, and techniques for, sharing of his power. Sharing of power leads to high staff morale, organizational effectiveness, and on-the-job education of a generation which inevitably must succeed him (Fallon, 1985, p. 251).

Similarly in ASOs, a cohesiveness of group relationships is strengthened among staff through bonds of common interest, consensus in decision-making and solidarity of purpose. Bolstered by an egalitarian horizontal delineation of roles and tasks, the value and norm of empowerment pervades the work place. Determining and actualizing shared goals and objectives becomes the raison d'etre of ASO members who through reciprocal practices of respect and power strive to achieve functional democracy within the framework of the organization (Mansbridge, 1983; Perlmutter, 1988).

Constraints to the success of human relations theory and its major tenets, as experienced within the ASO model, have been observed when pressure to conform silence minority opinion; when a group becomes dominated by an individual; or when group members differ in their solution preferences reducing decision-making processes to win-lose arguments (Sashkin & Morris, 1984, p. 192).

CONTINGENCY THEORY: Terms which best describe this particular management theory are 'situational', 'flexible', 'adaptable' and 'holistic'. In general, management theory attempts to determine the predictable relationships between situations, actions and outcomes. Contingency theory integrates the merits of the rational-mechanistic model, the systemic-organic model and the human relations-behavioural model. It attempts to integrate various schools of thought regarding the inter-dependence of these factors. In short, contingency theory acknowledges that what works in one situation might not work in another. Therefore, the correct organizational structure and management plan is dependant upon the situation. Such a theory does not demand that one relinquish a particular philosophical premise, rather, it requires that inter/intra relationships and communication be conducted within an atmosphere and practice of respect and diligence.

Jones, 1984; Glisson, 1985; Mullis, 1985; Kramer, 1985; and Berg, 1985, have been some of the researchers who have acknowledged the deployment of this model of management theory. All have recognized the importance of the role of the leader. Succinctly stated, the task of the manager is to identify which technique, in a particular circumstance and at a particular time, will best contribute to the attainment of the goals of the organization.

> The appropriate administrative behaviour is contingent upon the characteristics of the specific organization and the environmental situation in which it exists...the administrator's job is to facilitate the functioning and interrelationships of the organizational subsystems as well as to insure a relationship with the organization's environment which contributes to organizational survival (Glisson, 1985, p.95).

The subsystems of which Glisson speak relate to the psychosocial (i.e., factors which affect the behaviour of individual worker), the structural (i.e., defined in terms of centralization/decentralization of decision-making), the technological (i.e., the knowledge and activities used by workers when dealing with clientele) and the goals and values of the organizations which direct policy, planning and behaviour at all levels of the organization (pp. 97-101).

When an organization operates in a stable environment and its tasks are fairly repetitive in nature, a bureaucratic structure can work quite efficiently. However, when the environment becomes turbulent or variable and when the goals and values become ambiguous, then an open, less structured organization would seem to work better. The technique of attempting to match the leader to a given situation (Burack & Mathys, 1983) can be explained in the following manner. If a situation is 'very good' or 'very bad', a task-oriented leader is required, however, if the situation is 'mixed', a people-oriented leader is ideal. Structure and managerial style, as it pertains to authority, is brought under scrutiny. Although the decentralization of authority tends to be the most desired form of decision-making, it is not uniformly accepted. Organizations which attempt such a format are also observed to move back to the more rigid centralized form of decision-making. Contingency theory does not advocate that the process of decision-making must be one way or the other. Rather, contingency theory contends that depending upon the situation, an organization may be wise to consider decentralization by degree. Jones notes the following:

> Even if external evaluation is employed and participation opportunities are expanded, it may be expected that some degree of centralization of decision-making will result (as way of example) under conditions of financial crisis (Jones, 1984, p.60).

Therefore, contingency theory operates at its optimum when an organization is in agreement with its external environment, its strategy and its internal environment. It is not only trite but humanly impossible to be all things to all people at all times. Yet, this too often becomes the assumed role and task of an ASO, not only from the way it sees itself, but also from the anticipatory and projected expectations and demands of the community as well. For example, the intended and legislated social service safety net of program provisions has not been able to provide critical services (in particular) to victims of rape and domestic violence as well as persons who would inflict harm to themselves. As a result, traditional social service agencies have come to rely on ASOs to meet social needs that seemingly 'fall between the cracks' of traditional social service provision. The result is that too often ASOs take on too large a load of responsibility. Examination and revision of stipulated purposes and goals has been the prime methodology though which ASOs have adopted survival strategies necessary to re-order and maintain liaison with their external environments.

THE JAPANESE MODEL: The basic approach of Eastern philosophy as it relates to management theory, whether derived through Confucian, Tao or Zen concepts is:

> ...that through minimum intervention by the administrator, and through his or her delegation of authority to others, the 'best' administration would result (Abels, 1981, p.222).

In the Japanese model the emphasis is on bottom-up communication and a much less confrontational style. Workers and managers are in partnership together. This

"Theory Z" form of management, as it has now become known, refers to an American organization which applies the concepts and techniques of Japanese management to the traditional hierarchical method of managing. It places a great deal more concern and value on the individual as well as providing avenues for social growth and development within the auspices of the firm.

Two important differences between the Japanese-style of management and the American-style of management relate to the process and structure of decision-making. The process of Japanese-style decision-making allows for the commitment of a great deal of time and attention focussing on 'what the decision is all about' rather than 'what decision can we best come to'. The structure of Japanese-style decision-making provides for all dissenting views 'to be tabled' with the formation of a wide-range of alternatives to be considered rather than just being concerned about coming to the right conclusion of the matter. Although the decision-making process is lengthened through employee participation, the implementation period is quickened with less conflict and resistance from the workers (Burack & Mathys, 1983, p. 360).

> Building line management commitment (through participations in the planning process) is clearly one of the best ways to increase the chances of implementation, as the Japanese consensus style of management has proven (Rule, 1987, p.36).

Ouchi, who has provided the most extensive analysis of the Japanese-style of management, characterized the model by the following description. Japanese management includes:

a) life-time employment,
b) a slow evaluation and promotion provision,
c) a generic career path,
d) collective decision-making,
e) equal respect, power and responsibility, and
f) a holistic concern for people.

> In short, what benefits the individual benefits the organization and, in turn, what is beneficial to the organization is also beneficial to the individual (Smith & Doeing, 1985, p.2).

Smith and Doeing list the major advantages and disadvantages of the Japanese Model of organizational theory. The advantages are perceived to be:

a) Rather than the American segmented view, the Japanese model provides an holistic approach to management,
b) The Japanese model focuses on finding solutions for existing problems,
c) The Japanese model is credited with developing long-term employment relations with its workers and egalitarian practices in decision-making which often result in increased performance ratings by the workers, and

d) Japanese management possesses the ability to counteract entrenched bureaucratic structures (i.e., the hierarchical flow chart) by subtly introducing substitutes (e.g., the quality circle) (p. 5,6).

Disadvantages include the following difficulties:

a) The Japanese model is considered to be culture-bound. That is, the North American mentality of control in organizational environments is contra-indicative of the Japanese model,

b) The Japanese model places an incredible high value on the administrative elite,

c) The Japanese model is suspect in western society because of its perceived novelty regardless of the fact that it has proven very successful in Japan and other eastern countries (e.g., Yugoslavia), and

d) The Japanese model does not provide to the American employer the degree of control he has become accustomed to regarding the destiny of his organization. Japanese management, by contrast, places emphasis on individualism and independence (pp.6-7).

Feminist administrative theory and the Japanese model of organizational structure share in principle the values of empowerment, open communication and shared decision-making. As reported in a recent newspaper article: "Women Told 'Be Yourselves' in Changing Corporate World", and in keeping with the ASO model of organizational theory, Sally Helgeson in her book The Female Advantage: Women's Ways of Leadership complements the Japanese Model when she argues that women do not need to act like men in the workplace, that is, by undermining those values which women have traditionally seen as sources of their strength. Skills related to listening, teaching, co-operation and empowerment are not to be "dismissed as signs of weakness". In contrast to authority and control from the top-down as seen in hierarchical bureaucratic forms of organization, women have found "a distinctive voice [in] stressing empowerment and human development rather than subordination to the chain of command". Doyle goes on to record that women "encourage creativity and play down hierarchy through structures that resemble a circle or web rather than a pyramid" (Doyle, J. (in press) Winnipeg Free Press, July 29, 1990, page unknown).

2.4 MODELS FOR ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE

Having looked at specific models of administrative theory, it is also necessary to look at the application of these theories as they are directed toward specific organizational processes and practices such as structure, funding and program evaluation.

Management literature is consistent, with little variation except for descriptive differences, when addressing the topic of organizational structure. The organizational structure (i.e., the flow chart) is often viewed as a configuration of relationships (Miner, 1982; Stoner, 1982; Richards, 1978; and Tropman, 1989). While the vertical differentiation depicts the hierarchical structure, the horizontal differentiation pictures the departmentalization of operations. Coordination of the stipulated divisions of labour as indicated in the organizational chart demands precise and formal job descriptions stipulating routine functions required of each position (and/or category of job classification). In order to make such a chart work, it is also necessary for workers to exercise independent initiative to interpret their own activities with those of others about them.

The architects of the organizational structure (chart) must attempt to accommodate changes 'within' as well as 'of' the organization over time. In this respect the structure must be able to present and represent organizational processes. These processes relate not only to the departmentalization/coordination of work but also to the monitoring and reorganizing activities required of the organization as well.

> Most organizations, whether small groups, business corporations, or social agencies, may be viewed as dynamic social systems whose elements interact with each other and with the surrounding environment to varying degrees (Abels, 1981, p.23).

Hasenfeld (1983) and Abels (1981) draw attention to the need for organizational structures to recognize the dependency they have with the external environment. Because organizational charts picture the parochial interests of an organization, this vital dependency is usually omitted from any structural design. If 'form follows function' as Miner (1982), Tropman (1989) and Abels (1981 have noted, the dynamic processes of an organization should also properly include those government and community resources upon which the organization has dependency and interrelation. The creative organization would formally recognize external relations within the boundaries of its domain as a means of working toward a greater domain consensus. This is especially so in those community organizations which require wide representation on the Board of Directors as an integral part of the organization's operation.

Martin (1988) affirms that the social organization - which is more apt to survive - pays attention to constituents (i.e., major extra-organizational groups) trends and developments beyond its immediate boundaries (pp. 80-82).

There are basically three types of organizational structures:

1) the hierarchical structure represented in 'Theory X' type organizations,

2) the horizontal structure represented in 'Theory Y' organizations, and

3) the quality circle represented in 'Theory Z' type organizations.

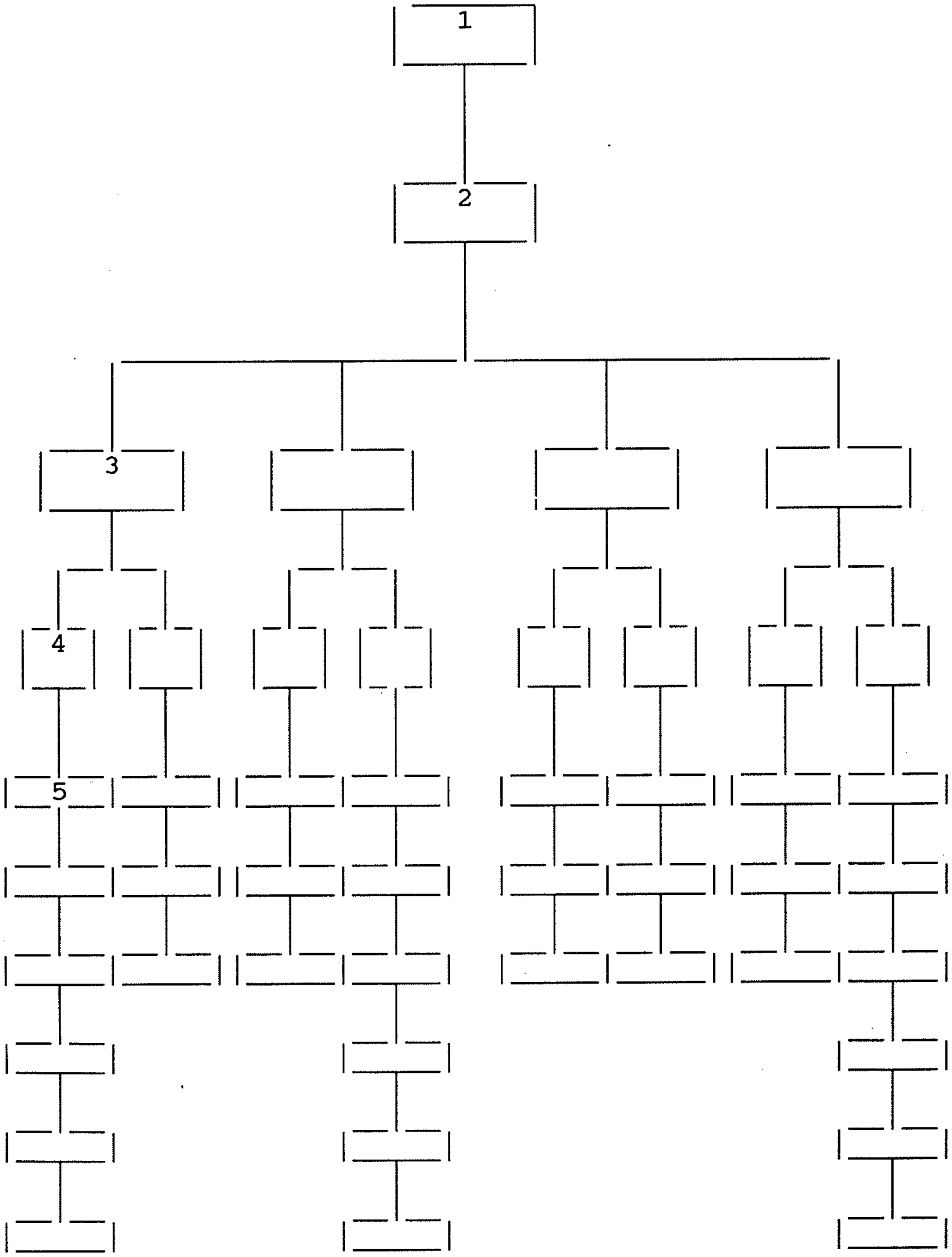
HIERARCHICAL: This structure (See the following diagram) is primarily seen in large, complex and bureaucratically managed organizations and appears in a large pyramidal formation.

> From the normative vantage point...the bureaucratic organization developed as a replacement for charismatic and traditional authority and the unquestioned sovereignty of the lord or his agent (Abels, 1981, p. 26).

Because one of the attributes of the professional role is autonomy, the perception exists that professionalism and bureaucracy are incompatible companions due to the latter's emphasis on coordination and superordinate control. However, as Vogel and Patterson (1986) write:

> ...a functional work structure is most often organized on an hierarchical basis, with a clear 'chain of command' in regards to responsibility and authority...they are highly stable with well-defined roles for each employee (Vogel & Patterson, 1986, p.56).

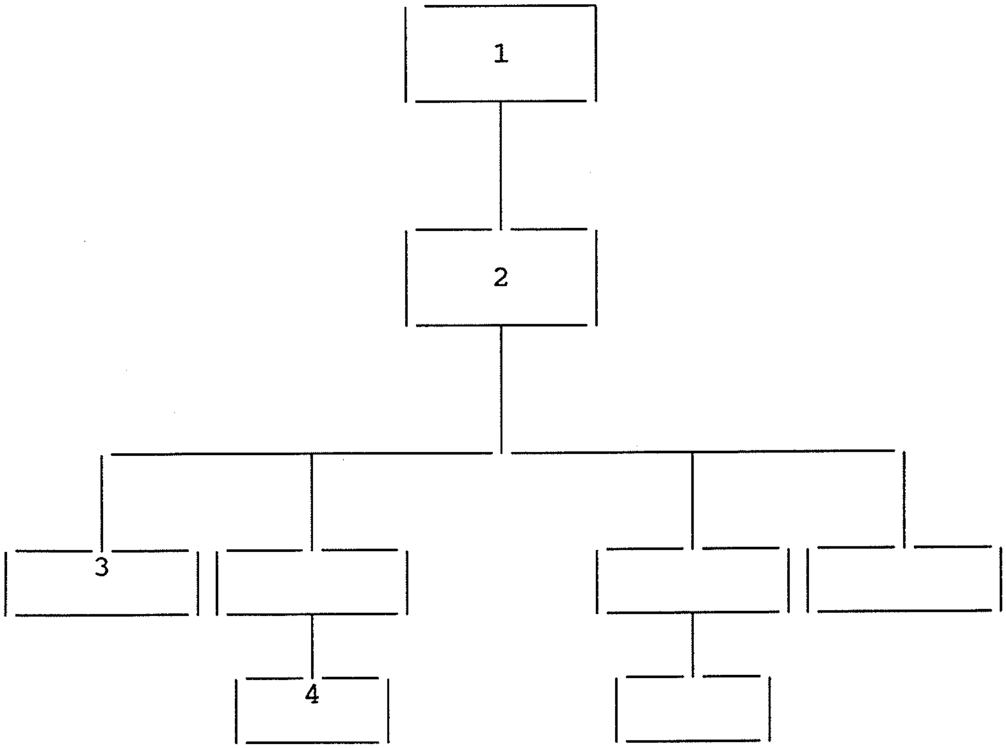
THE HIERARCHICAL STRUCTURE - THEORY 'X'



Key: 1) Board of Directors
2) Executive-Director
3) Directors
4) Supervisors
5) Line Staff

HORIZONTAL: This formation (See the following diagram) reflects a 'flat' organizational structure with only two or three steps. When compared to the multiple levels associated with the large bureaucratic and hierarchical organization, its shape appears as a rather flat pyramid. This format is widely used in collective and/or humanistic organizations whose philosophy incorporates participatory democracy as the basis of authority and communication between all categories of workers including management.

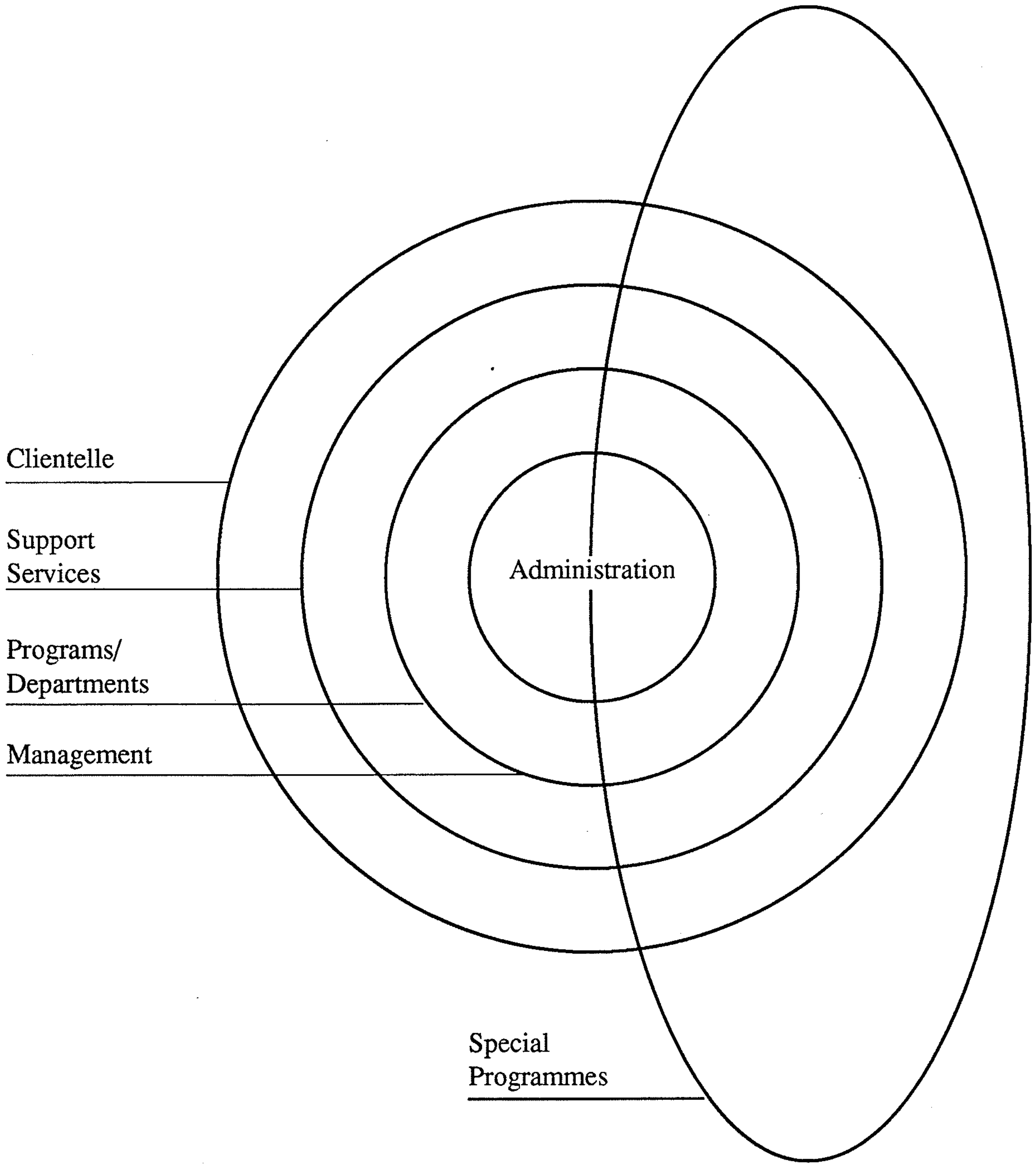
THE HORIZONTAL STRUCTURE - THEORY 'Y'



Key: 1) Board of Directors
2) Program Director
3) Program Coordinators
4) Volunteers

THE ORGANIZATIONAL CIRCLE: This format (Refer to the following diagram) is indicative of Japanese organizational structures and management style (Miner 1982; Tropman, 1989; Smith & Doering, 1988). The organizational circle is illustrated with the administrative function at the centre orbited in turn by management, departments and programs, support services and clientele. Because the executive is located at the core of the organization and not at the 'top' of the structure, relationships are less characterized by dominance. In fact, these orbiting 'planets' are "above" and "beside" the centre (Tropman, 1989). Special programs, not necessarily intended to be permanent programs of the organizations, appear as an elliptical orbit allowing for innovation within the organization. Such a structure is seen to exhibit an 'openness' allowing the executive personnel to have cross-orbital relations with peripheral units. In this formation it is not necessary to have to climb the hierarchy because there is no vertical ascent to the top. Gummer (1990) states that "this activity would fine-tune rather than fundamentally change the organizational system". Gummer also feels that any change would be "symbolic and expressive of feminist ideology" denoting such values as consensus and egalitarianism (p. 139).

Organizational Circle — Theory 'Z'


Clientelle
Support Services
Programs/ Departments
Management
Administration
Special Programmes

When one considers the characteristics and criteria of ASOs (i.e., a collectivist theory model) in keeping with their normative and structural features, this very unique design has interesting appeal. In particular, the 'quality circle' structure allows for an open and accessible flow of communication between management, workers and clientele in keeping with mandated and special program resources, a non-stratified work environment, cohesive rather than prestigious role assignments which would encourage and enhance internal agency relations and morale and allowance for trial and/or transitional program attempts. Because ASOs are dynamic (part of their appeal) rather than static entities, new ways of service provision are often tried on a temporary basis before deciding whether or not such innovations have permanent relevance to the purpose of the agency. This design allows for the inclusion and legitimacy of special programming attempts within its formal structure. Creative programming is seen as part and parcel of the stipulated philosophy and mandate.

2.5 FUNDING PREMISES

THE POLITICS OF FUNDING: Funding is a strategic exercise in politics and planning. That is, ideology and management skills are respectively equal components in the equation of funding. To see the funding process as a 'political game' alone denies the necessity for strategic planning. On the other hand, when the planning strategy is seen as the controlling factor of receiving funds, an organization can fail in its quest for monies by disregarding the political agenda of potential funders. Therefore, regarding the funding process, there is as much a need for understanding the political aspect in the funding request as there is the need for planning the procurement of monies for which an application is being made (Hasenfeld, 1983; Abels, 1981; and Hairstone, 1985). Because ASOs compete with larger traditional social service agencies to receive as great a portion of the funding pie as is possible in a critical time of fiscal restraint, there is a certain degree of 'gamesmanship' required in the procuring of monies to maintain programming. This is not to negate the importance of such critical factors as strategic marketing, strategic planning, fiscal management and responsible monitoring processes. ASOs would do well to consider the technical (i.e., knowledge and skill) but essential requirements of strategic marketing, strategic planning, methods of fiscal management and processes in monitoring budget allocations before rather than after the fact of receiving funds.

Lauffer (1984) provides a succinct definition of strategic marketing. "Strategic marketing is a comprehensive and systematic way of developing the resources you need to provide the services that others need" (p.31). Literature is replete with the call for the need of social services to analyze carefully who they will be servicing (this may mean collaborating with other social agencies as well as clientele in particular); how and in what manner they will provide services (i.e., the mandate being able to meet the needs and challenges from the community as well as government); where they will provide services (i.e., the demographic criteria and constraints); and how they will make their intentions known (i,e., promotional tactics) (Lauffer, 1984; Stoner, 1986; Hart, 1984; Jones, 1984; and Kubicek, 1972).

Strategic marketing can be based on information gathered in a comprehensive needs assessment. Needs assessments are defined in this manner: a "systematic appraisal of the type, depth and scope of a problem" (Rossi & Freeman, 1989, p.68). Therefore, the task of defining and identifying target populations, determining the prevalence of the problem, seeking to develop appropriate ways that will benefit the target population (i.e., planning the program package), and attempting to forecast long-range consequences and needs if interventions are not implemented become the structure upon which strategic marketing is based.

Strategic planning is described as:

> ...those processes and tasks (i.e., direction setting tasks that must be accomplished before management's implementation and monitoring activities take place) required to develop and implement a plan document which is intended to

> move an organization towards its goals. (Webster & Wylie, 1988, p. 27).

McConkey, 1981; Kubicek, 1972; and Eadie, 1983, state that strategic planning concerns itself with establishing the major directions for the organization. Aspects of strategic planning include:

a) a thorough analysis of the mission statement,

b) internal and external audits (i.e., within the perimeters of political, economic and human resource provisions),

c) deciding major programs to pursue (i.e., based on marketing data accumulated from a previous needs assessment), and

d) establishing priority programs (i.e., the identification and selection of the most appropriate means of accomplishing one's objectives) (Kubicek, 1972, pp. 130-137, McConkey, 1981, pp. 24-26 and Eadie, 1983, p.448).

Until recently, strategic planning seemed to be a neglected practice. Faced with severe cut-backs in government funding and increased demands for service (already existent or in need of being provided), social organizations have been forced to reconsider aims, purposes and strategies. Rossi & Freeman (1989) affirm: "...the rise of fiscal conservatism resulted in a decline in governmental and to some extent private foundation support for innovative social programs" (p. 35). Because resource restraints and scrutiny by funding bodies will continue to exist, strategic planning is now considered to be an essential formative process to the on-going survival of social organizations. Accordingly, social agencies are beginning to incorporate strategic planning processes into their operation as an essential exercise conducted at regular intervals (i.e., the practice of formulating acceptable five-year plans).

Strategic planning in a competitive environment demands environmental scanning and an external analysis component. Because competition is seen to be inevitable (e.g., shelters and crisis centres competing for scarce dollars) planners are urged to exploit their 'competitive niche'. Emphasis is directed towards those aspects of programming which are unique, creative and which distinguishes one organization apart from another organization. In so doing, Webster and Wylie (1988) suggest that planners adopt the SWOT model of strategy. This strategy (SWOT) focuses on the strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats which impact on an organization's mission.

Hodges, 1982; and Elkin, 1985, articulate the need for fiscal management processes. Hodges states that:

> ...the accounting system should be designed to measure the program's goals. Conversely, the planning and budgeting processes should consider the need to measure if accounting is to be successful. (p. 10).

Compliance in fulfilling the requirements for financial reporting are equally the concern of funders and others in authority (i.e., board members, management and staff) as is program efficiency and effectiveness. The resultant budget and accounting systems must be able to provide exact information related to the expenditure of monies as they relate to the need, objectives and ability to deliver the services that were formulated in the formation stage.

Monitoring systems are described as "early warning systems" (Kettner & Martin, 1985, p.71) designed to provide information which can be useful in correcting or ensuring that a program direction remains on course. Although the terms monitoring and evaluation are often used interchangeably the former assesses whether a program is operating in conformity to its design, while the latter refers to the extent to which the program caused changes to the target population (Rossi & Freeman, 1989).

PLANNING: FUNDING STRATEGIES AND PROCESSES: In most social service agencies, including ASOs, it is necessary to supplement the core-funding base in a concerted effort to promote and enhance the organization's objectives as well as its presence in the community. This implies moving away from a single main source of funding which in social service areas usually means government (Slavin, 1985, p.3, Elkin, 1985, p. 151). Generally, the prevailing attitude and motivation of non-profit organizations is to be thankful for what you have but by all means go for more. 'Going for more' is the rationale given to supplement those funding proposals that have been granted at less than the requested amounts. Therefore, it is essential to diversify the funding base of the operation. This is achieved by seeking multiple funding sources.

> Experience suggests that the larger the portion of an organization's resources comes from a single source, the greater the control that resource provider can yield. Moving toward multiple sources of funds may mean that new services must be developed or that current service delivery patterns may have to be altered (Elkin, 1985, p.11).

Because ASOs are generally under-funded (Perlmutter, 1988, pp. 1,111), extraordinary effort and time is expended in going after every grant that is deemed to be relevant to the program. Determining the compatibility between funding exigencies and the mandate and objectives of an organization is crucial (Abels, 1981). The inherent danger in going after multiple sources of funding is that of co-optation.

> Programs begun in times of easier fund raising are often forced to compromise and to seek funding regardless of the effect on organizational goals and services. When survival becomes the primary and services the secondary goal, organizations literally lose their reason for being (Abels, 1981, p.74).

Problems associated with multiple sources of funding are two-fold:

1) Reporting mechanisms are usually different for each form of funding received (Elkin,1985, p. 138) and
2) The potential for the organization to become co-opted (Hasenfeld, 1983, pp. 78-79).

Each funder has unique demands in terms of receiving validation for monies which are being provided (Elkin, 1985, p. 149). In realizing that they wish their agendas to be served as well as the organization to whom funds are being given, written reports as well as financial statements must provide them with the assurance that their resources are not being used in ways other than what was originally solicited and contracted. On-site evaluations are not unusual. Officers of the funding source will usually meet with the organization on a quarterly basis to determine that the funds are being properly directed, that the program is on target and that there will be no cost over-runs for which additional funds will be requested (MCWA Proposal: Core-Area Initiative Agreement, January 5, 1984, and the Secretary of State contract, November 3, 1983). Should 'over-runs' be the case, careful negotiations must be entered into as soon as possible to see if alternate options are open to the organization in reaching their program goals.

David Powell (1985) discusses the problem of co-optation. He warns against ASOs bowing to the pressures of funders to the point of which the organization's goals become subtly changed or indistinguishable from other traditional social service agencies. His concern is that

ASOs may become similar to other direct service agencies thus losing their uniqueness of being social change agencies. To reduce the possibility of co-optation, Powell offers three suggestions:

> 1) ASOs should "clarify and define its own goals",
> 2) ASOs should evaluate the goals of potential funders and the impact of accepting funds upon the goals of the ASO, and
> 3) ASOs should decline those funds which would deter the ASO from its goals (Powell, 1985, p.66).

Therefore, in order to supplement any core-funding base, to promote and enhance the ASOs objectives and presence in the community and evolve innovative programming for the intended target population, it becomes imperative for ASOs to move away from any single source of funds.

