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A STUDY OF ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE AND ORIENTATIONS TO CLIENTS

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ABSTRACT

This thesis addresses an issue which has been relatively neglected in the sociological study of organizations, namely, the relationship between organizations and clients. The specific focus of the research is the effect of internal organizational structure on the organization's orientations towards its client population. Two social service agencies were chosen for a comparative case study of their structures and the ways in which they perceived their clients. The research model treats organizational structure as the independent variable and orientations towards clients as the dependent variable. In addition, the attitudes of staff members towards their work were included as intervening variables.

Data was collected by means of questionnaires and personal interviews with the staff members of the two agencies studied. Other sources of data were organizational documents and the observations of the author of the actual operations of these organizations. Six dimensions of organizational structure were examined: centralization, formalization, complexity, routineness of work, communication patterns, and the power base of the directors of each agency. Three aspects of staff attitudes towards their work were measured: alienation, job satisfaction, and job-related tension. The dependent variable, orientations towards clients, was based on the measurement of

five different dimensions: laterality, perceived complexity of clients, the extent to which the agency invested its resources in optimal candidates for 'success', the degree of emotional involvement of staff with clients, and the degree of social distance maintained between staff and clients.

The hypothesis guiding the research was that increased bureaucratization of structure would be related to a higher degree of alienation of staff from their work, lower job satisfaction, and a lower degree of job-related tension. A higher degree of bureaucratization was predicted also to be associated with a low degree of laterality, the interpretation of clients as relatively non-complex, a greater investment of the organization's resources in potentially 'successful' clients, a minimal degree of emotional involvement with clients, and increased social distance between staff and clients.

The results indicated that the dimensions of organizational structure examined tended to vary independently of each other and neither agency could be regarded as completely 'bureaucratic' or totally 'non-bureaucratic'. Similarly, the dimensions characterizing client-orientations were not found to exist to the same degree within each of the agencies. The evidence from the two agencies studied here indicates that the relationship between internal structure and orientations towards clients is more complex than the initial hypotheses had predicted. The findings suggest that specific orientations towards clients are associated with specific dimensions of

organizational structure. Some support was also found for the role of technology as an independent variable in relation to other dimensions of structure.

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CHAPTER I

A DISCUSSION OF THE LITERATURE RELATING TO ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE AND ORIENTATIONS TOWARDS CLIENTS

Introduction

The analysis of the relations between clients and organizations is an area which has received relatively scant attention, as yet, in organizational theory. Despite the fact that there exists much general interest in the manner in which organizations deal with their clients, there has been little systematic study of the effects of organizational structure on the service extended to client populations. The standards for evaluating the effectiveness of client-serving organizations have increasingly emphasized humanitarian considerations as opposed to purely economic criteria (Bennis 1965). This trend has served to heighten popular concern with the "pathologies" of bureaucracy, variously described as its impersonal stance towards clients, the inaccessibility of its power centres, and its tendency to concentrate on self-preservation rather than the neds of its client groups. As Gouldner (1952) has pointed out, the epithet of "red tape"applied to bureaucracy gives expression to a deeper concern with the social problems bureaucracy seems to create.

The assumption underlying much of the attack on the irrelevance of bureaucratized organizations for the client

populations served is that particular structural arrangements of organizations have necessary implications for their ability to provide meaningful service in spite of their specific official goals and the qualifications of their personnel. In terms of this perspective, bureaucratic structures are generally seen as having little which would recommend them as appropriate means for furnishing services to clients. On the assumption that bureaucracy is inherently 'evil', it is often concluded that the antithesis of a bureaucratic structure must therefore be intrinsically 'good'. When translated into concrete terms this view has given rise to various suggestions for 'debur-eaucratizing' organizational sytems. Bennis (1965), in a radical departure from the pessimistic perspective underlying the 'metaphysical pathos' of most bureaucratic theory, confi-dently forecasts the demise of bureaucracy and its replacement by 'organic-adaptive' organizational forms more suited to a complex society. Most students of organizational theory are not nearly so optimistic, however, and see instead a trend to-wards an increasing growth of bureaucratic structures with their attendant social pathologies.

The concern of this study is with one particular class of organizations - those which are set up to provide a service to a specific client group. Blau and Scott (1962), in their typology of organizations based on the criterion of who benefits most from the operations of the organization, define these simply as 'service organizations'. The label applies to those

organizations "whose prime beneficiary is the part of the public in direct contact with the organization, with whom and on whom its members work . . . The welfare of their clients is presumed to be the chief concern of service organizations" (p.51). The dependency of the client on the validity of this presumption augments the importance of the need for closer inspection of the association between organizational structure and client-organization relationships, especially in light of the growing demands for reforming the structures of such systems. An examination of research carried out in the context of bureaucratic organizations and in several debureaucratized settings may clarify a number of the issues regarding client-organization relationships.

Bureaucracy and Clients

The theory of bureaucracy as a description of a particular organizational form finds its most cogent expression in Weber's analysis of the ideal type (Weber 1947). Its structural dimensions include the existence of a centralized hierarchy of authority, a functionally specialized division of labour, a set of formalized rules, and the separation of administrative office from ownership. As an administrative system bureaucracy is based on the principles of rationality and efficiency in the attaining of its goals. One of the social consequences of bureaucratic control referred to by Weber is the dominance of the norms of universalistic and

impersonal treatment, "sine ira et studio", wherein all persons in the same situation are treated on the basis of formal equality.

Drawing on Weber's construction of the ideal type bureaucracy, Merton (1952) has examined some of the consequences of bureaucratic structures for the role incumbents in such systems. His description of the bureaucratic personality depicts the official as coming to regard the rules as ends in themselves with consequences detrimental to official-client relationships in the bureaucracy. When extreme conformity to rules becomes the major concern of the bureaucrat, service to clients usually becomes blocked by red tape. Merton pictures two sources for potential conflict in official-client relations as the product of features in the bureaucratic structure. Bureaucracy's demand for impersonal relationships and the use of universalistic criteria leads to the categorical and segmental treatment of clients. In addition, the bureaucrat, acting as a representative of the power and prestige of the structure with which he is associated, frequently assumes an attitude of superiority vis-à-vis the client who is placed in a subordinate position in the extension of the bureaucratic hierarchy to this relationship.

A recent empirical investigation of the effects of bureaucratic work settings on personality has provided some evidence which questions Merton's conclusions regarding the rigidities of the bureaucrat. Kohn (1971) found that men

employed in bureaucratic firms tended to be more non-conforming, more open-minded, and more receptive to change than those employees of non-bureaucratic organizations. Even when educational level was held constant these differences remained valid although not as great. Kohn's findings were based on only one indicator of bureaucracy i.e. hierarchy, but they suggest that the theoretical propositions describing officials in the bureaucratic context may not be valid in reality. Moreover, this apparent contradiction between the theory and reality serves as a cautionary note against the uncritical acceptance of assumptions regarding the nature of actual bureaucracies based on the ideal-type construct - a composite model whose ideal form does not exist in reality.

The distance between official and client is exaggerated even more when the bureaucrat with a middle class orientation confronts the lower class client. The social stratification system operates as a barrier to communication between officials in public bureaucracies and lower class clients (Janowitz, Wright, and Delany 1958). The selection of personnel, guided as it is by the norm of technical competence, tends to fill bureaucratic roles with individuals who are oriented to middle class values. Not only does this selection process and the subsequent socialization of the official into the norms governing appropriate behaviour in the bureaucracy mean that the bureaucrat is unable to relate to the expectations of lower class clients but they also frequently result in a neglect of

service to this group altogether in favour of concentrating on client groups of higher status. Blau and Scott (1962) compared the Public Assistance Division and the Child Welfare Division of one welfare agency with regard to the differences in their client populations. Their findings indicated that the higher socio-economic status clients of the Child Welfare Division received more attention from workers. Moreover, procedures were introduced by the organization itself to formally maintain favourable conditions for the clients. In his study of a state employment agency, Blau (1963) similarly found that the employment interviewers tended to be biased in the type of client they desired to assist most: "Most of these white-collar workers favoured applicants with middle-class characteristics, whose values were similar to their own." (Blau 1963: 84)

This tendency of bureaucracy to focus on service to those clients who appear to be least in need is reinforced by the pressure to define operations in a way conducive to the measurement of their efficiency. If the bureaucracy can demonstrate its "success" in terms of its proven efficiency in meeting its goals then its survival is assured (Sjoberg et al 1966). Client-centred organizations thus tend to allocate their resources to those clients who have the best treatment potential. The criterion for the selection of the bureaucracy's clientele has less relationship to the needs of various client groups than it has to the need of the bureaucracy to guarantee

its self-preservation. Cloward and Epstein (1965) have analyzed the movement of private social work agencies away from services designed to assist lower class clients to their present focus on a middle class clientele. The development of a new psychiatrically-oriented technology by the social work profession has precluded casework with poor clients:

> ...conflicting definitions of problems and solutions lead to strains in the relationship between social-workers and low-income clients. As a consequence, disengagement occurs - disengagement by workers because they probably do not feel that clients can make effective use of service... The private-agency field, having developed a new conception of casework, seeks out a clientele who can make use of it. Hence it moves toward those whose socialization is compatible with the new technology - the middle class. (p. 635-636)

This process of selecting clients serves to justify the rationale under which the bureaucracy operates thus resulting in a structured incapacity on the part of the organization to provide service to those clients who are most in need.

In a concrete test of the differential response of service bureaucracy to clients, Levin and Taube (1970) examined the relationship between a public-housing authority and its lower class tenants. They concluded that the most socially handicapped tenants were significantly less likely to obtain adequate services from the housing project management than other tenants. This "bureaucratic neglect" is, to some extent, a result of the fact that this client group lacks the knowledge of how to reach and deal with the bureaucratic power structure. In an exploration of public opinion toward govern-

ment agencies, Janowitz and his associates found that persons of low socio-economic status were less knowledgeable about government organizations and their operations (Janowitz, Wright and Delany 1958). The bureaucratic organization has little reason to inform lower class clients since their involvement with the bureaucracy would appear to seriously affect its ability to achieve 'success'.

The criterion of efficiency as a basic tenet of bureaucratic administration often produces pressures towards the displacement of the official service goals of such organizations. Blau (1963), in his study of a state employment agency, found that goal displacement occurred in one of the sections of the agency as a result of the introduction of statistical records to measure the productivity of the employment interviewers. Workers in this section became more concerned with maintaining a good record than with meeting the needs of clients seeking employment.[1] A chain of consequences with negative implications for the agency's client population resulted from this pressure to maximize production.

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[1] Whereas workers in Section A exhibited a high degree of concern with maximizing production, those in Section B were found to be more oriented towards service for clients. This difference appeared to result from certain conditions which were present in Section B but not in Section A. These were: greater employment security, the development of a professional orientation because of the background of the workers and the orientation of the agency at the time of their initial training there, and the evaluation practice of the supervisor who deemphasized the use of statistics as a basis for rating workers in favour of direct evaluation of the workers' performances. (Blau 1963, pp. 64-68)

The possibility that a client might refuse a job offer induced interviewers to make use of sanctions in order to discourage this behaviour. The resort to such sanctions created conflicts in the client-official relationship and subsequent tensions for the interviewers because of their orientation to the service ideals of the agency. This conflict between operating efficiency and service to clients gave rise to tension-reducing mechanisms which took the form of conversations among the interviewers in which clients were ridiculed or became the objects of complaints. The social support which interviewers received from their colleagues for the expression of these feelings provided a defense against clients but, at the same time, reinforced the inconsiderate treatment of clients. Since inconsiderate treatment of clients did not interfere with bureaucratic operations in affecting the number of job placements made neither the bureaucracy nor the interviewers themselves instituted any procedures designed to prevent the consequences of such treatment. Bureaucracy's concern with its own optimal functioning in terms of efficiency makes it insensitive to the effects of its practices on the client population being served. Similarly, officials preoccupied with meeting the demands of productivity are subsequently unconcerned with the dysfunctions of their actions for the clients with whom they deal.

Stratification within the bureaucracy in the form of hierarchically defined spheres of authority is another structural

feature which has implications for client-organization relationships. As one progresses upward in the hierarchy, there is an increasing concentration of power and decreasing contact with client groups. Seeman and Evans examined the effects of the degree of stratification in hospital wards on the doctor-patient relationship (Seeman and Evans 1961a). To obtain a measurement of the extent of stratification in ward structure nurses on the wards were asked to what degree the head physician emphasized the status differences between himself and occupants of other positions on the ward. The results of their research indicated that the amount of communication by interns to and about their patients was significantly less on the highly stratified wards. In a related study, based on similar methods in the same setting, the authors looked at the effects of stratification on a number of functions performed by hospitals (Seeman and Evans 1961b). Using the extent and amount of consultation as an indication of the adequacy of communication, they found that medical personnel in the low-stratified wards were more likely to consult with psychiatrists and social workers regarding their patients. Seeman and Evans interpret these findings as indicating that clients are more likely to be seen as "whole persons" in low-stratified systems. It would appear that an organizational structure which operates to maximize status differences between the role incumbents will tend to produce the same effect in the relations between officials and their clients. The officials will maintain

social distance from clients and thus deal with them on a more segmental, impersonal basis.

The existence of a bureaucratic hierarchy may affect clients in less direct ways. The fact that policy decisions usually emanate from the top levels, which are most removed from client contact, can result in policies irrelevant or detrimental to client needs. Janowitz and Delany (1958), in their study of three public bureaucracies - an employment agency, an Old Age Security agency, and a board of education - concluded that there was an inverse relationship between accuracy of information about clients and the position of an official in the agency hierarchy. The amount of face-to-face contact with clients was the factor directly related to the extent of accurate information about the publics-in-contact.

Size, as an independent variable in itself, can have consequences for organization-client relationships because of the strains associated with the magnitude of many bureaucratic systems. Shuval's report on the Israeli medical bureaucracies indicates that the pressures exerted by the large size of the physicians' practices in the larger bureaucratic structures increased the amount of negative stereotyping of certain ethnic groups on the part of the physician (Shuval 1962). The increased size of the medical practices in such settings meant that doctors were pressed to deal with their patients more rapidly and were therefore unable to come to know their clients in a more personal way. This depersonalization of relation-

ships and categorization of clients appears to have a close association with organizational size as these tendencies did not exist to the same extent in the smaller medical bureaucracies. Thomas (1959) compared welfare agencies of different sizes with regard to the ways in which the workers in each setting defined their roles. In the smaller welfare bureaus, clients were seen more as individuals and the social distance between workers and recipients was much less than that found in the larger agencies. However, according to Thomas, these findings seemed to be related more to the size of the community in which the bureaus were located than to the size of the organizational structure itself. In the rural communities turnover was low and the agencies consequently had an older and more experienced staff. Furthermore, there was greater opportunity for workers and clients to know each other in roles outside the organizational setting. Although the effects of size on client-organization relationships have not been determined conclusively, it seems fair to infer from these studies that an increase in organizational size introduces stresses which can be dysfunctional for this relationship.

Bureaucracies characteristically develop numerous complex rules designed to cover all operational contingencies. Their mere existence means that considerable energy is devoted to just "following the rules" aside from providing service to clients. The necessity for officials to proceed in accordance with such a body of regulations affects their relationships

with clients in a number of ways. Blau (1973) has described how the presence of complex procedures with which the official must become familiar leads to insecurity and anxiety for newcomers in a public welfare agency. The new workers tended to follow the rules rigidly and were less likely to go beyond the mere checking of eligibility to provide casework services to clients. As workers obtained increasing experience the constraints of bureaucratic rules became internalized. This alleviated the anxiety felt by the newcomer and contributed to the greater satisfaction of older workers with their job. However, the old-timers showed much less personal interest in clients than newer workers. The internalization of bureaucratic constraints had the additional effect of inducing workers to narrow their job definition to exclude services that were not part of routine activities, even when such services were legitimately within the context of their work.

As a result of both the considerable emphasis on the dysfunctional aspects of bureaucratic structures for clients and the changing standards for evaluating client-serving organizations, a search for more humanitarian organizational arrangements has become a focal concern. In a discussion of this trend, White (1969) has referred to the central issue facing "clientele bureaucracies" as being "the way in which <u>people</u> are being treated by administrative systems" (p. 33). In the bureaucratic rationale, dominated by the efficiency ethic, the problems of client-organization relationships are

seen as consequences of faulty management techniques. Yet this mode of thinking has not been successful in its practical outcome. Vinter (1967) depicts the customary responses of clients to the bureaucratic structure of service agencies as consisting of "alienation and disaffection, withdrawal, submissive dependency, or covert rebellion" (p. 204).

An Alternative: the "Debureaucratized" Structure

Vinter suggests that a potential resolution to this problem lies in the modification of the existing structure of service organizations based on the model of the therapeutic milieu which has been developed in the context of the mental hospital. Such an approach is particularly appropriate, he claims, in those organizations where the client's involvement is diffuse and the nature of the client role is such that it pervades the self-image. The more "total" the institution is for the client, the more suitable this type of organizational structure would seem to be. Sjoberg *et al* (1975) reach a similar conclusion in their examination of the relationships between bureaucracy and the lower class client. Specifically, because of the "close association between the system's internal structure and its relationships with clients" (p. 69) they propose the creation of non-bureaucratic systems along the lines of the therapeutic community as an organizational form which will eliminate the status barriers between clients and bureaucratic officials.

Growing out of the experiments conducted by Jones (1953) in a mental health institution, the features of the therapeutic milieu are directly antithetical to bureaucratically organized structures in several respects. The distinctive difference lies in the division of labour within the therapeutic community (Rosengren 1964). In direct contrast to bureaucracy, which is based on specialization and the apportioning of specific responsibilities among the particular roles in the system, the therapeutic milieu is characterized by the non-specificity of its organizational roles. Rosengren has isolated five dimensions along which these two structures differ and characterizes the therapeutic milieu as one in which the division of labour consists of:

> (1) overlapping responsibilities between different persons in the organization; (2) a minimal emphasis upon defining relationships in terms of ascribed power, authority, and prestige; (3) a minimal articulation of specific ways of performing organizational roles; (4) a minimal utilization of formalized methods of communication; and (5) a breakdown of the rigid distinctions between patients and staff. (p. 73)

This debureaucratized arrangement eliminates the hierarchical structure of authority characteristic of bureaucracy in an attempt to disperse power laterally throughout the system.

The therapeutic milieu structure, in its relationships with clients, emphasizes a particularistic approach in that clients are seen as "whole persons" with specific problems and needs which demand an individualized form of treatment. In addition, the client-staff cleavage typical of bureaucratic

organizations is regarded as artificial, based as it is on the assumption that all valid treatment knowledge lies with the staff whose responsibility is to impose this wisdom on an ignorant client. This process operates as a control technique for bureaucratic structures wherein the client adopts a dependent posture vis-à-vis the professional's assumed superior knowledge (Friedson 1970). In the therapeutic community, on the other hand, there is an attempt to minimize status differences between staff and clients; moreover, clients themselves are seen as therapists in their interaction with one another.

Comparative studies of the contrasting structures of bureaucracy and its antithesis in the form of "milieu" organizations are relatively few and tend to be focussed on the "total" institutions of prisons and mental hospitals. "Total" institutions are distinguished from other organizations by the fact that they constitute an all-encompassing environment for their members, segregating them from continuous contact with the outside by means of physical barriers. By dealing with all members in the same regimented fashion, the "total" institution exerts extensive control over the activities and behaviour of large groups of people (Goffman 1961). Organizations which are non-total, by contrast, constitute only part of their clients' environment and the client-contact with these organizations is more specific and limited in nature. Because the "therapeutic milieu" concept,

as a particular treatment technique for mental patients, is based on the restructuring of the patients' complete environment, it has not been adopted to any great extent in situations outside "total" institutional settings. This limits the generalizability of the findings of most of the comparative research to date, however, the indicated differences provide some insight into client-organization relationships in both bureaucratized and debureaucratized structures.

Street's (1970) study of inmate groups in custodial and treatment-oriented correctional institutions offers a basis for the comparison of the effects of organizational structure on the client groups involved. Custodial institutions were characterized by staff perceptions of inmates as "simple, similar, and relatively unchangeable creatures who require simple, routine, conventional handling" (p. 379). Conformity to the rules was stressed and powerful negative sanctions were invoked to induce order. In the treatment institutions, inmates were seen as "relatively complex beings who need complex, individualized, flexible handling" (p. 379). The types of social control exercised by the staff in these two settings elicited divergent responses from the inmate groups. The more rigid control pattern of the custodial organization operated to increase the inmates' identity with one another as a cohesive group in opposition to the official goals of the institution. This led to the adoption of "prisonized" values as a means of coping with the deprivations resulting from this

style of control. In the treatment-oriented institutions the inmates more often expressed positive attitudes to the staff and the institution as well as exhibiting positive images of self-change. In the one organization which was closest to the 'milieu' model, the group involvement of inmates was most closely associated with positive perspectives. Street concludes that both custodial and treatment-oriented institutions accomplished their proximate goals. The more bureaucratic custodial organization encouraged a 'prisonized' perspective among the inmates consistent with its goals of conformity and containment, whereas the treatment-centred, relatively less bureaucratic, institution produced attitudes among the inmate group consistent with the goal of achieving change.

A similar analysis of mental hospitals is provided by Galinsky and Galinsky (1967) on the basis of a review of the relevant literature. The authors characterize mental institutions according to their emphasis on custody, individual treatment, or milieu-based therapy and attempt to relate the differences in patient subcultures to the structural properties typical of these three settings. The custodial mental hospital is similar to a bureaucracy with its rigid hierarchy at the top of which are the physicians. Control over patients is in the hands of attendants who compromise the lowest level of the hierarchy but have the most contact with patients. There is little therapeutic treatment and the dominant belief system

stresses the futility of such treatment for mentally ill persons. The patient social system exhibits little solidarity and imitates the formal institutional structure with a rigid hierarchy headed by the 'institutional cures' i.e. patients who have become socialized to institutional values. Status differentiation among patients is based on their ability to assist attendants with the menial aspects of ward care. In the milieu settings, where physicians, nurses, and attendants all have treatment roles and some involvement in decision-making, the patient subculture assumes a greater degree of solidarity with much interaction among the patients. Although the absence of a hierarchy gives a seemingly egalitarian appearance to the patient social system, there is some allocation of status according to how 'normal' (usually interpreted in terms of verbal ability) a patient appears. In all three types outlined by the authors the patient subculture reflected to a considerable degree the particular organizational structure characteristic of each setting. This underscores a basic premise inherent in the milieu approach and explains some of its appeal to organizations concerned with the re-socialization of clients whose behaviour is judged as, in some way, inappropriate. This premise is that by changing the environment, one can therefore change the individual. Perrow (1965) elaborates on this theme in his criticism of the milieu concept in its application to the treatment of the mentally ill. The doctrine that a democratic, permissive, and communal

setting will contribute to the rehabilitation of the patient tends to overlook the fact that the patient must resume functioning in an environment whose norms are greatly different from these and which, presumably, was the source of his problems in the first place.[2]

> Democracy, permissiveness, and communalism, however much we value them, have little to do with the real world of an industrial society. By changing the environment of the patient, one might be able to change the patient while he is in the environment, but one does not change the world to which he returns. (p. 945)

Perrow's main contention with this form of organizational structure is its pretension to be a new treatment technology. It is, instead, "primarily a humanizing influence" in the organization. It is essentially a change in the belief systems regarding mental patients similar in its effects to the impact of the human-relations movement in industry which put a new emphasis on the social relations and morale of the worker without substantially altering his situation (p. 924-5).

White's (1969) description of the "dialectical organization" presents a picture of a non-total institution

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[2]Rapoport et al (1960) first called attention to this discrepancy between the norms of the treatment world and those of the world outside the therapeutic community in an intensive study of the pioneering milieu treatment centre created by Dr. Maxwell Jones at Belmont Hospital. They found that, while 61% of the patients were rated as improved at this point of discharge, the percentage still considered improved after six months dropped markedly to 22. The authors attributed this decline to the failure of a permissive treatment environment to prepare patients for the outside world "where drastically different norms and expectations prevail". (p. 222)

which displays many of the features of the therapeutic community in its structural arrangement. White maintains that this type of organization, in contrast to the bureaucracy, must necessarily be sensitive to the needs of clients. Bureaucracy subjects its clients to an organizational diagnosis of their problems and subsequently solidifies the perceived solutions into policies which become increasingly irrelevant. In the "dialectical organization"

> because of the highly fluid nature of (the) agency's organizational structure...and in addition its commitment to clients, this does not occur. Instead, as client demands change and inconsistencies between these and the agency develop, a new synthesis of agency operations and client demands is achieved through the fluxional internal decision process of the agency. (p. 41)

The organizational structure of the particular agency studied by White followed from the adoption of an innovative style of social-work practice. This style rests on a belief that organizational-client relationships must be characterized by the total personal involvement of staff with their clients and that problems should be solved by "mutual conciliation" between client and worker in order to equalize the power between these two role positions. Power is shared in another way as well through the recruitment of some agency personnel from the lower class client group.

This attempt to democratize the organization by drawing previously excluded groups into the realm of influence in decision-making has often been regarded as a pancea for

bureaucratic pathologies. Krause (1968) has shown, however, that this process, disguised by the rubric of "citizen particupation", often functions as a bureaucratic ideology which is directed against some groups in order to further the aims of certain other favoured segments of the public. Making a distinction between the bureaucracy's "cliental" groups who are the beneficiaries of the discretionary activities carried on by the bureaucracy in their interests and the target groups who are the objects of such policies, Krause concludes that "participation" in this context means "participation in the program of the bureaucracy and in the activities desired by the bureaucracy's cliental groups" (p. 141). The target groups are usually the lower class clients whom the bureaucracy ostensibly serves. The cooptation of particular client groups into the policy-determing structure serves as a mechanism to protect the organization from those groups which might otherwise threaten its existence. Actual power may not be shared but merely appear to be. As Selznick (1952) has pointed out, cooptation intended to legitimize the organization is accomplished through the institution of formal devices of a highly visible nature whereas actual power-sharing tends to result from informal processes. In discussing some of the effects of this strategy on the relationships between professionals and their clients, Haug and Sussman (1969) state that this is frequently seen as an attempt to preserve the institutionalized autonomy of professionals by allowing only

a small portion of their power to be shared. They point specifically to the "new careers" movement, in which lower class clients have been given para-professional roles as links between social agencies and the community, as one of the tactics employed by professionals in organizational settings to deal with the "revolt of the client" against the bases of professional authority. Catrice-Lorey (1973), in her report on the problems of client relationships in the French social security system, describes the failure of an organization intentionally built along decentralized lines with member ownership and great opportunity for member participation. Despite the fact that the member-clients were able to control the organization through electing representatives to the administrative council there existed a considerable degree of alienation from the institution:

> ...the insured person has...a feeling that he is totally dependent on an anonymous authority and that he has no control over social security administration. (p. 249)

In this case, the development of a bureaucratic structure with an impersonal orientation to clients had not been prevented by dispersion of power to those who stood to benefit directly from the services of the organization.