> Experience suggest that the larger the portion of an organization's resources comes from a single source, the greater the control that resource provider can yield. Moving toward multiple sources of funds may mean that new services must be developed or that current service delivery patterns may have to be altered (Elkin, R. 1985, p.11).

a) Government Grants: Literature is replete with articles which provide us with examples depicting the historical underpinnings whereby governments decide upon an action of providing grants-in-aid as a means of securing minimal standards of health, education and welfare to its citizens. Milward 1980; Whalen, 1971; and Loney, 1976, trace such developments in Canada, the United States of America and Great Britain respectively. Loney (1976), in particular, looks at grant funding in terms of the government's attempt to appease minority groups by maintaining social order while playing the role of legitimizer - that is, the state tries to sustain the view "that they are not the agent of a particular class but rather the benefactor of all" (p.453). He further discusses issues relating to governments advancing political agendas, groups attempting to buy into that political agenda without sacrificing their own ideology and the problems encountered when political agendas change and funding premises shift or are lost.

b) Corporate Sponsorship: Perlmutter (1988) describes one of the funding and resource development needs of an ASO as being "the identification and investigation of potential new funding streams or opportunities" (p.116). Elkin (1985) includes 'corporations' amongst his list of potential economic resources for organizations (p.1) while Hasenfeld's notation of most agencies depending on "private" (p.227) as well as public donors could be said to allude to corporations as one medium of private contribution. Other media of private contribution could be those of foundations or individual benefactors who are kindly disposed towards the aims and purposes of an organization.

Corporate donations are usually seen as 'one of a kind' donations to an organization. It is not usual for an organization to return to a corporation for sequential funding unless relations have been generated to such a degree that it has proven to be highly beneficial to both in terms of profile and publicity. For illustrative purposes, such was the case in February 1983 when the MCWA and Klinic, Inc. (two alternative social organizations in Winnipeg, MB) co-sponsored a provincial conference on wife abuse with Great West Life Assurance Company underwriting many of the promotional expenses.

c) Internal Fund-Raising Efforts: Becoming a 'member' of an organization is a frequently used and primary example of the way in which monies can be generated from within an organization. For a nominal fee individuals or groups purchase the right to vote at annual meetings, receive newsletters to stay abreast of organizational activities, but more importantly, to realize a sense of identity and commitment to the organization. Although money raised in this way is usually very small in comparison to the total budget of the organization, memberships create a pool of interested persons from which the organization can draw strength, vitality and, as appropriate, volunteer service. Michael Fabricant (1986) writes in "Creating Survival Services":

> A brief sketch of the organizational characteristics that are a prerequisite to the effective delivery of survival services must begin with a discussion of the modest and independent funding base of the organization...Potential sources of revenue are private foundations, church groups, patrons, and a constituent or membership groups (p.80).

In summary, the foregoing administrative theories that influence organizational structures and processes as well as the politics and strategies required in the management and monitoring of an organization's funding resources, are directly linked to program evaluation. In keeping with the intent of this study, linkages between organizational theory, structure and funding practices and the MCWA will be made in the case study analysis which will be presented in Chapter Four of this document.

As an introduction to the case study, Chapter three is intended to provide the reader with an historical overview of the political, legal and cultural influences that shaped the environmental landscape of the Manitoba Committee on Wife Abuse.

CHAPTER III

AN HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

The issue of wife battering appears to know no boundaries as related concerns extend across political, legal, social service and cultural jurisdictions. Because Canada is seen and presented as being a multicultural mosaic, it can be said that global perceptions on wife abuse (particularly in the area of traditions, norms and attitudes) are evidenced within the Canadian experience. Therefore, rather than attempting to trace the ground-swell of activity ignited by the Women's Movement toward wife abuse on an international basis, it will be more realistic and relevant to direct the attention of this thesis to events of historical significance specifically within the Canadian scene. The author has carefully chosen cited works which most aptly reflect the political, legal and cultural perspectives concurrent during the time period covered in the research study.

3.1 THE POLITICAL PERSPECTIVE

The Canadian Advisory Council on the Status of Women depicts governmental response to the issue of wife abuse as being broken down within two phases: 'pre-1979' and 'post-1979' (McLeod, 1980, p. 18). From the efforts of grass-roots women movements to federal task forces and to eventual governmental policy provision, the needs of battered women have demanded and received incremental and accumulative attention from Canada's elected officials within federal, provincial and municipal jurisdictions.

Betty Friedan, in her book The Second Stage (1981) spoke out regarding the underestimation of women's influence in "shaping political as well as personal consciousness" (p. 297). Although she was primarily directing her remark at feminists, it is perhaps more accurate to direct her remark to society at large.

> For those whose roots are in the service of life have the strength now to ask, if no one else does, what should government be responsible for, if not for the needs of people in life?...The second stage will reassert our dream of equality...in new terms of human politics...Its passion and strength will come from living the questions in concrete dailiness, wedded to the highest reaches of spirit (Friedan, 1981, p. 339).

THE CANADIAN FEDERAL PERSPECTIVE: In 1977, Homemaker Magazine directed an article at the alarming increase in reported cases of wife battering in Canada. In the article entitled: "I am Joe's Punching Bag" it was stated that..."wife beating is becoming a national past-time in Canada" (page unknown). Such a statement is shocking indeed! In order to understand the context by which an assertion of this type is made, it is important, for the following reasons, to give some historical perspective to the problem of wife abuse:

a) Wife abuse is not just a modern-day phenomenon,

b) Wife abuse can not be linked to any particular social class or ethnic group, and

c) Wife abuse is not just a sympton of social decay, rather it can be linked to prevailing social attitudes with respect to the secondary position of women in society.

From the following examples in history, we can learn much about the political, legal and cultural norms and practices that have given shape to our world today. In particular reference to Canada, the following examples were cited in a public speaking educational training session: McLeod, L. (1980) Wife Battering in Canada: The Vicious Circle; Schlessinger, B. (?) Abused Wives: Canada's Silent Screamers; Small, S. E. (?) Wife Assault: An Overview of the Problem in Canada and Martin, D. (1977) Battered Wives:

a) The first known written laws concerning wife abuse date from about 2500 BC. Apparently, if a woman verbally abused her husband, her name was to be engraved on a brick, and the brick was then to be used to bash out her teeth.

b) Long established patriarchal attitudes, continuing to this day, regard a married woman as the property of her husband. Consequently, her energy and her body are at his disposal. It is the opinion of this author that patriarchy, by definition, can not of itself be blamed for violence. Rather, it is abuse within/of a patriarchal system of society that breeds violence. On one hand, the practices and processes of patriarchy can be kind, generous, empowering and fulfilling to individual needs. On the other hand, when the concept is misinterpreted, ensuing practices and processes become harmful, selfish, repressive and demeaning to personal actualization. The choice, between the two options, is one of human decision. A further explanation of this concept, within the context of norms and attitudes, will be provided later in the chapter.

c) An old Chinese proverb: 'A woman married is like a pony, bought to be ridden or whipped at the master's pleasure'.

d) In ancient Rome a man had the right to life and death over his wife and children.

e) During the Punic Wars, Roman women managed the cities while the men were away at war. When the men returned, the women were able to hold on to some of the power and wealth. Along with their greater financial independence women gained power over their persons as well. They won the right to divorce, and wife abuse was reduced.

f) During the witch-hunts of the Middle Ages, some women went to the stake for scolding, nagging or talking back to their husbands.

g) The Middle Ages was a period when wife beating was openly encouraged in Christian, Jewish and Muslim religions in countries across Europe. Husbands, for example, could kill their wives for adultery without fear of punishment. Wives, at all times, were expected to give absolute obedience to their husbands.

h) In 1857 a woman was allowed to apply for a legal separation based on grounds of cruelty but, before being considered, the cruelty had to be habitual and severely damaging. Petitions of divorce were granted only in those cases where adultery had taken place.

i) In the Isle of Sark, husbands are still allowed to beat their wives as long as they do not "damage the eyes, break the arms or legs or make blood run".

j) Before 1968, Canadian women could only claim alimony for cruelty if they could prove that it was excessive and involved danger to life, limb or mental and bodily health. Although the grounds for divorce, on the basis of cruelty were broadened in 1968, the more restrictive definition remained in effect for some time before a more liberal trend appeared. In this regard, when attitudes and behaviours persist for extended periods beyond changes that have taken place in political, legal and social arenas, the term 'social lag' is applied.

Later in this chapter, under the section involving legal perspectives, the British 'Rule of Thumb' will be addressed. Not only will this common law be stated in fact, it will also be addressed in terms of its persisting influence within the law enforcement and judiciary responses of today.

Del Martin (1977) strongly advocated for remedial legislation. Remedial legislation implies that social change, if it is to be lasting, requires political and legislative adoption. To the presumptuous dictum - "You can't legislate attitudes" Martin retorts:

> ..."The public must be educated to the issue and legislators must be actively pressured into dealing with the problem...given the force of law and the necessary funding for programs that will realize its original intent, behaviour and, subsequently attitudes, can be modified" (p.175).

A consultation conducted by the Canadian Advisory Council on the Status of Women (1980) directed its energies into taking the social problem of wife battering from the private domain of the family into the public arena of politics. The CACSW recommended legislative change at both the judiciary and the health and welfare levels of federal government jurisdiction. To maintain that wife battering was "a private event caused by individual peculiarities or by 'abnormal' family interaction" (p. 12) was to allow government to abscond from their legislative responsibility of securing a just society for each of its citizens. The redefinition of wife battering as a crime against women, despite the initial embarrassed giggles from some members of parliament, was to place societal pressure upon elected officials of government to address this important social issue.

Bolstered by documented cases and experiences stemming from shelters, transition and crisis centres across Canada, the CACSW Consultation on Wife Battering was successful in asserting the credibility of women's groups across Canada in their grass root endeavours to deal with the issue of wife battering. In their report, the CACSW consultants made recommendations to government which included "broadening the base of support for the inclusion of the women's perspective in controlling directions for change" (p. 4).

In Canada, women's groups spearheaded efforts into providing shelters for battered women from about 1973 onward. With grants from Local Initiative Program provisions (Martin, 1977), shelters appeared in Toronto, Vancouver, Calgary, Saskatoon, Montreal and Winnipeg. The federal government, to that point in time, had directed its focus of attention on 'family violence' (as a more general category) with the abuse needs of battered children. The resultant government response, therefore, involved the particular funding of various initiatives geared to the research and treatment of child abuse rather than the protection and provision of legal, support and treatment services for the battered woman with her dependant children.

In March, 1979, the Ministry of Justice, the Department of the Solicitor-General and the Department of Health and Welfare attempted to coordinate a comprehensive approach to a major study on violence. This study was to "look at violence against spouses and women, violence in the family and crisis assistance in communities" (CACSW, 1980, p. 19). Nothing concrete emerged from this particular effort. Linda McLeod's report, Wife Battering in Canada: The Vicious Circle in January, 1980 was to change all that.

McLeod reported that "one in ten married women in Canada - or approximately 500,000 women - are battered by their husbands every year" (p. 1). Information in her report was gathered from statistics provided by seventy-three shelters and transition houses across Canada as well as interviews from battered women themselves. McLeod concluded that wife battering is not just one problem, but an entanglement of problems. For example, there were obvious health implications as women's bodies were being bruised, broken and burned. Legal problems were enhanced merely by the fact that prior to March, 1983 wife battering was considered to be defacto - that is, although wife battering was indeed a crime, it was not dealt with as a crime. Economicaly, women were disadvantaged by being dependant on their husbands for any source of income or being under-paid in the work place. The minimal amount of money women had at their disposal precluded any attempt to escape a violent home environment. Too frequently blamed by societal attitudes regarding the abuse they received, women perceived a diminished right to protection. This particular perception precipitated a recognizable civil rights problem. Finally, there were educational problems primarily directed at the need of battered women to regain admission into the workplace. Accordingly, vocational assessment, counselling and re-training opportunities were required.

H. Rapp Brown, a 1960's social activist, has reportedly made the statement that "violence is as American as apple pie". If this is indeed the case, we can therefore conclude that violence has become so ingrained within the framework of the family that we either do not know any better or we have become inured to its consequences. Is it any wonder, therefore, that Lenore Walker (1979) comments: "Today providing help for battered women is fast becoming a national priority" (p. 185). Walker, 1979; Martin, 1977; McLeod, 1980; and Roy, 1983 call for education on "a wide societal level to increase the general awareness about the incidence, severity and characteristics of wife battering..." (McLeod, 1980, p. 4).

a) The Standing Committee Report on Violence in the Family: Led by Marcel Roy, Member of Parliament, the Standing Committee on Health, Welfare and Social Affairs (1982) was mandated to examine, inquire and report "appropriate measures for the prevention, identification and treatment of abused persons involved in intrafamily violence and in particular to address the issue of battered wives and dependants..." (p. 3). In recognizing the work of government in the area of child abuse already in process and acknowledging the growing concern of elder abuse within the Canadian community but not having sufficient information on the subject for inclusion at the time, the Standing Report to Government primarily focussed on wife battering. In keeping with its mandate, the Standing Committee made a number of recommendations on a wide variety of subjects. For example, the report made recommendations related to the training of RCMP officers and the manner in which responses to cases of wife abuse were administered.

> Each officer should have an understanding of the problem of wife battering; he or she should also be willing and able to guide the victim to an emergency shelter, and to give her accurate information about the legal and other services available to her in or near the community (Recommendation 1, p.19).

Further recommendations related to law enforcement officers included the following:

1) That Orders of Recognizance, which are invoked to prevent further abuse and harrassment from an abusive partner, be enforced and registered on a provincial and nation-wide computer system. "Such orders would include recognizances to keep the peace, bail conditions and probation orders". Therefore, should any breach of the order occur "that results in violence or is accompanied by a threat of violence", an arrest of the assailant "or some

other measure" will occur in order to protect the victim (Recommendation 17: A.B.) and

2) "A proposal that the police regularly lay charges in wife assault cases" (Recommendation 17:C, p. 21).

While calling for the adequate funding of existing and on-coming emergency shelters for the victim on one hand, members of the Standing Committee also recognized the need for treatment groups for the offender on the other hand. It was proposed, that as an alternative to sentencing and at the discretion of the judge, referral of "the accused for treatment if referral is not contrary to the public interest" could be considered (Recommendation 17:E,F, p. 21).

In regards to this latter recommendation, Kie Delgaty, (1984) documents the growth of treatment groups for persons who batter commencing in 1978. At that time, Donald Dutton, a Vancouver psychologist began treatment for men referred by the courts. Within two years, treatment groups for abusive men were evidenced in Toronto, Windsor and London, Ontario. By 1984, Delgaty lists twenty-one treatment groups in seven provinces across Canada.

The report further called for research into "the causes of wife battering and the development of different attitudes towards violent behaviour" (p. 26) as well as public education. The necessity to hold federal-provincial conferences "on the enforcement and administration of the law" (e.g., the People's Law Conference, 1984) was encouraged. The appointment of additional superior court judges to handle family matters in order "to prevent any delay caused by processing such [civil] orders through county or superior courts" (Recommendation 15: p.21) was also stated. In recognizing that the actual provision of social services to battered women would fall within provincial jurisdictions, (with funding allocated through federal-provincial cost-share programs, e.g., The Canadian Assistance Plan), the report primarily confined itself to areas of federal jurisdiction. Further to the above-mentioned recommendations, suggestions were also given in areas dealing with the rights of the battered woman and her dependant children to remain in the family home without continuing harassment from the abusive spouse; the right to receive easily available temporary emergency funds from welfare agencies; and the creation of advocacy services for battered women (e.g., second-stage housing and women's support groups).

b) The National Clearinghouse on Family Violence: The Canadian Federal Government created a particular program within the National Health and Welfare Department to serve as an educational and research component on the subject of wife abuse to the government and public, in general. Its mandate was to provide a 'hands on' approach to the gathering, cataloguing and distribution of research and educational material to individuals and groups interested in and/or responding to the problem of wife battering. The program, named The National Clearinghouse on Domestic Violence, had its counter-part in the United States of America based in Maryland, USA.

On a monthly basis, the Maryland, USA National Clearinghouse on Domestic Violence would provide a publication entitled Response. Following the example of this previously established publication, the Canadian National Clearinghouse on Family Violence issued a quarterly publication entitled Vis-a-Vis. The format and content of both references contained educational material related to specific responces to domestic violence (e.g., legal, religious, military, medical) as well as maintaining current exposure to literature, conferences, and up-dates in activities from across the nation.

THE PROVINCIAL PERSPECTIVE: As previously mentioned, provincial governments rely on federal government cost-share dollars (i.e., for each dollar spent on an eligible program as defined under the Canada Assistance Plan Agreement, fifty cents would be provided by the federal government and fifty cents would be provided by a provincial government) before committing themselves to funding social services. To supplement existent funding bases, provinical governments also created 'make-work' programs whereby grant requests could be made regarding a specific need. These employment programs, of short-term duration, usually extended for periods of twenty weeks. The Manitoba Employee Assistance Program (MEAP) is an example of this kind of funding program. Therefore, social service agencies (including programs for battered women) could request additional term-position staff to complete a specific project (e.g., the preparation of a volunteer training manual).

History has proven, that similiar to federal government involvement, the preponderance of provincial government involvement in the area of wife abuse has been in the post-1979 period.

a) Shelters: During the pre-1979 years, provincial governments in Canada provided limited funding to a relatively few number of shelters (primarily within 'hub' centres - e.g., Toronto, Montreal, Saskatoon, Calgary, Vancouver, Halifax) on a year-to-year basis. Provincial government support in Manitoba did not begin until November, 1979 when the sole shelter for Winnipeg - Osborne House - was threatened with closing "due to lack of permanent funding and budget difficulties" (Peterkin, 1980, p. 24). Following this precedent setting action, the Manitoba government would provide funding to additional shelters in Thompson, Brandon and The Pas. In providing funding to emergency shelters, the provincial government also determined what they considered to be an adequate length of stay for any battered woman and her children in a shelter environment. The perception that the needs of battered women and their children could be met within a ten day period has not changed since 1980. During this time period, the battered woman was to receive appropriate referrals to financial, legal and housing resources sufficient to guarantee her safe return to the community. Despite this guideline, each situation was dealt with on an individual basis. (In some rural and northern areas where housing is considered to be at a premium, the duration of stay for battered women and children in a shelter environment may extend for several weeks).

b) Crisis Centres: Incrementally, additional crisis centres in rural and northern areas (e.g., Dauphin, Portage la Prairie, Flin Flon, and Swan River) would commence with the mandate to provide referral, counselling and supportive services only. Chapter Four will outline the provincial government's commitment to the formation of the MCWA contingent on CAP funding and the subsequent development of numerous other crisis centres to battered women in both rural and northern areas of the province resultant from the MCWA Rural Development Program.

c) Second-Stage Housing Proposal: In Manitoba, in approximately 1983, (this would also correspond with similiar developments in other provinces of Canada) a desire to provide "second-stage" housing for battered women evolved. Spurred by the recommendations of the Standing

Committee on Violence in the Family (May, 1982) concerned women from a variety of women's groups formed a committee entitled WISH - Women In need of Second-stage Housing. Their efforts came to fruition in 1985 when the provincial government, through the auspices of the Manitoba Regional Housing Corporation, made provision for battered women with dependant children to have a prolonged period to recover from their individual traumas. These families, upon securing social assistance programming available to them and having received a restraining order against their abusive husbands, would continue to receive supportive direction and opportunities for vocational re-training in order to secure a more favourable adjustment to independant living in the community. Other provinces within Canada, (e.g., British Columbia and Ontario), would take the injunction of the federal standing report to secure:

> #7) ...the use of the provisions of the National Housing Act which relate to loans and contributions to charitable associations and corporations, for the specific purpose of acquiring or constructing emergency and second stage housing for battered women.
> #8) The Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation should be encouraged to direct that a certain number of units in housing subsidized by the Corporation be set aside as second stage or permanent housing for battered women with children (Roy, 1982, pp.19-20).

THE MUNICIPAL (LOCAL) PERSPECTIVE: Who are the real heros/heroines? Without exception, examples of caring, support and intervention to battered woman commenced with individual acts of kindness and daring before villages, towns and cities rallied to join the ground-swell of activity in meeting yet another social problem. Martin (1977) and Walker (1979) give credit to Erin Pizzey "who founded the first known refuge in England in 1971" (Walker, 1979, p. 192). Yet, experiences are now becoming known whereby an individual family sheltered a battered woman for as long as was deemed necessary prior to 1971. For example, in 1983, a rural woman in Rossburn, Manitoba informed a community gathering (the intent of the meeting was to initiate safe-homes in the area) that her husband and herself had been providing shelter to battered women in their farm house for a period of approximately twenty-five years. The point being, that while all credit is due to Erin Pizzey for her courage and effort in galvanizing world attention to the plight of battered women in the early 1970's, there has no doubt been numerous unknown persons who with all diligence have supported and attended to the needs of the many battered women.

a) Women's Groups: Grass-root movements tend to grow out from individual acts of caring. In recognizing these indigenous groups it is recorded in the CACSW report: Wife Battering is Everywoman's Issue: "The CACSW should remind the government that in the area of wife battering the government should act as a catalyst behind the grass-roots organizations" (p.26). This report exhorts government officials to recognize that women dealing with this particular issue at the grass-root level should be considered as experts and as such should be involved in all areas of planning and implementation related to any government initiated action. Manitoba is no exception. The Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA), the Manitoba Action Committee on the Status of Women, the Manitoba Advisory Council on the Status of Women, The Women's Institute of Manitoba and the Provincial Council of Women are only some of the grass-root founders of services to battered women. Their activities varied according to their acknowledged areas of expertise. Some lobbied government while others engaged in fund-raising and securing donations of furniture and furnishings to give to others who had been able to secure an actual refuge. Together, they championed the cause of battered women in a united manner.

b) Inter-agency Concern: Following the tide of grass-roots agitation, non-traditional community agencies and social activists joined together to devise a coordinated and inter-connected resource network of interested and involved persons to tackle this newly acknowledged social problem. Composed of academics, psychological consultants, social workers, members of the legal community and former victim's of battering, an informal association was formed to assess, share and expand the skills represented within the group.

The Battered Women's Committee of Winnipeg (1978-1982) is an illustration of this type of resource network. A professor from the School of Social Work, a clinical psychologist from a community health agency, family counselling practitioners, a battered woman, the coordinator of the shelter and a community relations policeman were key persons who pooled their combined skills and expertise for the purpose of supporting and supplementing existent but meager shelter services at Osborne House at that particular time. Disbanded due to increasing professional demands on individual members and the assurance of provincial government input into funding as well as the securing of an appropriate shelter residence, the Battered Women's Committee of Winnipeg concluded that they had fulfilled their primary objectives. However, realizing the need to maintain political and public awareness and attention to the issue of wife battering, a core group of individuals representing a handful of social agencies formed the Committee Against Violence in the Family (CAVIF). The mandate of CAVIF (1982-1983) was strictly educational. Its mandate was to prepare and present an educational kit for public and professional use.

An increasing need to coordinate and share skills and expertise has led to the formation of committees within professions to prepare service protocols and manuals on the topic of domestic violence. Examples include:

a) A handbook sponsored by The Law Society of Manitoba and the Canada Department of Justice - Denyse Cote (Publication Date not recorded in the pamphlet) A Legal Handbook for Women in Abusive Relationships,

b) A booklet prepared and written by the Department of the Attorney-General (1985) Family Law in Manitoba 1985, and

c) A step-by-step guide for social workers prepared by the Canadian Association of Social Work Administrators in Health Facilities: Domestic Violence Protocol Manual: For Social Workers in Health Facilities (1985).

3.2 THE LEGAL PERSPECTIVE

The issue of wife-battering and the law share a long history. Laws prohibiting assault and aggravated battery have been codified through legislation as well as court decision in every jurisdiction throughout this nation and the international community. However, when the application of the law involves parties in a conjugal relationship, its protection becomes ambiguous.

> The sanctity of the family home pervades the world of law enforcement. A man's home is his castle, and police, district attorneys, and judges hesitate to interfere with what goes on behind that tightly closed door (Martin, D. 1977, p. 88).

Jacqueline Dupuis (1983) of the Department of Community Health presented a paper entitled Violence Towards Women.

In the course of her presentation, Dupuis outlined "certain historical occurrences which helped create a relationship of dominator and dominated between men and women" (p. 4). For example, Dupuis states that in Roman times the word 'family' meant power for the husband in exercizing complete control over property, slaves and family. Including the use of physical force, the husband could exercise his control in any way he deemed necessary. Within English law, women were considered to be necessary and inseparable possessions of their husbands. From as early as 1758 A.D. the husband, supported by the church and state, was afforded the authority to punish or chastise his spouse. Similarly in America, as late as 1824, a man was invested with the legal authority to strike his wife. Within Canada, the values and norms of Quebec society (based on a civil code rather than the common law) gave the husband the authority and ownership over his wife. Equality within domestic relationships was not stipulated until 1980 when Bill 89 accorded the husband and wife to be equal partners sharing equal rights and obligations within the marriage relationship.

THE PAST: THE 'RULE OF THUMB': Our Canadian legal heritage, derived from English civil law, condoned wife beating. The above references to English and American experiences and the application of law is based on 'the rule of thumb'. In 1765, William Blackstone referred to 'the rule of thumb' which affirmed a man's right - "to chastise his wife with a whip or rattan no bigger than his thumb, in order to enforce saluatory restraints of domestic discipline" (Martin, 1977, p. 32; Walker, 1977). The intent was not to sanction previously unsanctioned violence but to put some restraint on a form of violence that was widely accepted by society. Blackstone allowed that a man could chastise his wife physically to the extent that he would correct his apprentices or children.

Outright legal support for wife-beating was gradually withdrawn. By 1829 the courts were no longer following this 'rule of thumb'. However, the legal right of a husband to physically restrain his wife was not completely abolished until 1890. Regardless of this seeming legal reform, the 'rule of thumb' continued in effect. In those cases where women continued to be beaten it was almost impossible for her to obtain any practical relief. For example, in 1857, a woman was allowed to apply for a legal separation on the grounds of cruelty, but the cruelty had to be habitual and severely damaging before it could be considered. Divorce could only be obtained on the additional grounds of adultery. Although the grounds for divorce on the basis of cruelty were broadened (but not until 1968), the more restrictive definition remained in effect. Del Martin (1977) records that the Supreme Court of North Carolina disavowed the 'Rule of Thumb' when it stated:

> "...the husband has no right to chastise his wife under any circumstances...[However] if no

> permanent injury has been inflicted, nor malice, cruelty nor dangerous violence shown by the husband, it is better to draw the curtain, shut out the public gaze, and leave the parties to forget and forgive".
> ...Unless the battery was so great as to result in permanent injury, endanger life and limb, or be malicious beyond all reasonable bounds...the court would not interfere (pp. 32-33).

A double standard for the definition of assault was the twentieth century Canadian version of the 'rule of thumb'. From 1909 to 1965, there was a special offense related to wife-beating in the criminal code. It provided for a maximum penalty of up to two years upon proof that actual bodily harm had been received by the victim.

In order to avoid the homes of the nation turning into battle fields, McLeod (1980) called for new rules, procedures and family roles, based on equality.

THE PRESENT: LAW ENFORCEMENT DIRECTIVES AND JUDICIARY RESPONSES: Historically, as well as currently, the ambivalence of the domestically assaulted victim was alleged as being the reason why law enforcement officers were reluctant to lay charges. Police argue, why lay charges against the offender when the woman will only drop the charges, return to the relationship and the case will be dropped before going to the court? Why expend time and risk personnel in an emotionally volatile situation in which the life of the law enforcement officer is at risk whenever they are called upon to respond to a domestic scene? It was further considered that the law enforcement officer had no jurisdiction to cross over the threshold of the domestic unit. Therefore, unless the police officer had actually witnessed an assault taking place, the onus was on the woman to lay assault charges against her offender. The most to be expected from a law enforcement officer was a directive to 'keep the peace'. On occasion, some police officers would suggest that the explosive partner "take a walk and blow off steam" before returning to the home. To the aggravation of the victim, this type of suggestion was of no particular solution or resolution to the dispute in question. Consequently, police estimated that 80% of domestic abuse calls were to the same addresses (as provided in conversations with several law enforcement officers during 1983).

From the perspective of the battered woman, The Canadian Urban Victimization Survey (1981), as reported by Holly Johnson, depicted the following: 6 out of [every] 10 women (59%) did not report the assault to the police because they viewed the incident as a "personal matter"; a similar number (58%) did not believe that the police would be effective and 52% cited "fear of revenge" (p.19) as the reason why police were not contacted. Thirty-five percent wished to protect the offender. Of those women who did make contact with the police at the time of the incident, 63% rated the performance of the police as "favourable"; 73% felt the police were "courteous"; 68% rated the police as responding promptly and only one-half (52%) of the women felt that they were properly informed on the progress of the investigation and actual court processes.

In a pro-active stance by the Police Chief in London, Ontario (May, 1981) police officers there received a directive stipulating that assault charges would be laid in all those cases where there was probable reason to believe that a domestic assault had taken place. This announcement (despite its confinement to a single local jurisdiction) - the first of its kind in Canadian history, set the stage for a provincial-wide initiative established by the Province of Manitoba in 1983.

A MCWA document (1983) depicts the strategy and rationale toward getting the Attorney-General's approval for law enforcement officers in Manitoba to obtain the same powers of discretion as their Ontario counter-parts. In July, 1982, twenty-three persons, representing a variety of interest groups, attended The Honourable Roland Penner's office to lobby the provincial government into funding the Manitoba Committee on Wife Abuse. In the course of discusssion, the Attorney-General asked, "What can I do?" It was brought to Mr. Penner's attention that of all assaults being processed only 3 to 5% were designated as domestic violence charges and usually 97% of these "domestic cases" would be requested for withdrawal by the spouse for fear of recrimination and further violence (as indicated by police officers to this author in verbal conversations on more than one occasion). Therefore it was pointedly urged that the Attorney-General remove the onus from the woman of having to lay assault charges against her partner and to re-direct this responsibility to law enforcement officers. The precedent-setting example of the London, Ontario Police Department was cited as a basis for this request. The Attorney-General responded: "I think I can do something about that".

On February 11, 1983, the Honourable Roland Penner, Attorney-General for the Province of Manitoba, announced the following new directive to all law-enforcement officers:

> ...that all police forces in the province have been requested to institute criminal proceedings in all cases where a spouse has been assaulted. Mr Penner stated tht where a police officer has reasonable and probable grounds to believe that a spouse (almost always the wife) has been assaulted, the police have been requested to lay the appropriate criminal charge, e.g. Common Assault, Assault Causing Bodily Harm, Sexual Assault (Press Release, February 11, 1983).

In keeping with the above-named public announcement, the Attorney-General issued a letter to law enforcement officers in the province outlining the policy and process upon which the directive was issued:

a) law enforcement officers were to lay charges in all cases of domestic assault,

b) the Crown Attorney's were not to enter a stay of proceedings without substantial reason,

c) in those instances where the battered woman requested the case to be withdrawn, the Crown Attorney was to meet with the woman (complainant) and try to encourage her to proceed, and

d) in all serious cases of domestic assault (i.e., where their was grievous bodily injury) the Crown Attorney would proceed with the designated charges in court regardless of the reversed wishes of the battered woman (Penner, February 7, 1983).

Bolstered by the recommendations of the Standing Committee Report on Violence in the Family (1982): Wife Battering and the Standing Committee Report of the Legislature of Ontario on Social Development (December, 1982) the directive was quickly enforced. The next day, the following exerpt was recorded in a Toronto newspaper:

> Assault is assault, at least in Manitoba from now on...It is a sound practise which should be adopted across Canada (Globe and Mail, Saturday, February 12, 1983).

Within six months time, all of the other Canadian Provinces and the Territories had responded in a similar manner.

However, in order for such an initiative to be successful, accountability would be required on a four-fold basis: that is, on the part of police officers and RCMP to lay charges; on Crown Attorneys to process charges; by judges in the expedition of assault charges; and on social services to accommodate the victims through counselling, support and advocacy services while making provision for treatment groups for the offenders. At the time of the directive, the designated members of the law enforcement and judiciary bodies relegated the coordination of support services to the Manitoba Committee on Wife Abuse which had just opened its doors on January 3, 1983. Immediate linkage between already existent counselling and support programs within the City of Winnipeg was considered necessary (e.g., Klinic, Family Services of Winnipeg, Osborne House, Mount Carmel Clinic, Cornerstone Counselling Centre and the Victims Assistance Program). As well, the Program Coordinator of the MCWA was to prepare and provide to the Attorney-General, for circulation among all law enforcement officers in the Province of Manitoba, a similiar list of rural services including all existent shelters and rural crisis centres, public health offices, legal and community social services known to be involved and sensitive to the issue of wife abuse (Report located in Manitoba Archives).

Despite the many congratulatory letters received by the Attorney-General's Office stating support for the directive (from within Manitoba as well as most of the other provinces across Canada) the directive received a mixed review by some groups within the social service community. There was an understandable apprehension directed toward the unknown and unpredictable demands that would be imposed on their services. Therefore, in an effort to expand and create further linkages with treatment services throughout the

Province of Manitoba, the facilitation of a treatment-oriented conference was proposed and conducted through the shared auspices of Klinic and The Manitoba Committee on Wife Abuse in February, 1984.

In actual fact, 1,387 charges were laid province-wide within a period of ten months following the announcement of the directive by the Attorney-General. Some law enforcement officers, in conversation, indicated that this number represented a 1200% increase in the number of domestic assault charges being laid when compared to previous years. Despite this dramatic increase in assault charges there was a corresponding decrease in recidivism rates (i.e., the number of times a police officer would be called to the same address) as well as requests to withdraw assault charges by the battered woman (varying between 15-25% on each reported quarter). Repeat calls to the same residence, in rural areas of the province, dramatically decreased from an orally reported estimate of 80% (prior to the directive) to that of 8% (as recorded in RCMP statistics). Bernie Dionne, a constable with the Victim's Services of the Winnipeg Police Department during this time-period, verbally reported a similiar decrease in recidivism within the City of Winnipeg. Therefore, it is apparent that the Province of Manitoba was able to replicate similar findings as had the City of London, Ontario, namely: "The processing of charges against abusers appears to decrease the amount of violence in the relationship" (as reported in the Ontario Standing Committee

Report of December 1982 and recorded in the Press Release by the Attorney-General's Department, February 10, 1983).

1983 SPOUSE ABUSE STATISTICS
(Following the Directive of the Attorney-General, Feb/83)

	Winnipeg	Rural	Total	%
# of Persons Accused/ Involved	629	1124	1753	
# of Charges Laid(*)	824	563	1387	
# of Charges Stayed (**)	281 (34%)	50 (9%)	33	24%
# of Charges Dismissed	104 (13%)	16 (3%)	120	9%
# of Convictions (***)	269 (43%)	215(19%)	484	28%
# of Charges Before the Courts (****)	131 (16%)	354(63%)	485	35%
Repeat Calls to Same Residence of Calls Received	(not provided)	60/751 or 8%.		

Legend:

* - Appears that the circumstances are different in rural areas than in urban areas based on the ratio of number of persons involved compared to the number of persons charged (i.e., the directive could have been "interpreted and enforced differently" or "different data collection and recording procedures" could have been utilized - Ursel, 1984, p. 14).

** - Reflects charges and not persons involved.

*** - Reflects the number of individuals dealt with Vs. the number of charges.

**** - As reflected on a quarterly basis by the RCMP as opposed to the City of Winnipeg annual statement of total cases. The rural statistic may be indicative of the following difficulties:

a) Some of the charges may have been carried over from one period to another therefore being counted more than once,

> b) Extreme tardiness within the rural circuit court system (in some areas a court is held on a monthly basis only),
> c) Defence tactics resulted in numerous remands.
> (Ursel, 1984, pp. 20,21)

A Domestic Violence Court, (i.e., one court, one judge, one crown attorney) was also envisioned. In view of the unpredictably large numbers of offenders who were being processed through the judicial system, it became obvious that the existing court mechanism was inadequate. In actual progress of development, the judicial system worked in the following manner:

a) Verbal reports, from battered women and family law/criminal law lawyers, confirmed that prior to February 11, 1983, any charge being processed through the court system would take eight to ten months to complete.

b) Between February 11, 1983 and November 14, 1983, all assault charges were channelled into the Docket Court system which allowed 90 days between the time of arraignment and that of expedition. To many advocates of the battered woman, this three month time-period was still considered to be unsatisfactory. These advocates argued that if the intention of an efficient court process was to effect deterrence and prevention, then a hasty expedition of assault charges was necessary. In support of this position Dr. Peter Jaffe, a clinical psychologist, provided the following statement at the People's Law Conference (1984): "Time is the greatest enemy of the battered woman". Dr. Jaffe explained, that unless assault charges were dealt with in a competant and expedient manner, the battered woman would remain in fear of reprisal and at risk in the community to which she wished to return.

c) By November 14, 1983, only one half of all the assault charges had progressed through the court system. In order to capitalize on directing the assailant to treatment services and the victim to support services without further overloading existing court dockets, a one court, one judge, one crown attorney system was proposed and implemented. In adopting this model, it was hoped that the expedition of assault charges could take place within a 10-14 day period (following the disposition of back-loads). In recommending to the court that the offender be mandated to attend treatment groups to curtail his aggressive behaviour, assault charges were seen as being handled in a preventive and positive manner rather than being suspended or dismissed. The monitoring of such dispositions would also be possible.

In fact, the effectiveness of the court system fell short of what had been anticipated. However, the expedition of assault charges did decrease from an eight to ten month time period to an approximate three month time period. In rural areas, and in keeping with problems inherent within the circuit court system, legal delays thwarted all attempts to expedite charges within an initial three to six month period dating from the time of the assault.

In a booklet entitled, Family Law in Manitoba 1985, we read the following preface prepared by the Honourable Roland Penner:

> Throughout Canada, and even beyond our national borders, Manitoba is recognized as a leader in progressive and fair legislation affecting the family. Over the last three years, legislation has been passed and programs developed to assist all members of families that have broken down. Special attention has been given to the protection of women and children...Procedures have been changed to improve access to the legal system, and to increase the efficiency of the court system (p. v).

3.3 THE CULTURAL PERSPECTIVE

Most human beings, regardless of ethnicity, religion and economic or educational status are repulsed by acts of violence. When we hear or read of violent acts, whether those acts of malevolence be directed against an individual or group - familial or non-familial, a sense of outrage and horror is triggered. If acts of violence which are considered to be unacceptable to human conduct provoke such responses, how do we explain its incorporation (as a way of life) within our society? Nations go to war against one another, countries experience internal civil unrest, communities fear gang retaliation within/across defined boundaries and families reel under the shock of individual acts of atrocity between members. An American shelter for battered women, for fund-raising and educational purposes, had printed on T-shirts - "World Peace Begins At Home". The power of that simple slogan remains indelible. In 1984, a shortened version of that particular T-shirt slogan was printed on pins to be sold at a Manitoba province-wide conference co-sponsored by the MCWA and Klinic. The pin, which attracted great attention at the conference as well as on the street simply read: Peace Begins At Home.

Consider the processes of culture, education and socialization which shape our attitudes and behaviours that will require re-shaping if within the ordinary discourses of our human activities and relationships we are not to "learn war anymore" (Isaiah 2:4, New King James Version).

Richard Gilles (1976) and Purdy & Nickle (1980) denote that there is an acceptable violence in society today. These authors make the distinction between behaviours that are considered to be "not too harmful" (e.g., control measures used to discipline children) and acts that punish and/or victimize the intended target. They conclude that the difference between what is deemed to be acceptable and what is considered to be unacceptable is governed by the method and degree of intensity involved in the controlling/punishing behaviour.

Forms of violence, within domestic relationships, recognized throughout literature are (Walker, 1979; Roy, 1982; Byard et al, 1981; Martin, 1977; Peterkin, 1980; Purdy and Nickle, 1980 and McLeod, 1980):

a) Physical Abuse: Physical forms of abuse, described as being any exertion of force which causes injury, are considered to be the most obvious forms of abuse. Bruising, cuts, burns and/or welts (as a result of being whipped with belts, branches or ropes) are indicators of physical abuse.

b) Emotional (Psychological) Abuse: Verbalizations which demean and/or belittle the self-image and/or self-worth of the woman illustrate emotional abuse.

c) Mental Abuse: This is distinguished from emotional abuse in that it denotes a threat to life (e.g., "If you move, I'll shoot"..."If you touch that door knob, I'll kill you..."No matter where you try to hide, I'll find you and kill you"..."If you leave me, it will be your fault if I kill myself"... - Frequently reported statements from battered women between the years 1979 - 1982 at Osborne House, Shelter for Battered Women).

d) Sexual Abuse: Women who are victims of forced sex (i.e., marital rape) and/or those acts of sex that are considered by the woman to be repulsive suffer sexual abuse.

e) Inferred Abuse: This form of violence (learned helplessness) is the most subtle of all the other forms of abuse. It manifests itself in a glance, motion or feeling that is predictive of approaching violence and which renders the victim helpless. Walker (1979) writes: "Once we believe we cannot control what happens to us, it is difficult to believe we can ever influence it, even if later we experience a favourable outcome" (p. 47). Walker goes on to describe this state of helplessness as being one of the reasons for which women are reluctant to leave the batterer. "Once...women are operating from a belief of helplessness, the perception becomes reality and they become passive, submissive, "helpless" (p. 47).

ATTITUDES AND NORMS: Expressions of human thought, feeling and behaviour are often shaped as a consequence of certain cultural and environmental influences. By exploring some of these influences, a better understanding regarding human relationships and interactions can be attained.

a) Patriarchal Attitudes: Peterkin (1980) writes concerning a "social pathology...[that is,] the way men have treated women for thousands of years" (p.22). Martin (1977), Walker (1979), and Dobash, Emerson and Russell (1980), speak to patriarchal attitudes that have perpetrated an inequality between the sexes. Martin (1977), in particular, outlines the historical process stemming from matriarchal polygamous societies with egalitarian practices within clans to the existing patriarchal monogamous society by which the subordination of women gives rise to incidents of wife battering today. Dobash, Emerson and Russell (1979) agree that wife abuse is an outgrowth of the patriarchal order based on male authority and the inferior position of women. Walker (1979) concludes, "Today, many men still believe their rights to rule their women are primary" (p.12). Martin (1977) portrays the following:

> Monogamy brought about the complete subjugation of one sex by the other...With the advent of the pairing marriage, the man seized the reins in the home and began viewing the people in it as units of property that comprised his wealth -- in short, as chattel. The word "family" is derived from the Roman word 'familia' signifying the totality of slaves belonging to an individual. The slave-owner had absolute power of life and death over the human beings who belonged to him (p. 28).

Each of the above-quoted authors (within this section) believes that an egalitarian society is required before prevailing abuses can be redressed.

b) Processes of Socialization: It can be considered that children, consciously and unconsciously, are taught that the family teaches approval for the use of violence. From infancy to adulthood, songs, stories and media reinforce portrayals of violence. Consider the following developmental process:

a) We lovingly hold our newborn babies in our arms and sing the lullaby 'Rock-A- By Baby On The Tree Top' without consideration of the dire consequences inherent within the words of this children's song. The inevitable result of such neglect or intentional abuse could potentiallty result in severe injury, maiming or even death should an infant, left to the mercies of gusts of wind, be toppled from it's crib and fall to the ground.

b) When the child becomes a toddler and is read stories, the following examples are considered to be traditional favourites: Little Red Riding Hood, Cinderella and The Three Little Pigs. Each story contains graphic illustration and imagery of abuse and violence.

c) Our innocent child continues in his/her educational processes by feasting on such cartoons (for endless hours) as: Road Runner, Sylvester and Tweety-Pie and Popeye, The Sailor Man.

d) By the time he/she begins to 'socialize' with other chidren there are initial attempts to express dominance over one another through games such as Cops and Robbers, Cowboys and Indians - (i.e., "Bang, bang, you're dead"!) and peer conflict ("I'm going to beat you up"!).

In remembering and observing our own as well as other children's behaviour, any recollection of attempts to curtail such aggressive thought and behaviour is probably minimal. A Winnipeg Free Press newspaper article in 1983 depicted the alarming rate in which seven to twelve year old children, in New York City, had been charged with murder. Apparently, these children exchanged their toy guns for their father's pistols and began using them, when angry, upon their peers. By the time an infant has reached adolescence and adulthood, a daily dose of violence is reinforced through newspaper headlines and the major stories highlighted in television news reports. Strauss (1977) states: "Violence in the media is part of a societal pattern which keeps America [and Canada] a high violence society" (p. 48). It has been estimated that in prime time television, more than one-half of all characters are involved in some form of violence.

c) Intergenerational Violence: "The theme 'violence begets violence' permeates the literature of family violence" (Schlesinger, (?) p. 18). Authors such as McLeod (1980), Don (1980), Chapman (1980) and Langley and Levy, (1977) affirm that childhood socialization certainly affects the adult use of violence. Children who learn to accept family violence as a way of life and who see violence by men against women as legitimate are more likely to normalize violence within their own families. Wife battering creates a generational cycle, not just directly - by teaching children that violence is acceptable behaviour - but indirectly as well through psychological battering received by the child in witnessing acts of aggression against the mother. Witnessing a battering teaches the child how to be violent and also instills a subconscious approval of violence. Such approval can later lead to male children repeating similar acts of violence, as exemplified from their father's example, and female children becoming victims in adulthood at the hands of their husbands (as reported to the author in conversations with women at Osborne House, 1979-1982 inclusive). These women further indicated that one of their siblings, repulsed by the violence he/she had witnessed during childhood and adolescence, had determined not to repeat the cycle of violence in their particular domestic relationship.

d) Religious Influences: Martin (1977) and Strauss (1977) record that in many instances, the marriage license has become a 'hitting license'. Within the Judeo-Christian tradition, the mandatory requirement of the woman to submit to her husband strongly persists. The word 'submit' (Ephesians 5:22) recorded in many translations and versions of the New Testament scriptures, and which is widely used within marriage ceremonies among a vast number of denominations, has more recently been translated to "regard" (The Jerusalem Bible). Such words, regardless of semantic differences, has been intensely attacked and deplored by women's groups as the catalyst for inequality between the sexes. Such inequality, from the feminist perspective, allows and encourages acts of subjugation from the dominant male which leads to abusive behaviours. In many abuse situations, this is no doubt the case. This author, when Coordinator of Osborne House - shelter for battered women in Winnipeg (1979-1982 inclusive), had numerous women (married as well as within common-law relationships) indicate that the word/s "submit" and "for better or worse" caused them to remain within the violent relationship for as long as was possible. It would appear therefore, that the human tendency is to dwell on those statements that would seem to provide license for the fulfilment of self-interest by the stronger partner. In reference to this particular verse (Ephesians 5:22), Clarkes Commentary, Volume VI, (1832) states: "The husband should not be a tyrant, and the wife should not be a governor" (p. 463). Halley's Bible Handbook (1965) indicates the following: "The exhortation is to mutual love and devotion, and in no way suggests that a man has a right to make a slave of his wife...Each, in serving the other, best serves self...husbands, take note" (p.616).

There is evidence that scripture has been misappropriated to bolster and support views of male dominance. The Church, governed by a male hierarchy, has been quiet and unacknowledging of those references and examples which stipulate egalitarian and supportive attitudes and practices between the sexes. One survey (Bowker, 1982) indicated that battered women considered their clergy as being the least appropriate support service to go to when suffering from incidences of abuse.

Until women, within as well as without the church organizational structure, denounced the chauvinistic attitudes of the male-dominated church hierarchies, church leaders were content to placade and/or accuse woman of "not fulfilling their duties". Confronted by such damning insensitivity to the plight of battered women within their congregations, some clergy - within the past ten years - have been challenged to reframe their theological reference point.

e) Political Attitudes: The "raison d'etre" of feminist groups throughout Canada and the United States has been to seek legislative changes that would secure sexual equality in legal, social and economic areas of interest. The legal rights of battered women have already been addressed. With political and judicial directives in place, the opportunity to provide women and children a peaceful environment to live in, can now be enforced. Work continues, however, in seeking social as well as economic equality. Gillis (1976) reported that women who are economically and socially disadvantaged are more likely to remain in a violent home environment. He concluded that "the fewer resources a woman has, the less power she has, and the more 'entrapped' she is in her marriage..." (p. 667). The Standing Committee on Wife Battering in Canada (1982) urged "that efforts to help the battered wife should be directed at protecting her, and enabling her to achieve some measure of economic and emotional independence" (p. 26).

Equal Rights legislation in regards to wages, opportunities for retraining in the workplace and social status (i.e., that a female is not inferior to a male) is slowly taking form. In Manitoba, affirmative action directives from the provincial government to all civil service departments stipulate that women as well as men can equally apply for employment opportunities within the public sector. It is hoped, that the example established by the

Manitoba government will influence private industry as well. In the area of vocational retraining, the Human Resources Opportunity Program provides an opportunity for women to develop the necessary confidence and competence in life-skills that will enable her to re-enter the workplace. In the matter of marital property, the Marital Property Act of Manitoba (1982) establishes the rules for the division of property between spouses. Persons living within a common-law relationship are not excluded. Common-law "spouses" include those persons living together for one year or longer.

> The basic rule under this Act is that both spouses have the right to an equal share in the marital property when it is being divided between them, no matter which spouse owns the property. The law recognizes that, whether a spouse is responsible for running the household or for earning the family income, the contribution to the marriage is of equal importance and should be given equal weight when dividing marital property between the spouses (Family Law in Manitoba, Province of Manitoba, 1985, p. 10,14).

3.4 BUILDING UPON THE MOMENTUM

We have seen that there are forces within society, of public as well as private jurisdiction, that require addressing. Attitudes and norms, within the 'family', deleterious to the socialization and education of our children need changing. Unfortunately, change within this private domain is dogged by cultural and religious traditions. However, within the public sector (i.e., those areas of social, economic, political and legal control), pressure by women's groups on government to redress issues of inequality between the sexes is only now beginning to bring about promised transformations within judicial, economic and employment circles of administration. Gillis (1976) in his reported study: Abused Wives: Why Do They Stay found that fifty percent of women working outside the home requested assistance to leave their abusive partners. Unemployed women, further deterred by a low educational status, were least prone to leave a battering relationship. He concluded that "the more resources a wife has, the more she is able to support herself and her children, the more she will have a low threshold of violence and [will] call outside agents or agencies to help her" (p. 664).

In Manitoba, during the 1970's social awareness and the will to address issues related to family law and child and welfare services reached a peak. Special attention was given to the protection of women and children who too often had become the victims of family violence and family breakdown. Consequently, in succeeding years, Manitoba was heralded as becoming a leader in family law reform in Canada.

The Canadian Advisory Council on the Status of Women, in 1981, boldly confronted the Federal Government regarding prevailing political, social, and economic inequities that were being experienced by women in Canada on a day-to-day basis. Not content to have these issues put aside to another convenient time, these leaders of grass-root women's organizations across Canada demanded that the federal government redress grievances regarding discriminatory governmental practices which were seen to be derogatory and injurious to women. Such practices and attitudes had relegated women to an inferior status regarding their political viability, employment and education opportunities, victimization within the justice system and health-welfare matters. Women began to assert their political rights in terms of voting power, demanding equal opportunity and wage parity in the workplace, and, urging that domestic violence be regarded seriously as a crime against women.

With the media focussing increased attention on incidents of wife battering and grass-roots women's organizations demanding shelter and advocacy services to victims, astute politicians were eager to show their attention and support in some tangible manner. The ability of the MCWA to act on this political momentum provided the means through which this particular ASO achieved many of its early successes in advocacy and program responses.

CHAPTER IV

A CASE STUDY: THE MANITOBA COMMITTEE ON WIFE ABUSE (1982-1984 inclusive)

4.1 CASE STUDY METHODOLOGY: QUALITATIVE RESEARCH

The qualitative model of research analysis, described by Patton (1987) as being "a process of discovery" (p. 55), has been deliberately chosen for the research study. This particular method of analysis, as conducted through a case study example, will allow the researcher to reflect on the conceptual reality of staff, volunteer and board members involved with the MCWA; to assess the social-political climate and processes of the internal/external environment of the organization; and to learn from the participants of the research study those value positions and judgments that shaped their behaviours (Guba & Lincoln, 1987, pp. 216-219).

Participant observation, direct observation and case studies are methods of research embodied within the analytical approach known as field research (Phillips, 1968; Babbie, 1986; and Guba & Lincoln, 1987). Although observational techniques are considered by research scientists to be less structured than research which can by typically codified for the purpose of statistical data analysis Babbie, 1986, Phillips, 1968; and Tripodi, 1983, agree that observational techniques are important activities directed towards discovery, data-collecting and theory generation. Qualitative analysis allows for those observations that are not easily reduced to numbers (as in quantitative analysis) and therefore takes on a narrative or descriptive format (Patton, 1987 & 1989; Guba & Lincoln, 1987).

THE PURPOSE OF QUALITATIVE RESEARCH: Tripodi (1983) suggests that qualitative research is used in three ways; Firstly, to provide a descriptive narrative of the socio/political/economic/geographic context of a social program; secondly, as a means of forecasting "unanticipated consequences" (p. 151); and thirdly, to validate the quantitative data gathered from the various variables used in the research study. Rossi & Freeman (1989) state that qualitative research can be "especially effective in causing social problems to be identified" (p. 94).

Sources for the gathering of descriptive qualitative data are agency documents, formal evaluations, government reports, interviews and newspaper articles (Tripodi, 1983; Rossi and Freeman, 1989). According to Rutman (1980) "description and quotation are the essential ingredients of qualitative enquiry" (p.343). The question becomes one of determining how much one should include and what is unnecessary trivia and needs to be omitted. Rutman continues, "...endless description becomes its own muddle" (p. 343). The utilization of personal opinions however must be geared to the dual purposes of analysis and interpretation (Rutman, 1980; Tripodi, 1983; Patton, 1987). Patton (1987) lists four elements in collecting qualitative data:

> 1) ...the evaluator must get close enough...to understand the depths and details of what goes on,
> 2) ...the evaluator must aim at capturing what actually takes place and what people actually say,
> 3) ...the data must consist...of [a] pure description of people, activities, and interactions, and
> 4) ...the data consists of direct quotations from people, both what they speak and what they write down (p. 55).

Lofland (1971, p. 4) as quoted by Patton states that "the commitment [is] to get close, to be factual, descriptive and quotive" (Patton, 1987, p. 55).

THE VALUE OF QUALITATIVE RESEARCH: The overall value of qualitative research is that it provides an opportunity to gather information that can be useful in understanding the management of program processes in depth and detail (Patton, 1987) as well as allowing the evaluator the opportunity to form judgments related to relevance, impact and future application (Palumbo, 1987; Guba & Lincoln, 1987. Because all sources of information (whether written or spoken) are derived from a 'value' or ideological base, Babbie (1986) reminds us that"social research can never be totally objective, since researchers ar humanly subjective" (p. 462). It is essential therefore, from the onset, to understand that behind every evaluation there is a political component. The politics of an evaluative process can include the following determinants:

a) whether or not a social organization is (presently as well as its potential in the future) meeting the agenda needs of a given government, community or target population,

b) whether or not an organization (or elements of its programming) should be allowed to continue,

c) whether or not there are definitive structural problems within an organization that prohibit it from adequately fulfilling its mission, and

d) whether or not a formal and public evaluation would enhance "the express purpose of supporting or building the image" of an organization (Palumbo, 1987, p. 12).

Patton (1987) provides a checklist whereby qualitative strategies can by useful. For example, qualitative evaluation methods are appropriate if the intent is:

a) to understand the internal dynamics of a program,

b) to provide accurate details related to specific case studies and methods of program implementation,

c) to provide information about idiosyncrasies and nuances in program quality,

d) to determine whether or not the evaluation should be exploratory or summative (depending on the program stage), and

e) to determine whether or not there is a need to "add depth, detail, and meaning to statistical findings or survey generalizations" (p. 42) and Tripodi (1983).

THE CASE STUDY: AN OBSERVATIONAL TECHNIQUE:

> Field research offers the advantage of probing social life in its natural habitat. Although some things can be studied adequately in questionnaire or in the laboratory, others cannot. And direct observation in the field lets you observe subtle communications and other events that might not be anticipated or measured otherwise (Babbie, 1986, p. 242).

The case study is one method of conducting field research which naturally lends itself to qualitative methods of evaluation (Babbie, 1986; Phillips, 1968; Tripodi, 1983). The primary justification for this is due to the fact that sources of information from which case studies are acquired come from both verbal and written origins.

Perlmutter (1988) provides for us in her book "Alternative Social Agencies: Administrative Strategies" a series of case study examples which illustrate the various framework concepts applicable to ASOs - namely, mandate, policy, programming, governance, advocacy and innovation. Jane Mansbridge (1983) in her book "Beyond Adversary Democracy" provides an excellent case study of a crisis centre - "Helpline" - in which she thoroughly discusses issues related to egalitarian and consensual patterns of relationship through the mutual themes of democracy and equality.

Phillips (1968) in discussing case studies warns about the need for neutrality and objectivity in performing evaluations based on this method of field research.

> Although the naturalistic situation does constitute reality, what the observer sees is a particular selection of phenomena constructed out of the reality (p. 140).

Phillips remark directly alludes to those political elements (previously addressed) that are present in evaluation processes and which can inherently include biases - some more blatant than others.

A qualitative method of research will allow the author, as a participant-observer, to apply and analyze verbal and written sources of information to the processes that formed the policy, program and practices of the MCWA.

Participants for the research study included those persons who were actively engaged in the formation process of the MCWA during the stipulated period of 1982-1984 (See Appendix A). Understandably, this involved a rather small number of participants. The participants (twenty-seven in total) included board members, staff members/volunteers and former staff members of the umbrella organization, Children's Home of Winnipeg, under which the MCWA found its auspice. Questionnaires (See Appendix B) were sent to each of the participants, of whom fourteen, or 52%, responded. In addition, three questionnaires (11%) were returned blank.

Of these three responses, two participants indicated regret at not being able to respond adequately, and, one questionnaire was returned to the researcher indicating that the respondent was no longer living at the given address.

Of the fourteen responses, upon which this study is based, six (43%) were by staff/ volunteers, five (36%) from community consumers and three (21%) from board members.

To further elicit detailed and in-depth descriptions and perceptions into the organization and operation of the MCWA, interviews were carried out with as many respondents as possible. At the time when the questionnaire was being sent to each of the respondents, because the number was small, the researcher was able to personally contact many of the individuals by telephone and request their direct participation in the study.

Agency documents (e.g., the proposal to the Manitoba Legislature, by-laws, annual meeting reports, reports to provincial and federal government departments and the formal evaluation report) were examined to determine whether or not the MCWA manifested in practice and programming what it established itself to do in policy. A perusal of provincial government papers (as requested through the Manitoba Archives into cabinet ministers' files for the stated period) relating to the MCWA were examined. An examination of these documents enabled the researcher to determine the extent to which the MCWA was a provincial response to the programmatic needs of battered women in Manitoba, or whether the MCWA was primarily controlled and directed by the prevailing interests of the provincial government (New Democratic Party) at that time. Another possibility was that the MCWA and the provincial government mutually influenced each other in determining responses to the needs of battered women in Manitoba.

4.2 CONCEPTUAL STRATEGIES REGARDING STAGES OF DEVELOPMENT

The MCWA did not suddenly occur, as it were, out of a vacuum. Rather, the formation of the MCWA followed an orderly and planned sequence of events.

Assisted by the expertise and direction of a professional community resource person, the founders of the MCWA were able to take advantage of opportunities that prevailed at that point in time. These opportunities afforded the following strategy:

a) Three social work students from the Community Social Work Collective, School of Social Work, University of Manitoba, who were conducting a field practicum placement at Children's Home of Winnipeg (CHOW) were requested to conduct a needs assessment into the opinions of agencies pertaining to services existing in Manitoba regarding the issue of wife abuse,

b) A province-wide conference would immediately follow the completion of the needs assessment. The focus and planning for the conference would include those primary service providers already familiar and involved with the issues that confronted victims of domestic violence. Social service and community agencies/groups would be requested to provide a representative to work on the conference committee. Should time allow (within the field practicum time-period), the social work students would also be included in the conference planning/convening activities.

The purpose of the conference would be to focus public interest and knowledge onto the issue of wife abuse; to identify gaps of service to victims of wife abuse and, ultimately, to galvanize action into seeking a greater provincial response and programming initiatives for battered women in Manitoba.

Plenary sessions at the conference would deal with such topics as emergency welfare assistance, legal responses to battered women, emergency low-cost housing provisions, essential counselling and support needs for battered women in rural and urban settings and re-entry requirements (i.e., education and employment) into the community.

At the conclusion of the conference, it was planned that there would be a resolution from the floor suggesting that a follow-up committee be formed to assess and act upon the various recommendations brought forth from the various plenary sessions.

The follow-up committee would be comprised of professional and lay-persons representing women's organizations, battered women's shelters, victims of battering, police, the legal profession, counselling agencies, community health centres and housing facilities.

c) The goal of the follow-up committee would result in a program funding proposal to be presented to the Manitoba cabinet for implementation. Through the moral and vocal support of Ms. Myrna Phillips (MLA for Wolseley and a back bencher in the Manitoba Legislature at the time) and the known interest of several cabinet ministers, a base for government support was assured.

As one of the participants in bringing about the formation of this alternative organization, the author had been concerned about the number of battered women seeking shelter in Winnipeg from rural and northern communities. These women were uprooted from their home communities hoping to obtain and secure a safe environment for themselves and for their children. In most instances, the environmental shock of the move accounted for a loss equal to or greater than physical and emotional comfort they would gain. Such an opinion does not negate the temporary respite from the battering/s, the provision of emergency financial assistance, immediate access to legal resources and services or the availability of some form of housing.

Factors not to be overlooked included that, to these women from outlying areas, the comfort and assurance of familiar faces and places were replaced by isolation, strangeness and the unknown. For many women, the price of safety was too high. Loneliness, homesickness and the pleas of their children led many (if not the majority) of them to return to the violent home environment they had just flown. In such cases, the shelter in Winnipeg had become nothing more than a revolving door with only a temporary respite from the battering the woman would once more endure.

4.3 COMPLETING DEVELOPMENTAL OBJECTIVES

A NEEDS ASSESSMENT: From whom did the battered woman seek assistance, guidance and/or intervention? As a means of securing more accurate information regarding attitudes and program provisions to battered women, McIntosh, Reid and Russell (the three social work students referred to previously) conducted a survey (1982) into agency opinions and services regarding the issue of wife abuse as they existed at that point in time. Questionnaires and interviews were conducted among shelter staff, public health workers, police officers, lawyers "as well as most of the agencies and women's groups that were assessed as likely to have some contact with the problem of wife abuse" (p. 3). From the one hundred and four agencies and services which received questionnaires forty respondents formed the basis of this needs assessment into services for battered women in the province of Manitoba. McIntosh, Reid and Russell (1982) concluded that only 25% of the respondents kept any kind of statistical information on wife abuse. The remaining agencies who did not keep statistical information on wife abuse cases estimated that 26% of their caseloads involved wife abuse. Alcohol consumption, financial stress and unemployment were perceived to be important correlations with domestic violence. Treatment groups for the abuser and support groups for battered women were non-existent. Follow-up services to the women and their children (e.g., "second stage-housing, long-term support groups, adequate housing for single-parent housing, day-care, and on-the-job training/education" - p. 15) were generally seen as being very limited. The needs assessment confirmed three shelters in Manitoba, that is, Winnipeg, Thompson and Brandon. (A fourth shelter, in The Pas, opened in the Fall of 1982 following the issuance of the survey results). Little energy was relegated to preventative programming (e.g., education of the public in general, battered women as to their legal rights and to children regarding sex roles). The writers of that report concluded their study with this statement:

> For a province that prides itself in progressive social programming, our accomplishments in the area of services for abused women and families have been indeed modest (McIntosh, Reid, Russell, 1982, p. 16).