A common problem for client-serving organizations lies in achieving client compliance with organizational objectives. This issue is of particular importance to those organizations with broad-ranging treatment goals. A bureaucratic structure, with its attendant effects on client response in the form of

alienation and withdrawal, does not provide suitable means to obtain the necessary commitment on the part of the client in such organizations. The appropriateness of a therapeutic milieu structure and cooptation mechanisms for these organizations may lie in their presentation of an ideology palatable to the client groups involved and through which a belief in the organization's goals can be transmitted. This is congruent with Etzioni's (1961) contention that the positive involvement of lower participants in the organization is related to the utilization of normative power which includes persuasion and manipulation. In an exploration of the relationship between the types of sanctions employed and the degree of patient involvement in five hospitals, Julian (1958) found that those institutions relying on normative sanctions were characterized by positive patient involvement. He concludes, however, that there seems to be an optimal point beyond which an increase in the total amount of normative control will produce a negative response. It would appear, then, that client compliance in the debureaucratized organization may be an ongoing problem not completely resolvable through the maintenance of an appealing ideological stance.

Rosengren (1967) examined eighty large governmental psychiatric hospitals and fifty-two small private hospitals with regard to the particular control strategies employed by institutions with different structural configurations. Those hospitals with highly specialized task systems (approximating

a bureaucratic structure) stressed maximal patient control whereas hospitals in which tasks were unspecialized and overlapping among occupational roles tended not to utilize organizational constraints to control deviant behaviour. There was an inverse relationship between the extent of the organizations' control over employees and the degree of control exercised over patients. Client control in these hospitals was achieved through the specific operational policies of the institution whereas control over employee was influenced more by the particular style of supervision adopted by the organizations in question. Hospitals emphasizing traditional forms of treatment and in which the patient subculture was regarded as unimportant were characterized by limited employee control but suppressive patient control. On the other hand, those hospitals with unspecialized tasks, innovative types of treatment, and a regard for the relevancy of the patient subculture exhibited a permissive attitude toward control of patients but a pervasive control of employees through the particular supervisory style developed in these institutions. Rosengren concludes that:

> In Goffman's terms, the specialized hospitals were 'total' for clients, but 'minimal' for employees, whereas structurally unspecialized hospitals were 'minimal' for patients, but 'total' for employees. (p. 161)

In White's (1969) analysis of the "dialectical organization" there are some indications of the totality of such an organization for the staff especially in the requirement that

staff submerge their own interests and feelings in their personal involvement with clients (p. 37). White briefly mentions the anxieties produced by a highly structured situation and refers to the "continuing socialization effort" carried on by the agency in order to "keep reinfusing its professionals with its conceptualization of clientele relations". (p. 37)

Although White concludes that this agency's relationships with clients were effective as evidenced by its dramatic success in resocializing some clients thought to be "hopeless", Rosengren (1964), maintains that the need of the staff to protect their private self in such a setting promotes the development of defense mechanisms which may affect client-organization relationships adversely. One such mechanism is humour at the expense of clients, similar in form to the "tension-release" mechanism described by Blau (1963) in the context of the state employment bureaucracy. Alternatively, staff may protect themselves from the demands of constant emotional intimacy of their relationships with clients by resorting to elaborate intellectualization of clients. The most common form of self-protection, in Rosengren's view, is an increased ritualization of the formal communication processes since the ethic of maximum communication is generally the source of the pressure for complete self-revelation. The effects on staff of some of the features in the debureaucratized therapeutic milieu structure may ultimately lead to the creation

of informal barriers between clients and officials. The psychological withdrawal of staff in such organizations may be a result which parallels the phenomenon of client withdrawal in response to bureaucratic structures.

The intense personalization of relationships in the therapeutic milieu and the fluidity of organizational roles where both clients and staff are participating in the treatment process produces difficulty in the maintenance of staff-patient distinctions which can become a further source of anxiety for staff members. Rosengren (1964) describes how the "contrived pseudo-crisis" functions as a strategy for redefining the patient qua patient, reaffirming his dependence on the organization and the verity of the staff's judgement that the patient is "sick". Clients may interpret their personalized relations with staff as an indication that their "non-client" role entitles them to certain privileges and to "con" the system. The subsequent effect of this on the staff is that clients are seen as "using" them. This disillusionment of the staff may result in the employment of negative sanctions whereby the dividing line between staff and clients is seen to be merely hidden behind the "client-as-peer" rhetoric. Resorting to coercive control strategies serves also as a means of recapturing an increasingly autonomous clientele.

The ideal of approaching clients on a "whole person" basis, although admirable in its intention, may produce unintended consequences which have undesirable outcomes. The

more of the client's identity which is regarded as relevant for the organization, the greater becomes the possibility of discrimination on a basis considered by the client to be outside the legitimate jurisdiction of the organization. Others who demand equitable treatment may interpret decisions made according to particularistic criteria as unjust. The extensive rules found in the bureaucracy attempt to reduce the scope of discretionary decision-making at the lowest levels of the hierarchy where contact with clients is usually made. That this attempt is largely unsuccessful is attested to by Blau's (1963) study of a state employment agency where workers continually redefined or amplified rules in order to create areas of influence for themselves. This increased the satisfaction of interviewers with their work but it also led to the inequitable treatment of clients. Danet's (1973) account of particularism among customs officials illustrates that, even in highly bureaucratized settings where client contact was made by mail, officials tend to respond to the latent social identity of clients with an unequal application of discretion. The elimination of all discretionary decision-making is clearly impossible as well as undesirable in the interests of individual justice. The "whole person" approach and the ideal of individualized treatment implies a need to allow a wide scope of discretionary behaviour on the part of those who deal with clients. In his study of the exercise of discretion in the National Assistance Board, Hill (1969) found that

ambiguous guidelines and decentralized decision-making which resulted in inconsistencies in the treatment of clients induced tensions among the workers. This created a tendency for workers to be somewhat more rigid and over-cautious in their behaviour to clients, whereby forfeiting the advantages of the absence of certain bureaucratic constraints. The question of the amount of discretion desirable reveals an inherent tension between an insensitivity to the client's needs as a "person" where discretion is absent and the ultimate recourse to the subjective values of the worker as a guideline for decisions where complete discretion exists.

The organization's interest in the client as a "whole person" also raises the issue of the client's defense of self. The desire for increased knowledge about the client on the part of the organization may be interpreted by clients as an invasion of their privacy. This problem has been discussed in the bureaucratic context as one of the elements of "red tape" which provokes extensive disapprobation (Gouldner 1952). With a specific mandate to approach clients in their totality as individuals, the non-bureaucratic organization may naively extend its power over clients' lives to an even greater degree than the bureaucracy. Haug and Sussman (1969) maintain that the "revolt of the client" is to a great extent a reaction to the extension of professional authority to areas of clients' lives where it is felt to be unwarranted. The "whole man" perspective is being rejected as an illegitimate intrusion of

organizational power into areas with which clients themselves feel most competent to deal. According to Katz and Danet (1973) this is one of the major dilemmas of personalizing client-organization relationships:

> The more the whole person is taken into account, the less latitude is left for privacy and equality...The more segmented one's relationships with others, the more one wants to be treated as whole. (p. 9)

Conclusion

There appears to be considerable agreement that bureaucratically structured client-serving organizations are largely dysfunctional in terms of their consequences for clients who must deal with them. The emphasis on efficiency as a criterion for evaluating the effectiveness of the bureaucracy leads to a displacement of the service goals and a tendency to concentrate on those client groups who are least in need. Barriers between officials and clients are created by the hierarchical authority structure. Moreover, clients are reduced to a position of powerlessness when confronted by this structure. The internalization of bureaucratic norms on the part of officials promotes an impersonal and segmental orientation to clients. However, Kohn's contradictory evidence regarding bureaucratic socialization, although dependent on additional confirmation, indicates that it may be premature to close the case against bureaucracy.

In contrast to the catalogue of bureaucratic pathologies

documented by much of the research of organizations of this type, the therapeutic milieu, as a concept embodying democratic and humanitarian ideals, offers an appealing alternative. The deflated hierarchy and flexible role patterns mean that the organizational members can relate to clients in terms of the clients' needs instead of the predetermined constraints dictated by bureaucratized organizations. The attempt to decentralize decision-making in accordance with a democratic ideal allows clients to have some influence in creating policies which meet their needs more effectively. Enlisting the active participation of clients in organization's programs inhibits the withdrawal and alientation of the client. Elimination of the status distinctions between the role incumbents appears to decrease the social distance between clients and organizational officials and encourage an orientation to the client as a "whole person". At the same time, a closer examination of this debureaucratized organization has revealed that the therapeutic milieu may be oversold as a panacea for reforming the organizational treatment of clients. It could be questioned whether, as an organizational ideology, it does not serve the organization itself better than it does the client. There are indications that the pervasive control of staff members associated with such structures and the personalization of staff-client relationships may lead to a withdrawal of staff from the processes necessary to translate the ideals into practice. In addition, the conflict between a particularistic

approach and the issues of equality and privacy has serious implications for the organization's client population.

In the "total" institutional settings of the prison and the mental hospital, where most of the research concerning the therapeutic milieu has been carried out, it seems to have made a qualitative change in client treatment as opposed to the bureaucratic structure of many of these institutions. Its wholesale application, though, as a model for restructuring all client-serving bureaucracies, cannot be justified without further research on the consequences for clients of "milieu" organizations which are outside the framework of "total" institutions. Furthermore, the evidence is far from clear as to whether clients are necessarily better served by the debureaucratized organization. This uncertainty underlines the need for additional comparative research on client-organization relationships in both bureaucratic and "milieu" organizations before the total restructuring of client-serving bureaucracies can be advocated without reservation.

CHAPTER II

THE METHODOLOGY AND FIELD WORK

Introduction

The evidence from the literature provides indications that firm conclusions regarding the dysfunctions of bureaucratic structures and the remedial effects of alternative debureaucratized structures for client-organization relationships are not warranted at this stage. Because of the concern for reforming bureaucratic organizations and the relevance of this issue with respect to non-total institutions the present research is directed towards an examination of the relationship between organizational structure and various aspects of organization-client contact in two organizations of this type. Ideally, an examination of this question would be best approached by obtaining a large sample of different types of client-serving organizations and then proceeding to identify differences or similarities among them. The selection of a random sample of organizations is required to provide an adequate basis for generalization. However, because of the difficulties involved in such an approach when time and resources are limited, an alternative method must be sought. In the case of the present research this alternative was in the form of a case study. The case study has been a popular

methodology in organizational research partly because the nature of the subject matter i.e. whole organizations, renders other approaches difficult and time-consuming. Despite the limitations of the case study in terms of its specificity, it has served as a valuable tool in providing theoretical insights and generating hypotheses for further research as well as forming a basis for the construction of theoretical models.

The utilization of the case study for the purposes of this research permits the use of a variety of methodological techniques which can supplement each other to yield a more complete picture of the phenomena being examined. In addition, a more eclectic use of methods can operate to furnish a corrective to the possibility of obtaining misleading interpretations from the reliance on one method alone. The case study, moreover, is conducive to a focus on the organization itself as the unit of analysis and brings into clear view the interdependence among its component parts. Finally, the study of the relations between groups and individuals in their natural setting offers the researcher the opportunity to come closer to the reality of the situation as it exists for those involved. Blau (1963), in his methodological epilogue to The Dynamics of Bureaucracy, argues forcefully for this particular approach as a result of his own experiences:

> The significance of the quantitative case study, then, is that it stimulates the kind of theoretical insights that can be derived only

> from quantitative analysis as well as the kind that results from close observation of an empirical situation, and that it provides more severe checks on these insights than does an impressionistic study and thus somewhat increases the probable validity of the conclusions. (Blau 1963: 272)

Because of the important limitations of the study of a single case, it was decided that a case study approach including more than one organization was necessary to fully exploit the advantages of this method. This allows a comparative approach wherein both the similarities and the differences which emerge can shed some light on the research question. Apparent contradictions exposed by the comparison of cases indicate the need to push the analysis further in an attempt to account for them. The inclusion of a number of cases frequently brings to light differences between them which can be valuable areas for additional exploration whereas the evidence of a single case may be more likely to be accepted at face value. The researcher is alerted to the need for a closer examination of underlying processes as the comparison among cases is made. When similarities are discovered across a number of cases this strengthens support for the findings and the generalizability of the conclusions. Obviously, a study of only two cases cannot provide firm evidence to justify sweeping generalization. It can, however, open up new avenues for further research or throw some doubt on previously accepted assumptions or findings. Perhaps the functions of a case study such as this should properly be viewed as those of posing

questions which may serve as fruitful directions for future research.