A PROVINCIAL CONFERENCE: In March, 1982, a conference, entitled "Wife Abuse: The Silent Crisis", was held in Winnipeg. Through the joint efforts of Children's Home of Winnipeg, the Junior League of Manitoba, Secretary of State funding and the representatives of various community groups and agencies (who had become known as the Wife Abuse Committee for the purposes of planning the conference), the conference attracted over 200 persons. This gathering provided an opportunity whereby public attention was directed toward the salient issues regarding the scope and effects of wife abuse. Information on existing services (legal, welfare, housing, counselling) were exchanged as well as recommendations proffered regarding the same. Most importantly, this conference mandated interested persons (representatives from informed, involved and/or concerned groups/agencies/individuals) to form a Follow-up Committee in order to amalgamate their combined energy and knowledge into a charge for action (MCWA Proposal, 1982, p. 3). "The mandate of the follow-up committee would be to provide coordination and leadership in the areas of research, public information and program development on the issues of family violence" (Schmidt, 1989, p.8).

THE FOLLOW-UP COMMITTEE: Encouragement was given for urban, rural and northern representation to the Follow-up Committee. Admittedly, rural and northern membership was composed of those women's groups/associations whose membership included all regions of the province. Because Manitoba is a one hub province with primary bases of service and operation stemming from Winnipeg (60% of the population lives in Winnipeg while the other 40% of the population is unequally distributed throughout rural and northern regions of the province) it was deemed pragmatic and expedient to centre the Follow-up Committee in Winnipeg.

Within the province of Manitoba, as is the case in most other Canadian provinces, there has always existed an internal tension between rural/urban and northern/urban perspectives. These tensions cannot always be accommodated. Therefore, the importance of requesting input and/or securing representation from the various regions of the province is paramount for planning and implementation considerations. Despite requests for information and/or a person to represent a particular area of the province on the Follow-up Committee, few responses were forthcoming. It was subsequently recommended, by the Follow-up Committee, that the relationship between the proposed program and the rural/northern regions commence on a consultative basis.

> It will be important, particularly in the rural (northern regions also implied), for local groups to develop their own identity and their own programs, receiving guidance and assistance from the Manitoba Committee on Wife Abuse (Proposal, 1982, p.11).

The Follow-up Committee, by renewing a collaborative association with CHOW, jointly developed a response (i.e., a proposal to be presented to the Manitoba legislature for approval) that would be entitled Wife Abuse: A Manitoba Response to the Needs of Battered Women (See Appendix C).

The proposal, based on recommendations from the previously held conference, Wife Abuse: The Silent Crisis, called for "a broadly based response to the problem of wife abuse" (p. 3). Components of the proposal included public and professional education, advocacy for the abused wife, a crisis response for the abused wife (i.e., a volunteer operated toll-free crisis-line service), family and child support and counselling (already operating out of Osborne House through a joint program between CHOW and the YWCA), development of support mechanisms for abused women in rural areas (that is, the development of safe-homes and local organizations to respond to battered women in rural/northern communities), and the coordination of the above mentioned responses. A core group of eight staff members, including the receptionist/secretary, would organize and coordinate the above-mentioned program components. The staff would be supplemented by short-term positions provided through additional grant proposals whenever possible.

Volunteer recruitment and involvement would be the primary means through which the programs and initiatives of the proposed committee would be implemented. Len Evans, then Minister of Community Services and Corrections, referred to the importance and utilization of volunteers as the base of this organization's functioning in his official announcement of the MCWA on November 19, 1982:

> The extensive use of a volunteer network to deliver these services is a creative and cost-efficient concept (Press Release, Nov. 19, 1982).

In keeping with the spirit and direction of the proposal, linkages were made with numerous agencies.

> It is essential that no human service program operates in a vacuum relative to other organizations and agencies in the community (MCWA Proposal, 1982, p.10).

Such liaisons included police, the legal profession, social service agencies, provincial councils/associations of women (with affiliations in urban, rural and northern regions of the province) community health centres and provincial housing corporations.

To endorse the proposed Committee, letters of support were solicited to be enclosed with the proposal when presented to the Manitoba government. These letters, among the recorded documents maintained in the Manitoba Archives, are representative of urban, rural and northern based organizations (counselling, church, legal, educational, crisis centres and shelters) and concerned individuals. One women's organization (name withheld), representing rural, northern and urban women, not only supported the proposal but also suggested that the legislature allow the proposed MCWA to be responsible for the coordination and administration of all funding and program initiatives to battered women in the Province of Manitoba.

Before discussing the structure and staffing of the MCWA, it is important to consider the power-base and community networking activity that ultimately consolidated the structure of this alternative organization.

4.4 THE EXTERNAL ENVIRONMENT: BUILDING A POWER-BASE OF RELATIONSHIPS

The composition of the Follow-up Committee, described in the above narrative, provides a primary inspection and understanding regarding the broad base of community association and involvement upon which the MCWA was founded. Having included primary service providers as well as community groups and concerned individuals (some of which were battered women), it then became appropriate and essential to include into this network of relationships strong political alliances.

The task of lobbying ministers of the provincial cabinet and influential backbenchers in the Manitoba legislature fell to two persons - the author of this research paper and Ms. Toni Nelson, then Chairperson of the Follow-up Committee. The task was clearly defined. If the crime of wife abuse was to be duly addressed, social, legal, medical, educational and political reform would be required. It was deemed that superficial acknowledgment of this critical social problem by legislators was insufficient. Therefore, the need for concrete change related to attitudes and responses to the battered woman throughout the community (law enforcement, judicial, medical, educational and social) was urged of each minister. The premise upon which each presentation was given signified that change, if it was to be longlasting, required legislative address, approval and action.

Armed with the recommendations and program proposals of the working group of primary stakeholders (i.e., the Follow-up Committee), the cabinet ministers were pressed with the urgency of reform and a means by which responsible and pragmatic changes could occur.

In the main, each meeting with a cabinet minister was met with polite, but uncommitted priority. However, four key ministers of the time did respond with the desire, determination and will to seek political change to the current state of affairs by which the issue of wife abuse was currently being addressed. These ministers, namely - the Attorney-General, the Minister of Community Services and Corrections, the Minister of Economic Security and Employment Services, and the Minister of Labour and Manpower, became close allies in the formation of the MCWA.

Concurrent with the meeting described in Chapter Three (p.111) with the Attorney-General, whereby a directive was issued to all law enforcement officers in the province of Manitoba, the Minister of Community Services and Corrections pledged his total commitment and support to the proposal submitted by CHOW on behalf of MCWA supporters.

Consequently, it was the Honourable Len Evans who became instrumental in allocating, from within his own departmental budget, the necessary cost-share dollars (matching federal dollars granted from the Canadian Federal Government - Departments of the Solicitor-General and Secretary of State) required to underwrite the program intentions of the MCWA. On November 19, 1982, the Honourable Len Evans announced "...a new response program for the wife abuse program..."(Hiller, 1984, p.2).

4.5 PROGRAM DESIGN AND IMPLEMENTATION

The task of distinguishing the critical issues of mandate, policy, programming, governance and advocacy/ innovation are particularly difficult due to the nature of this case study. For example, because the MCWA had within its mandate the specification to "establish a provincial organization" (Paragraph 4) issues of policy, programme and governance over-lap. In order to minimize the problem of redundancy illustrations will be provided which will hopefully reflect aspects singular to each issue.

MANDATE AND OBJECTIVES: The mandate of the Manitoba Committee on Wife Abuse is stated as follows:

> To support, assist, and protect all battered women (physical and non-physical abuse) and to work co-operatively with all other persons or groups to reduce the incidence of wife-battering

in Manitoba and throughout Canada (as printed on a pamphlet prepared in co-operation with the Manitoba Police Commission for distribution at crime prevention displays and for use by police).

The objectives of the Manitoba Committee on Wife Abuse as stated in the Constitution Article II are:

1) To promote public awareness and recognition of wife abuse through education programs.

2) To provide a system of support to abused wives in all areas of Manitoba through counselling and education.

3) To develop and provide comprehensive programs which will deal effectively with the complex social problems of wife abuse.

4) To establish a provincial organization to respond to the social problems of wife abuse and to work towards the elimination of all situations where women are abused by men.

5) To advise government agencies in the development of legislation and programs pertaining to the problems of wife abuse (The MCWA Inc. Constitution and By-Law #1 as amended June 15, 1984).

In order to comply with the stated mandate and objectives of the Committee the following short-term goals were implemented:

a) to commence an effective educational outreach program through contacting groups as well as news media,

b) to develop a training program for crisis-line volunteers,

c) to provide supportive follow-up counselling to women and children who had just left an abusive environment,

d) to identify safe homes throughout the province, and

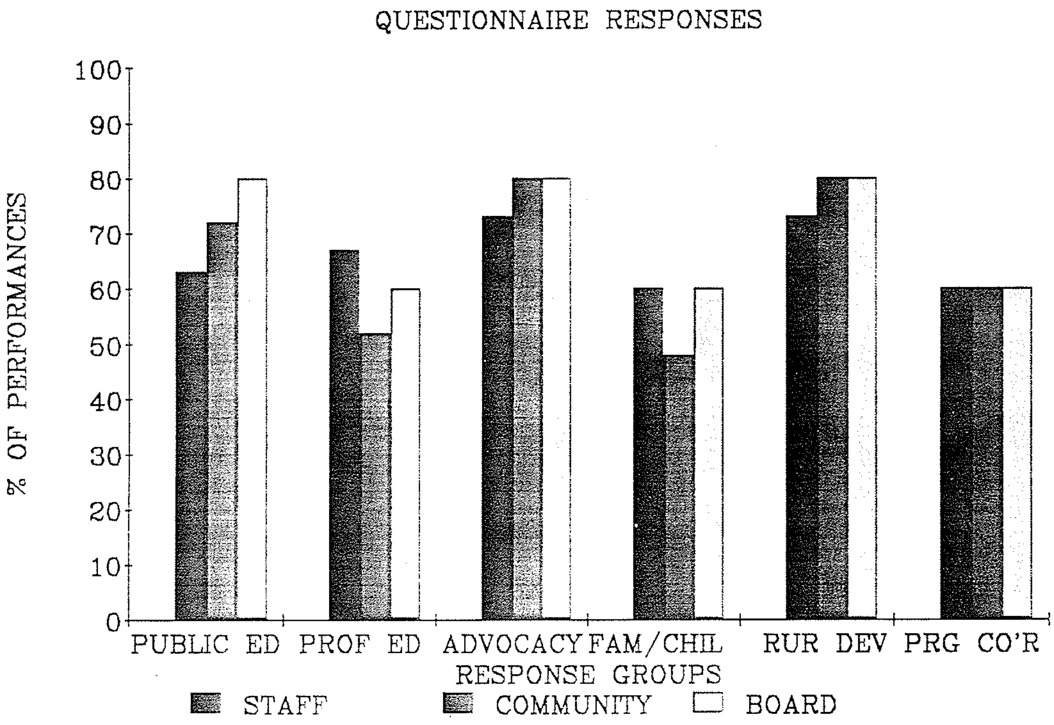
e) to work towards permanent social change in society through legislative reform (Hiller, 1984, Report to the Solicitor General).

a) Perspectives Regarding Mandate: The following question was asked of each respondent:

Question: How well did the MCWA respond to the needs of battered women during the years 1982-1984 in accordance with their mandate?

The following chart indicates how well the MCWA performed in keeping with its purported mandate related to the areas of public education, professional education, advocacy, family and child support and counselling, rural development and program co-ordination. The perception of how well each program performed its role and function varies in accordance to the constituent stake-holder (i.e., staff, board or community).

Table 1 - PERFORMANCE RELATED TO MANDATE



The responses indicated that the two most successful program components within the organizational structure of the MCWA were Rural Development and Advocacy (i.e., social action).

The MCWA assisted and collaborated in the development of thirteen rural local organizations. Rural women, desirous of creating social change within their local communities regarding awareness, understanding and service provision to battered women, worked in consultation with the MCWA Rural Co-ordinator in order to provide crisis intervention counselling and safe home shelter for women in abusive situations. A clearer look at the Rural Development program will follow. At that time, conflicts regarding co-ordination of this program will be addressed.

Related to Advocacy, the MCWA received an overwhelming positive response from individuals as well as groups throughout the Province of Manitoba. In this regard, the MCWA worked closely with the Attorney-General's office, the Director of Prosecutions, the RCMP and the City of Winnipeg Police Department. Two major successes of the MCWA revolved around the directive by the Attorney-General regarding the laying of charges by law enforcement officers and the implementation of a domestic violence court (See Chapter 3, pp.110-118). Supportive to these developments was the assignment of a court advocacy worker in the City of Winnipeg and the development of similar services in three rural centres of the province - Lac du Bonnet, Winkler and Portage la Prairie.

A third area of achievement by the MCWA concerned a policy provision to be implemented by the Department of Economic Security and Employment Services - Income Security Offices. This policy would provide immediate emergency financial support to battered women in outlying areas in respect to transportation, shelter, food and clothing needs. The financial and practical support of these primary economic and social service agencies in rural areas was crucial to the success of safe-home development in Manitoba.

Of secondary success was the work of public and professional education. The responses indicate that the MCWA was substantially more effective in reaching the general public with information related to the battered women than in providing relevant clinical knowledge to professional workers in community agencies. From these results we can ascertain that there is both a need and requirement for clinical knowledge and on-going professional development by professional and lay workers in the community as they endeavour to meet the needs of battered women. Informed and skilled counsellors (in areas of economic security, housing, education/employment retraining and clinical therapy) are required to respond to her collective needs in order to assure physical, emotional and mental healing.

Despite mass mailouts to every household in Manitoba through inserts in hydro billings, the widespread distribution of pamphlets at town fairs and crime prevention booths, the listing of the crisis-line number at the front of every telephone book in the Province of Manitoba and the numerous public service announcements on radio and television networks, the connection of this work to the MCWA went unnoticed by the general public. In a Winnipeg Area Study survey (1984) Ursel records that only 2% of surveyed individuals had heard of the Committee (p.40).

This is not completely surprising. By comparison, despite numerous local newspaper and magazine articles indicating the presence of Osborne House as a shelter for battered women, continued public speaking engagements and upwards of 1,000 women utilizing its services on an annual basis, many women upon being brought to Osborne House by police or friends indicate no prior knowledge of its existence (Verbal reports to staff members). The conclusion that can be drawn from such parallel experiences is that issues such as domestic violence, unless personally applicable, receive only cursory notice by the general public.

The program areas which received a lower rating of performance, in keeping with the question of how well the MCWA performed its mandate, pertain to family and child support services and program co-ordination.

There is no doubt that the work of the follow-up workers, advocacy/support counsellors and volunteer crisis counsellors was less visible than those program areas considered to be of a high profile nature due to the amount of public attention they received (e.g., advocacy and safe home development). However, these efforts were of high quality. As a result, this work yielded substantial benefit and credit to both the women involved and, by association, the MCWA.

Ursel (1984) questioned whether the number of staff involved in supportive programming could not have been utilized in a more effective manner to assist in the MCWA's provincial mandate. Within the original proposal of the

MCWA, three follow-up workers (43% of the total staffing component), located at Osborne House under a funding proposal obtained by CHOW, were designated to the function of support services to women and children. This number was later increased to five staff members or 45% of the total staff allocation of the MCWA. Resulting from the information and demand for support services received through contact with women who utilized the crisis line, increased support service programming was obtained through short term grant funding provision. These numbers do not include the crisis-line volunteers trained by the MCWA. Therefore such an observation by Ursel has to be taken as a valid criticism particularly when community and board representatives were dubious, and at times critical, regarding direct service provision as a necessary service of the MCWA.

It is not uncommon for ASOs to experience difficulty when their programs are highly regarded by some and doubted by others (Hooyman, Fredriksen, and Perlmutter, 1988, Pp. 17-30). In regards to the MCWA, it was the decision of the Program Coordinator to maximize tangible results during the first two years of operation. With public and professional education, volunteer training, rural development and child and family support provisions in place, future directions of the MCWA could then be assessed and determined.

In the Spring of 1984 (i.e., March 31, 1984 and May 26, 1984), co-ordination concerns presented by rural and northern communities at meetings held in Winnipeg and

Dauphin, respectively, pertained to the matter of representation on the Board of Directors rather than program provisions. To members attending this meeting, it appeared, that program co-ordination was more specifically tied to the critical issue of governance within the MCWA (i.e., authority and control factors) than to program initiatives. Issues not in question were the number of communities contacted, the tying together of safe homes with local organizations and already established crisis centres, the provision of volunteer training sessions to numerous workers within rural areas and the distribution of all educational and training materials to rural and northern areas. Schmidt, 1989, provides this summary:

> An expanding rural program with a dual commitment to service delivery and a co-ordinating/networking function brought to light urban/rural contradictions and tensions that were reflected by the lack of rural representation on the board and efforts at combining urban and rural directions...Co-operative affiliation resumed with the condition that seven of the fifteen seats on the board be represented by each of the seven regions in Manitoba. In June [1984] the seven nominees submitted by the rural region were unanimously elected to the board (p.10).

Ursel, 1984, provides the following descriptive analysis:

> The whole exercise indicates the absolute necessity of adequate rural representation on the board of an organization which is urban based but provincial in mandate...The fact that they [the MCWA] did not anticipate or respond well to all rural needs within the first year of operation is understandable given the limitations of budget and

> staff. More importantly, the committee's responsiveness to the concerns and the steps taken to begin to rectify the problems attests to the presence and importance of flexibility in the organization in its founding year (p. 30).

POLICY: Policy, as defined by Perlmutter (1988) is "a clearly explicated value framework" (p.1). Extending Perlmutter's view, an article entitled 'What is Social Policy' by Michael Hill (1980) provides the following view:

> Policy can be taken to refer to the principles that govern action directed towards given ends. The concept denotes action about means as well as ends and it, therefore, implies change (p. 23).

To these writers, a normative and holistic approach is applied to policy creation. That is, philosophy is intrinsically related and integrated into the policies of the organization.

Tropmans & Dluhy (1981) view policy from a rational-mechanistic position. That is, they describe policy as "a procedure or method" (p. 96). Tropmans and Dluhy perceive the process of policy formation as being comparable to program planning in that there are clear and identifiable processes that are required before, during and after their conceptualization (i.e., evaluation regarding the merit of the policy). From this particular framework, Gustafsson and Richardson (1979) in recording the work of L.A. Gunn (1976) describe what is involved in policy creation. These processes, as outlined by the stated authors are: research into the problem to which an action is required, problem definition, forecasting, objective setting, identifying and comparing alternative options, the actual policy definition and program design and finally policy implementation and program execution followed by monitoring, control and review (p. 423).

David Powell (1986) does not see such a formal process, as that which is outlined above, taking place immediately within the formation of ASOs. Rather, Powell describes the following process of formalization of policy as being the rule, rather than the exception:

> "The development of rules, in the form of operating policies and procedures, is a logical result of the organization's experience. From a beginning with no model to follow, the organization creates its own model" (p. 67).

From Powell's perspective, policy formation is a developmental exercise that reflects the growth and maturity of the organization. It is his view, that as ASOs become more stable and their policies more formalized, ASOs become vulnerable to assuming and implementing "a partial hierarchical structure" (p. 68). From a pure collective modality, the ASO yields to a minimal or flat hierarchical format. Such a format is seen to be more appealing to funding sources despite its loss of appeal to the membership which may desire a more collective approach.

The announcement by The Honourable Len Evans (in fact a provincial government policy statement as well) set the parameters for the establishment of the policies of the MCWA. Hasenfeld (1983) suggests that "many human service organizations represent the programmatic manifestation of social welfare legislation and policies" (p. 88). Upon enumerating the program areas of the MCWA, Mr. Evans went on to state:

> I am convinced this program will do much to mobilize Manitobans to protect battered women by providing a vital network of support and assistance to victims of wife abuse...The extensive use of a volunteer network to deliver these services is a creative and cost-efficient concept (Press Conference Statement, Nov. 19,1982).

The minister's perspective was echoed in the words of one board member who stated: "Volunteer-based organizations are the back-bone of the community. They are what community is all about".

The policies of the Manitoba Committee on Wife Abuse, which resulted from the aforementioned objectives were:

> 1. That every person has the right to live in a non-violent environment,
>
> 2. That to directly address the issue of wife abuse, the societal institutions must undergo concomitant changes in order to eliminate violence in the family,
>
> 3. That to effectively intervene in a violent home and in the intergenerational cycle of violence, the Manitoba Committee on Wife Abuse suggests the treatment of all members in the family,
>
> 4. That wife assault constitutes a criminal act...that legal intervention, and where possible,

> court-ordered treatment for the offender are effective in remediating violence, and
>
> 5. That family violence is a concern for all members of our society. It extracts a tremendous personal, social and economic toll that diminishes our quality of life and threatens our humanity (Hiller, 1984, Report to the Solicitor General, Pp. 2,3).

These statements provided the total context of policy creation within the MCWA during its first two years of operation. During the interview process, various staff, board and community members made reference to the seeming gap, delay or lack of on-going policy creation and procedures for program implementation in the following manner:

a) Some staff and volunteers were resistant to any form of management that did not conform to their orientation. This behaviour, termed "discounting" (by one board respondent) was seen to be a means by which ideological purity, as they perceived it, could be furthered.

b) The inability of some board, staff, and volunteers to identify with the formative mandate of the MCWA. While acknowledging that all members of the MCWA were united in a common goal to "help battered women", the difficulty was in not being able to create an identity link with the MCWA through which services and processes could be co-ordinated.

c) A lack of a strong sense of process (regarding the provision of written policy statements) during the formative stages of the MCWA by the Policy Committee (i.e., a subcommittee of the board of directors).

d) Different ideologies and competing personal agendas did not allow for an essential period of consolidation through which cohesiveness could have been experienced.

e) Collective decision-making does not necessarily assume that all members willingly share in the responsibility for decisions made. Because it is not enough to impose one's views regarding consensual practices and procedures if responsibility for these behaviours are going to be deferred to another person/organizational level, organizational structure should portray a hierarchy of responsibility rather than an hierarchy of status.

a) Perspectives Regarding the Policy Processes of the MCWA: In terms of policy formation, as limited as it was during these specific two years of MCWA existence, the desire of the researcher was to determine from which perspective - hierarchical or alternative - did the respondents perceive the policies of the MCWA.

While some board/staff members desired, at least philosophically if not operatively, a dominant feminist orientation, the facts were that situational factors (e.g., consultation with government and provincial women's organizations) determined the theoretical application of the organization. An effort to accommodate the differing perspectives became a delicate challenge in the coordination of policy and programming. These endeavors were not always amenable to those persons who espoused a more dominant feminist ideology than did other members within the MCWA.

When confronted with Mansbridge's divisions which determine whether the MCWA could have been considered a collective (i.e., unitary democracy model) or, on the other hand, an hierarchical organization (i.e., adversary democracy model), respondents provided the following results to this section of the questionnaire:

1) Board and Community respondents (80%) primarily perceived that the policies of the MCWA pertaining to mandate, structure and programming were adversarial in nature. That is, the policies reflected a bargaining or social coercion position between the major stakeholders.

One board respondent and two community respondents indicated that in the area of structure and programming (in particular), the MCWA reflected policies and processes indicative of temporary unanimity (i.e., "being of one mind" - Mansbridge, 1983, p. 14).

These findings are consistent with concerns espoused from external, that is, rural and northern stakeholders. It was the perspective of these members that program adoption and implementation, at the Board of Directors level, required regional input. With regional interests being addressed, a global and consensual discernment of needs and focus would be attained. Within the survey construct, from which respondents were requested to chose, Mansbridge (1983) refers to this aspect of adversary democracy as being indicative of securing "equal protection of interests" (p.5). By bringing their concerns forcefully to the attention of the charter board members, a more equal representation of external communities on the board was perceived to be the means through which rural and northern communities could express equal power and equal weight with their urban counterparts.

2) Regarding mandate, the staff of the MCWA (with the exception of one respondent) perceived the policies of the MCWA, as reflected in the statement of objectives, to reflect a higher degree of unanimity (66%) than did board and community respondents.

While 40% of the staff considered program policies to be that of 'interests generally similar', the majority - i.e., 60% of the staff, indicated that program policies (primarily aimed at the direct-service aspect of MCWA operations) reflected an adversarial approach.

One observation to be made regarding these viewpoints is that the discrepancy of views held by staff members can - at least partially - be attributed to the differences in their assigned roles. That is, those staff members who were not primarily involved in direct-service related programming were safe-guarded from the contentious issue of how far and to what degree should the MCWA provide direct-service related programs.

b) Perspectives Regarding Direct-Service Provision: Whether the MCWA should have been involved in direct-service types of programming did not become controversial until the latter part of 1984. At that time, directives from the board, reflected a determined stand to contain direct service programming within the MCWA. The Volunteer Co-ordinator, confronted with large numbers of individual women repeatedly phoning the crisis line, realized the need for advocacy and support services. Through funding proposals submitted to the Core Area Initiatives and Canada Summer Works Program (1983-1984) advocacy and support workers were provided to the MCWA staffing contingent.

The question arose: To what degree and in what manner should the MCWA continue with direct service requirements? Questionnaire responses indicated that 100% of MCWA staff believed that direct-service provision should be included within the mandate of the MCWA while only 40% of Community (two community responses did not answer the question) responses and one Board member agreed to this inclusion. It was the opinion of those who were interviewed, that direct-service provisions (in particular, the crisis line) were absolutely essential during the formative stages of the MCWA. However, this perception was then qualified to reflect that the crisis line should have been planned, from the very beginning, to be transferred over to another community service (Klinic and/or Osborne House) once its benefit had been proven. According to some persons, the crisis line and the resultant advocacy support groups should have had a time-line of three years. In accordance with this perception and prediction, the MCWA would have been able to focus and direct its energies more purposefully toward their role of program coordination.

ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE: The structure of the MCWA was conceptualized in a different manner than it was realized. As far as the author/s of the organization were concerned, the MCWA would be situated within the structure of CHOW as a distinct program. By 1982, CHOW had integrated into their organizational structure residential treatment homes, a family counselling unit, a separate program for children and youth who experienced learning disabilities and a training resource program for youth requiring preparatory skills prior to seeking employment. Likely had CHOW been allowed to incorporate the MCWA into its own organizational structure, the environment and culture of the MCWA would have been more stable in programming and less volatile in governance, and, likely more tolerance to differing and oft-times competing ideologies might have been allowed.

Children's Home of Winnipeg, despite its long history - 93 years of operation within an ever evolving and changing mandate and context - was seen as an aberration to other more formal, bureaucratic hierarchical social service agencies of similar longevity. It has been the philosophy and practice of CHOW to provide innovative and alternative programming within a democratically operated organization. This structural style, that is, a loosely coupled system (Hasenfeld, 1983, p.158), has allowed CHOW to evolve a flexible and dynamic milieu. Paul Keys (1988) provides an illustration, through a case study example, of a social organization which through entrepreneurship, administrative advocacy and innovation was considered to be 'alternative' to other traditional social service agencies. The agency, in question, received this distinction because it was seen throughout the community to be "a promoter of social action and community change" (p. 62). CHOW shares this similar description.

Yet, had the MCWA commenced operation within and under this form of governance, a measure of its beginning uniqueness and impact within the social service and legal community would have been forfeited. Weil, (1988) would argue that this particular postulation is not necessarily so. Through a case study example, Weil has been able to provide an instance whereby a program, within an hierarchical structure, was able to maintain a pure ASO methodology. Through the application of feminist theory and leadership style (i.e. "analytic, interpersonal and emotional" - p.72) a "collegial organizational culture" (p. 70) was cultivated. While valuing a women's perspective, consensual decision-making and power-sharing, such an organization realizes the need to "use formal communication and hierarchical status as necessary in dealing with bureaucratic organizations" (p. 72). In other words, a feminist/alternative perspective can allow for a flexible internal and external organizational management style without fear of co-optation.

It was considered that the MCWA, unique in design and composition, would benefit from the consultation and organizational support of an established social service agency. By the prevailing social service community (as previously mentioned), CHOW was deemed as being 'alternative' due to its continued innovative programming and strong political advocacy.

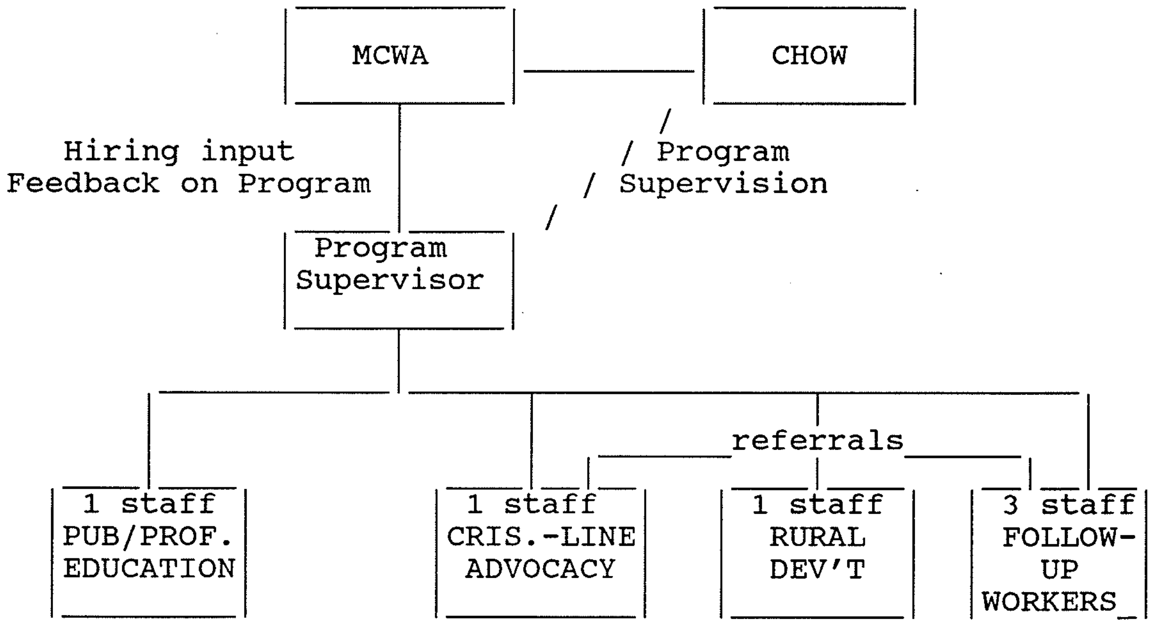
The MCWA entered into a consulting agreement with CHOW (See Appendix D). CHOW assisted the MCWA during its developmental and growth stages by providing "professional advice, structural development, accounting services, access to a benefit package for staff, and professional psychological consultation for staff and clients (Hiller, 1984, p.4). Schmidt (1989) comments that the agreement between CHOW and MCWA would be considered valid "until such time as the Committee [MCWA] could become completely independent " (p. 9).

To 80% of the staff, the structure of the MCWA (as depicted on the following page) was perceived to be an issue to which they had little control. In keeping with the bureaucratic model, the MCWA hired its employees in keeping with the need for specialization. Status and role responsibilities, as outlined by job descriptions, predetermined their position and authority within the structure of the organization. As well, the salary scale for each position was in proximity to provincial guidelines for similar jobs of equal value. Fortunately, the salary difference between the Program Co-ordinator and the other staff members was so minimal that the discrepancy did not create any conflict within working relations. In this respect, the MCWA primarily typified an 'alternative' model of operation. Bureaucratic structures, on the other hand, appear to be more prone to dramatic wage discrepancies between varying levels of management.

Gummer (1988) provides this comment:

> ...the hierarchical organization is no longer seen as a way of performing work - it is, with few exceptions, the way. As with other social institutions, moreover, the bureaucratic organization is the standard against which other structures for organizing work are evaluated (p.32).

MCWA ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE - 1982
(MCWA PROPOSAL, 1982, p. 12)


MCWA
CHOW
Hiring input
Feedback on Program
Program Supervision
Program Supervisor
referrals
1 staff PUB/PROF. EDUCATION
1 staff CRIS.-LINE ADVOCACY
1 staff RURAL DEV'T
3 staff FOLLOW-UP WORKERS

a) The Board of Directors: On October 25, 1982, the first annual meeting of the MCWA was held at CHOW. The purpose of this inaugural meeting was to elect a Board of Directors to govern policy and program directions and to adopt a proposed set of by-laws for the organization.

The charter members of this initial Board of Directors were twelve persons, four of whom were battered women. The By-laws allowed for fifteen members on the Board of Directors. The structure of this Board included provision for an:

Executive Body:	Chairperson
	Past Chairperson (existent in 1983)
	Two Vice-Chairpersons
	Secretary
	Treasurer
Committee Structure:	Northern Committee Representative
	Rural Committee Representative
	Recruitment Committee
	Education Committee
	Program Committee
	Policy Committee

(Constitution and By-Law No. 1, June 15, 1984, pp. 4,5,8).

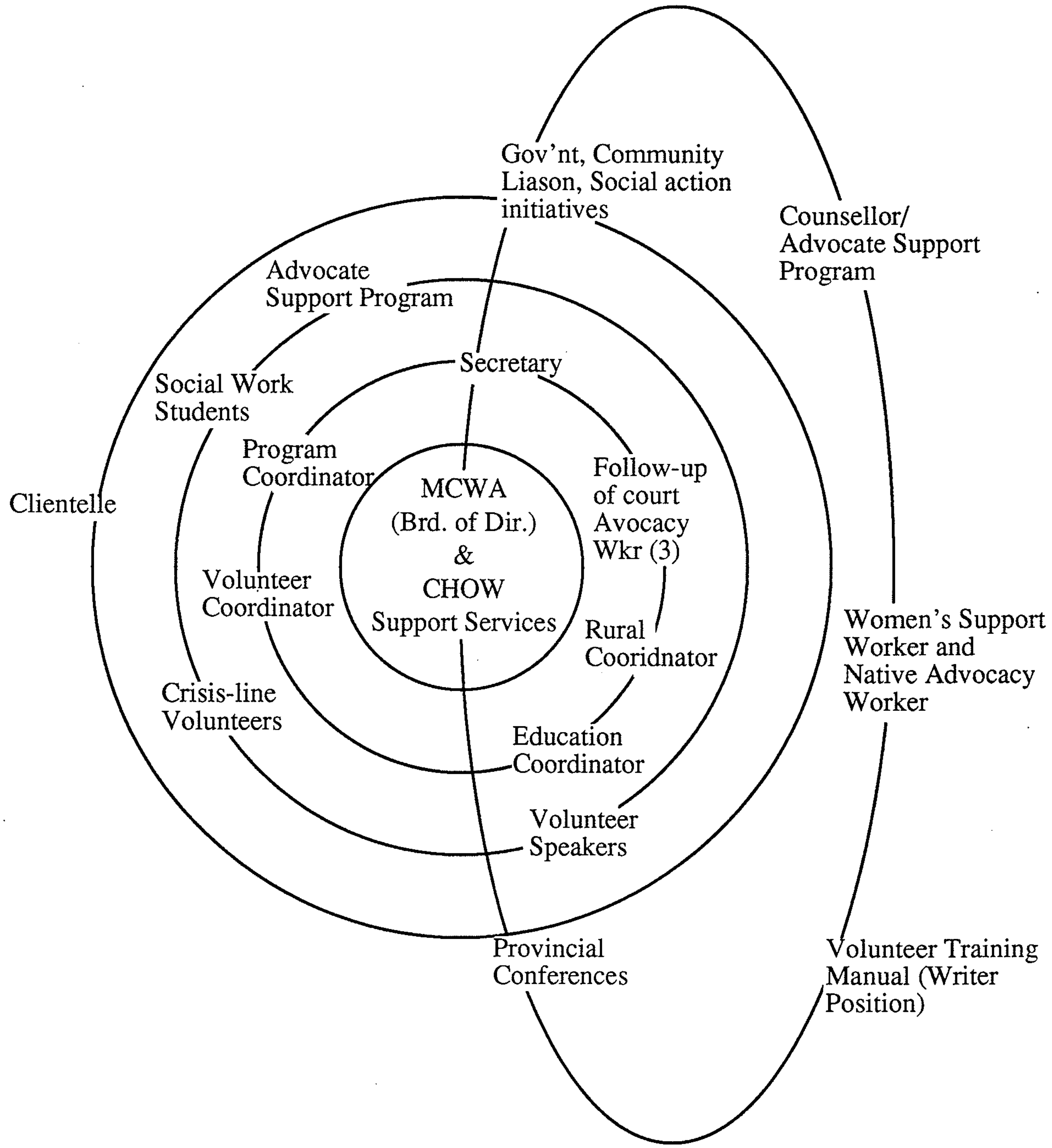
Although primarily composed of urban representatives two members represented northern and rural areas of the province. Ursel (1984) notes: "The lack of rural representatives on the board of an organization with a provincial mandate was seen as a serious problem" (p. 27).

b) Staff: When the MCWA opened its doors on January 3, 1983, eight persons began work in leased office space from CHOW - 4th floor, 777 Portage Avenue, Winnipeg. The initial staff is indicated on the afore-diagrammed organizational chart (not drawn on this original chart was the clerical support worker: Receptionist/secretary).

With the assistance of a Secretary of State grant provision (one year term position) an additional staff member was added to assist in the initial recruitment and selection and training of volunteers for the crisis-line as well as performing some rural development contact work. By February, 1984, one of the follow-up workers had been re-assigned to serve as a court advocate. The need for "increased committee liaison with court personnel" (Ursel, 1984, p. 5) and the Victim Service Program of the Winnipeg Police Department, due to the large number of charges being laid primarily in the City of Winnipeg, demanded this re-allocation of staff. It can be seen, therefore, that government social policy changes began to have an impact on the internal staffing structure of the MCWA.

During the initial year of operation, the structure of the MCWA had changed proportionately in keeping with the program activities and demands for service. Successful in capitalizing on several funding initiatives (to be elaborated on in a following section) the organizational structure of the MCWA had far out-grown its initial design. Despite the fact that funding proposals included the traditional style flow-chart as provided in the initial funding proposal, it is the opinion of this author that the organizational circle (detailed on the following page) more accurately reflects the environmental culture of the MCWA. This design clearly illustrates the complex consultation, co-ordination and communication dynamics which challenged this fledgling alternative organization in keeping with its provincial mandate.

c) Recommended Design: An Organizational Circle


Gov'nt, Community
Liason, Social action
initiatives
Counsellor/
Advocate Support
Program
Advocate
Support Program
Secretary
Social Work
Students
Program
Coordinator
Follow-up
of court
Avocacy
Wkr (3)
Clientelle
MCWA
(Brd. of Dir.)
&
CHOW
Support Services
Volunteer
Coordinator
Rural
Cooridnator
Women's Support
Worker and
Native Advocacy
Worker
Crisis-line
Volunteers
Education
Coordinator
Volunteer
Speakers
Provincial
Conferences
Volunteer Training
Manual (Writer
Position)

The eliptical circle depicts funding grants that enabled the MCWA to develop volunteer aids, advocacy initiations, outreach to victims of domestic violence from within cultural minority populations and rural and judicial program requirements in keeping with its mandates.

The organizational circle is not a construct of power relationships within an agency. Despite its resemblance to a dart board, where the inner circle would suggest a centralization of power, the organizational circle more correctly represents the dynamics of program coordination. That is, each circle has the ability to vary in degree of prominence around the hub. In relation to the need of the organization at any given period of time, one program may require a priority of attention over another. Upon attaining a functional level of stability, each program yields to another.

d) Perspectives Regarding The Organizational Structure And Environment: The following questions, as stated in the questionnaire, provide us with information related to the organizational structure and environment of the MCWA during the time in question. They are as follows:

a) Question: How stable was this organization's environment? (One signifies a high degree of stability ranging to Five which signifies conditions of rapid and unpredictable change).

Ten respondents (72%) felt that the organizational environment signified conditions of rapid and unpredictable change. Twenty-eight percent, or four respondents, considered the organizational environment to be relatively stable.

TABLE 2a

ORGANIZATIONAL STABILITY

	#	1	2	3	4	5
Staff	6		1	1	2	2
Board	3				1	2
Community	5		2		2	1

b) Question: How was the organization structured? (One characterized the MCWA as a rigid bureaucracy ranging to Five which characterized the MCWA as a dynamic project based upon an integrated organic network of working relationships).

TABLE 2b

ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE

	#	1	2	3	4	5
Staff	6		1	4	1	
Board	2*		1		1	
Community	4*			1	3	

Note: One Board response was by comment: "disrupted by competing strategies". One Community response provided n/a.

The majority of staff (67%) felt that the MCWA was neither a bureaucracy nor a dynamic project based upon an integrated organic network of working relationships. By comparison, 33% of the board and 60% of the community responses indicated that MCWA was a relatively dynamic organization based upon close working relationships. Only two responses (14%) indicated that the MCWA was more bureaucratic than alternative in nature.

c) Question: What were the principal employee motivations? (One signified that the employees moved as mindless "cogs in wheels" doing no more than they were told ranging to 5 which signified that they were fully involved with their jobs relishing autonomy and responsibility).

TABLE 2c

PRINCIPAL EMPLOYEE MOTIVATIONS

	#	1	2	3	4	5
Staff	6				5	1
Board	3*				2	
Community	4*				4	

Note: One Board member responded by making the following comment: "...personal agendas were in conflict with goals and mandate". One member of the community did not respond to the question.

This question speaks to the dynamics within the organizational structure and environment which relates to issues of governance, empowerment and autonomy reflected among the various internal/external constituents of the MCWA. The majority of respondents (86%) perceived that staff members were provided both the authority and the responsibility to complete their respective tasks. As well, the results indicated a profound degree of worker satisfaction.

From the above results, it can be concluded that the MCWA provided an ASO environment of operation allowing for creativity, innovation and empowerment. It can also be determined that the structure of the organization more clearly reflected a human relations theoretical approach to organizational structure (i.e., a participatory management style) rather than a pure collective or alternative theoretical approach to organizational structure. That is, along a continuum of one to five, one would depict staff operations as being bureaucratically controlled, three would represent a human relations context of working relations and five would be indicative of a pure collective approach to organizational work relations. Participatory management, as one method of operative conduct, lies within the parameters of human relations theory and differs from a collective/feminist direction in the following respect -- while participatory management solicits input from staff, it is the director/coordinator who makes the actual decision. A collective style of management suggests a consensual decision-making process by the staff as a whole.

The opinions of some staff members, when interviewed, suggested that some board members, influenced by their work experiences and patterns of socialization, would rather have seen the MCWA more bureaucratically defined and structured. In agreement with this perception, at least one board member stated that the MCWA was "too democratic" and as such may have benefitted more in its formative stages of development from a more rigid structure. As well, an impression by another staff member signified that "some members would have liked to have seen the MCWA become another program of the provincial government". However, staff and volunteer members of the MCWA perceived this particular viewpoint as being "against the intentions of the MCWA". Based on their desire to create a feminist-collective organizational model, any capitulation of this aim would haved denoted a cooptation to the bureaucratic norm. The MCWA was adamant in their determination to be an alternative to existent social service agencies.

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PROGRAMMING: The proposal for the MCWA laid out general programmatic areas of involvement without specifying details as to how these program areas would function or be implemented. Ursel (1984) writes:

> The broad non-specific guidelines had the virtue of allowing the Committee to grow and develop in response to needs of women in the province as they were identified. The avoidance of rigid programmatic statements permitted a flexibility necessary in a new agency for which there were no precursors and no history of models that succeeded or failed" (p. 23).

a) Public Education: Public education activities, performed by the MCWA during the period between 1982 - 1984, were geared primarily at bringing the important social problem of domestic violence into the consciousness of the public through a variety of mass media efforts. In a report to the Department of Community Services and Corrections, Hiller (1984) presented statistics depicting the utilization of public service announcements on radio and television as well as interviews on stations such as CBC, CJOB, and CKND in Winnipeg. The Co-ordinator of Public and Professional Education was also interviewed on television in Saskatchewan, Ontario and British Columbia. Mass mailouts of information enclosed within the Manitoba Hydro and Winnipeg Hydro monthly billings allowed for exposure to virtually every home in the province of Manitoba. Through the auspices of the Department of Justice, the MCWA was able to provide legal handbooks as well as purchase eight films, related to the issue of wife abuse, for use by any rural/northern/urban crisis centre or shelter.

b) Professional Education: Efforts directed toward professional education were primarily relegated to clergy, hospitals (physicians and nursing staff), school teachers (Annual SAG Conference), police training sessions and social workers (as requested). The Program Co-ordinator of the MCWA suggested to the Clinical Director of Klinic, Inc. that an educational conference be jointly sponsored by the two organizations. The conference, Intervening in Family Violence, would be directed toward multi-discipline professionals (e.g., counsellors, educators, lawyers, jurists, and health practitioners) to further assist them in their work with battered women. The three day conference attracted over 400 individuals (including delegates from other provinces) in February, 1984.

By demand, another 120 persons, attended a similar but smaller scale conference (one day only) in June, 1984.

> "Speakers from the Domestic Abuse Project (DAP), [located in Minneapolis, Minnesota] provided detailed information on designing and delivering support services to men, women and children involved in a violent family" (Ursel, 1984, p. 37).

A highlight of this conference was the attendance (through the massive planning and co-ordination efforts of the Native Liaison Worker) of a representative from almost every reserve in the province of Manitoba.

The primary area of difficulty with the public education role of the MCWA developed over the advertisement of the toll-free crisis line in Winnipeg. Rural and northern crisis centres and local organizations felt slighted when their particular local listing was not also provided on the emergency listing of their local telephone books. The Manitoba Telephone System (MTS) had agreed to list the MCWA toll-free emergency crisis line number, free of charge, at the front of all MTS (urban and rural) directories. It was considered that such a service would allow abused women, in rural and northern areas, to call for support and/or referral without fear of detection from their husbands when the monthly telephone bill was received at their homes. It was the argument from representatives in out-lying areas that if the MCWA toll-free crisis line was listed in this manner, then all rural crisis centres and shelter phone numbers should similarly be listed in their local telephone directories. The Co-ordinator for Education was able to redress this situation with the MTS to the satisfaction of all centres and communities and without cost.

> Of interest, the toll-free crisis line, while receiving a substantially lesser number of calls than from Winnipeg, primarily serviced areas where there were no existing crisis centres or shelter. Eighty-four percent of calls received were from areas without servicing, while sixteen percent reflected calls from areas where services already existed. The latter, were referred to these centres of service.

> It is positively anticipated that the number of calls on the toll-free line will diminish as local organizations, crisis centres, and shelters are developed. One suggestion being talked about is that each provincial region have a toll-free crisis line with which to service women in their localities. This is yet to be determined (Report to the Solicitor-Generals Department, Hiller, August 16, 1984, pp. 9,10).

c) The Volunteer Crisis-line: Beginning in April, 1983, the volunteer crisis-line was operated on a 24 hours a day, seven days a week basis. Through the exhaustive efforts of the MTS exchange personnel, volunteers were able to provide coverage from their homes during night and week-end shifts due to the installation of a 'state-of-the-art' call forward system - a first of its kind in Manitoba.

Initially operating with "a reliable core of 30-35 volunteers" (Ursel, 1984, p. 41) the volunteer crisis line operation "expanded to 54 volunteers. Resource workers, advisors, trainers, and facilitators were trained to continue with [a] 70 hour intensive training program" (Schmidt, 1989, p.11).

The toll-free crisis line, in actual fact, did not attract any significant numbers of women from rural or northern areas. Statistics (Ursel, 1984, Hiller, 1984) indicate that approximately 10% of the calls (116 of 1166) were from areas outside of Winnipeg. Within two years, the existence of this service provided the incentive for several crisis centres and shelters to commence their own toll-free crisis line.

d) Rural development: Rural development was one of the most successful programs of the MCWA. Schmidt (1989) records:

> ...intensive rural development and networking ...resulted in 57 communities [throughout] the province being visited. Most communities visited were those without established services for abused women. A dozen other communities had also been communicated to by phone...As of March 1, 1984 22 safe homes were operating throughout the province and 24 others [were] in the screening process and 8 in the identification stage (p. 10).

Despite its seeming success, the Rural Program was not without its problems. Ursel (1984) mentions that the primary focus of the MCWA in targeting communities "without specific wife abuse services" (p. 26) during these formative years resulted in the perception by communities with established crisis centres the sense that they were being ignored by an organization with a provincial mandate. Complicated by rural/urban tensions (previously mentioned in this study) and balancing inordinate demands for attention and service from communities with little or no direct programs, cohesion within this program area became a very difficult task. As mentioned before, dissension was ameliorated when the MCWA agreed to expand rural and northern representation on the Board of Directors from two to seven positions at the meeting in Dauphin in April, 1984.

e) Follow-up Workers: The efforts of the follow-up workers located at Osborne House appeared to be an often over-looked and under-rated program of the MCWA. Three staff members received direct referrals from Osborne House, court, social service agencies and the crisis lines. Their task was to assist women and children as they endeavoured to re-establish their lives in a violent-free environment. Through counselling, liaison with numerous social agencies and referral for psychological assessment and assistance (as required), these workers maintained continuous emotional support to the families under their supervision. They conducted, under the supervision of a professional social worker from the community, a weekly women's support group for women sheltered at Osborne House. This group work, one of the few additional programs offered at Osborne House at the time (Osborne House offered shelter, referral, advocacy and child care services) was of benefit not only to the women, but also to Osborne House. The follow-up workers were able to supplement the existing program provision of Osborne House without cost. An average case-load of 20 clients was maintained by each of the workers on a month to month basis. As Ursel (1984) records, the follow-up workers provided "the only service for abused women in Winnipeg which [offered] home visits" (p. 44).

f) Social Action and Advocacy: Finally, as previously indicated, the MCWA endeavoured to take seriously its role and task regarding social action and advocacy for battered women. Hiller (1984) wrote:

> The MCWA takes pride in three major areas of policy proposal and program delivery. We have

> been able to successfully link in with city police and RCMP. Because of the nurturing of these contacts, legal directives have been issued - the onus on the Police to lay charges, a domestic violence court created in November , 1983 for the expedition of domestic dispute assault charges, and a social allowance policy established for safe-home operators (p. 2).

Not all social action initiatives were as successful as those mentioned above. Initially commenced, but not formally completed and implemented, were the adoption of a medical protocol for hospitals as created by Dr. Charlyn Black and Ms. Maxine Topley, and an educational teaching program to be integrated into the school system from kindergarten to high school. The Education Co-ordinator worked in cooperation with representatives from the Winnipeg School Division, Guidance Counsellors Association, in creating educational components for classroom presentation on domestic violence. The draft copy of the educational kit for classroom instruction exists as it did in 1984. To date, no further work has been initiated. Regarding the matter of medical protocols, it is now understood that hospitals within Winnipeg and Manitoba have undertaken the task of creating their own medical protocols.

GOVERNANCE: Organizational development evolves along a continuum of "self interest, professionalism, and social interest" (Perlmutter and Adams, 1990, p.4). Having described the formative processes that enabled the development of the MCWA, stages of organizational development (Perlmutter and Adams, 1990) within the context of governance, are also provided:

1) Trusteeship: During the earliest stages of MCWA development, trusteeship was provided by those persons who combined their views and values into establishing the framework upon which the program was proposed to the legislature. Initially diffused among numerous representatives of the external environment, leadership was eventually concentrated within the structure of a board of directors and a hired staff. The scale of self-interest included those processes that concentrated on the nature and program needs of battered women and the ensuing commitment to get the job done.

2) Professionalism: The second stage of development, professionalism, shifts the focus of attention toward an internal orientation. Concern is directed toward quality of service. Within the construct of each program dimension, each staff member utilizes skills and knowledge in order to achieve the objectives of their particular responsibility.

Pertaining to the MCWA, knowledge and skill in the dynamics of community organization were essential for rural development. In the area of education, public relation skills and the utilization of mass media techniques were necessary tools in order to inform the general public regarding issues related to wife abuse. The volunteer-based crisis line counselling service would require expertise in recruitment, selection and training. Supportive caring and community resource knowledge were critical in order to effect life-style changes that would ensure productive and positive home environments in place of the former dysfunctional habitat previously endured by the battered woman. Finally, insight into political processes that enable advocacy and innovation were required for social action. As a result, each worker, with expertise in a particular area, was able to work relatively independently from the board of directors.

Because it was not the intention of the board of directors to "become actively involved in the day-to-day operations of the MCWA" (as commented upon by the Chairperson of the board), expertise at the program level allowed the board of directors to deal with other issues critical to the organization.

3) Social Interest: Perlmutter & Adams (1990) describe the last stage of organizational development, social interest, as being a time when the organization re-assesses "its position vis-a-vis the larger community" (p.4). For the MCWA this stage of social interest commenced during the second year of operation. Specifically, it was directed towards a more equal representation on the board of directors. The consequences of equal representation altered both the internal structure of the board and the role-expectations of the staff.

> Members of the board and staff must both engage in serious ideological discussions in order to

> prepare for the policy decisions that may change the character of the agency (Perlmutter & Adams, 1990, p.4).

Ursel (1984) while acknowledging "highlights of a growing and dynamic program" also discussed some of its "growing pains" (p.46). Ambiguities of the original mandate, that is, what is meant by 'provincial body' and what should that 'provincial body' be doing, became the centre of conflict.

> Difficulties revolve around the issue of achieving a balanced assignment of staff and resources to the urban and rural areas and to the service delivery and co-ordination functions of the committee (Ursel, 1984, p.46).

The author believes that charges and counter-charges between the board of directors and staff of 'not knowing what the other was doing' were in fact a red herring to the central issue. From its initial meeting, the board of directors received a full report of program activities and initiatives for discussion, information, approval and/or recommendation (as contained in program documents of organizational correspondence file - Board of Directors). As well, staff members were always free to attend any or all board meetings. Their presence, however, did not allow the staff to have voting privileges. This was in keeping with the by-law which states:

> All regular board meetings shall be open, without vote, to the members of the Association except when the Chairperson deems the subject under

> discussion to be confidential (Article IV:4 (d) - p. 4).

If attending, the staff members were provided an opportunity to report and/or address the board of directors regarding their concerns or the nature of their activities. The fact that reports were not read and staff did not choose to attend meetings did not mean that opportunity for awareness did not exist for both sides. The primary issue of the MCWA, during this formative period, was not that of a lack of information as Ursel suggests, or, the need for greater representation on the Board of Directors by the several constituencies (although this was an important requirement which was addressed at the 1983 Annual Meeting - seven positions being rural and "three urban positions going to nominees made by staff/volunteers" (Ursel, 1984, p. 47). The following comments, provided during interviews or documented upon the questionnaire from staff, board, and community respondents, speak to the real problem of the MCWA:

> 1) Personal agendas undermined the MCWA at all levels [therefore] there was never a period of consolidation despite the fact that all persons involved agreed with the common goal (Verbal comment).
>
> 2) People's needs got in the way of the mandate...the goal should have been to further programs for battered women, [rather] trying to help battered women was secondary to the goals of their own issues and orientations (Verbal comment).

> 3) Identity should have been with the mandate, rather it was seen in who had [the] power (Written comment).
>
> 4) [The MCWA was dealing with] people who could not come to terms with power, use of power, their own power (Verbal comment).
>
> 5) The MCWA was a highly innovative, cutting edge program which resulted in Manitoba having the highest degree of awareness and service to abused women. Unfortunately the power needs of a small group undermined the effectiveness of the coordinator. This demonstrates one of the weaknesses of an open democratic structure (Written comment).
>
> 6) In my opinion, there existed internal and external factors which in many ways interfered with the planning, policy and practices of the MCWA. The internal conflicts surrounded the struggle for power within the organization. The external factors consisted largely of an insensitive society to the needs of women (Written comment).
>
> 7) I believe that the organization lacked a firm leadership figure. The model used was 'too democratic' and control of certain strong figures and volunteers was lacking. The board acted decisively to bring the organization under control. However, the whole of MCWA did a commendable job and I salute paid and volunteer staff (Written comment).
>
> 8) Along feminist principles, staff and board attempted to move towards a system that was co-operative, where power was shared and decisions were made by consensus (Written comment).
>
> 9) It seemed to me, at least back then, that everyone had power, but used it differently (written comment).

This critical issue of governance became the Achilles heel of the MCWA. More precisely, governance was interpreted within the context of power relations and how the construct of power was used. Gummer (1988) states:

> Any discussion of organizational power is hampered by the different meanings people give it. For many, power, whether in an organization or societal context, means coercing others to follow the dictates of the powerful. Moreover, it is also assumed that people use power to promote their own interests at the expense of others. Another approach to power, however, sees it as the ability to get things done through directing resources and the activities of others toward goals that benefit all concerned (p. 36).

Eighty percent of the questionnaire respondents felt that the decision-making practices of the MCWA lay within the participatory management to collective-style range of practice. Twenty percent viewed the decision-making practices of the MCWA as being bureaucratic - that is, the leader makes/sells the decision and announces it.

While most power was assigned to the Board of Directors and/or the Program Coordinator (88%), seventy-five percent of responses indicated that they felt their input was respected and acknowledged at the level of organizational structure with which they had most involvement. Staff responses (83%) were particularly high in comparison to Board and Community responses (50%) to the same question.

Only one community and one board response indicated that the respondents felt they ranked high in power with the staff, while 67% of staff (4) felt high in power with their peers. Of staff responses, one (17%) felt they did not rank high in power at all, and, one staff (17%) did not respond to the question. These responses provide a further indication of the difficulty in coordination and communication between staff and board/community members. It would appear that the elements of power and trust, while generally experienced with comfort amongst staff members, did not extend itself to the wider sphere of relationships between staff, board and community. Informed that the board "was too busy dealing with other issues" (as provided by one board respondent), staff became distanced from the community input to which they were endeavouring to respond.

When respondents to the questionnaire were requested to plot the various positions of the MCWA within a 'power circle' (See Appendix B - p. 5), it was determined that power status complimented staff positions as graphically portrayed on the organizational chart (p. 168).

Table 3

PERCEPTIONS OF POWER WITHIN THE MCWA
(Core and Support Staff)

Administrative Secretary	******* (1.5)
Board of Directors	********************* (4.2)
CHOW Support Staff	*********** (2.1)
Follow-up Workers	****** (1.3)
Native Advocacy Worker	********* (1.9)
Program Co-ordinator	******************* (3.9)
Public Education Co-ordinator	************** (2.9)
Rural Development Co-ordinator	**************** (3.1)
Volunteer Co-ordinator	**************** (3.1)
Volunteers	********** (2.0)
Women's Advocacy Worker	*********** (2.1)
	-------------------------
	0 1 2 3 4 5
	Degree of Power

Regardless of the respondents perception that they could generally address questions related to the MCWA at staff, board, volunteer levels, it appears that there was a consensus of opinion indicating that decisions were made/influenced by a few persons or a particular cliche. If a decision was determined to be unfair/unwise, 78% of respondents felt they would/could discuss the issues with the Program Co-ordinator; 22% felt they would/could also discuss issues with the Public Education Co-ordinator or the Women's Advocacy Counsellor. On occasion, some respondents would also address issues with the Volunteer Co-ordinator, Rural Co-ordinator or CHOW staff as well as the Program Co-ordinator.

The leadership of the MCWA, designated to the role of Program Co-ordinator, was described (in interview situations) as being along a continuum of rigidity, democracy and laissez-faire styles of management. When applied to actual areas of coordination the following can be graphically presented:

Table 4

MANAGEMENT STYLES

MGMT. AREAS	RIGID	DEMOCRATIC	LAISSEZ-FAIRE
FISCAL MGMT.	X		
PERSONNEL MGMT. (Board/Staff)		X	
PROGRAM MGMT.			X

The perceived style of leadership as primarily directed toward the role of the Program Co-ordinator, during these formative years are contained in verbal opinions from a board and community respondent:

> 1) If you want a lot of productivity out of a lot of creative individuals, be laissez-faire.
>
> 2) Co-operation demands a fine art of compromise within oneself. The Program Co-ordinator was relatively democratic. In things she did not agree with, the decision was allowed to stand which reflected a majority of opinion.
>
> 3) The Program Co-ordinator was democratic at the Board and Staff levels. She gave them space...

Upon reflection of the questionnaire, the perception of power in terms of leadership can be examined in terms of the role of the board of directors as well as that of the Program Co-ordinator. In regards to the former, it would appear that the consensus of opinion would indicate that the board of directors were more formal, or rigid, in their expression of leadership whereas the Program Co-ordinator tended towards a democratic and laissez-faire style of leadership.

Kotin and Sharaf (1967) contrast the pros and cons of tight and loose styles of administration. Their views complement some of the earlier comments recorded in this section (i.e., regarding the need for tight administration) as well as an apt description of the intention of the

Program Co-ordinator during this initial period of time (i.e., the benefits of loose administration):

> A tight style fosters responsibility and order in an organization, but can also lead to stagnation and rigidity. A loose style may nurture creativity and flexibility, but it can lead to chaos and irresponsibility.
> Responsibility and creativity are both essential to the healthy growth of an organization...we speculate that the expansion phase of organizational growth may occur more frequently during periods of loose administration, while the consolidation phase may be associated more with periods of tight administration (p. 182).

To make such a statement may reflect the view that creativity and flexibility are paradoxical to responsibility and control. However, innovation does not necessarily suggest a lack of responsibility. Quite the converse, daring to "offer a different product" [by employing] different methods...targeted at a different population" (Powell, 1986, p. 57) provides risk as well as reward, and on many occasions, struggle at the expense of stability. That is, it is not realistic to believe that all efforts will be wholeheartedly accepted or acknowledged by all persons (governing or membership) at all times. Conflict, and its resolution, are important processes within an ASO (Fishman, 1988, p. 92, Perlmutter, 1988, p. 107)

When respondents were questioned as to the degree of consensus in decision-making practices of the MCWA, only one respondent answered negatively to consensus decision-making processes at all levels of the organization. In general, respondents were particularly negative towards the degree of consensus in decision making at the Board level. Only one individual responded positively. However, in staff and volunteer operations, all respondents but the one answered favourably to consensual practices of decision-making. These results provide credence to prior indicators pertaining to the philosophy and processes that influenced the day-to-day practices of the MCWA as distinguished between board and staff operations. The practices of the board were seen to be adversarial, that is, predicated upon a voting procedure, while staff operations were described as being democratic based upon attempted consensus making.

The reflection of attitudes corresponded similarly regarding outcomes of decision-making. At the individual staff and volunteer levels of operation, decision-making outcomes were viewed as positive by community and staff respondents in particular while board-level outcomes were primarily viewed as being negative from each category of respondent. A "lack of cohesiveness at the board level" (as stated by a board member in an interview session) provided a plausible explanation for such results.