The selection of the two client-serving organizations for the proposed research was dictated by certain requirements which, it was felt, would utilize a comparative approach to the best advantage with regard to the specific research question. The ideal choices were considered to be two agencies which were similar in many respects but identifiably different in their structural arrangements. This would, in effect, hold some elements constant while structural differences and client orientations would be the major focus of the comparisons. The two agencies selected for this study were set up under the same enabling legislation to achieve the same end: to restrain and resocialize welfare recipients so that they can gain entry to the labour market. Their funding auspices are thus identical, financial support coming from the federal, provincial, and municipal levels of government according to a cost-sharing formula. Moreover, this clientele groups come from essentially similar populations - those persons who are on general welfare assistance. However, the organizational structures of the two agencies appeared to differ dramatically. The one agency, Communitas, operated on the principle of a community of equals engaged in helping each other and this was translated into a debureaucratized structure. Workwin, on the other hand, appeared to be closer in many structural aspects to a traditional

social agency, although there were some departures from the model. In sum, then, these two agencies appeared to offer an ideal basis for the consideration of the relationship between organizational structure and client orientations.

Agency Description

Both organizations are located in densely populated urban centres. Funded under public auspices, the two agencies have, as their main objectives, the responsibility of assisting unemployed clients to qualify for retraining by the federal Department of Manpower, helping them to change their job-seeking behaviour, and enabling them to hold jobs once obtained. The federal government, under the Canada Assistance Plan, enacted legislation in 1966 which would provide for the cost-sharing of such programs designed to aid long-term welfare recipients regain entry to the labour market. It was not until 1970 that the provincial government approved the allocation of its revenues for programs of this nature, and, after that point, municipalities were able to take advantage of this provision of funds. Very few, in fact, did - to date only The two agencies involved in this study are, therefore, somewhat experimental since they are part of a very small number of innovative programs.

Participation by clients in each program is entirely voluntary but, generally, two conditions must be met: they must be in receipt of welfare assistance (because of the cost-

sharing agreement) and their situation be such that no other social service agency or community resources are in a position to provide the needed help. Because of these criteria for eligibility and the original conception of these programs, they serve largely what are often considered the 'hard-core unemployed' - persons with little formal education, no skills, very often with psychological or physical impairments, and frequently with histories of institutionalization in prisons or mental hospitals.

In order to provide a more detailed picture of the two agencies a description of each will be presented separately. Communitas is a semi-autonomous section of a large municipal bureaucracy which is responsible for the provision of social and welfare services to a low-income clientele. Its director, three counsellors, and three work supervisors are employees of the municipal welfare department. This Agency also has an academic component which is staffed by five certified teachers employed by, and ultimately responsible to, the board of education. However, they operate under the supervision of the program director for the most part as far as the day-to-day operations are concerned. The two parts of the agency can be categorized, and are usually referred to, as the 'school' and the 'work program'.

The school offers adult education covering grades one to eight. Any interested adult (i.e. over sixteen years of age)

may enroll in the school whether employed or on welfare. Classes, however, are conducted in the mornings and this is a barrier to many employed persons. Approximately a hundred students are enrolled in the school at any one time, only a proportion of whom are also participating in the work program. Students applying for admission to the school are interviewed by the 'head' teacher who also fills out an application form regarding the prospective student. At this point, the student's reading and writing skills are assessed in an informal manner so that he can be placed at the appropriate grade level. Since the school is organized on the basis of individualized instruction allowing each student to move at his own pace, there is a continuous movement of students in and out of the school throughout the year.

The work program is located in the same building as the school but is separated from it physically, being on another floor. Here the counsellors, director, and the only clerical member of the agency have their headquarters. A number of the clients involved in this aspect of the agency's program also carry on their activities on this floor. Those clients who attend the school in the morning join the work program in the afternoon while other participants, not enrolled in the school, attend the work program all day. Persons who want to take part in the work program fill out a brief application form when they come for the first time. A counsellor

sees them immediately and, after the client has chosen the work assignment he wants, the applicant becomes an active participant - a procedure which may take no more than fifteen minutes. Most of the tasks assigned to participants involve providing service to others. Some men are assigned to the jobs of picking up donated furniture and appliances, repairing them, and delivering the finished products to welfare recipients who indicate a need for them. Others are involved in fixing up city-owned houses for occupancy by low-income persons. Women are generally given the task of sorting and mending secondhand clothing or assisting with clerical duties in the office. There are a few work experience placements in municipally operated day nurseries, district welfare offices, and a single men's hostel. Incentive allowances, ranging from three dollars to a possible maximum of sixty dollars per month, are paid to work program participants on the basis of their attendance, effort, and demonstration of leadership in their particular job assignments. The counselling staff provide casework services as the need arises but, for the most part, they function as guides to other community resources for the financial, housing, legal, and health needs of the clients. They frequently act as client advocates vis-à-vis other service agencies and community institutions. In addition, the counsellors directly supervise some of the work assignments and often play a consultant role with regard to the work

supervisors and teachers.

The work supervisors are located in another setting altogether. This is a large warehouse, several blocks away from the school and the work program, where some of the work program participants carry out their job assignments. It serves as a storage centre for the donated furniture and as the operations centre for repairs and refinishing. As well as the supervision of these activities, the work supervisors are also responsible for the coordination of pick-ups and delivery by the agency's truck. Generally, one of the supervisors, accompanied by some of the participants, takes the vehicle himself.

Communitas has been operating for two and a half years as an integrated program of academic and work experience. The school, begun two years prior to the work program, was originally staffed by volunteer teachers and, as such, formed part of the welfare's department volunteer program which was headed by the present agency director. He was not only responsible for the creation of the school but also for the initial implementation of the employment development section as well. It is his particular philosophy which guides and influences the entire project. The program is organized around the 'community' concept wherein each member of the 'community', whether staff or client, participates in the 'helping' process. The starting point in this process is based on the specific

needs of each client but staff are expected to examine and evaluate their own actions and motives with regard to their part in the helping relationship. Emphasis is placed on the complete acceptance of clients as individuals with the potential for developing into useful and productive members of society regardless of their past history. In keeping with the de-emphasis upon the past behaviour of clients, the collection of extensive biographical information on clients, either at the point of application or on a continuous basis by recording in client files, is proscribed. Written records are believed to contribute to a perpetuation of a negative stereotype of clients by attaching a 'label' to them based on historical information which is no longer relevant. The main objectives are to assist clients to develop positive self-images in the belief that most of their problems stem from the clients' acceptance of society's low estimation of their worth.

Workwin is located in a smaller city whose economic base is composed of large industrial and manufacturing firms. Workwin, itself, is an autonomously chartered organization with a membership of thirty-two persons drawn from different sectors of the community and a board of directors, numbering twelve, who are chosen from and elected by the membership. Historically, this agency developed out of an employment-orientation program initially created exclusively for ex-offenders. Interest was shown by other established social

service agencies in enlarging the scope of this initial program. Consequently, it was decided to revise the program in this direction and to apply for funding from the federal government under a scheme designed to promote community-based social service activity but on a temporary funding basis only. It was at this point that the program became an independent organization with its own charter and a board structure. As the program became recognized as a successful attempt to move unemployed persons back into the labour market, the municipal welfare department began to take greater interest in the utilization of its services. Eight months after its inception as an autonomous body, Workwin was accepted for funding on a more permanent basis under the Canada Assistance Plan. Although the agency is completely independent of the municipal welfare department in structure, most of its financial support is from this source. The municipal government has a purchase-of-service agreement with Workwin wherein it agrees to 'buy' a certain number of placements in the agency's program for clients who are being granted welfare assistance. At present these placements constitute the whole of the agency's client body. The Rehabilitation Officer of the welfare department acts as an overseer of the program because of the city's financial commitment to the agency. This same man had been one of the initial founders of the program for ex-offenders before he moved from a federal employment agency to his present position with the municipal bureaucracy.

Workwin is a relatively small organization. Its staff consists of an executive director, six counsellors, and a secretary-bookkeeper. The executive director has been involved with the agency since its existence as a chartered organization in the spring of 1971. He and one of the present counselling staff had helped to draft the proposal requesting funds from the federal government. Two of the other counsellors were hired at the time these funds were granted. The employment orientation program itself is divided into two components: ongoing work experience for clients and a job placement service. One counsellor is responsible for the latter task. His role involves the interviewing of persons referred by other agencies who would appear to require only some assistance in actually finding a job and not the more intensive job preparation program offered by the work experience section. The job placement counsellor helps the client write a resume for submission to employers and often rehearses him in job interview skills. In addition, the counsellor, once the client has obtained work, continues his contact with the client until he is well established in his situation. A large part of the job placement counsellor's role, however, consists in cultivating and maintaining contacts with employers in the community in order to facilitate the placement of his clients as jobs become available.

The remaining five counsellors carry on the agency's

program of employment orientation with those clients who would appear to benefit from a more lengthy preparation for employment in the labour market. These are generally persons who have few, if any, marketable skills and minimal education. The specific assignment of clients to particular counsellors is decided largely on the basis of sex. Two female counsellors jointly work with all the female clients while the three male counsellors are responsible for male participants. A further division of male clients is made according to age: males from the ages of sixteen up to about the early twenties are assigned to the same counsellor.

The counselling staff are both work supervisors and social workers with relation to their clients. Specifically designed to 'simulate a company', the agency emphasizes assisting the clients to learn appropriate work habits and attitudes through work experience situations which approximate realistic work settings. Female clients work in the community at day nurseries, the Senior Citizen's Centre, and the public library. The men variously carry out such tasks as home repairs for people on pensions and small repair jobs that can be done in the agency's workshop. Incentive allowances are based on the time present and behaviour on the job, with the maximum rate of pay being four dollars a day. Supplementing the actual work experience is a series of group discussions, sometimes with speakers from other agencies or the business

community. These are referred to as 'life skills' sessions since their themes are concerned with such subjects as health, education, financial budgeting, legal rights, and other topics felt to be relevant to the clients' problems.

As the number of clients which the agency feels it can effectively deal with at any one time is only about thirty, there is generally a waiting list of applicants who have been referred by other social service agencies - mainly by the municipal welfare department. At the time of referral, one of the counsellors interviews the prospective client and completes a lengthy application form concerning the client's history and present situation. An evaluation committee assesses the applications and decides on admissions. When a client has been 'accepted' into the program he may have to wait for a period of time for an opening. Clients stay in the program (barring dropouts) until they are deemed 'job-ready'. Then a concerted effort is made to help them find regular employment. Counsellors maintain their involvement with clients even after this point in order to assist clients who may encounter 'adjustment' problems. Although intake and job placement are done on a continuous basis, there is not a great deal of constant movement in and out of the program. As a result, the client population is frequently quite stable over different periods of time.

The Field Work

Gaining entry to the organizations which are selected for research can be a critical process in determining the extent to which the researcher and her goals are accepted by the members of the organization. This initial stage of the field work can greatly affect the researcher's final picture of the organization. Since organizational participants selectively present certain aspects of their behaviour to the researcher while making other areas inaccessible, it is important that the researcher be perceived as an objective and impartial observer. The introduction of the researcher into the organizational setting involves two factors of critical importance both to those who participate in the research process and to the end product of the research itself. Staff members are asked to commit some part of their time to the researcher's requests for information as well as to reveal some of their selves for the researcher's purposes. It is therefore essential that organizational participants see the objectives of the researcher's pursuits as being legitimate and worthwhile and, in addition, be convinced that the researcher herself is deserving of their confidence.

Researchers entering industrial organizations frequently encounter the problem of being identified with the interests of management as their access to such settings is usually through the higher levels of the organization's hierarchy.

Indeed, in many cases, this has not been an unfair assessment of their role. In the case of client-serving organizations, however, there are a couple of factors which may serve to minimize this difficulty for the researcher. The kind of educational backgrounds usually found among workers in organizations of this type as well as the nature of the work performed tends to produce a positive orientation towards the functions of research as a possible source of assistance to them in their jobs. Moreover, both workers and mangement frequently regard themselves as commonly bound by the pursuit of similar goals and therefore not fundamentally different in their objectives in terms of their service to clients.

The two organizations dealt with in this study both have the same function vis-à-vis their client populations. However, while both agencies are similar in this respect, they are very different with regard to how this purpose has been translated into organizational terms. Workwin is an independent agency with an autonomous board whereas Communitas is an integral part of a municipal social service department. Although this difference will be discussed in greater detail later it is a point which should be kept in mind throughout the following discussion of the researcher's entry into the two organizations and the field work process.

The researcher's knowledge of an initial contact with the two agencies developed out of a previous association with

Communitas while employed as a research assistant on an evaluation study of the organization. Since the nature of that study was to assess, for the purposes of additional funding, the degree of success achieved by the agency in helping its client population find employment or more into skill upgrading programs, the role of the research assistant was seen as being connected to the outcome of the decision as to whether the organization would continue to receive the financial support necessary to ensure its survival. Consequently, the author was faced with the possibility that the present research would be affected in certain ways by her previous identification with a body which had the power to make critical decisions regarding Communitas' operations. The director of this agency, with whom the proposed research was first discussed, expressed no direct concern with this issue, however, and it did not appear to influence his acceptance of the researcher's proposal.

At the director's request, a copy of the questionnaire was forwarded to his superior in the municipal social services department. This official had come on staff three months prior to the beginning of the research to fill the newly created position of coordinator and developer of special service programs. There was no direct response from him regarding the research but the author met him briefly when he dropped in at the agency's headquarters some time after the study was

in progress and he expressed a general interest in the aims of the research.

Subsequent to the meeting with the director of Communitas the author discussed the research project individually with each of the members of the counselling staff. They did not indicate a very great interest in the objectives of the research but were very willing to cooperate in the research progress. The reaction of the teachers, both as a group and individually, was somewhat different.