This split between board and staff relations reflected in the perception of the over-all functioning of the MCWA. Fifty-eight percent indicated they were sometimes happy about the over-all functioning of the MCWA; seventeen percent indicated they were generally happy and twenty-five percent indicated they were never happy with the functioning of the MCWA. Earlier discussions regarding power issues, conflicting agendas and competing demands may also be considered as a reasonable explanation for such outcomes.

When considering the above, it is my opinion, that had the board of directors been deemed to be less authoritative and confrontational and more consensual in their operative behaviours as had been experienced at staff and volunteer levels of operation, a more positive perception would have been evidenced regarding the over-all functioning of the MCWA despite the inevitable and sporadic displays of power.

ADVOCACY AND INNOVATION: The success of advocacy, innovation and entrepreneurial skills is in their enduring efficacy.

The MCWA commenced a number of 'new' and 'different' types of programs related to service provision for battered women. Hasenfeld (1983) describes organizational innovation in the following manner:

> Organizational innovation has been defined as "any idea, practice, or material artifact perceived to be new by the relevant unit of adoption" (Zaltman, Duncan and Halbek, 1971:10). Such a definition is very broad and encompasses new ideas and practices related to the product, technology, structure, and interpersonal relations of the organization (p. 219).

Within the program dimensions of social action, support responses and liaison initiatives, the work of the MCWA was evaluated by staff, board and community persons. It is evident, that while the staff viewed their efforts in a slightly less effective manner than did the board members, the community responses, in the main, provides a balance to the other two responses. Furthermore, the community response is probably the best indicator of effectiveness being that this perception measures the considered impact of the particular initiatives.

The degree to which the community response is significantly different than staff and board responses relates to areas of direct service. The community scores further validate the perception of ambiguity regarding mandate and difficulties in co-ordination with the external community as previously discussed.

In support of staff and board responses is the fact that the majority of these initiatives were commenced in 1984 and their positive effect was as yet not fully comprehended by the community at large. Staff, board and community respondents were asked to rate the several projects initiated during the early stages of the MCWA existence. The following page provides an indication of the degree of success respondents provided in terms of these initiatives (within a range of 1 to 5, one equals a low degree of success and five equals a high degree of success).

Table 5

RESPONSE INITIATIVES

Social Action Initiative	Staff	Board	Comm.	Average
1. The directive to law enforcement officers.	4.33	4.33	4.75	4.47
2. The creation of a domestic violence court.	3.67	4.00	3.25	3.72
3. Media utilization.	3.83	4.67	4.00	4.16
4. Protocol creation for health and school systems.	2.83	4.33	4.00	3.72
Section Average	3.66	4.33	4.00	4.02

Liaison:	Staff	Board	Comm.	Average
1. Professional education.	3.00	3.67	2.50	3.06
2. Contact with native and other minority populations.	2.83	4.00	2.25	3.03
3. Funding (various levels of government).	3.17	3.67	3.50	3.45
4. The social service community.	3.00	3.50	3.25	3.25
5. Women's associations.	3.33	3.33	3.50	3.39
Section Average	3.07	3.63	3.04	3.23

Support Responses:	Staff	Board	Comm.	Average
1. Women support groups.	3.83	4.00	2.80	3.44
2. Court advocacy wkrs.	2.83	4.00	1.67*	2.83
3. Volunteer training programs in rural areas.	3.83	3.33	3.75	3.64
Section Average	3.50	3.78	2.74	3.31
Aggregate Average	3.41	3.90	3.28	3.51

Note: (*) This score provides a further confirmation of the problems experienced in rural and northern areas related to the processing of assault charges. The court advocacy program was piloted in only three rural areas as well as the City of Winnipeg.

The highest scores, in areas of social action, involved those programs which provided equal impact and benefit to the province as a whole with the least amount of difficulty in program coordination.

Board responses, which are consistently higher than staff and community responses, may result from notions of over-all support to the organization despite conflict with the purported mandate at the time, a need for self-preservation in keeping with their particular role and interest at the time, and/or the fact that the board was removed from the day-to-day operations of the MCWA.

4.6 FUNDING

The issue of wife battering coupled with the politicizing of the need for increased support and programming spurred women's organizations throughout Canada to request all available means of government support .

> Governmental, foundation, and corporate-giving programs all have a bent toward a somewhat whimsical nature: When a more attractive or urgent social need attracts their attention, or when social themes change - due to politics, economics, or new social threats - the money route

> can move in a mercurial flow, contributing to the typically short life-span of the alternative human service agency (Wilkerson, 1988, p. 124).

The House of Commons Report on Wife Abuse (1982) borrowed liberally from Linda McLeod's recommendations as given in her report entitled, Wife Battering in Canada: The Vicious Circle (1980). McLeod had recommended that the battered woman needed safety and refuge (i.e., calling for additional funding to existing shelters for battered women as well as an increase in the number of shelters available to women), second-stage housing, education, advocacy, a change in response from the criminal justice system and access to emergency funds at the point of leaving an abusive relationship (p. 19).

Advocacy groups from the various provinces appeared to select specific areas for their concentrated effort in keeping with McLeod's denotation of needs for the battered woman. From my perspective in Manitoba it appeared that:

a) The Maritimes were leaders in providing second-stage housing,

b) Saskatchewan and Ontario were vocal advocates pertaining to increased support for programming within established shelters as well as an increase in the numbers of shelters, and

c) Manitoba, Ontario and British Columbia led the attack on the lack of awareness and methodology by which the criminal justice system handled wife abuse cases that came to their attention.

With such a flurry of activity, haste in capitalizing on potential sources of funding was of utmost importance. As a means of illustration, the manner in which politics in funding played a vital role in the formation process of the MCWA is shown as follows:

In a telephone interview (February, 1989) with Sel Burrows, former Senior Management Director of Programming for Children's Home of Winnipeg (CHOW), the criteria upon which funding was based for the MCWA was discussed. Mr. Burrows, responsible for establishing the funding base, fully admitted that "there was no fancy stuff involved" (i.e., strategic financial planning) when it came to devising the funding strategy for the MCWA. Rather, the bottom line upon which the funding base was established added up to nothing more nor less than finding out "just how much we could get". Estimated program costs were merely down-sized to meet the funds that were considered to be available. A quick calculation of eight salaries based upon near current salary scales with the provincial government per classification became the major expense with 'guesstimates' projected for operating expenses. A cursory exercise such as this could do nothing more than lead to an under-estimation of program requirements while over-estimating human resource potential. Whether or not the base funding provision would allow the MCWA to maintain its mandate through its stated program objectives almost seemed irrelevant. The existent mentality was: 'Be thankful with what you have and go for more'. Therefore, the consideration that additional monies would, by necessity, have to be obtained through provincial and federal grant programs was determined from the very beginning.

Also, it was made clear to Mr. Burrows (by the provincial government), that any funds available to the Committee would have to meet the requirements of federal cost-shared programs - namely, those contained in the Canada Assistance Plan.

> Although provinces are constitutionally responsible for such matters as health, education and social services, there can be circumstances where some federal funding in these areas is thought desirable or necessary...The Canadian Assistance Plan (CAP) authorizes the federal government to share 50 percent of the costs of provincially-delivered social services and social assistance subject to a test of need or *likelihood of need* (Report of the Parliamentary Task Force on Federal-Provincial Fiscal Arrangements, August 1981, pp. 37, 143).

Negotiations with the Director-General of the Canadian Assistance Plan by Mr. Keith Cooper, Executive-Director of CHOW, allowed for the MCWA to be included within the 'likelihood of need' clause of the CAP agreement. In the main, social assistance program recipients are eligible for benefits based on a test of 'need'. Single parents with dependant children and disabled persons make up the largest proportion of social assistance recipients. In those circumstances where assault has occurred, women have been eligible for social assistance under either/or both major categories of need. When battered women, particularly with dependant children, are forced to leave an abusing relationship with limited funds (if any) at their immediate disposal, these women and their children aptly fit the category of 'likelihood of need'. The end result was that the MCWA received confirmation of Federal-Provincial cost-shared programming under the little known, and therefore seldom used, clause - 'likelihood of need'.

GRANTSMANSHIP: The MCWA, as and Alternative Social Organization, was not unaware of the transient nature of government funding. The practise of obtaining additional funds through grant applications did not fall prey to the problem of renewed funding. That is, the strategy towards seeking a government grant was solely for the purpose of achieving short term monies to accomplish a single purpose explicit within its existent mandate. Examples of such grants were:

a) Producing a volunteer training manual that would not only be the pilot study for the crisis lines of the MCWA but could also be utilized by other crisis shelters in training their volunteers (Through the Manitoba Employer Assistance Program - Province of Manitoba),

b) The evolution and training of an advocacy court worker for Winnipeg as well as in three rural areas (a Ministry of Justice Grant - The Federal Government), and

c) The hiring of a native liaison worker to work with native groups in the City of Winnipeg as well as visiting native women on reserves who were desirous of information, educational material, and co-ordination of their efforts in dealing with abused women. Also contained within the same grant application was the request for a Women's Support Group Worker. This staff member would be responsible for developing a problem-solving and self-help group. (a Core-Area Initiatives Grant Initiative).

> The intent of this pilot study [was] to test and adapt...models to circumstances in Manitoba and then to encourage existing social service agencies to integrate such programs into their services. Committee staff would be available to run training workshops for interested personnel in responsive agencies. This program [would have been] considered as part of the education program because it [was] designed to provide highly specialized professional development to trained counsellors (Ursel, 1984, p. 44).

d) The provision of funds for the Thompson Shelter to hire several native outreach workers to work on northern reserves in order to provide education and consultation for program development in matters pertaining to battered women (a NADAP Research and Development Proposal to extend for three years).

e) A counsellor/advocate support position was provided to assist the volunteer coordinator with crisis intervention support on the crisis lines as a supplement and relief to trained volunteers; in providing in-person ongoing counselling to battered women; and, to assist in the screening, training, evaluation and future development of the volunteer program (a Federal Government Canada Works Program proposal).

These grants were vital to program implementation in that they allowed the MCWA to test various formats in volunteer training as well as methods in co-ordinating rural development.

PITFALLS TO SUCCESSFUL FUNDING: Difficulties in funding pertained to political as well as practical realities. For example, the main problems inherent within short-term funding schemes such as the obtaining of numerous grants remain:

1) Grants allow an organization to work with (but not keep) creative, industrious, and committed persons,

2) Grants have a way of developing a false sense of security to the person hired to a short-term position. That is, the individual/s know that tenure is for a designated period, but somehow hope the Program Co-ordinator will find a means of securing another grant in order to keep them within the organization.

From an external point of view, it is possible that other community agencies assumed that the MCWA would attempt to maintain each program as applied for in funding proposals rather than merely test/model or complete most of these initiatives, and

3) Grants create a sense of frustration and futility within that segment of the program which has benefitted from the short-term assistance.

The MCWA was particularly successful in receiving a positive response to each grant proposal. Most of the grant proposals received actual monies as requested. However, there were also instances whereby a funder literally walked in the door asking if the MCWA could utilize monies in some manner that would blend in with the over-all agendas of their particular department (e.g., the Solicitor General's Department and the Ministry of Justice). While encouraging to the MCWA, such success in funding caused several concerns with external constituents.

Crisis centres, when applying for funds for start-up or on-going operation, would receive from some "provincial politicians and civil servants a 'we gave at the office' response" (Ursel, 1984, p. 28). In this regard, the MCWA was seen as a competitor for scarce funds. Regardless of the various support letters requested and received by outlying areas from the MCWA regarding their local funding proposals, such remarks by provincial representatives did nothing to improve relationships between the MCWA and rural and northern areas. One respondent called this particular tactic "a divide and conquer" approach that "led to many problems and kept the MCWA from meeting its mandate".

4.7 INITIATIVES AND RESPONSES

It is important to realize that the MCWA did not commence nor initiate all essential service provisions to battered women within the Province of Manitoba. Credit for the initiation of preliminary services to battered women belongs to many persons within a multitude of disciplines who had been systematically responding to the needs of battered women, throughout the province, for a period of ten (or more) years.

A primary, rather than ad hoc approach to battered women was seen through the prior establishment of:

a) three shelters for battered women,

b) five crisis centres - throughout rural Manitoba,

c) emergency welfare provisions for women hurriedly leaving their violent homes, and for those women with little or no source of income, shelter per diem costs were covered by income security offices (municipal and provincial), and

d) the supportive representation of many lawyers before the courts regarding the need for restraining orders against the abusive partner.

The aim of the MCWA was to build on this framework of services for battered women. There was to be no duplication of services. Programs were to be unique.

Many workers, in outlying areas, misunderstood this premise. It was their perception that the MCWA had overlooked their contribution/s of providing initial programming for battered women. In fact, the MCWA clearly indicated to these shelters and crisis centres that it was not the intention nor the task of the MCWA to tell these outlying workers what they should/should not be doing. Rather, they were repeatedly informed (through direct conversations and through their board representatives) that the MCWA would only work in cooperation and consultation with their programs in accordance with their requests. As one respondent verbalized: "The need for services in rural areas was so great that the MCWA could not respond quick enough. They (meaning the MCWA) first of all had to establish their own programs". This respondent went on to say:

> A lot of people were interested in battered women. The MCWA became a megaphone regarding people's concerns. That is, the MCWA was to respond to what services were specifically required. It could not have existed at all without a broad base of support...The MCWA had a way of focussing policy (Verbal opinion from a former Board member).

Pertaining to the various initiatives of the MCWA, the following excerpts, gathered from various letters and reports contained in cabinet minister's files located at the Manitoba Archives, provide an illustration of the cooperative relationship that the MCWA enjoyed with various departments of the provincial government as well as other community services:

> The Manitoba Committee on Wife Abuse is grateful for the encouragement and support given us by many

government departments. In all areas, assistance has been spontaneous. The MCWA looks forward to continuing its positive relationship with the government (Letter from C. Hiller congratulating the Attorney-General on his public announcement regarding the directive to law enforcement officials, Feb. 15, 1983).

Committee staff members have been very successful in gaining the co-operation of local criminal justice and social service providers in implementing effective responses to family violence (Canadian National Clearinghouse on Family Violence regarding working relations between the MCWA and government officials, May/June, 1983, p. 5).

The MCWA was a prime force requesting such innovative action. The purpose of the directive was not to see how many persons would be incarcerated but that deterrence is better than physical destruction. (Press Release from MCWA on May 22, 1984 regarding further program announcements and referring back to the Attorney-General's directive).

Following numerous meetings with the Program Co-ordinator and City of Winnipeg Police representative, the Director of Prosecutions recommended the following on Feb. 21, 1984:

1. the need for sensitization and training of various participants in the criminal justice system as to the problems related to wife abuse.
2. the need for increased funding in order to establish a province-wide computer data base for the monitoring of charges since the Attorney-General's directive,
3. the need for funding for research on sentencing trends regarding assault charges related to wife abuse.

The Program Co-ordinator made a request to the Attorney-General: to have a meeting regarding responses by judges...and that work commence toward unencumbering the judicial process (July 4, 1984). A Domestic Violence Court commenced operation in November/1984.

On Nov. 14, 1984 a proposal to the Treasury Board was submitted by the Department of Community Services regarding the development of a large scale multi-media campaign (i.e., TV and radio announcements, advertisements on transit shelters and within transit buses, the press and brochures

> for distribution). The Co-ordinator of Education of the MCWA had participated fully in the discussions leading up to this proposal. This initiative followed the successful implementation of public service announcements by the MCWA.

It can be seen, that the MCWA did much to influence the direction of government policy and action. However, without the reciprocal spirit of openness and cooperation by the various departments of the provincial government as well as the political and public attention given to the issue of wife abuse at the time, the MCWA would have achieved little success in working toward their stated mandate and objectives.

4.8 WORKING THE DESIGN

How well did the MCWA fulfil its desire to become an 'alternative' to more traditional social organizations within the framework of theory, structure, governance and program design?

Paul Keys (1988) compared the differences between an alternative social organization and a traditional social service agency in the following statement: "Politics, administrative advocacy, entrepreneurship, and innovation are often not the guiding ideology of public sector human service agencies" (p.59). Perlmutter (1988) amplifies the statement by Keys when she addresses the special nature of alternative social organizations. When illustrating the variances between traditional and alternative organizations, Perlmutter lists the following characteristics of an alternative social organization:

> 1. ASOs are committed to social change [rather than maintaining the status quo]. Public education and advocacy are central to the mission...
>
> 2. ASOs focus on governance structures with special attention paid to the use of power and hierarchy.
>
> 3. ASOs are organized to meet the needs of special populations with special problems.
>
> 4. ASOs provide new and innovative services.
>
> 5. The personnel [of ASOs] are certainly not the usual professionals found in health and human services...They are either themselves members of the target population being serviced, or ideologically committed to or identified with this population...A mainstay...is its volunteers...
>
> 6. ASOs view smallness of size as an important variable since it permits face to face interaction among all of its participants.
>
> 7. ASOs are constantly struggling with their finances...
>
> 8. Leadership within an ASO requires a special set of characteristics not usually considered in leadership literature. Leaders must be...unconventional, risk-takers, comfortable with difference, able to tolerate economic insecurity and instability...must be continually looking for new service responses and [continually] fundraising. They must be committed to participatory governance processes, have a keen understanding of social policy and relevant legislation, [and] mediating skills can service a vital function in the many conflict situations which inevitably arise (pp. 110-112).

This research study has shown that the MCWA was able to meet the above delineated indicators of an alternative social organization.

Ideologically speaking, the needs of battered women were perceived as a women's issue, and as such, primary policy provisions were articulated from a feminist perspective. The fact that the MCWA borrowed from bureaucratic organizational theory in the development of its organizational structure does not detract from its mission. Because the MCWA used a flat hierarchical structure, funders were more willing to give the MCWA credence and status. While Ursel (1984) recommended the deployment of a matrix design for the MCWA "whereby responsibilities and related tasks are assigned to an individual or group most qualified to undertake the assignment, regardless of their position in the organizational structure" (p.49), the author of this thesis suggested that an organizational circle model would be more indicative of the actual nature of relationships and responsibilities within the MCWA. It is the perception of the writer, that had a matrix design been implemented, the MCWA would have adopted a variation of a bureaucratic hierarchical model of organizational structure. Such a format would have detracted from the original intent of the MCWA.

The human relations module of organizational theory emphasizes participatory management styles of governance as opposed to the authoritative command and control methodology of bureaucratic and scientific management styles of leadership. The MCWA was found to be particularly democratic within staff and volunteer operations but more authoritative between board and staff/volunteer relationships. While its participatory management did not reflect a pure collectivist approach toward decision-making processes - (the feminist ideal), the MCWA largely reflected processes of participatory governance on a day-to-day basis. There were times when the Program Co-ordinator was called upon to make decisions and/or reflect the suggested views of the organization when dealing with various governmental officials. It was on these occasions, that the MCWA particularly reflected a contingency model of organizational management.

> [The contingency model] presents a holistic perspective of organizational theory encompassing the major theoretical models of organization, and it provides a basis for establishing the unique dimensions of organizations which deliver services to human beings. The contingency model has emerged from general systems theory and is therefore easily integrated into other theoretical models of social work practice (Glisson, 1985, p. 108).

Although the risk of being co-opted to the philosophy and practices of another organizational model presented itself on these occasions, there is no indication from verbal, written or documented sources that the MCWA was a victim to this type of political ploy. Personal examples could be cited whereby the Program Co-ordinator removed herself from certain meetings for a short period of time in order to strategize with staff members (using multi-circuit telephone conversations) regarding perceived risks regarding some particular course of action.

In the area of leadership, at no time did the leadership of the MCWA fully reflect the requirements as suggested by Perlmutter. Such a multi-dimensional person exists [perhaps] only on paper. Faced with the constant demands and decisions of competing factions within as well as without the organization, leadership within the MCWA demanded the ability to negotiate and compromise at all levels of the organization as well as with various groups of the external community.

While funding for program requirements were continually being sought, the attainment of monies was primarily successful. The MCWA closely followed a proven fund-raising process of proposal writing, proposal submission and proposal lobbying as provided through the consultation services with CHOW. Despite the obvious competition for scarce financial resources within the social service spectrum of government provision and the commitment of time and effort in preparing each submission, it was the challenge in procuring additional monies that provided the catalyst for each funding presentation.

The MCWA was fully aware that their success in obtaining additional funding was largely due to the political nature and high public profile that the issue of wife battering had been receiving at that specific point in time. The MCWA was also aware that the issue of wife abuse may be replaced in priority, at any given moment, by some other pressing social problem. Should this occur, the new social problem would then demand and receive the immediate attention and response of elected political leaders (e.g. homeless persons, children at risk, special needs within education).

Within the formative years of the MCWA (1982-1984), approximately one million dollars was provided through provincial and federal grants to programs for battered women. The MCWA was the catalyst for and often the recipient of many of these grants.

In summary:

> One expects to have challenges and pressures of/from one sort and another, both large and small. One thing clear from the beginning was -- a very small group of women were about to 'take on' a completely overwhelming task. We would be charting untested and unknown waters here-to-fore never challenged. It was not that we were unaware of our 'David and Goliath' situation, rather, that we dared so much by so few. Professor Ursel described the results of work accomplished as being "five years in one" (Report to the Solicitor-General, Hiller, August 16, 1984, p.7).

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

5.1 THE BOND BETWEEN THEORY AND APPLICATION

Some theories can lead to exciting experiments in organizational development. Such is the case regarding the theory pertaining to Alternative Social Organizations. It is primarily upon this theory that suicide prevention programs, rape crises centres, shelters for battered women and self-help groups for victims of crime, the unemployed or the handicapped are modelled (Hoehne, 1987, p.251). The desire to work towards a progressive and preventative form of 'alternative' programming within a democratically operated organization is the basis for ASOs. The opinion of the author (and expressed by colleagues as well) is, that traditional, bureaucratically-operated social service organizations primarily offer curative programming rather than preventive forms of intervention. That is, they react to the crisis at hand rather than attending to the social problem within a holistic framework.

A CONSTRUCT OF THEORY:

> A construct is tested in terms of its predictive efficiency...Each day's experience calls for the consolidation of some aspects of our outlook, revision of some, and outright abandonment of others (Kelly, 1955, p. 12,14).

To Kelly (1955), from a psychological perspective, each person develops and tests his/her perception of the world around them. In doing so, some representations and/or interpretations are maintained while others are revised or replaced. This process of interpreting one's environment in an ever-changing world is called 'constructive alternativism' (p. 15). To Kelly,

> No one needs to paint himself [herself] into a corner; no one needs to be completely hemmed in by circumstances; no one needs to be the victim of his [her] biography (p.15).

To advocates of Alternative Social Organization theory, it is possible to extend the significance of the above-stated assertions from the individual to the organizational level. Program components, within an ASO framework, by necessity, appear to include areas related to education, social action, advocacy and innovation. The product of program development, growth and change is purported to be freedom, empowerment and democracy. Ideally, worker and client, organization and community are provided the opportunity of working towards greater unanimity and solidarity through processes of consensus-making related to practices of equal power and respect (Hoehne, 1987, Rothschild-Whitt, 1979, Mansbridge, 1983).

ORGANIZATIONAL CULTURES: Garth Morgan (1986) depicts culture as "shaping the character of organization" (p. 117). According to Morgan, culture allows credibility and legitimacy to certain patterns of action; provides an avenue for the creation and interpretation of organized action; and, is always evolving. That is, culture is influenced by complex interactions between people (pp. 135-139). As such, it provides us with shared meaning, understanding and sense-making. Within organizations, the culture of an enterprise is measured in terms of the working environment, expressed attitudes (political as well as interpersonal relationships) and belief systems upon which mandate and mission are predicated. Besides the behavioural and psychological expression of culture, there is also the verbal articulation or written form of organizational culture. This aspect of organizational culture is often depicted in a statement of philosophy. To an ASO, the formulation of a philosophy statement is fundamental to its existence. The MCWA was no exception. Its statement of philosophy is found in Appendix D.

The culture of bureaucratically administered organizations and collective or entrepreneurial systems of operation have often been compared (Miner, 1982, Abels, 1981, Harrison, 1987). This is mainly due to the fact that bureaucratic, or hierarchical, organizations are seen to be at one end of the administrative continuum while collective, or alternative, structures are seen to be at the other end of the administrative continuum. As well, each of these administrative forms engenders differing managerial styles of operative behaviour. Bureaucratic organizations are seen to be regimented, stable and orderly. Alternative organizations, on the other hand, are considered to be flexible and, as such, are perceived to be more apt at being able to respond to unpredictable processes or events that can and do occur within an unstable environment.

The establishment of 'hierarchy' throughout bureaucratic organizations is evidenced in terms of structure, style, staff selection and salary disparity. Governed by strict and rigid policies, few situations are left to chance. In place of philosophy statements, procedural manuals amass directions for most circumstances. The 'raison d'etre' of bureaucratic organizations lay in their desire to increase profits while decreasing losses. Annual statements hope to depict a low cost-benefit ratio (that is, emphasis on efficiency) while balancing effective program outcomes (Rossi & Freeman, 1989, pp. 386-388). In other words, they hope to show that program efforts, considered worthwhile, are being implemented at the lowest possible cost factor. This is extremely important during times of severe fiscal restraint. The effect that this reality has on bureaucratic social service agencies is that these organizations are forced to maintain a low staff - high caseload ratio. Workers in these structures become overwhelmed and 'burned out' due to extreme demands on their time and physical/emotional capabilities. Rather than being able to do what they would really like to do in terms of innovative programming they are barely able to keep up with what is minimally expected of them.

Collective organizations, on the other hand, are viewed as being flexible and egalitarian. Open systems of communication reflect collaborative and consensual decision-making practices. Values reflecting community and cooperation replace hierarchical environments of competition and control. Conflict is mediated through compromise. Program benefits and utility are often seen as being more important than predicted or actual costs (that is, a benefit to cost ratio - Rossi & Freeman, 1989, p.377). ASOs thrive in work environments considered to be unstable (due to innovation and rapid change) and whose technologies are geared toward the unpredictable. Big 'P' politics are as crucial as little 'p' politics. That is, both external and internal relationships of an ASO require good will, collaboration and responsibility.

The MCWA was considered to be relatively democratic in practice. Directing its energies to create new programming for battered women with minimal funding supplemented by small to medium-size grant allocations, its initial success was dependent upon flexibility. Through the maximization of volunteer involvement, relationships were able to be formed with rural and northern communities in the formation and provision of educational materials and training to crisis centres and smaller local organizations. Contacts extended through tri-level government arrangements, multi-media outlets and professional as well as business associations. Despite these benefits, which far exceeded the financial costs, the pressure of seeking ways and means to maintain innovative services was not without risk and stress to the staff and volunteers of the organization. While endeavouring to balance goodwill and responsibility between and among the external and internal community, greater success was realized with the external community rather than the internal community.

THE INTEGRATION OF NORMATIVE APPROACHES WITHIN ADMINISTRATIVE SYSTEMS: Within administrative systems, norms or values take on political considerations and implications. Because values characterize personal as well as political arrangements and actions, they can take on an evaluative aspect. That is, norms/values are able to describe a particular state of affairs.

In order to understand the cultural or political life of a community ('community' in this instance being applied to an organizational environment), it is important to understand the conceptual (normative) base of a given group of relationships.

Abels (1981) presents a triad of values which he suggests are prerequisite to a creative organization. They are: freedom, respect, and dignity. To Abels, these normative approaches provide a basis for worker creativity, worth and belonging.

> People are motivated to work when they are treated with respect, feel they have the opportunity to function with some autonomy, and believe what they do will make a difference (p. 190).

Mansbridge (1983), in her argument for unitary democracy, suggests that the normative approach to organizational development should be predicated upon equal respect, equal power and consensus. The product of these value formations will result in unanimity, empowerment and solidarity.

> The central assumption of unitary democracy is that, while its members may initially have conflicting preferences about a given issue, goodwill, mutual understanding, and rational discussion can lead to the emergence of a common enlightened preference that is good for everyone (p. 25).

When Mansbridge speaks of the need for equal power, she does so with the understanding that not all persons in all situations, within an organization, will act in the common interest. Rather, there will be those occasions when self-interest or 'differing' interests will conflict (pp. 229, 238). When philosophical or political views pertaining to the normative conduct of an association/s differ, each constituent will seek to capture certain elements of their interpretation for partisan purposes.

Wilkinson (1988) warns that "Staff 'equals' do not tend to stay equal indefinitely" (p. 125). The mere fact that persons working within an ASO espouse common goals and interests does not necessarily preclude that differences do not exist in the areas of motivation and competency in achieving the common goal.

> Juggling within these sets of human dynamics and variables, that are bound to develop, must be the most delicate of tasks...In such situations, the dynamics finally become self-centered; and the group fervor that characteristically carries the flow of democracy, enthusiasm, and compliance ultimately breaks. How many minor cracks can be sustained and whether they can be repaired in an alternative human service agency, short of moving to the bureaucratic model, is an intriguing area for more experimentation and investigation (pp. 125, 126).

The MCWA was no exception in this regard. Although bound together in a desire to provide services to battered women, differences did exist in terms of philosophy and politics. That is, not all members of the MCWA shared similiar beliefs regarding feminism. Along the political continuum of feminist ideology, some members of the MCWA were more moderate than others. These differences were also translated into differences regarding what some considered to be acceptable referral resources for battered women and those which was considered to be unacceptable. That is, battered women should only be referred to those counselling and support resources within their community that advocated a feminist counselling modality. Not all members agreed with this particular stance. Because there is a scarcity of resource provisions in some rural and northern communities, a feminist counselling modality may not be available. It is the author's opinion that hesitation, or refusal, to provide a battered woman with a counselling referral in such an exigency would be paramount to responding in an unethical manner to a purported need.

Hasenfeld (1983) states that "ideologies provide the normative basis for justifying and rationalizing service delivery practices" (pp. 223, 224). He warns however, that if ideologies are so "tenaciously held" to the exclusion of other opinions or models of intervention, then those ideologies can "represent a serious obstacle to innovation and change" (p. 224).

AN ORGANIZATIONAL CULTURE IN PROCESS: The MCWA opened its doors without an organizational culture in existence. Entering through a door of 'never befores' coupled by being strangers to one another, the organizational culture of the MCWA was yet to evolve in order to be nourished. To some members within the MCWA, who were adamant regarding feminist principles, a feminist ideological base should have predetermined and prescribed the basic tenets and activities of the organization. On the other hand, to certain pragmatists within the structure of the MCWA, the culture of the MCWA would evolve over time. The diverse and complex nature of relationships, demanded of the MCWA (from other alternative as well as hierarchical organizations), would determine its normative characteristics.

When people, unfamiliar to one another, are placed together in a novel environment and expected to create and try out innovative programs, Abels (1981) prescribes two fundamental tasks. They are, namely, the accomplishment of the task and the maintenance of the group. When these two issues are addressed, satisfaction and security within the organization is bound to occur.

To a great degree, the MCWA was able to accomplish the majority of its immediate tasks. However, (at least during the initial two years) by not paying sufficient attention to the process by which the tasks would be accomplished, that is, the nurturance of cohesion within the group, the seeds of disruption were sown. As a result, the common goal which existed at the commencement of its operation became fragmented. Emerging streams appeared to distinguish between those persons who were pursuing personal political agendas and interests and those persons who remained single-minded in desiring to provide a feminist-oriented counselling programming to battered women. The latter, upset at the board of directors lack of emphasis on direct-service provision, began to explore channels through which they could fulfil their goals. These members, some staff and volunteer persons, considered the possibility of establishing a women's counselling and advocacy organization apart from the MCWA.