Because they recognized the director as their leader in the agency, although he was not, in fact, their official superior, they accepted as legitimate his actions in approving the research and thereby committing them to some involvement in it. However, the teachers expressed more concern than other staff members regarding the specific details of the research and the confidentiality of their communications to the researcher. At their request, the author met with the teachers as a group to discuss these matters. During this meeting, it became clear that the author's previous ties with the body which carried out the evaluative research were disturbing to the teaching staff. The main anxiety expressed by the teachers was that if this body had any access to the information given by them throughout the research process, then they would have no control over the ends for which such information might be employed. Given the situation, this was a legitimate concern

on their part. The author explained the purposes of the research and assured them that both questionnaires and interviews would remain strictly confidential and accessible only to the researcher. These assurances seemed to be generally accepted. However, subsequent to this meeting, some of the teachers approached the author individually to be specifically assured that the information they might give the researcher would not be revealed to other staff members of the agency. The author duly assured them that their confidences would be safeguarded in every way. There was no indication, as the research progressed, that this continued to be a major concern of the teaching staff. The teachers were, on the whole, enthusiastic about the fact that the research was centred on the agency and its internal operations to some extent. Some expressed the belief that it would be helpful to the staff in that it would require them to examine certain aspects of their situation. Communitas had recently gone through a crisis involving the dismissal of one of its staff members. At the time the author entered the agency, many of the staff felt that there would be some therapeutic value in the research process in providing the opportunity for them to reflect on this incident and its effects on the agency.

The questionnaires were distributed to each of the staff members and queries regarding items in the questionnaire were dealt with as they arose on an individual basis. The completed questionnaires were collected by the author about

one week after the staff had received them. It was felt that a period of time sufficient to allow respondents to reconsider their answers if they wished was desirable since this would tend to eliminate possible bias resulting from responses given perhaps on a particularly 'bad' day or under the direct pressures of the work situation. Following completion of the questionnaires, each respondent was interviewed by the author. These interviews ranged in length from one hour to an hour and a half and were recorded on tape for transcription at a later time. Although there was no specific schedule formulated to guide the interviews, the respondents were guided towards the discussion of certain topics. Respondents were first asked whether there were any questionnaire items on which they wished to elaborate further. The interview was then directed towards some of the general themes covered in the questionnaire i.e. organizational structure, relationships with clients, feelings about their work, and the philosophy and goals of the agency. The interviews of the staff members of Communitas were conducted over the period of one month. Because of the physical drawbacks of the building in which this agency was located, the author experienced some difficulty in obtaining a completely private setting for the interviews. One was even carried out in a nearby park. Generally, however, an unused room could be found at the time although the interviews were often subject to various interruptions.

During the month in which the interviews were conducted.

the author spent every working day either in the agency's headquarters or in the warehouse where the work supervisors and some participants were engaged in various activities. This provided the opportunity for the author to observe the operations of Communitas on a daily basis. One day was spent accompanying the director on a visit to a work site where two male participants were demolishing a house as part of their work assignment. The author also went along with one of the counsellors on a home-visit to another client's residence. During that particular month, graduation ceremonies for students who had received their grade eight certification were held and attended by the author. Lunch hours were often spent with the teachers and counsellors. The author also sat in on the staff meetings which were planned as a weekly occurrence but were not, in fact, held that frequently during that particular month. Copies of record-keeping forms were obtained by the researcher while at the agency and the client files were made accessible to and examined by the author as well.

Effecting entry to and gaining the confidence of the staff of Workwin was a somewhat different process than that involved in Communitas. Coincident with the timing of this research an evaluation study was being carried out in Workwin by the same funding body with whom the author had been previously employed. The individual conducting this study was also the author's point of contact in introducing her to the agency's director and staff. Consequently, the possibility

of a misinterpretation of the author's role as a researcher in Workwin was great and, as seen by the author, entirely undesirable. However, the legitimacy of the author's objectives in carrying out the study was enhanced in the eyes of the director and the staff by this association. The director explicitly expressed the hope that the present study of the agency and its relationships with its clientele would supplement the results of the evaluative research. The general response of the staff members was one indicating interest in the research and enthusiasm for participation in the process. The staff accepted the author's assurances of confidentiality without any apparent concern over this issue at the time. However, throughout the course of the interviews it appeared that some reassurance in this regard was necessary although their concern was not over whether the information they imparted was used in the context of the evaluation study but whether such information would be made known to the other members of the agency's staff.

When the first visit, of three days duration, to Workwin was made, the author met with the executive director to discuss the plans for the research. In contrast to the director of Communitas, Workwin's director was very concerned about having a clear and detailed picture of the proposed research: what the objectives were and what would be involved in carrying it out. He emphasized the need for obtaining 'official' authorization before he could allow the research to proceed.

To this end he urged the author to discuss the study with the Rehabilitation Officer of the city welfare department whose approval, he felt, was necessary.

Both the operating procedures and the general reaction of the executive director of Workwin on the occasion of the initial discussion of the research contrasted greatly with those of the director of Communitas. In the latter case, the response was one of rather mild interest in the research itself and a casual approach which, in effect, denied any necessity for further authorization. The researcher was left to proceed as desired regarding communication of her purposes to the rest of the staff at Communitas. Conversely, the executive director of Workwin felt that official authorization was definitely required. In addition, he clearly preferred a more formalized and organized manner of proceeding.

These differences in the responses of the directors of the two agencies could perhaps be traced to the differences in the situations on which the operations of each of the agencies was based. The degree of the need felt by each of the directors for further authorization of the research reveals this to some extent. The director of Communitas clearly occupied a position within the hierarchical structure of the municipal social services department. Usually, such an arrangement implies a well-defined subordinat-supraordinate relationship. On the other hand, Workin was an autonomous organization whose executive director was officially responsible

to its board of directors. However, it was in the latter case that the agency director felt the necessity for authorization, not from the agency's board, but from a perceived 'superior' located entirely outside the agency structure but within the municipal welfare department which was the sole source of funds for the agency. Being firmly established within the municipal structure, Communitas had apparently a secure basis of financial support which Workwin did not.

Following the request of Workwin's director, the author met with the Rehabilitation Officer of the municipal welfare department. He expressed considerable interest in the research and endorsed it without hesitation. In order to meet the counselling staff it was necessary to go to the various work sites in an effort to locate them. Thus the author met them on an individual basis and presented the research plans to them. The author's role as researcher was explained to the staff members explicitly in order to disassociate it from the role of the individual engaged in the evaluation study. Throughout the research period, the author could detect no signs that her role was viewed with any suspicion by the staff because of this circumstance.

During the first visit to Workwin, the director supplied the author with all the record-keeping forms and documentary material used by the organization. His explanations of the use and purpose of this material provided the bulk of the author's information in this regard. While there, the

author also had the opportunity to attend one of the weekly staff meetings.

Prior to the next visit to Workwin, copies of the questionnaire were forwarded to both the executive director and the municipal Rehabilitation Officer. During this visit the questionnaires were distributed to the staff who were given a period of three days in which to complete them. When these were collected, interviews with each of the staff members were arranged. As in Communitas, these interviews were tape recorded and ranged from one to one and a half hours in length. A private office was made available for this purpose and most of the interviews proceeded without interruptions.

Over the five day period of the second visit the author spent each of those full working days at the agency's headquarters. Since the organization's clients were scattered throughout the city at various work-sites while participating in the program, very few appeared at the agency's headquarters. There was, therefore, little opportunity to observe staff-client interaction. Similarly, the staff themselves were usually on the move visiting the different sites. In order to see more of the actual operation of the agency's program tentative arrangements were made for the author to accompany the counsellors on their 'rounds' when she next visited the agency. Unfortunately, this plan did not come to fruition.

The third, and last, visit covered a period of four and a half days. On this occasion the author found that the

agency's operating routine has been dramatically altered. A few days prior to this Workwin had temporarily suspended its regular employment-oriented program and had embarked on a major blitz to place all its current clients in jobs. There were a number of reasons for this sudden change but, in general, the intention was to allow the agency an opportunity to devote some time to planning and reorganizing its program in order to start anew with the next complement of participants. Since clients were no longer working at the job sites but were instead seeking employment, the plan to accompany the members of the counselling staff as they went about their daily activities had to be abandoned. The remaining staff interviews were completed at this time and the author attended another staff meeting held during that week.

The Research Tools

The major concern of the research was to determine if there was a relationship between organizational structure and the orientations of the organization towards its client population. The research model was accordingly designed to focus on structure as the independent variable with three measurements of staff attitudes constituting intervening variables. In Chapter I, the discussion of organizational structure and its possible consequences for the threatment of clients centred on the distinction between bureacratic and non-bureaucratic organizations. It is, however, somewhat of

an oversimplification to regard this distinction as a dichotomous characterization of structure in terms of an all-or-none phenomenon. Weber's concept of bureaucracy included a number of elements which, taken together, defined the 'ideal-type' bureaucracy. Hall (1963) has explored the utility of treating the dimensions discussed by Weber and later writers as continua which can be quantified in empirical terms and along which organizations can be ranked according to the degree to which they exhibit each of these characteristics. He concludes that these dimensions can be regarded as variables which represent structural attributes of organizations and that they "exist in the form of continua rather than as dichotomies" (p. 39).

Other students of organizations have approached empirical research in this area in a similar way although the particular dimensions emphasized by each vary somewhat. There does, however, appear to be some consensus with regard to the importance of certain structural features: the nature of the division of labour, the distribution of authority, and the existence of rules and procedures. The specification of a number of characteristics which can be quantified allows organizational structures to be compared in terms of their degree of bureaucratization along these dimensions. Implicit in this approach is the assumption that these dimensions may vary independently of one another so that organizations that appear highly bureaucratized on any one dimension may not

necessarily be so on others.

To collect the required information on structural attributes, as well as the data on staff attitudes and orientations towards clients in the two agencies being studied, a questionnaire[1] was administered to every staff member of each organization with the exception of the agency directors. The questionnaire specifically focussed on five dimensions of structure: formalization of the work carried out by staff members, centralization of authority and decision-making, the nature and extent of internal communication, routineness of work and the type of power base of the director of the agency. Two additional objective measures of structure supplemented by perceptual measures. The degree of complexity of each agency was based on the education and professional training of the staff members and the extent of the division of labour.[2] A second indicator of formalization focussed on the amount of written communication regarding rules and procedures in each organization.[3] An assessment of staff members' attitudes towards their work in each organizational setting was based on questionnaire items related to job satisfaction, job-related tension and feelings of alienation.

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[1]See Appendix E for the questionnaire which was used and Appendix A for a description of the scales incorporated in the questionnaire.

[2]See Appendix C for a full description of this index.

[3]See Appendix D.

How the staff in both organizations define and perceive clients makes up the third group of questions. Six aspects of the agency's orientations towards clients were examined: the degree of social distance maintained between clients and staff, whether clients were seen as relatively simple and as a homogenous group or whether they were regarded as complex individuals, what forms the sanction used to control clients took, the extent to which an 'objective' emotionally neutral posture was emphasized, how extensive the organization's interest in its clients' lives was, and the extent to which the agency stressed an investment of its resources in those clients who were defined as most likely to be 'successful' as opposed to a continual extension of its services to those who might be regarded as the poorest prospects for treatment.

To explore more fully the dynamics of the relationship between structure and orientations to clients, the researcher interviewed each staff member in a fairly informal manner to pursue in greater depth some of the topics included in the questionnaire. The agencies' documents and records were an additional source of data. Information regarding the client populations of each agency was taken from this source as well as from an evaluation study carried out in each organization within the year preceding the present research by the provincial government. The author's observations of the daily operations of each agency at various periods throughout the course of the field work also provided some data.

Analysis of the Data

A major source of the information and research data for this study of two client-serving organizations consists of the perceptions of the individual staff members of each agency. The characterization of organizational structure on the basis of the perceptions of participants has been supplemented by documentary data and the observations of the researcher. However, organizational structure will be defined largely in terms of the way in which it exists for the organizational participants themselves.

Because the research question was concerned with the organization as the unit of analysis, extensive use has been made of the arithmetic mean as a summary measure to represent the relative location of each agency on the dimensions of structure, staff attitudes, and orientations towards clients. In so doing, it has been assumed that the assignment of scores to the scales used in this research approximate an interval level of measurement.[4] The response categories have been treated as equidistant intervals although they, in reality, are seldom likely to be so. However, the acceptance of the assumption of interval scales allows the individual scores to be aggregated for the purpose of arriving at an organizational score.

The arithmetic mean is a very useful method for

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[4]See Appendix B for a detailed outline of the coding of questionnaire items and the scale scores based on these items.

summarizing and representing the answers of an entire group of individuals. When dealing with relatively few cases, proportions and percentages are unsuitable and misleading whereas means take into account all the available information given by each member of the group. Furthermore, means themselves can be averaged or manipulated algebraically (provided that the nature of the data justifies such treatment).

The utilization of means based on individual responses to represent organizational scores introduces a number of considerations related to the sampling methods employed in the selection of respondents. Hage and Aiken (1967), from whose work some of the indices for organizational structure have been adapted for the present study, have attempted to compensate for their selection rates by computing organizational scores from the means of social position scores. By standardizing responses according to organizational location in terms of level in the hierarchy and occupation, Hage and Aiken claim that they have accounted for 'the sociological perspective of organizational reality':

> From a sociological point of view, an organization is a collection of social positions and not an aggregate of individuals. (Hage and Aiken 1967: 77)

The authors do, however, present the Pearson correlation coefficients for each of their indicators based on the two methods of computing organizational scores: by social position and by individuals. These correlations are relatively high

in all cases.[5]

The procedure suggested by Hage and Aiken was not used in the present research. Instead, the organizational means were calculated from individual scores all of which, in effect, were given equal weight. This was done for a number of reasons. Hage and Aiken's view of organizational reality as a 'collection of social positions' represents only one school of thought regarding the nature of organizations as social systems.[6] An analysis of organizations which is based on an aggregate of individuals is not necessarily, therefore, a violation of 'the sociological perspective of organizational reality'. There were, in addition, some very practical reasons why Hage and Aiken's procedures were not felt to be warranted in the present analysis. With two exceptions all staff members were located at the same level of the hierarchy. In Communitas, one of the five teachers occupied the nominal position of 'head' of the academic program. The responsibilities involved were administrative in nature - to collect and forward the required records to the school board, the ordering of supplies, and acquiring substitute teachers when necessary. When asked to name their immediate supervisor in the organization all the teachers

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[5] Pearsonian correlation coefficients were: hierarchy of authority .70, actual participation in decisions .90, job codification .68, rule observation .88, professional training .90.

[6] For an exposition of an alternative approach to organizations see David Silverman, The Theory of Organizations, 1970, especially chapters 6 and 7.

recognized the agency director as such, although they acknowledged their official accountability to the coordinator of adult education - an office which is not part of the agency's structure but within the structure of the board of education. All the staff members of the work program in Communitas were directly under the supervision of the agency director. One counsellor in Workwin works under the guidance of another counsellor. The total number of counsellors in Workwin is six, all of whom, with the aforementioned exception, are responsible to the executive director. The sole clerical person in each agency was also included since they both have some contact with clients. They, too, were responsible to the directors in each case. Thus the hierarchy in both agencies was relatively flat and the total numbers of staff small. Consequently, the division of respondents into social levels on the basis of hierarchical position would not have been meaningful.

In Communitas, three basic occupational divisions were represented by the teaching staff, counsellors, and work supervisors whereas Workwin had one occupational specialty only - counsellors. However, since all the staff members of each agency were interviewed in order to arrive at organizational scores, it was unncessary to make adjustments in order to weight responses on the basis of occupational positions. Although organizational means are computed straightforwardly by using the scores of the individual respondents in both

agencies, separate scores for each of the three staff groups in Communitas were calculated for the purposes of comparison. Where the differences appear significant these will be brought into the analysis.

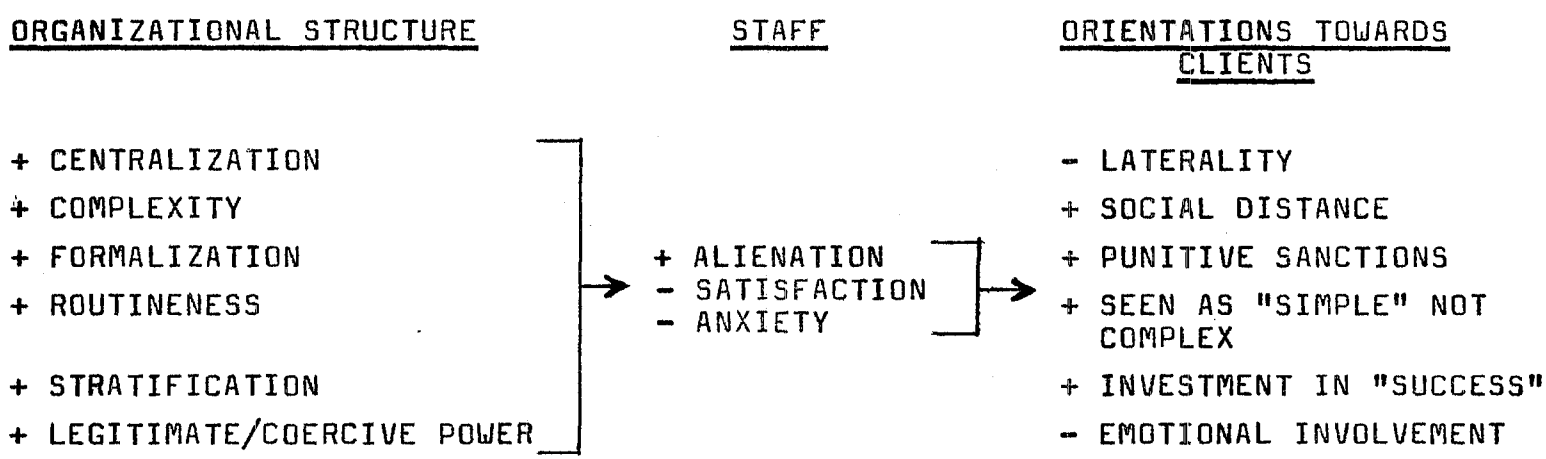
The interviews with staff in each agency were originally tape recorded then transcribed so that a written record of each interview was available. The interview material pertaining to each organization was treated as a unit. The recorded conversations were extracted from the individual interviews and reorganized on a topical basis. The topics emerging from the interview data were: perceptions of agency structure, perceptions of clients, the agency's director, the agency's relationships with its environment in terms of other agencies, the community and the significant welfare department in each case, attitudes of the staff members towards their work, relationships with other staff members, and the philosophy and goals of the organization. Thus all comments in each agency pertaining to these areas were grouped together in order to facilitate the analysis of the patterns that might exist in the two organizations.

A number of specific hypotheses were formulated on the basis of the previous research reviewed in Chapter I. In the present study the dimensions of organizational structure were treated as the independent variables while the various aspects related to orientations towards clients constituted the dependent variables in this framework. The dimensions of

organizational structure previously outlined, when taken together, provide a picture of the extent to which each agency can be considered as bureaucratized in nature. Certain relationships between the degree of bureaucratization and the organizations' orientations towards clients were expected on the basis of previous research findings. From this the hypotheses for the present research were drawn.

Specifically, it was predicted that the more bureaucratized agency would manifest a greater degree of alienation on the part of it staff (Hage and Aiken 1966), a lower degree of satisfaction of its members with their jobs (Blauner 1964), and a lesser degree of anxiety of the staff regarding their ability to meet the expectations related to the performance of their work (Rosengren 1964; White 1969). These two factors, a higher degree of bureaucratization of structure and the resulting perceptions of organizational participants of their work, would, it was hypothesized, be related in specific ways to the organization's orientations towards its clients. Increased bureaucratization was, therefore, predicted to be associated with a more narrow and segmental view of clients (Merton 1952), increased social distance between workers and clients (Seeman and Evans 1961), the interpretation of clients as simple and similar in their needs (Street 1970), a greater investment of time and resources in potential 'successes' instead of the continual extension of help to those who appear to be less promising candidates for a successful outcome (Levin

and Taube 1970; Sjoberg et al 1966), a minimal degree of emotional involvement with clients as a result of greater emphasis on 'professional' objectivity and neutrality (White 1969), and a greater use of punitive as opposed to normative sanctions (Rosengren 1967: Etzioni 1961). The following model depicts in diagrammatic form the hypothesized relationships between the structural dimensions outlined, the staff-related variables, and orientations towards clients.


ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE
+ CENTRALIZATION
+ COMPLEXITY
+ FORMALIZATION
+ ROUTINENESS
+ STRATIFICATION
+ LEGITIMATE/COERCIVE POWER
STAFF
+ ALIENATION
- SATISFACTION
- ANXIETY
ORIENTATIONS TOWARDS CLIENTS
- LATERALITY
+ SOCIAL DISTANCE
+ PUNITIVE SANCTIONS
+ SEEN AS "SIMPLE" NOT COMPLEX
+ INVESTMENT IN "SUCCESS"
- EMOTIONAL INVOLVEMENT

CHAPTER III

THE GOALS AND PHILOSOPHY OF THE ORGANIZATIONS

Before embarking on a discussion of the goals and operating philosophy of each of the two agencies described, a brief account of the legislation and government involvement with relation to these organizations will be presented. Such involvement has had varying degrees of impact on various aspects of the past and present situation of both Communitas and Workwin. In order to appreciate their influence on the organizations being examined it will be necessary to review the relevant sections of both the federal and provincial legislative acts with regard to the framework they provide for the operations and objectives of these agencies.

The general provision of welfare services and social assistance in Canada has traditionally been regarded as the responsibility of the provincial governments. The role of the federal government is largely to assist in the provision of finances for provincial welfare programs and, to this end, enact major legislation which, in its broad scope, will ensure the funding of a variety of specific services to be determined by the provinces.

In 1966 the government of Canada passed an umbrella piece of legislation called the Canada Assistance Plan which enabled the provinces to obtain increased fiscal resources from

the federal government for a number of programs in the welfare field but left optional participation in the plan by the provinces. The provinces could, as a result, pick it up in whole, or in part, or not at all. If they should agree to participate, the federal government would pay for fifty per cent of the costs of welfare services; however control of the programs would remain effectively with the provinces. Even if the provinces did not desire to take advantage of some parts of the Canada Assistance Plan they could, at a later date, do so as long as the legislation stood.

One of the features included in the plan was the provision of funds specifically for Work Activity Projects. Part III of the Canada Assistance Plan outlines the intentions of the act as it relates to Work Activity Projects:

> 'Work Activity Project' means a project the purpose of which is to prepare for entry or return to employment, a person, who because of environmental, personal, or family reasons has unusual difficulty in obtaining or holding employment or in improving, through participation in technical or vocational training programs or rehabilitation programs, his ability to obtain and hold employment. (S.C. 1966-67, c. 45, Part III, section 14 (a))

This is the most specific and only description of the nature of such programs that the act provides. As a result, considerable leeway in the development of particular types of Work Activity Projects has been built into the federal legislation. There are, however, a series of specifications outlined in the C.A.P. to which all Work Activity Projects must conform. Two of these are that:

> Every agreement made pursuant of this section shall (a) provide that no person shall be denied assistance because he refuses or has refused to take part in a Work Activity Project... (c) provide that allowances may be paid to participants. (S.C. 1966-67, c. 45, Part III, Section 15)

In other words, participation in a project must be on voluntary basis and those who do participate may be paid an unspecified amount over and above their welfare assistance. Within this framework, (including certain other required administrative practices), then, the federal government introduced the possibility of allocating funds to the provinces to set up programs of this kind.

The Province of Ontario did not take advantage of Part III of the C.A.P. relating to Work Activity Projects until 1970. At that time, the provincial General Welfare Assistance Act was revised to include these projects as eligible for provincial funding. The General Welfare Assistance Act is legislation governing the payment of social welfare assistance by the municipalities at the local level. Under this act the province contributes thirty per cent of the costs and the federal government fifty percent to the municipalities in order to assist them in the provision of these services. Section 16 of the Revised Regulations of Ontario 1970, Regulation 383, covers Work Activity Projects as follows:

> In this section, 'work activity project' means a project approved (a) by the Minister of National Health and Welfare of the Government of Canada and (b) by the Lieutenant Governor in

> Council the purpose of which is to prepare for entry or return to employment a person, who because of environmental, personal, or family reasons has unusual difficulty in obtaining or holding employment or in improving, through participation in technical or vocational training programs or rehabilitation programs, his ability to obtain and hold employment.

The act further states that municipalities may engage in such programs either on a contract or fee-for-service basis in addition to the possibility of developing work activity projects within their own welfare departments. As in the case of the federal legislation, this part of the revised General Welfare Assistance Act is optional to the municipalities who would, in the overall cost-sharing formula, be responsible for twenty per cent of the total costs.

Although the act permits a wide latitude of flexibility in the specific design and operation of such programs, the province generally retains the right to review the programs and indicate changes it feels should be made in their operations. More importantly, the province has the authority to cut off funding from programs felt to be inadequate or not fulfilling their purpose. In other words, with eighty percent of the total funds being channelled through the province, its power with relation to these programs is great. The municipal governments similarly have a vital interest in the work activity projects which they finance. Despite the fact that their burden of the costs is relatively low (twenty per cent) they have, on the whole, been traditionally reluctant to finance what they regard as 'frills' in the area of welfare

services. The rising costs of welfare in recent years has often met considerable opposition from local taxpayers and municipal governments have been hesitant to make themselves unpopular by raising tax rates for this purpose. Programs such as work activity projects are among those whose security is seldom guaranteed. These projects are, then, generally in a sensitive position vis-à-vis their funding sources at both the municipal and provincial levels of government.

The Organizations

Communitas:

Because of the radically different bases on which Communitas and Workwin have been set up, the impact of these levels of government on their operations has affected each agency in diverse ways. Communitas, being an integral part of the structure of a large municipal social service department, might be expected to be much more subject to this impact in its policies and procedures. However, this conclusion would be premature and unwarranted in the light of the evidence. In the views of both the director and the staff, Communitas enjoys a position of considerable independence:

> The city doesn't put many restrictions or demands on us - they gave up.
>
> I kind of have the feeling that we've been forgotten by the larger department and the city - which is a good thing. We're the only agency I know of which is completely free to try far out things.

> I just look at the director as the boss. I forget that there is a higher level. They're concerned mostly with the financial aspect. If the bus tickets don't balance then they're on your back.