It seems to have been the case, within the MCWA, that power dynamics were the primary crucial area that led to conflict. The conflict was not one of denial of power to membership, rather, conflicts arose regarding the manner in which power was put into operation. "How equally power should be divided in a democracy therefore depends partly on how similar the members' interests...really are" (Mansbridge, 1983, p. 31).

A former executive-director of another Winnipeg-based ASO, who experienced similar situations within her organization concluded: "I gave too much power away. It (meaning the dynamic of power) became too diffused. I trusted too much".

Therefore, one can deduce that values such as freedom (autonomy), respect, dignity, power, and democracy - freely given - are insufficient. Perhaps what is more important, and all too often assumed, is that unless these values are predicated upon responsibility that reaches beyond the self, they are open to abuse and/or corruption. Within the MCWA, while most persons wanted to participate in the decision-making processes of the organization, not all persons were willing to be part of the decision-taking processes of the organization. In collective organizations, consensus in decision-making processes requires sharing in the process as well as the consequences for an action taken.

Dexter Faulkner, European Bureau Chief for The Plain Truth magazine, states in an editorial column:

> Personal freedom [this particular concept could be substituted by any of the previously referred to normative attributes as well] is not an escape from but an escape into responsibility toward others. True liberty, as far as our human relationships go, is taking into account the needs of others as well as our own (The Plain Truth, January, 1991, p. 29).

Openness to opposing views can become the stimulus to innovation and change. Hasenfeld (1983) encourages organizations to "be free from entrenched ideologies, inflexible goals, and rigid structures". In quoting Hedberg, Nystrom and Starbuck, Hasenfeld enlists organizations to "encourage a diversity of opinions and objectives based on minimal consensus" (p. 247).

Conceptual revisions, that is, those views that deviate from the dominant ideology, are necessary to any political strategy that aims to change social life in modest or radical ways. Because social activists respond to inequities along a broad continuum of political thought, it is essential to incorporate conceptual revisions into norms of responsibility and respect for people as a part of the political fabric of a modern stratified society. Therefore, determining a philosophical or normative base of operation that is able to accommodate differences in orientation is crucial for every organization. The MCWA was less than successful in this regard.

5.2 RELATING EXPERIENCE INTO CHANGE: PROPOSALS FOR ALTERNATIVE SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS

THE CONTINGENCY APPROACH: In keeping with the description given by Gareth Morgan (1989) regarding the contingency approach to organizations and their environments, the primary strategic task "facing the top management...is to achieve...internal and external balance" (p. 76). Morgan describes three types of organizations of which the 'prospector organization' best fits the criteria of an ASO. According to Morgan, this type of organization:

> a) [Focuses] on developing a relationship with the environment based of finding, developing and exploiting new opportunities,
> b) Sees its products as relatively short-term ventures and uses technologies, organizational structures, and managerial styles that create and support the required flexibility, and
> c) Recognizes that [the organization] must "keep on the move" so that it can evolve along with changing opportunities...it is ideally suited for turbulent environmental conditions. (p.76).

When an ASO is able to maintain a line of congruency along the aforementioned dimensions, then its operation will no doubt be effective. By definition, ASOs dare not maintain the status quo in social service provision. They are expected to be dynamic and versatile. Along a scale of one (depicting stable, defensive, routine, and mechanical operations) to five (depicting turbulent, pro-active, complex, and organic operations), questionnaire results indicated that the MCWA was congruent at the 'four' level of the scale. This relatively high scale index underlies the MCWA's determination to maintain a distinctive and at times controversial image within the existing external environment. In so doing, the MCWA was not prepared to be co-opted by larger more hierarchical organizations who, until that point in time, had been dominant in the community.

THE EMERGENCE OF NEW ORGANIZATIONAL FORMS: In an article entitled "From Bureaucracies to Networks: The Emergence of New Organizational Forms (Morgan, 1989, pp. 64-67) organizations are modelled along a continuum ranging from a "rigidly organized bureaucracy" to that of a "loosely coupled organic network" (p. 64). It is interesting to note that the latter model incorporates these specifications:

> a) a small core of staff who set a strategic direction and provide the operational support necessary to sustain the network,
> b) it contracts other individuals and organizations to perform key operational activities,
> c) it is really a system of firms -- an open-ended system of ideas and activities, rather than an entity with a clear structure and definable boundary (p. 67).

This description most clearly typified the MCWA within its functional role capacity. Ursel (1984) recommended that the MCWA adopt a matrix model approach to its operations (p. 49). If such was the case, Ursel believed that the MCWA would effect a more stable internal environment while increasing its external coordinating capacity. While there would no doubt have been positive effects to such an implementation, it is the opinion of this researcher that such an adoption would have also produced the negative side-affects of moving the MCWA toward a more authoritarian and bureaucratic framework as well as diminishing its creative and flexible capabilities. In so doing, the MCWA would have become 'just another' social service organization rather than 'an alternative' social service organization within the Manitoba landscape of community organizations.

MAINTAINING AN ALTERNATIVE SOCIAL SERVICE FRAMEWORK:

The following proposals are provided as a means of creating and maintaining new organizations that desire to employ 'alternative' means in attaining responsible social action to difficult social problems. Administrative policies and skills must reflect and incorporate those practices that will secure the organization's survival in a political-economic competitive environment.

a) Strategic Marketing - The Premises Upon Which To Form A Mandate (Mission) Statement:

The mandate of the MCWA complemented federal/provincial agendas at a time when public awareness demanded parliamentary response as well as meeting gaps in service where existent social agencies had failed to respond. However, planning based on market information was almost negligible. The only source of background information was the McIntosh, Reid and Russell (1982) survey of current practices being provided by social service agencies in Manitoba at the time. Greater attention should have been given to information gathering on a province-wide scale with the organization of the relevant data into demonstrable programming which could have been promoted prior to conception rather than after the fact. No wonder that the marketing of "a provincial organization to respond to the social problems of wife abuse" (Article II: Objective #4, By-Laws, 1984) had a dubious beginning.

Therefore, based on this example, it is proposed that ASOs conduct a thorough needs assessment as part of their strategic marketing processes. The needs assessment should relate to the external environment within the context of a political-economic framework. That is, it is necessary for the analyses to indicate the needs of all 'stakeholders' and the manner in which the intended service/program would meet the needs and challenges exacted upon it. Otherwise, the ASO may find itself caught in a trap of its own making - namely, taking on too much or, planning to be too big before it is ready to take on large commitments.

b) Strategic Planning - A Basis for Policy Creation:

Politically, the MCWA was industrious and to a large extent successful in creating and developing innovative programs and developing successful relationships with funders. Funding agencies were also, with the exception of one or two minor revisions that were requested, pleased with the program planning submissions for new monies. However, the MCWA was found wanting in two important areas. Firstly, the MCWA failed to conduct a cost-benefit analysis pertaining to actual costs it would require in implementing its proposed programming. Secondly, the MCWA could have promoted a more positive relationship with existent shelter resources, who were also competing for scarce funds, had they collaborated in a more effective manner. It was the perception of existent shelters and crisis centres in Manitoba that the MCWA received monies that should have been ear-marked for them. Had the MCWA conducted a more efficient strategic planning process to begin with, benefits in relation to costs could have been more positively communicated to rural and northern communities.

Therefore, it is proposed that ASOs need to formulate documented plans related to program design and financial realities. The strategic plan must be sufficiently flexible to adapt to environmental and social changes which may create financial crisis from time to time while taking into account the rigidities and constraints of existing funding and regulatory bodies. Because networking and coalition building is an important function of ASOs, ideological tenets must not be allowed to hinder coexistence and cooperation with other interested community groups and government services which could further increase political, economic, and planning stability. Strategic planning necessitates the development of board-staff relationships and the clarifying of their respective roles and functions as well as marketing efforts with both external and internal constituencies.

c) Cooperation and Consensus - A Formula for Successful Programming: It is not the intention of the researcher to portray that the MCWA was without any measure of cooperation and consensus within the working group. Obviously, to successfully accomplish the initial tasks, as dictated by the existent mandate, working relationships were established and communication and collaboration with one another did exist. However, camaraderie does not necessarily imply unity. Unity comes through consensus-building. Influenced by people with particular agendas, the MCWA slowly slipped from consensus into suspicion and finally into dissensus.

From this experience, it is proposed that ASOs be vigilant and alert to factions that could become subversive to the organization. Through the establishment and maintenance of open processes of communication within and among all levels of the organization, continued collaboration and consensus is possible. The challenge of consensus-making engenders processes of unity which once achieved are worthwhile.

d) Patience and Tolerance - Bulwarks of Governance: The task of program coordination was made all that more difficult due to the vacuum that existed in programming for battered women. The heavy demands which were placed upon the MCWA to provide counselling, advocacy, referral, reform and education came from all directions. Police, government, welfare offices, child and family service agencies as well as local organizations in rural areas were desperate for any form of assistance that could be proffered. This was, at times, quite over-whelming to a new organization that was yet to create any tangible form of program component. The expectation that 'instant' programming would follow its establishment was unrealistic and simply not the case.

The urgency to respond to these demands was further complicated by the opinion of some staff members that a feminist counselling model, conducted only by those persons who had been trained in that particular counselling model, would be acceptable as an appropriate referral resource. Therefore, the demand for services always exceeded the available supply of resources. This prevailing supposition created a situation whereby a particular ideology was allowed to interfere with the provision of an adequate network of counselling resources.

It is therefore proposed that ASOs, in attempting to meet the seemingly unending demands imposed upon them by a myriad of sources, take the initiative to control the demand for services rather than allowing the demand for services to control them. In so doing, ASOs must also become more tolerant (or learn to be more accepting) of those modalities of service which may express a different tenet of belief than that which is dictated by the ASO's philosophy. A preference toward a particular ideology must not be allowed to monopolize service provision or practices regarding referral.

e) Creativity and Change - Constructs for Innovation and Advocacy: Daring to be different and/or daring to do things differently was never a problem for the MCWA. Other provinces were amazed at the strident measures undertaken by this fledgling ASO regarding social action, development of services in rural areas, public education, informal sources of refuge (i.e., safe home provision) and judicial advocacy for battered women. Having provided staff with the opportunity to explore and attempt innovative forms of assistance to battered women as well as bringing awareness of this dire social problem to the attention of the general public through mass media production and sponsorship, the MCWA was a leader in promoting change and advocacy services to battered women.

It is proposed that ASOs maintain a leadership role in providing creative programming to their particular target populations. Despite the fact that innovative programming and social change tactics can provoke skepticism and suspicion within the greater social service community, new ways and means of addressing critical social problems need to flourish. This task is the domain of alternative social organizations.

f) Fiscal Management - A Means to Reliable Record-keeping: In keeping with the Statement of Agreement between Children's Home of Winnipeg and the MCWA, CHOW agreed to provide a satisfactory means of financial administration and accounting services (See Appendix E: Paragraphs 5 and 8). The fact that a budget report was not always available for the monthly Board of Directors meeting led some board members, who were not favourable to the coordinating role of CHOW to the MCWA in the first place, to suspect irregularities or losses of revenue - which was never the case. CHOW had been requested to report categories of income, expenses, budget-to-date and variances in keeping with annual budget allotments per separate grants and block funding provisions (the Manitoba Health Organization model of financial reporting). Instead, a global report of monthly income and expenses was provided. Because of poor financial reporting mechanisms, tenuous relationships already in existence were strained to an even greater degree.

Therefore, it is proposed that ASOs require an effective accounting system which will provide adequate information along three broad dimensions: first, for use in planning and controlling routine operations; second, for the making of special decisions and the formulating of overall policies and long-range plans; and third, for use by government, members, and other outside parties.

g) Monitoring Processes - A Matter of Accountability: In keeping with funding expectations as well as the requirements of other government departments (e.g., the social service policy and planning department of the provincial government), the MCWA was able to conform and complete all contractual agreements relative to program implementation and reporting. However, internal to the organization, the MCWA neglected to produce policy manuals (with the exception of the volunteer program) as programs were being developed. While some would have advocated the creation of policy manuals prior to the program's implementation, it is not unusual to see in most organizations a policy manual/s being produced and/or updated after the fact and/or in response to new situations that require an articulated directive.

Therefore, it is proposed that ASOs provide and maintain written documentation that reflects an effective accounting of all policy and program processes to the major stakeholders (internal as well as external) of the organization. The provision of clearly articulated policy statements as well as compliance with stated terms and conditions of the contract/mandate is essential to the viability of any alternative social organization. Accountability in these particular areas assists in the affirmation of political and financial competency within the organization.

The above proposals - normative, as well as policy and technical in nature - are necessary ingredients in the building of a more effective and efficient alternative service organization.

A PERSONAL PERSPECTIVE: As a final word about this study, the author, who was an active participant in the formative and implementation process of the MCWA, wishes to conclude with the following personal observations.

There is no doubt, that in many ways the MCWA conformed to the ASO model. This was proven through the implementation of innovative programming, educational promotion, the introduction of a variety of social action initiatives, the provision of advocacy services to battered women through a unique volunteer-based structure and a commitment to a socio-political goal.

A flat hierarchical structure, common to ASOs, was the format upon which the program functions of the MCWA were portrayed. Because flat hierarchical structures are essentially a modification of the multi-layered bureaucratic norm, it can also reflect similar processes of coordination and communication. Unless guarded against, forms of power are accentuated, and for example, an atmosphere and attitude of organizational distance between the Board of Directors and the staff/volunteers might prevail.

In reflecting on my experiences at the MCWA, it became evident that differing interests, as expressed in the Board of Director and staff responses, came into conflict with the common interest, or purpose, of the organization. As well, it appeared that the Board of Directors assumed a strong bureaucratic demeanor of operative style while staff/volunteers primarily conducted themselves in a consensual manner. While the majority of board members espoused a feminist orientation their mode of behaviour was typically authoritarian. Rather than integrating the responsibilities and processes of the Board of Directors with those of the staff/volunteers through a collaborative relationship, there developed a rift between these primary levels of operation.

It was the opinion of staff/volunteers that the Board of Directors had become preoccupied with the pursuit of personal agendas, conflicting interests (as noted earlier in the study) and concerns related to power and authority. As a result, the primary source of membership (i.e., staff and volunteers) within the MCWA was excluded from the polity of the organization. In this regard the MCWA did not conform to the ASO model. It appeared as if the Board of Directors was unwilling/unable to appreciate, acknowledge and/or include the staff and volunteers into the polity of the organization. Subsequent neglect toward and deferment regarding program concerns led to an increasing lack of confidence and trust in the Board of Directors among staff and volunteers.

Differences of opinion regarding the nature and intent of the mandate also existed between the staff/volunteers and Board of Directors of the MCWA. The inclusion of direct-service provision within the mandate of the MCWA remained a contentious issue from the beginning. To the Board of Directors, the MCWA should have confined its mandate to public education provision and the coordination of existent programming to battered women within the province of Manitoba. A mandate limited to these narrow restrictions would have addressed regional concerns of self-interest regarding jeopardized funding to existent shelters and crisis centres as well as the perceived diminution of their status in the minds of provincial MLAs. In all fairness, it should be noted that a conflict of interest within provincial departments of the government, related to the provision of support (primarily of a monetary nature) to both the MCWA and rural programs, did exist.

Had the above scenario been the case, the MCWA would have abrogated its responsibility in providing innovative programming, advocacy and social change. The development of local organizations in rural communities, safe home provision, toll-free crisis line counselling and referral (for the benefit of rural and northern battered women) and liaison with groups representing minority populations would never have existed. In essence, the MCWA would have been nothing more than another bureaucratic program of the provincial government. The distinction of being an alternative organization would have been quickly diminished and soon been non-existent. Instead, the MCWA would have become a response mechanism to the increasing demands of existent programs rather than a response initiative to the complex needs of battered women.

In what way/s could the MCWA have worked toward resolving some of the above-mentioned conflicts within the organization? Would these methods have increased the integration of policy and practice formation? What processes could have induced greater representation from all stakeholders of the MCWA, inclusive of regional interests as well as the concerns of the target population? The following suggestions are provided:

a) Had the MCWA viewed themselves holistically, as is the perspective of the ASO model, the interests and coordination requirements of all levels of the organization could have been addressed. In this regard, the author has argued that the structure of an organizational circle (See pp. 168,169) would have assisted in this process. The organizational circle, properly deployed, would have encouraged egalitarian and consensual patterns of interaction in keeping with feminist principles of organizational conduct. That is, the organization would have perceived itself as an organic whole.

b) The program objectives of the MCWA would have been advanced had the Board of Directors fully considered the tangible benefits rural and northern communities would have received had direct-service programming such as, the volunteer crisis line and advocacy services obtained their full support. The Volunteer Coordinator was prepared to assist these areas, known to them, in implementing and/or upgrading volunteer training methods and skills.

c) The Board of Directors should have been able to develop progressive positions regarding issues requiring advocacy and social action. Instead, they jeopardized the existence of the MCWA through a lack of cohesion in defending and becoming entrenched in the pursuit of regional self-interests.

d) It would have benefitted the MCWA, as a whole, had an organizational retreat/s been scheduled during the formative years. Occasions such as these would have provided an appropriate and open opportunity for all members to participate in the formal processes of the organization (e.g., policy creation), to resolve procedural and programmatic conflicts, propose collaborative projects with the various regions and increase identification, cohesion and camaraderie within the structure.

e) Representation on the Board of Directors could have benefitted had more battered women been included. Regional as well as urban interests could have been adequately addressed by an equal number of battered women, care-givers (i.e., directors of shelters and/or crisis centres) and/or persons who strongly identified with the plight of battered women.

Pertaining to the participants chosen to become potential respondents to the questionnaire, the findings may be considered to be slightly biased due to the preponderance of staff responses in proportion to board and community responses. If this is the case, it would suggest that certain findings may project a bias that compromises the internal validity of the research study.

It is important to indicate, that although a majority of responses was received from individuals who were greatly involved in the MCWA (i.e., major stakeholders of the organization) opportunity was also afforded to potential respondents who were less involved with the day-to-day operations of the organization. Difficulties in receiving a truly representative response from all stakeholders of the organization were due to several reasons. Because contact between battered women and the MCWA crisis line volunteers and advocacy workers was of a highly confidential nature, no record exists that would sufficiently identify persons of the target population that may have been willing to respond to the questionnaire. Unfortunately, questionnaires that were sent to volunteers and other external organizational contacts did not receive a response. Indeed, this is seen to be the case as written responses from these persons indicated the following:

a) Their involvement was not sufficient that they felt they could adequately respond to the questionnaire,

b) They doubted their ability to accurately recall information and/or personal experiences that would provide appropriate responses to the questionnaire,

c) They had sufficiently distanced themselves from prior involvement with the MCWA and therefore did not wish to respond to the questionnaire.

It is true nevertheless, that if a wider representation of stakeholders had responded (those individuals who were identified as having involvement in the formative stages of the organization) the internal validity of the recorded findings would have been strengthened.

The testimony to the Manitoba Committee on Wife Abuse, its founders and original staff, volunteers and community members, is that its impact will remain etched on the provincial scene in perpetuity. Although now disbanded as an active organization, the MCWA was an enormous challenge, an exciting experience and a purposeful adventure. Its program incentives, addressing the need for alternative services to battered women, live on. The Manitoba Committee on Wife Abuse, as an innovator of programs to battered women, was...is...and should be continued.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: LIST OF RESPONDENTS

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APPENDIX B: THESIS QUESTIONNAIRE

MANDATE:

The MCWA proposal to the Manitoba Legislature states:

> It is proposed that a broadly based response to the problem of wife abuse be implemented in Manitoba responding to the clearly stated need for: Public Education, Professional Education, Advocacy for the abused wife; and Family and Child Support and counselling; development of support mechanisms for abused women in rural areas; and coordination of the above responses.

The following list of five opinions corresponds to the five numbered columns below. Choosing from the given opinions, how well did the MCWA respond to the needs of battered women during 1982-1984? Place a check mark in the column which best expresses your opinion for each of the following areas.

Opinions:
1. Never
2. Sometimes
3. Neutral
4. Most times
5. Always

Area:	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Public Education	___	___	___	___	___
Professional Education	___	___	___	___	___
Advocacy (social action regarding law reform)	___	___	___	___	___
Family and Child Support & counselling (support groups)	___	___	___	___	___
Rural Development (safe homes and rural crisis centres)	___	___	___	___	___
Program Coordination	___	___	___	___	___

POLICY:

A comparison between democratic organizations, regarding the manner in which they operate, is provided for us in the following illustration (based on Mansbridge, J.: Beyond Adversary Democracy, 1980). Such a comparison can provide us with a framework in understanding the philosophy and processes which influence the day-to-day practices of these organizations.

	Unitary Democracy	Adversary Democracy
Assumption	Common Interests	Conflicting Interests
Central egalitarian ideal:	Equal Respect	Equal Protection of Interests
Decision rule:	Consensus	Majority Rule
Level of intimacy:	Face-to-face contact	Secret Ballot

Keeping in mind the above illustration, please reflect on your past experiences and/or involvement with the MCWA and select the Roman numeral from the following table which you feel best characterizes the philosophy and practices of the MCWA regarding:

a. the mandate of the MCWA ____
b. the structure of the MCWA ____
c. the programs of the MCWA ____

	Interest generally similiar.	Interests generally in conflict.
Interest on specific issues similiar.	(I) Unitary Democracy	(II) Temporary unanimity on one issue.
Interests on specific issues in conflict.	(III) Deadlock or social coercion	(IV) Bargain

PROGRAMMING:

Within alternative social organizations, criticism and/or discrepancies of opinion can result between how the mission of the organization is stated and how the role of the organization is interpreted. The mission statement of the MCWA, found in By-law Article II:4 reads:

> To establish a provincial organization to respond to the social problems of wife abuse and to work towards the elimination of all situations where women are abused by men.

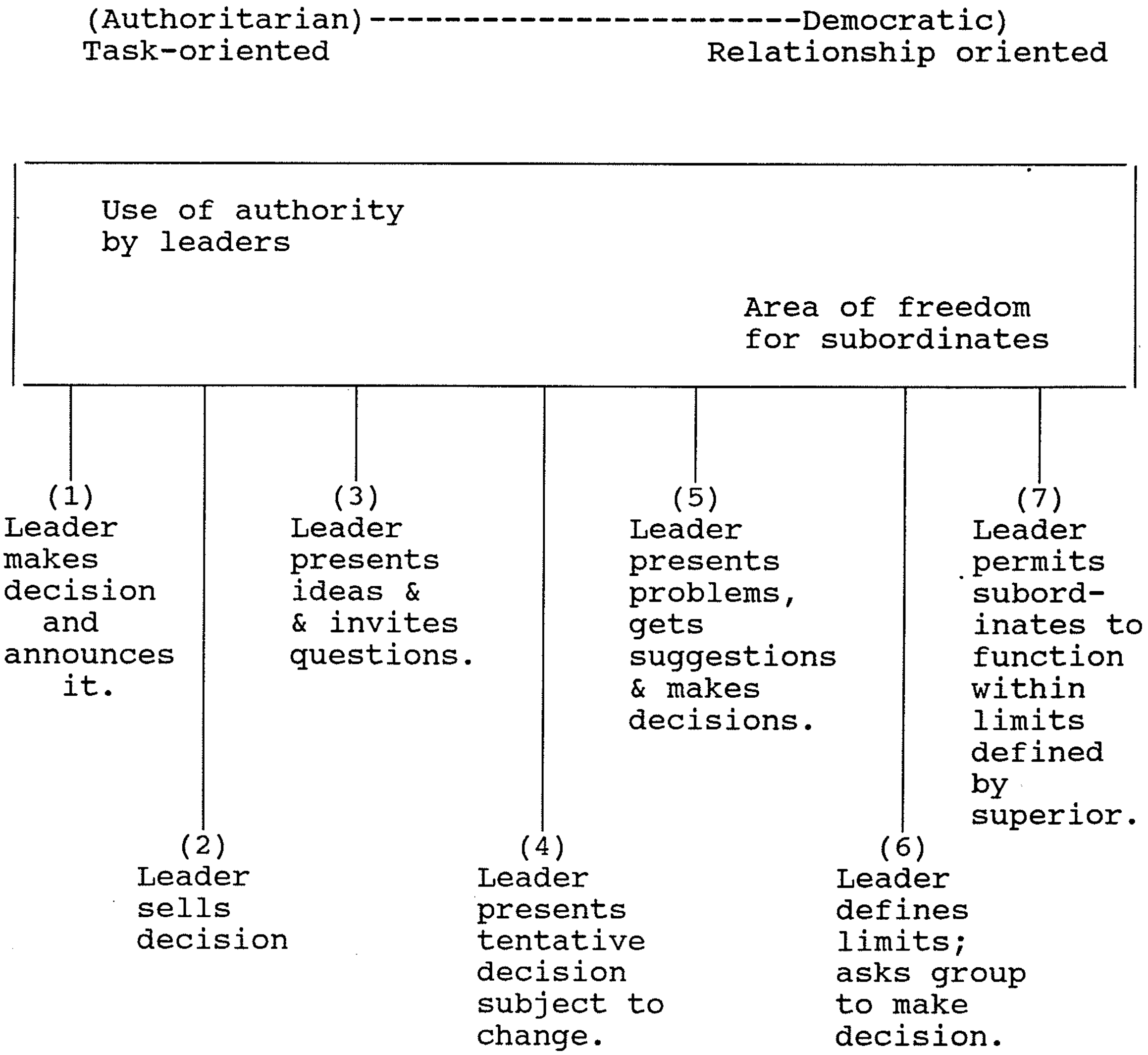
In your opinion, should the MCWA have played a role in the following areas?

	YES	NO
Education only,	___	___
Consultation only,	___	___
Advocacy only,	___	___
Direct-service only,	___	___
All of the above,	___	___

DECISION-MAKING:

The following diagram (Hersey and Blanchard, 1977, p.92) describes categories of decision-making practices. In what category (indicate by number), or range of categories, would you best describe the decision-making practices of the MCWA? Place the number or range of numbers in the space below.

Answer: __________

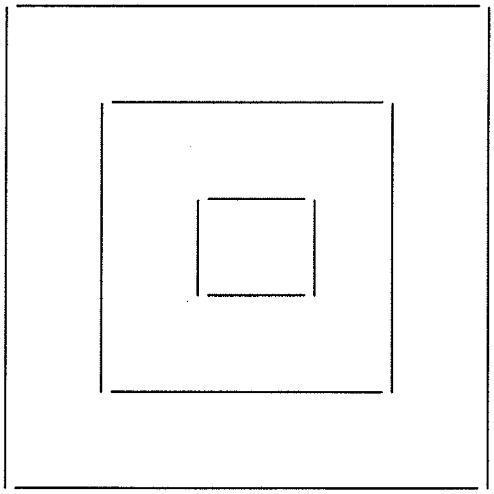

(Authoritarian)-----------------------Democratic)
Task-oriented
Relationship oriented
Use of authority by leaders
Area of freedom for subordinates
(1) Leader makes decision and announces it.
(2) Leader sells decision
(3) Leader presents ideas & & invites questions.
(4) Leader presents tentative decision subject to change.
(5) Leader presents problems, gets suggestions & makes decisions.
(6) Leader defines limits; asks group to make decision.
(7) Leader permits subord-inates to function within limits defined by superior.

The following questions (pages 5 - 10) are based upon the text: J.J. Mansbridge (1983) Beyond Adversary Democracy, University of Chicago Press.

GOVERNANCE:

Using the diagram of concentric squares where power converges towards the centre, place the names of staff (shown by their initials only) in the circle which you believe best depicted their position of power in the MCWA.

	Initials*
--Prog. Coordinator:	C.H.
--Volunteer Coordinator:	L.B.
--Public Education Coordinator:	T.N.
--Rural Coordinator:	K.B.
	B.S.
--Follow-up Worker:	M.H.
	L.H.
	R.G.
--Volunteers:	Vol.
--Women's Support Group Worker:	C.W.
--Native Liaison Worker:	A.B.
--Board of Directors:	B.D.



How much power did you feel each person had? (Scale of 1(not much) to 5(very much).

Board Members ____
Program Coordinator ____
Public Education Coordinator ____
Volunteer Coordinator ____
Rural Coordinator ____
Women's Advocacy Worker ____
Native Advocacy Worker ____
Follow-up Workers ____
Volunteers ____
CHOW Staff ____
Admin. Secretary ____

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* C.H. = Catherine Hiller
T.N. = Toni Nelson
B.S. = Bernice Sutherland
L.H. = Linda Hayes
C.W. = Cornelia Wicki
B.D. = Board of Directors
L.B. = Linda Barker
K.B. = Kim Bager
M.H. = Margaret Hotomoni
R.G. = Ruth Gammelsetter
A.B. = Arlene Beaumont
Vol. = Volunteers

(TESTS SATISFACTION)
If you had wanted to discuss MCWA issues with someone, indicate two people whose judgment you would have valued most (Indicate by number from below list): ___ ___

Board Member:	0
Prog. Coordinator:	1
Public Education Coordinator:	2
Volunteer Coordinator:	3
Rural Coordinator:	4
Women's Advocacy Wkr.:	5
Native Advocacy Wkr:	6
Follow-up Worker:	7
Volunteer:	8
CHOW Staff:	9
Admin. Secretary:	10

Check the appropriate column for each area listed below:

Area	Yes	No
I feel I ranked high in input and power by other staff members?	___	___
I feel I ranked high in input and power in general?	___	___
I felt satisfacted with the decision-making process of:		
-- staff meetings?	___	___
-- board meetings?	___	___
I felt confused at:		
-- staff meetings?	___	___
-- board meetings?	___	___
I was never sure where I fitted in?	___	___
Decisions were influenced by:		
-- an individual?	___	___
-- the influence of a cliche?	___	___
-- consensus (i.e., equal input, respect, consideration)?	___	___

The following list of five opinions corresponds to the five numbered columns below. Choosing from the given opinions, place a check mark in the column that best expresses your opinion for each of the following areas:

Opinions:
1. Never
2. Sometimes
3. Neutral
4. Most times
5. Always

Area	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
(TESTS TRUST AND CONTROL:)					
My input was acknowledged, respected and acted upon:					
a. by staff members (apart from staff meetings)?	___	___	___	___	___
b. at staff meetings?	___	___	___	___	___
c. by board members (apart from board meetings)?	___	___	___	___	___
d. at board meetings?	___	___	___	___	___
e. by volunteers?	___	___	___	___	___
I was kept aware of organizational issues:					
a. individually (as per role)?	___	___	___	___	___
b. group (as per staff and board meetings)?	___	___	___	___	___
I understood organizational issues?	___	___	___	___	___
I felt comfortable discussing organizational issues:					
a. among volunteers and staff members?	___	___	___	___	___
b. with the Program Coordinator?	___	___	___	___	___
c. with board members?	___	___	___	___	___
I attended:					
a. Staff meetings?	___	___	___	___	___
b. Board meetings?	___	___	___	___	___

(TESTS ASCRIBED POWER)
I had greater than average input in the organization:
  a. staff operations? ___ ___ ___ ___ ___
  b. board operations? ___ ___ ___ ___ ___
  c. volunteer operations? ___ ___ ___ ___ ___

I was satisfied with outcomes of decisions at MCWA:
  a. individual issues? ___ ___ ___ ___ ___
  b. staff meeting issues? ___ ___ ___ ___ ___
  c. board meeting issues? ___ ___ ___ ___ ___
  d. volunteer issues? ___ ___ ___ ___ ___

I was satisfied with the process of decision-making at MCWA:
  a. individual issues? ___ ___ ___ ___ ___
  b. staff (group) meeting issue? ___ ___ ___ ___ ___
  c. Board issues? ___ ___ ___ ___ ___
  d. volunteer (group) meeting issues? ___ ___ ___ ___ ___

(TESTS POLITICAL ACTIVITY)
I felt I could contact, personally or by telephone, a Board member? ___ ___ ___ ___ ___

I felt I could ask a question or address an issue at:
  a. staff meetings? ___ ___ ___ ___ ___
  b. Board meetings? ___ ___ ___ ___ ___
  c. volunteer meetings? ___ ___ ___ ___ ___

I did something to try to influence a decision:
  a. at staff meetings? ___ ___ ___ ___ ___
  b. at board meetings? ___ ___ ___ ___ ___
  c. at volunteer meetings? ___ ___ ___ ___ ___

I felt decisions were made
by a few persons:
  a. at staff meetings? ___ ___ ___ ___ ___

  b. at board meetings? ___ ___ ___ ___ ___

  c. at volunteer meetings? ___ ___ ___ ___ ___

I felt decisions were made
consensually by all persons:
  a. at staff meetings? ___ ___ ___ ___ ___

  b. at board meetings? ___ ___ ___ ___ ___

  c. at volunteer meetings? ___ ___ ___ ___ ___

I felt powerless:
  a. at staff meetings? ___ ___ ___ ___ ___

  b. at board meetings? ___ ___ ___ ___ ___

  c. at volunteer meetings? ___ ___ ___ ___ ___

If you were aware that a
decision was being made
that you felt was harmful
or unjust, you:
  a. did nothing? ___ ___ ___ ___ ___

  b. talked to people about it? ___ ___ ___ ___ ___

  c. spoke at a staff meeting? ___ ___ ___ ___ ___

  d. went to the Program
     Coordinator? ___ ___ ___ ___ ___

  e. addressed the Board? ___ ___ ___ ___ ___

I am a better talker than
a listener? ___ ___ ___ ___ ___

Were you happy with the
overall functioning of the
MCWA? ___ ___ ___ ___ ___

ADVOCACY:

During the early stages of the MCWA, several projects were inititated relating to contact and involvement with groups and provincial government departments. How well do you rate these initiatives? (Within a range of 1 to 5, in the spaces provided below, insert 1 to signify a low degree of success and 5 to signify a high degree of success.)

a) Social action:

i) the directive to law enforcement officers, ___

ii) the establishment of a domestic violence court, ___

iii) media utilization ___

iv) Initial involvement towards creating protocals for medical and public school use. ___

b) Support responses:

i) women support groups ___

ii) court advocacy workers ___

iii) volunteer training programs in rural areas ___

c) Liaison:

i) professional education ___

ii) contact with native and other minority populations ___

iii) funding (various levels of government) ___

iv) the social service community ___

v) women's associations ___

4. Organizational Environment:

In describing the environment of the MCWA, circle a number on the following scales using the definitions provided:

a. How stable was this organization's environment? (Circle 1 which signified a high degree of stability ranging to Five which signified conditions of rapid and unpredictable change).