That this last comment could be made by the clerk who, in the process of carrying out the job, probably has the most contact with the larger bureaucracy, indicates the extent of the freedom from interference which the staff, in general, feels. Indeed, the issue of balancing the books with regard to the dispensing of bus tickets seems to be the only identifiable area where 'the city' has been consistently involved.

Although the director felt that there were some disadvantages to the program's location within the structure of the social service department, there was no indication in his remarks that Communitas was forced to accede in any way to demands from this source. Moreover, he made it clear that any such interference would meet with fierce opposition on his part:

> I'd like to see the whole program taken out of this department because the department isn't philosophically set for it... This program isn't here to make city hall happy because they ask for a dozen pamphlet racks - to make sure they get priority. I've got some half-finished ones sitting there from a few months back and they can sit there, as far as I'm concerned, unless a participant comes along and wants to do them. There's no way people are going to be abused because of the necessity of something that isn't related to what we're doing... I'm the most stubborn son-of-a-bitch that ever lived and if somebody is going to tell me what to do then there's no way I'm ever going to do it. If I do, I'll do it so miserably that they'll never come back. Over the years the city has learned to leave me alone...

The only apparent demands which are imposed on Communitas by the municipal bureaucracy are those relating to financial accountability. This demand is met on the part of Communitas by submitting certain forms on a monthly basis. Even this requirement does not appear to be very stringently enforced since the counsellor who takes the responsibility for completing these forms stated that she was still putting off some which were due several months ago.

Although staff feel relatively free from any restrictions on either their job performance or the operation of the program itself, it appears that this is a function of the degree to which things are running smoothly in Communitas. In the event of certain crises the involvement of the department increases. Interestingly, it was one of the teachers (who are not responsible to the social service department but to the board of education) who pointed this out:

> You can influence the program itself fantastically but you have absolutely no recourse to the things that happen at city hall...This was a real blow to me because we were very small and we did seem all powerful because we were a small operation and no one interfered in any way, but, in fact, in any crisis or major decision then that whole thing happens.

The incident to which this teacher was referring involved a staff member who failed the civil service exam required for him to maintain his position and was therefore moved out of the program and offered another position in the social service department. Even though he was highly regarded by the staff and the director attempted to have the decision changed,

personnel regulations and union rules were upheld. The agency thus had no control over the loss of a valued staff member.

However, this feeling of being 'all powerful' and more or less masters of their destiny with regard to the program characterizes to a considerable extent the general attitude of the staff. A number of factors contribute to this perception of the situation by the staff. First, the physical location of the agency isolates the staff from contact with other members of the social service department. Second, the program is both small and unique in the department and therefore no departmental policies and rules have been developed with regard to it as has been the case for other established areas of the social service department's operations. Third, Communitas is also isolated in the departmental structure. On the organizational chart, it sticks out by itself as an independent unit under central administration. Fourth, the particular municipality on which this social service department and, consequently, Communitas is dependent for funds has been traditionally more generous than most in its spending on social welfare. This is not to imply that any ideal level in this respect has been met but rather that the department referred to here does not seem to be preoccupied with a constant concern with financial problems and has more readily funded innovative service-oriented programs. In addition, the personnel of Communitas who are employed by this municipal department have a high degree of job security since, even if the program were

to be terminated, they would be placed elsewhere in the department. Fifth, and not to be discounted in any way, is the director's firm stand in maintaining his own freedom to have Communitas operate according to his philosophy. As shall be seen, this philosophy makes Communitas radically different in both its structure and its methods than the remainder of the social service department. This, too, functions to differentiate and isolate the agency from the larger department.

The teachers' position differs from that of the social service staff i.e. counsellors, work supervisors, and secretary. They are part of Communitas yet are employed by the board of education. However, they see themselves as having a high degree of independence, free from interference from the board and therefore free to operate within the framework of Communitas. Although, as teachers, they are bound by certain expectations and requirements, these are not perceived as restrictive in any way:

> The restrictions set down by the school board are in the goals but you are free to achieve these academic goals in any way you wish. Many rules don't apply here as they would in a regular school.

Communitas, in its present form, is regarded by the staff as largely the product of the vision and influence of its director. The importance of the director's views in molding the organization was pointed out to the interviewer by a number of the staff members of Communitas:

> His influence has been the one most directly felt - both originally and up to the present.

> The program is run exactly as (the director) wants it - according to his views.
>
> It's a very strong philosophy and (the director) is so strong about it...

The director of Communitas was instrumental, in his previous position as head of volunteer services, in first establishing the school as a volunteer project and later, when the municipality decided to take advantage of the provision for work activity projects, he was a major architect of the program's structure and philosophy. Here is his own account of the history of the agency:

> When I was a caseworker I could see the futility of things that were done for people on welfare. When you looked closely at the programs, you could see the same structures, the same ideas, the same disciplines, the same everything was built into them. So nothing was really designed for the persons (being served by these programs). Two nuns started in the school with ten students. Everyone was excited - we really thought we were going to do something here. But, the way it turned out, it was just one more program into which they were supposed to fit. When it didn't turn out, there was no looking into what the fault of the program was, rather, it was a matter of 'these people' - which was pretty horrible. One of the teachers just had no idea what her real struggle was - it wasn't the teaching at all. It was the professional competition against the realness of those people's lives... So this program broke down. If you stick with the population we've stuck with, it breaks down because people stop coming or they've moved or else the program gears up, without even knowing it, for another population altogether who are continuously motivated. It sieves out those who can't function in it. The ten people dropped out one-by-one. Three successful people, by normal standards, came out of that: one to study for a sheet metal mechanic's license, one got an academic grade eight, and one went to work for a business machine company. But even those three weren't successful really - one man was an alcoholic, one turned to drugs, and the other one

> is one welfare. In terms of the person, nothing really changed for any of them. I kept thinking, 'What went wrong? We did this for them and we did that for them.' Fortunately, I started to realize it was us who were wrong. You get caught in a trap of helping people - trapped into being the decision-maker and taking away from people the abilities and responsibilities they have and forgetting that they're people. (Referring to the work activity project:) I thought, 'Here's a chance for us to do something new' and hoping it would be infectious and spread. It (the work activity project) would have to be done by demanding certain rights - this would be the way it would be done and no other way. The idea was put together as a philosophy, not just a technique, but the philosophy would be activated - it would be the guideline and not just an idea which would lead to disjointed action.

The director's philosophy then formed the basis of a formal proposal submitted to the provincial government to obtain the funds for a work activity project. The nine-page proposal is the only existing written statement of the agency's objectives and operating procedures. As such, then, it has been considered the 'official' statement of the agency for the purposes of this study. The proposal for the project outlines the agency's broad objectives as being:

> To provide an opportunity for academic up-grading, work experience, and social adjustment to persons who have difficulty entering employment or vocational training programs.

It further enumerates five more specific objectives briefly summarized as 1) to provide education up to and including grade eight, 2) to provide work activity for those with no job skills or experience, 3) to provide persons unemployed for a long period of time with 'job orientation', 4) to assist in adjustment to new job experiences and 5) to create "an environment

which would be conducted in a manner suitable to encourage and stimulate participants" to enable them to find it easier to seek employment or further training.

While these are boldly stated on page one of the proposal as the objectives of the program, hidden in a paragraph on page eight discussing 'Provision for Counselling Services' is a more fundamental and broad-reaching statement of the agency's goal:

> The primary goal of the total work activity project is to develop feelings of self-worth and esteem in the participants, to enrich their lives and help them feel more secure as individuals. To help them develop skills which will assist them to no longer need public assistance. The student must be seen as a total person, influenced by his total environment and past experiences.

The goal appears here to include two major areas of concern with regard to the agency's client population: to increase their "feelings of self-worth and esteem" and the development of job skills.

One of the items on the questionnaire given to the staff members asked them to describe what they considered the <u>main</u> purpose of the agency to be.

Responses to this question were categorized as to whether the 'skill' (either academic or directly work-related) factor or the personal development aspect was regarded as the main purpose of the agency or whether both were given equal importance. Of the total of twelve staff members, three replied that education or work preparation of clients was the

principal goal:

> ...to upgrade them so they can get a better job and look after themselves.
>
> to prepare participants for finding and keeping employment...and provide and educational opportunity...
>
> ...to give people who missed, wasted, or couldn't make their first attempt at basic education, another chance at it...

Five respondents saw the primary purpose of the program as being the enhancement of the individual's personal and social development. This was variously expressed as:

> ...to help people in achieving positive ego strength...
>
> ...to help participants be more confident of themselves and be self-contained individuals...
>
> ...to create an environment which contains human nourishment in the form of understanding and creative opportunity...
>
> ...to help people find a feeling of self-worth...
>
> ...to provide a hopeful and semi-structured environment for persons unable to cope socially and, where possible, to help them become functional...

Three staff members felt that the 'main' purpose of the program included both these factors:

> ...to help students and participants cope better with their problems (social, emotional, and physical) and also for students to achieve an academic grade eight.
>
> ...to give the long-term welfare recipient a better life and a work purpose...
>
> ...to enable people to reach their personal educational, social and work goals... 'To bring the spark back to a man's eye'.

There is a high degree of convergence between the three staff groups in Communitas (counsellors, teachers, and work supervisors) and those three conceptions of the agency's goals. All three counsellors subscribe to the view that the personal and social development of the clients is the primary aim of the organization. Two of the three work supervisors perceived the purpose in terms of an emphasis on preparing clients for employment through work or academic skills. The response of the other work supervisor was similar to that of the counsellors. The teachers, as a group, appear to have the greatest divergence of opinion as to the main purpose of the program. Two teachers said they felt that both these factors constituted the 'main' purpose of the program whereas two other teachers were evenly divided between regarding one or the other goal as the primary one. This diversity of goal orientations among the teachers was reflected in the response given by the fifth teacher who stated that she was "still struggling with this question in my own mind". For her, the dual nature of the agency's defined goals became a very real dilemma in its consequences. She described a situation where it was necessary, because of the agency's philosophy, for her to spend considerable time with students who attended the school only on a very irregular basis - time spent in repeatedly going over the same material since they slipped behind during their absences - but this was at the expense of helping those students who attended regularly and were earnest in their desire to learn:

> If you're going to forget the teaching and say we're here to provide a social haven, which I think some people see it as, then let's call a spade a spade and say we're providing a community. Maybe there's nothing wrong with that and maybe that's what (the director) has in mind, but, if so, let's not masquerade as a school. You don't need teachers here in that case. If I knew what the purpose was in my own mind, I wouldn't be so confused. If I knew it was just a drop-in centre I'd say 'Fine, let them come and go as they please'.

The difference in emphasis on each of the two goal orientations among the staff becomes a basis for conflict between the various staff groups in Communitas. This conflict is most evident between the teachers and the counsellors since these two groups operate under the same roof whereas the work supervisors are isolated to an extent from the rest of the staff. The teachers expressed some resentment at what they perceived to be illegitimate intrusions by counsellors in what constituted their area of expertise:

> The counsellors interfere in some ways. (One of them will say) 'I've got this really intelligent student - you've got to take him. There's such a pressing need!' The student shows up and I'd like to know who is diagnosing his 'intelligence' and what this 'pressing need' is. Another way they interfere is if a teacher says 'You should do this' then some counsellor says 'You don't have to do that'. I had one student about whom nothing was done for six months. Finally I said 'You'll have to go'. One counsellor didn't think this was such a good idea on my part. Nothing was said though because it was primarily an academic problem. If it had been otherwise, there would have been a more negative reaction.
>
> ...the counsellors come and say 'Get this person in the school right away' - like today - and they come for three days and that's the end of them. I just wonder who should be the judge of this. What screening do they use to ascertain how motivated a person is?

This conflict between the teachers and the counsellors in their perceptions of the program's function found a more direct expression in an informal discussion among some members of each group about the impending necessity to hire two teachers to replace those who were leaving. One of the counsellors commented on the opportunity this would provide to add more males to the staff to help in the occasional incident when a client's behaviour might be threatening either to other clients or to the staff. The response from one of the teachers was that the important criterion was the teacher's competence to perform the job and being 'bleeding hearts' who 'hurt for everyone' was not enough to qualify them - a reference which was, in the context of the preceding conversation, obviously directed at the counselling staff. Not only did the teachers question the basis on which they believed the counselling staff to operate but they also felt that the counsellors did not really understand the teachers' role in Communitas:

> I think the main difference between the teachers and the counsellors is that the counsellors have some preconceived ideas of changing people's lives along a certain path. I'd like to change the quality of life more than the actual people... (The counsellors) could have more sympathy with the other person's job.
>
> I think my views are very different from the counsellors'. I don't think they have a very good understanding of the teacher's role. Teachers, on the other hand, are expected to assume some social work roles.
>
> I'm not crazy about the attitudes of (the counsellors' section of the program). I don't see people as problems and I don't look at people as 'How much can I help you' and feeling great

> about having helped some guy. Too often I think 'help' is meant in the sense that 'Here I am and I'm O.K. but there's something wrong with you and I'm going to help you.