1 2 3 4 5

b. What kind of strategy was employed?
(Circle 1 which characterized a strong defensive orientation ranging to 5 which characterized an aggressive approach.)

1 2 3 4 5

c. What kind of technology was being used?
(Circle 1 which indicated a highly routinized system along the lines of an assembly line ranging to 5 which indicated a completely flexible and dynamic team-work approach.)

1 2 3 4 5

d. What were the principal employee motivations?
(Circle 1 which signified that the employees moved as mindless "cogs in wheels" doing no more than they were told ranging to 5 which signified that they were fully involved with their jobs relishing autonomy and responsibility.)

1 2 3 4 5

e. How was the organization structured?
(Circle 1 which characterized the MCWA as a rigid bureaucracy ranging to 5 which characterized it as a dynamic project based upon an integrated organic network of working relationships).

1 2 3 4 5

f. What kind of managerial style was used?
(Circle 1 which indicated that the managerial style was highly directive and authoritarian ranging to 5 which indicated an emphasis on delegating a high degree of authority and responsibility to where it was needed).

1 2 3 4 5

From: Morgan,G. (1989) The contingency approach: Analyzing relations between organization and environment. In G. Morgan (ed.) Creative Organization Theory: A Resource Book (pp.77-79), London:Sage.

Thank-you for your time and effort in answering the above questions. Please make any additional comments regarding the processes of planning, policy and practice of the MCWA.

WIFE ABUSE

A MANITOBA RESPONSE
TO
THE NEEDS OF THE BATTERED WOMAN

Presented by:

THE MANITOBA COMMITTEE ON WIFE ABUSE
AND
THE CHILDREN'S HOME OF WINNIPEG

SUBJECT: WIFE ABUSE: A MANITOBA RESPONSE TO THE NEEDS OF THE BATTERED WOMAN: A PROPOSAL TO DELIVER PUBLIC EDUCATION AND A VOLUNTEER BASED ADVOCACY SERVICE

BACKGROUND

The issue of wife abuse has been with us as long as history is recorded. Men are physically stronger and tend to be economically dominant and some men have used this dominance to take advantage of their spouse. Wife abuse, that is violence inflicted on a woman by her husband or common law partner, has had the tacit support of our social structure and it is only recently that, led by the awakening women's movement, wife abuse has been openly challenged as an acceptable mode of behavior. The opening of transition centres or shelters for the abused woman, has provided an essential service to victims who require shelter. As well, these centres have focussed attention on the extensive magnitude of the total problem of wife abuse across Canada.

In January, 1980, the Canadian Advisory Council on the Status of Women published a book; Wife Battering in Canada: The Viscious Circle by Linda MacLeod(1) which states:

> "...we can estimate that;
> Every year 1 in 10 Canadian Women who are married or in a relationship with a live-in lover are battered" (P.21)

This book goes on to point out that wife battering permeates all classes and is not "lower-class" behavior as has been the conventional wisdom over the years.

The figure of one woman in ten being a victim of battering is reinforced in the Parliamentary Committee Report on Violence in the Family (Page 7 Point 5).

If there was any doubt surrounding the seriousness of wife abuse in Canada, it will have been dispelled by the recent publication of the Third Report of the Standing Committee on Health, Welfare, and Social Affairs of the Canadian Parliament entitled "Wife Battering".

"5. We have found that wife battering is not a matter of slaps and flying crockery. Battered women are choked, kicked, bitten, punched, subjected to sexual assault, threatened and assailed with weapons. Their assailants are not simply men who have had a bad day, or who drink and become temporarily belligerent: they are men who, for whatever reason, behave violently towards the women they live with. We have found that such behaviour is far too common. The evidence presented to us contains numerous accounts similar to the one reproduced above. We have been given good reason to believe that every year in Canada one-tenth of the women who live with men as a couple are battered. Society should not expect or tolerate such behaviour." (P. 7 Parliamentary Report)

The above quotation is indicative of the uncompromising nature of that report. It is appended to this proposal as a strong, clear statement in support of the need for action in Manitoba.

The recommendations of the report strongly support the direction that the Manitoba Committee on Wife Abuse wishes to take; that is, Wife Battering is a social problem and not just an individual problem and it requires a response from society as a whole. Specifically, the Parliamentary Report's recommendations on Public Education (P.24, #47, 48, 49), Advocacy Services (P.24 #46) and Protection for the Battered Wife (P.23 #44) support the initiatives contained in this proposal.

Since 1974, concerned professionals and lay-persons in Manitoba have been active in attempting to respond to the problem of wife abuse. Their efforts resulted in the creation of Osborne House, a transition centre for abused women, operated by the Y.W.C.A. Recently, the Thompson Crisis Centre was designed to respond to the needs of the abused wife as well as other citizen needs by maintaining a 24 hour crisis line with trained volunteers and staff in Thompson, Manitoba.

In 1980, Children's Home, responding to the stated needs for follow up and support for the children of battered wives, became involved in this issue. Partial funding from Employment and Immigration enabled three outreach workers to do follow up with the families of battered wives. Too often, the shock to the children of battered wives is ignored only to show up as emotional disturbance or future wife battering as the children grow up without dealing with their parents' behavior patterns. The three outreach workers are based at Osborne House and a committee of staff and board from Children's Home and the Y.W.C.A. coordinate the activities of the outreach workers and the transition centre.

Children's Home, in conjunction with the Wife Abuse Committee, was also the sponsor of the major Manitoba Conference on Wife Abuse which took place in Winnipeg on March 25, 26, 1982. With the financial support of the Secretary of State and the Junior League and the volunteer efforts of scores of concerned persons working in several committees, the Conference, "Wife Abuse: the Silent Crisis" attracted over 200 persons from across Manitoba. This conference provided a valuable exchange of information, public education, increased awareness of the scope of the problem and, most importantly, a desire for action. The conference empowered a follow up committee chaired by Toni Nelson, a former battered wife and concerned citizen, to undertake actions necessary to attack the problem of Wife Abuse. This committee, after several meetings, renewed its collaborative agreement with Children's Home to jointly develop a Manitoba approach to the problem of wife battering. This proposal is the result of that collaboration.

The strength of a volunteer committee, made up of individuals strongly committed to the correction of the problem, combined with the administrative stability and program development skills of a highly respected social agency, result in a formidable team.

PROPOSAL

It is proposed that a broadly based response to the problem of wife abuse be implemented in Manitoba responding to the clearly stated need for; Public Education, Professional Education; Advocacy for the Abused Wife; Crisis Response for the Abused Wife; Family and Child support and counselling; development of support mechanisms for abused women in rural areas; and coordination of the above responses.

Public Education:

> "47. Part of the problem of wife battering is that many people do not recognize that there is a problem. Women are seriously hurt, but their injuries and cries for help all too often fail to elicit the same response that injuries and cries do in other circumstances. Doctors treat the wounds but often do not ask about the causes. The batterer is excused: he is not normal; he drinks; he killed her but he should not be given too severe a penalty since no punishment will bring her back to life. The wife is blamed: she must have deserved it; she nagged him; she pushed him to it." (P. 24)

This quote from the Parliamentary Report on Wife Battering states the root of the problem. If society does not feel there is a problem, there will be little or nothing done to cure the problem. "If wife battering is ever to be significantly reduced the structure, practices, traditions and beliefs which keep women dependent and isolated within the family and which keep the family outside legal and public censure must be gradually erased. ... If society's acceptance of wife beating is to be changed, education is an urgent need. Education includes increasing the general awareness of the public about the incidence, severity and characteristics of the people involved in wife battering." (from a speech by Myrna Phillips, Legislative Assistant to Len Evans, Minister of Community Services & Corrections, Manitoba.)

It is proposed that one staff person be given the major responsibility for Public Education including speaking at schools, church groups, union meetings, women's groups, television shows, radio shows, giving newspaper interviews. The message should be simple and straightforward, i.e. wife beating is taking place - is not acceptable - is an assault. Secondly; if you are a battered wife you do not need to put up with abuse because there is recourse to help, understanding and assistance.

Present requests for Public Education on the issue of Wife Abuse are funneled through Cathy Hiller and Toni Nelson, both members of the Manitoba Committee on Wife Abuse. They, however., are not able to respond to one half of the requests. With a conscious effort to reach out to organizations and media, the demand for information will increase.

Obviously, one person is not going to be able to reach the entire province. A network of volunteers based on the core group already in existence, will be developed to undertake many of the speaking engagements. The interrelatedness of the segments of the proposal begin to unfold. Public Education creates more than awareness amongst abused wives. It also creates a potential for added volunteers to be recruited in order to assist in the advocacy and delivery of crisis response service outlined below.

Professional Education

> "Attitudes of Professionals Dealing with Battered Wives
>
> 18. If a women who has been beaten decides to seek help outside the circle of her family and friends she may have to deal with doctors, hospital workers, social workers, counsellors, lawyers, justices of the peace, crown attorneys and judges. For the most part, these professionals will have had no training in treating her problem as a whole and as a result they will not be able to give her the help she needs. We have heard evidence that some professionald do not elicit information about the beating (or do not think to ask about it); that some will not believe the information when it is given; that some will tend to blame the victim for provoking the violence. Many professionals are unable to refer her to the services of others because they do not know what services are available. Of course, we do not claim that all those who work with battered women will act in this way. Nor do we believe that such behaviour is motivated by conscious ill-will. Rather, the evidence presented to us has led us to believe that this behaviour is not uncommon across Canada, that it is yet another manifestation of a general inclination to treat wife battering as a matter to be resolved privately by the assailant and his victim rather than an issue to be confronted by us all." (P. 11 Parliamentary Report)

The police, doctors and nurses, hospitals and the courts all come in contact with the battered wife. Few know how to respond, few do respond in a helping problem-solving manner. The battered wife is more likely to be treated for her immediate medical problem and sent on her way. Police see domestic violence as a dangerous nuisance. The Parliamentary Report points out on Page 23 that the normal practice is to screen out domestic calls. Should they respond, they do not arrest men accused of wife battering unless there are serious injuries. This program which has already established preliminary contacts with police officers will undertake to assist Police Forces in developing a more responsive approach to wife abuse victims.

Members of the Manitoba Committee on Wife Abuse have spoken to the police training college and other professional groups on how it feels to be an abused wife. The staff person responsible for Public Education will also be speaking and arranging for speakers on wife abuse for all professional groups. The particular importance of this group, relative to the enormity of the problem, is why the professional has been separated out for special emphasis.

> "39. We have been given reason to believe that wife battering is learned behaviour, on the part of both men and women. Many batterers as children see their fathers beat their mothers and their mothers unable to respond. Society teaches women to be passive in the face of violence; many battered women are encouraged to continue their relationship even when there is no reason to believe that the situation will change. These lessons must be unlearned. It should be a commonplace in our society, as it is not, that no woman ever deserves to be threatened, punched, maimed, sexually assaulted. More generally, it should be a commonplace in our society, as it is not, that no action short of violence justifies a violent response. We must educate ourselves, our children, those who enforce and administer the law, and those who are involved in preventing and curing our physical and emotional ills, to identify violence and to control its consequences, for the sake of battered women, for the sake of us all." (P. 17 Parliamentary Report)

ADVOCACY

Throughout the recent literature on battered women there has been little emphasis on advocacy assistance for the abused wife. Most books and studies have concentrated on public and professional education, transition, and second stage housing. However, the Parliamentary Report on Wife Battering has recognized the need for someone at the side of the abused wife when she cries for help to assist her in dealing with her situation.

> "46. We have concluded that the decision to prosecute a battering husband should rest with the state and not with the wife, and we have made recommendations to this effect (see paragraph 36 and recommendations 17 c. d). We do recognize, however, that the trial process will put strains on a battered woman which she may not be able to bear without help. For this reason we suggest that a service be available to her to do the following things: provide her with information about the legal process, the possible outcome for her partner, and her own options; act as an intermediary between the victim, the prosecutor and the police to ensure that the case is properly investigated and prepared; accompany her to court and see that her children are cared for while she is in court. Again this is an area where private groups could play an important part." (P. 24 Parliamentary Report)

We propose that the advocacy service not be limited to her dealings with the courts but that a fully trained volunteer be assigned to each abused wife who calls for help. This volunteer would be the resource person as the abused wife deals with police, courts, welfare, hospital, schools, finding new living accommodation, and all the other attendant practical and emotional strains.

This service, which will require one full time staff person, will operate in relation to the crisis telephone line and will have a corps of volunteers prepared to go to the abused wife on a 24 hour a day basis. The volunteers will be listed in a directory of resources listing geographic area and times available. The advocate assigned will continue working with that person until she and her family are settled and the legal repercussions of her actions are finalized, regardless of the time required.

Crisis Phone

The time when a person requires help the most is the period immediately following the crisis. The abused wife normally has no one to turn to for support. Social Service Agencies are often closed for the night. The police may or may not respond to her need for protection from her husband, the hospital will deal with her physical injuries but no resource is trained and aware of the very particular trauma to which the battered wife has been exposed. A specialized crisis telephone for abused women to call, modelled on but consciously separate from, the Rape Crisis line, would provide an immediate understanding ear with experience in dealing with her type of situation. Basic support can be given by telephone and by consulting a directory of resources, a volunteer advocate can be assigned (see above section) who can reach her immediately if necessary. The staff person assigned to the Advocacy Program would also be responsible for the crisis phone program. While many of the volunteers would be interchangeable, and much of the training identical, the advocate would require a broader knowledge of the system and how to intervene in it successfully while the Crisis Phone volunteer will require a deeper knowledge and skill in dealing with immediate needs resulting from trauma. Adequate training of volunteers will be crucial for the success of the program. Training sessions will be provided based on the readily available training programs for volunteers. However, specific advocacy and crisis intervention services training methods are presently being designed, utilizing a mix of professional counsellors and social workers and, most importantly, a core of battered wives themselves who will provide in depth understanding of the support and resources an abused wife will require.

Resource Development for Abused Wives in Rural Areas

The scope of the abused wife syndrome includes rural areas, therefore no program which purports to serve the abused woman can restrict itself to Winnipeg. One half of the population lives outside of Winnipeg, therefore about one half of the abused wives are also outside Winnipeg. In fact, the problem is even more acute in the rural areas considering the physical isolation of living on a farm, reserve, or scattered settlement and not having neighbours nearby on which to depend. There are no regular public buses and the high cost of taxis make an escape from a violent situation even more difficult. A recent Supreme Court decision has stopped Provincial Court Judges from issuing prohibition orders which has made the situation worse. Most areas have no resident County Court or Queen's Bench Judges, therefore it is now almost impossible to obtain legal restrictions to protect a battered wife in a rural area.

New methodologies will be required to utilize the law to protect the battered wife and family from the continual return of the batterer.

This proposal suggests that rather than develop resources separately, it is essential that resource development for abused wives be done in conjunction with the Winnipeg program. Specifically, it is proposed that a staff person from the rural area be assigned the role of developing local resource groups and "safe houses" in rural areas. While the demand for transition housing in a small community may be insufficient to require a permanent facility the development of private homes to act as a refuge for the abused wife at the same fee paid to a transition centre would be a more relevant response. The crisis phone would be well advertised throughout the province so that whatever resources are nearby become available for referral to the abused wife.

Individuals and couples living in rural areas have indicated their willingness to become involved as advocates but they require a central training, coordinating and most importantly, a central referral source to match the advocate with the battered wife. Similarly several native groups from Rural Manitoba who attended the Conference have indicated an interest in being involved in dealing with Wife Abuse in their communties.

The major role in the rural areas will be in developing a level of consciousness about the problem which will enable local concerned citizens to coalesce and develop the required resources to suit their needs. The rural development staff person would be available as a facilitator to assist interested individuals and groups.

Family and Child Support

As previously mentioned there are three staff persons employed by Children's Home who provide follow up and para professional counselling to children and families of abused wives. It is intended that these staff persons would become part of the overall wife abuse program, in maintaining responsibility for family and child follow up. They would ensure that during the crisis between parents, the child's trauma and the remaining family interrelationships are not overlooked.

COORDINATION AND SUPERVISION

A senior staff person will be employed to coordinate the various thrusts of this proposal and to liaise with other agencies and organizations. The senior staff person would also provide supervision and support to the six staff working directly for the wife abuse program. She/he would also be involved in direct delivery of service, particularly in the areas of training of volunteers, public and professional education, and particularly media presentations.

Children's Home will provide support and supervision through its Board of Directors, senior staff and administrative structure to the supervisor and the entire wife abuse program. The Manitoba Committee on Wife Abuse will formulate policy and general direction for the program and will provide a basic core of volunteers at the beginning of the program.

Social Work Students

Negotiations are presently underway to have senior social work students from the University of Manitoba School of Social Work assigned to the wife abuse program as part of their field placement. Three students were placed with Children's Home last year and were invaluable in developing the conference "Wife Abuse: the Silent Crisis" and in the follow up stage of developing a viable committee. The continuing placement of social work students will provide both a valid training base to the students as well as a significant contribution to the delivery of service to abused wives.

Evaluation

Negotiations are underway with staff of the School of Social Work at the University of Manitoba to design and implement an evaluation methodology for the wife abuse program. This evaluation should be both functional and result-oriented measuring the efficiency of the program as well as its effectiveness. The salient factors to be measured will include concrete indicators such as number of telephone calls, number of public education presentations, number of rural resources developed, number of volunteers recruited, and number of advocates assigned. However, it is essential that a methodology be developed that will allow for an evaluation of the degree of satisfaction derived from the service by abused wives. This will be a subjective measurement based on observation and feedback since concrete indicators such as how many wives separated from their husbands and how many went back to their husbands do not indicate whether or not the wife has received the level of assistance she required when she called.

LINKAGES

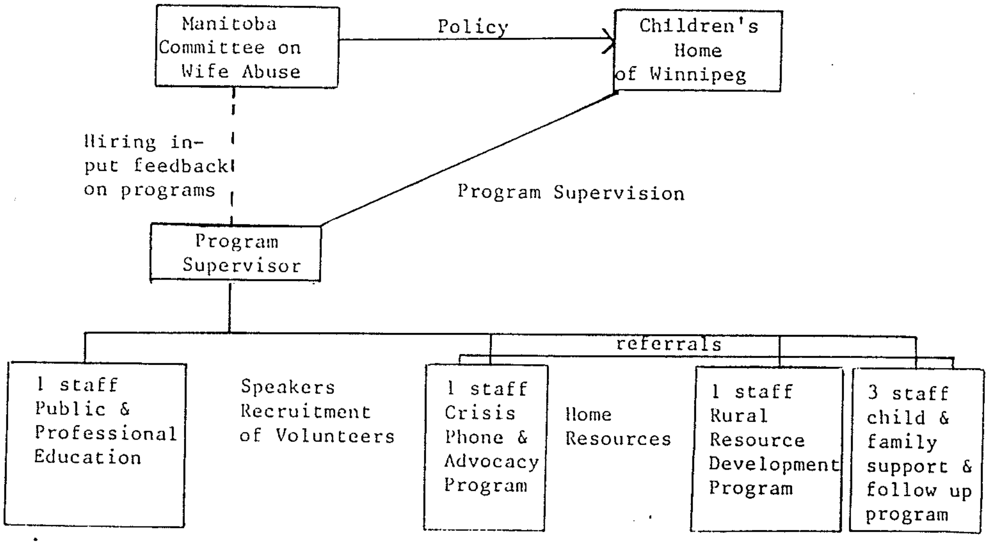
The Wife Abuse program must ensure that it develops the appropriate linkages with concerned individuals and groups. It is essential that no human service program operate in a vacuum relative to other organizations and agencies in the community. Linkages presently exist or are being explored with a wide cross section of organizations including:

1. Osborne House Transition Centre
2. Family Services Agency
3. YWCA
4. School of Social Work (University of Manitoba)
5. Provincial Council of Women
6. Manitoba Action Committee on Status of Women
7. Women's Employment Centre
8. Women's Institute
9. Portage La Prairie - Farm Workers Program
10. Women in trade
11. Independent lawyers
12. Native Women's Transition Centre
13. Hope Centre
14. Junior League
15. Inner City Social Work Project
16. Womens Counselling Service
17. Womens Health Centre

Additional linkages will be developed with representatives of police forces, child care agencies, particularly the child abuse teams, due to the tendency for wife and child abuse to be linked, and specialized agencies. The Rape Crisis Centre is being contacted regarding expertise in the operation of a crisis phone system, and Family Services, a highly respected counselling agency has indicated an interest in developing a counselling program for abusing husbands.

It will be important, particularly in the rural areas, for local groups to develop their own identity and their own programs, receiving guidance and assistance from the Manitoba Committee on Wife Abuse.

STRUCTURE


Manitoba Committee on Wife Abuse
Policy
Children's Home of Winnipeg
Hiring input feedback on programs
Program Supervision
Program Supervisor
referrals
1 staff Public & Professional Education
Speakers Recruitment of Volunteers
1 staff Crisis Phone & Advocacy Program
Home Resources
1 staff Rural Resource Development Program
3 staff child & family support & follow up program

BUDGET

	Year 1	Year 2	Year 3
Staff - 7 persons	$118,000.	$138,000.	$162,000.
Benefits	11,000.	12,000.	14,000.
Office space (rent)	3,000.	3,400.	3,600.
Secretarial (½ time)	8,000.	8,800.	9,600.
Telephone include Zenith Line	5,000.	5,500.	6,000.
Travel expenses (Rural Staff)	10,000.	11,000.	12,000.
Administration Costs	18,000.	20,000.	22,000.
Supplies	3,000.	3,500.	4,000.
Equipment (includes rentals)	4,000.	2,000.	2,500.
Postage	3,000	3,500.	4,000.
Evaluation	2,000.	2,200.	2,300.
Advertising	5,000.	5,500.	6,000.
Conference & Province wide meetings	4,000.	4,500.	5,000.
	$194,000.	$219,900.	$253,000.

NOTE: It is the intention of this project to have established its credibility by the end of three years such that funding of the ongoing program is provided out of regular funding rather than on a grant basis.

Staff Outline Year One

1 Supervisor	$26,000.
1 Public & Professional Education	22,000.
1 Rural Program Developer	22,000.
1 Advocacy & Crisis Phone Coordinator	22,000.
3 Child & Family Follow Up Staff @ $16,000	26,000.*NOTE
7 Staff (includes 3 presently existing staff)	$118,000.

*Offset of $22,000. presently provided by Employment and Immigration Program.

SUMMARY:

The ultimate goal of persons involved in the issue of wife abuse is to eliminate all situations where women are beaten by men. We are conscious that this project will not end wife abuse but are firmly convinced that by motivating the involvement of a broad cross section of Manitoba around this issue there will be a significant decrease in the instances in which men physically beat women.

No longer must the victim be forced to suffer isolation. Society by mobilizing the concerned majority through an effective public Education campaign and utilizing the concern of a committed minority though a volunteer advocacy program can respond to the abused womens needs.

Appendix A

IMPLEMENTATION

The program will be described in phases rather than in years as the development of various program elements are dependent on the success of other segments of the program rather than on the passage of time.

Developmental Phase

1. Hiring of supervision.
2. Development of volunteer training program.
3. Hiring of Community Education Staff.
4. Preliminary recruitment of volunteers and first volunteer training program.
5. Preliminary Community Education and Professional Education program delivery. Development of Education package for volunteers.
6. Set up of Data Gathering System and Evaluation System.
7. Accounting, payroll, etc.
8. Formalizing links with YWCA, Provincial Council of Women and other interested groups and agencies.
9. Hire Crisis Line and Advocacy Coordinator.
10. Hire Rural Development Staff.
11. Development of slide presentation.
12. Expand representation on Manitoba Committee on Wife Abuse.

Implementation Stage

1. Staff and volunteers begin speaking to groups and media.
   - service clubs
   - union meetings
   - church groups
   - teacher inservices
   - police
   - hospital staff
   - women's groups
   - lawyers, judges
   - Public Health Nurses
   - Open line shows
   - interview shows
2. Recruit additional volunteers as advocates crisis line persons and as public education speakers.
3. Rural Development Staff assigned one area and begins developing awareness and recruiting interested persons.

4. Provision of ongoing training sessions for volunteers.
5. Negotiate advocacy role with police, courts, hospitals, etc.
6. Advertise widely the existence of an abused wives advocacy service and when it will open!

Operational Phase

1. Open province wide 24 hour crisis line and advocacy service manned by volunteers.
2. Link child & family follow up workers to abused wives calling advocacy service.
3. Continue to recruit and train volunteers.
4. Expand public education program, utilizing additional volunteers and free public service advertising.
5. Convene meetings in various areas of province to set up local action groups.
6. Preparation of research material and briefs on the issue of wife abuse to various levels of Government and professional associations.
7. Expand referral system to other helping agencies and follow up on service provided.
8. Interim evaluation.

Consolidation Phase

1. Continue Public Education and Professional Education program, targetting areas which have continuing high referral rates and high volunteer recruitment rates. Evaluate and upgrade standard of presentations.
2. Continue operation of province-wide, 24 hour crisis line and advocacy service. Upgrade training and service delivery based on interim evaluation.
3. Convene regional conferences on wife abuse.

4. Develop specific proposals for change in system; police, courts, hospitals, laws.
5. Undertake lobbying on these issues.
6. Development of self help groups for battered wives.
7. Development of self help groups for battering husbands.
8. Preparation of research material based on data .
9. Hosting major conference on wife abuse to mobilize province wide base of persons and groups concerned about wife abuse.
10. Receive full evaluation and reassess programs based on evaluation.

APPENDIX D:

PHILOSOPHY

The Manitoba Committee on Wife Abuse believes that every person has the right to live in a non-violent environment. Violence that does arise in a relationship, whether it be husband and wife or parent or child, is directly based on an unequal distribution of power. Violence is one form of demonstrating power over another person.

In the case of husbands who physically abuse their wives, the power differential has historical antecedents that are founded upon a socioeconomic structure supporting male dominance. This structure has and continues to pervade all major societal institutions, including religious, educational, political, legal, economic and familial.

The Manitoba Committee on Wife Abuse believes that to directly address the issue of wife abuse the societal institutions must undergo concomitant changes in order to eliminate violence in the family.

Violence in the family affects all family members regardless of whether they are direct recipients of the abuse. To effectively intervene in a violent home and in the intergenerational cycle of violence, the Manitoba Committee on Wife Abuse supports the treatment of all members of the family.

Under the present legal system wife assault constitutes a criminal act. The Manitoba Committee on Wife Abuse believes that legal intervention and, where possible, court-ordered treatment for the offender are effective in remediating violence.

The Manitoba Committee on Wife Abuse considers family violence to be a concern of all members of our society. It extracts a tremendous personal, social and economic toll that diminishes our quality of life and threatens our humanity.

APPENDIX E:

THE MANITOBA COMMITTEE ON WIFE ABUSE

- AND -

THE CHILDREN'S HOME OF WINNIPEG

A STATEMENT OF AGREEMENT

OBJECTIVES:

1. To provide a co-operative mechanism to ensure the most effective delivery of service to abused wives in Manitoba.

2. To provide administrative support and service to the Manitoba Committee on Wife Abuse.

3. To provide staff support and supervision of the delivery of service to abused wives by the Manitoba Committee on Wife Abuse.

AGREEMENT:

1. The Manitoba Committee on Wife Abuse, an independent organization designed to support and protect battered wives and to reduce the incidence of battering, agrees to affiliate with Children's Home of Winnipeg, a private, non-profit, human services agency, and to gain assistance in the administration and supervision of programs delivered by the Manitoba Committee on Wife Abuse.

2. The Manitoba Committee on Wife Abuse will be governed by an independent, elected Board of Directors and will be responsible for policy and program design as it relates to wife abuse.

3. The Manitoba Committee on Wife Abuse and The Children's Home of Winnipeg agree to co-operate equally in the selection of a program supervisor for the Manitoba Committee on Wife Abuse and together with the supervisor, to appoint other staff.

4. The Manitoba Committee on Wife Abuse and The Children's Home of Winnipeg agree that a re-evaluation of this agreement can be done at the request of either party and can be terminated by either party after 12 months' notice.

5. Children's Home of Winnipeg agrees to provide financial administration and accounting services, staff consultation and supervision, meeting rooms, access to office equipment, including copying, a staff benefits package and a staff grievance procedure.

6. Children's Home of Winnipeg will be paid an amount of 10% of the funds to cover administrative costs.

7. Children's Home of Winnipeg agrees to assist the Manitoba committee on Wife Abuse in areas such as fund-raising, inter-agency linkages, public relations and advocacy.

8. The Manitoba Committee on Wife Abuse accounts will be maintained separately from Children's Home and regular reports will be provided to the Manitoba Committee on Wife Abuse and the Committee will have access to the books for inspection at any time.

9. Any difference of opinion in interpretation of this agreement shall be negotiated between the Chairperson of the Manitoba Committee on Wife Abuse and the Director of Planning and Program Development of Children's Home of Winnipeg.

10. This agreement is entered into in a spirit of mutual co-operation and trust with a goal of jointly developing and delivering better services and preventative programs on wife abuse in Manitoba.

______________________________	______________________________
CHILDREN'S HOME OF WINNIPEG	MANITOBA COMMITTEE ON WIFE ABUSE
Director of Planning & Program Development	Chairperson

Date:________________________

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