The counsellors, on the other hand, generally felt that the teachers, as a group, 'acted a little too much like teachers', the implication being that their professional concerns sometimes obscured what the counsellors considered to be the 'real' issues. On the occasion of a staff meeting where the main item of business was to arrange the details of the school's graduation ceremonies, two members of the teaching staff became involved in a discussion of the implications of presenting the grade eight certificates at this ceremony. The argument revolved around the issue of whether students who had reached that goal should be formally recognized or whether this would, at the same time, imply a downgrading of the work of others who had not yet reached this point but had progressed remarkably throughout the year - perhaps further, given their starting point, than those now graduating. The discussion around this point was lengthy and both teachers perceived the issue as being important to the fundamental philosophy of the program. Subsequent to the meeting, two of the counsellors remarked that they felt 'disoriented' throughout the discussion and that they often could not comprehend the teachers' approach to many issues. One added that the 'whole conversation did not mean anything to me'. Their general reaction indicated that, in a number of situations, the counsellors felt that they and the teachers were operating on different premises.

Although this conflict between these two groups has been attributed to the different perceptions of the teachers and the counsellors of the agency's goals, this diverse goal orientation itself can be accounted for in terms of the occupational base of each group. The specific nature of the technology of each differs, as well as the kind of task in which each is engaged in Communitas. Teaching implies a fairly well-defined activity in that a specific content is directed at a particular group according to more or less agreed upon methods. This activity has a definite goal and the results are considered to be quantifiable and measurable. The teachers at Communitas are essentially engaged in the same kind of activity as they would be in any academic setting thus their professional training and experience are directly transferable to a great degree to their present situation. The counsellors, on the other hand, are involved in a task which is relatively undefined as to the specificity of its methodology. Based on the concepts and practices of the social work profession (although none of the counsellors are professional social workers with regard to training and accreditation) the work of the counsellors is directed towards a vaguely defined goal - helping people with their problems. The technology is very uncertain and the end results cannot be readily measured. Their function in Communitas is similarly seen as being vaguely defined:

> Here, we're not supposed to be therapists...My role here is kind of that of a parent, kind of

> a teacher, kind of a therapist, kind of a guardian, big brother, and kind of a client too - kind of a patient...Here you're right down to the business of relating to people... A lot of this helping relationship depends on the intuitive ability of the counsellor to pick up what's actually happening...
>
> The philosophy here has a lot to do with how you feel. You can't work here unless you empathize.
>
> I would describe my role here as a friend to the participants - sometimes a parent or a sister...I don't really do counselling...

In view of these differences between the two occupational groups, the fact that four of the five teachers who responded to the question regarding the main purpose of the program included skill development whereas all the counsellors saw it in terms of personal psychological growth only is not surprising.

Another factor which contributes to the conflict between the teachers and the counsellors is the influence of the director in officially supporting one particular goal direction and the means which should be employed to reach it. The director's philosophy prescribing desired ends and means provides, in effect, an all-encompassing foundation for the agency in terms of an overall approach which has been consciously worked out and applied to all areas of the agency's operations. As seen by the director, the primary purpose of Communitas with respect to its clients is to assist them to develop personally as individuals:

> If our goal was to do nothing more than to get them back tomorrow, it would be plenty. If you wanted to put a secondary goal on top of that the thing would be to help get a sparkle

> in their eye - an opportunity to see themselves through activities, growth and development of themselves and to feel free...The whole idea is to get them off welfare or so they don't need welfare or else if they have to be on welfare, to be at least content...If you can help them get that feeling and so be comfortable on welfare, at least they can live with themselves and develop some kind of an idea about themselves... A lot of people have left us and then gone into work and we don't feel we're really done anything for them at all...The best part of the program is to see the human growth that goes on and what happens after that is incidental.

It appears, then, that preparation for employment through skill development is not the prime concern of the agency, nor should it be, in the director's conception of the program's function. Nor is the mere fact of employment subsequent to participation in the program regarded as an indication of the agency's success.

Staff members of Communitas were asked to state what they felt the director considered the main purpose of the agency to be. It was clear from their responses that his beliefs regarding this are well known. However, only five of the twelve staff members accepted the director's conception as being the main purpose of the program as they saw it. Since this group included all of the counselling staff, it would appear that their position enjoys a degree of official support that the teachers, in their role as teachers, do not.

Another factor which contributes to the cleavage between the teachers and the counsellors is a distinctive anti-professional bias inherent in the philosophy of the agency. The basis for this bias is the belief that the 'professionalism' of

staff members in social service agencies and institutions has contributed directly to the present problems of clients i.e. their poor self-images and low estimation of their own worth. As one counsellor explained it:

> I don't think it is the system. It is more the people - workers or others - with whom they (the clients) have dealt in other agencies. They were really not considered as people. The staff didn't understand their feelings and they were hurt and then the natural way of reacting is to retaliate or really withdraw. I think this is how they got these emotional problems or this personal hostility and then they aren't able to relate to others in a meaningful way.

'Professionalism', then, is seen as an obstacle between staff and clients, prohibiting a true understanding on the part of workers of the clients with whom they deal. According to the director of Communitas, this was one of the problems which led to the failure of the first academic program:

> This woman (referring to one of the first teachers) had just no idea what her real struggle was - it was the professional competition against the realness of these people's lives. It was pretty real for them to leave their house and walk past a neighbour who was also on welfare and who called them a sucker. This is the kind of thing that nobody talks to teachers about, or social workers... Even today, with those teachers, you have to fight against this tendency...The original teacher was doing her job the way she had been taught to...A teacher knows all about the business of teaching but what they don't know is what they're really saying - non-verbal communication...Most teachers are afraid of a person's ideas - they don't know how to handle them so they head them off...

The teachers seem to be the primary focus of this campaign against professionalism. They are the only staff group which is required to have specific training and certification as a

prerequisite to performing their job. Moreover, their role in the agency is directly related to their training as professional teachers. The teachers' conceptions of their role in Communitas stresses the importance of their teaching activity:

> Primarily my role is teaching. This includes guidance-type counselling but not psychotherapy... In some ways the school is a therapy program but I don't think it should be. It's not fair to the teachers - they aren't equipped or trained for this and they don't have the time.
>
> I think I'm here to teach and develop them academically so they can go on to whatever other academic roads they want. I really feel I'm here as a teacher.
>
> I stress less making the person a better person (which the counsellors seem to) and I stress more the concrete tangible things that they could then say 'I've accomplished this much and I feel good'... The main role of the school is to provide basic upgrading.
>
> I feel we lack or understress teaching responsbilities in the hope that we're giving something else - like understanding...The strong point about the school is that it's run by the Board of Education and teachers are under the Board. So they're qualified and they're serious about what they're doing.
>
> My main role here is as an enabler - to open some doors, to share some skills and to provide resources. I think the students see me as a teacher but they also see me as a person...I don't think the teachers here think that cramming knowledge into heads is the main thing - the whole person is the thing that matters.

The predominant emphasis regarding the qualifications seen as desirable for the agency's staff, however, relegates professional expertise in specific areas to a place of secondary

importance. Instead, certain personal characteristics are stressed:

> Proper orientation (of clients) toward a new life system can only be attained by staff who have been properly oriented to the objectives of the program. Staff must show an attitude of acceptance, initiative, positivity, warmth and love. (from the proposal)

The teachers, as a result of their training and their apparent commitment to their teaching role, are thus in an ambiguous position since these very factors are considered relatively unimportant and even to some extent potentially destructive to the agency's relationships with its clients.

Because traditional social agencies - their staffing policies and their methods - have been defined as part of the problem, the solution as perceived by Communitas has been the creation of an agency which includes none of the 'faults' common to other organizations. As the director explained:

> When you go to some of the mental hospitals, you often wonder who should have the keys to the doors. In the lunch room the psychologists sit over here and the social workers sit in another place and the psychiatrists sit over there and the physiologists sit in yet another place and then everybody else sits in another room altogether. How can they respect each other's opinions when they don't even hear each other's opinions? So all those kinds of things are part and parcel of what this agency is all about - to figure out what is the reality of interference. What are the artificial barriers that get set up accidentally or even deliberately?

One of the counsellors summed it up this way:

> (The director) feels very strongly that the system - meaning the schools, welfare, and other institutions - is tremendously wasteful and has fucked up a lot of people. He's trying to create an island here where as little of the system as humanly possible will reach.

The basis for such an approach in Communitas is the concept of 'community'. This idea is fundamental in forming the organization's structure and its operating policies. The term itself implies, in the context of Communitas, a particular quality of inter-personal relationships which stresses the integrative, cooperative, and cohesive aspects. The community includes both staff and clients and each group is seen as contributing to the 'therapeutic' process. This process is described by the director:

> We're supposed to be in the healing business - we think we are anyway - but the people themselves are the healers. A guy who's got a terrible anger, he's got to learn to control his anger so what helps him to learn is his own acceptance in a community or his acceptance by the community. The idea was that the community itself would be the ones to do this sort of reaching out for each other and healing each other, listening to each other, and talking about how life was for them.

The function of the staff in such a setting is primarily to act as the facilitators of this process:

> The role of the staff is to see that they aren't the directors of the community. They might give guidance and generally give some form of help. Like the counsellors - they're here to see that this counselling thing takes place, that the guy does have a shoulder to lean on, not necessarily theirs. It could just as well be the shoulder of any (client) that they have a good feeling about and has a good feeling about them. The counsellors have to make sure these people get together.

One of the teachers elaborated more fully on the meaning of 'community' and its relevance to the school:

> The community concept is basic to everything here. I think that theoretically a community means that it can be all things to all its members and be the vehicle by which its members achieve their goals -

> helping within the community. A living relationship with some body means that you're important and you can carry on...We offer academic upgrading but in a community setting so a person who feels that personal support and knows that somebody cares...They somehow or other see themselves connected to us in a way that they just don't think of dropping school easily...In a community setting where the whole person is accepted and wanted and supported in other basic social or personality needs and the academic side goes along with it, then it's a unity and you want it.

There is a strong bias against developing a 'laid-on program' (in the words of the director) with the main emphasis being put on the ability to be flexible to adapt to whatever needs the participants might have:

> The starting point is where a person has a need and someone can help meet that need.

The function of the community then is seen as helping participants define their needs and their goals in a supportive environment which can respond appropriately. As seen by the director, the key to achieving this is the concept of 'acceptance' which is regarded as a natural corollary of 'community':

> The people can absorb those kinds of things by the acceptance of the staff. Some have terrible experiences, like a child-raper, for instance. Who really likes a child-raper? Yet if that guy is going to grow and develop he's got to have a place to go where he's accepted...

By this same token, one of the 'rules' of Communitas is that no one who wishes to participate can be rejected by or expelled from the program. Aside from this more extreme measure of client control, all disciplinary measures are regarded as totally unnecessary. Discipline problems are seen as being

created entirely by rules and regulations and if these do not exist, then there are no such problems. Discipline, in Communitas, consists of 'meeting the expectations of others' through the community. The community, then, is both a socializing agent and a mechanism of social control.

Workwin:

The situation of Workwin vis-à-vis it funding sources presents a contrast to that of Communitas. Workwin's link with the municipal government is based on a fee-for-service relationship. In effect, the agency operates a work activity project for the city social service department which contracts to purchase a specified number of places in the program for its own welfare clients. This relationship has recently been formalized by the negotiation of a written contract between Workwin and the social service department. Although this arrangement does not prohibit the agency from taking clients from other sources, since it is an autonomous organization, to date its total client population has come exclusively from the city. Consequently, even though the agency has been set up on an independent basis with a number of options open to it, it is completely financially dependent on this one body. The agency's budget is presented to city council as part of the budget of the social service department; however the agency is not structurally an integral part of this department. The net result of this arrangement seems to be that Workwin finds

itself in a particularly vulnerable position. The agency's director refers to Workwin as an 'autonomous adjunct' of the city. The agency, as an organization, has no guarantee of survival; moreover, its staff, unlike that of Communitas, have employment only so long as the agency itself exists - a condition of which they are acutely aware:

> One of the problems is the insecurity of not knowing how long it's going to last. You put so much input into it and you could be cut off in a year's time or a year and a half. We have to look at the political movement, funding, the city budget. It could be closed tomorrow, which is sort of an insecure feeling.
>
> If we knew where we were standing - you see, we're at loose ends. We don't know whether we belong to social services, to the city, so we're kind of in-between. We could be chopped off at any time. I feel that if we were definitely moved into social services or the city as permanent staff we'd feel a lot happier and more secure.
>
> Rehabilitation is a low priority item for the city. We'll be wiped out as soon as they sneeze. They should definitely pay the counsellors more. We have no fringe benefits here...I think this has affected morale... We are in actuality the poor relations. We are part of welfare when it suits them and we are not part of it when it suits them. They tell us what to do and, if we want something from them, then we are a purchase-of-service organization.

One counsellor recently left the agency to take a job with the welfare department for reasons similar to those just mentioned although she felt that Workwin's program and the work situation it offered were superior to that in which she would be involved in the social service department.

This feeling of insecurity on the part of Workwin's personnel has made the agency somewhat sensitive to what it

perceives as the expectations of not only the city, but the provincial and federal sources of funds as well. There is an attempt to anticipate the demands from these sources and to meet them by tailoring the agency's program to what are imagined to be their expectations. The director, in particular, demonstrated a concern for what might be expected of Workwin by those all-powerful funding bodies:

> On the assumption that the federal and provincial people, who also had to put the stamp of approval on our proposal for a work activity project, were looking for a longer program time we wrote that in. So this longer work period was a planned change and it was a reflection of the word we got, and the belief, that it was not possible to change people's lives in a significant way in less than eight, ten, twelve months time... A few months ago, the new stress came from the province that we start, earning more income. I think there is the hope, on the part of government, that these agencies could become somewhat self-sustaining, if not in the true one hundred per cent manner, at least in a manner to be politically good - I think it's something they can feed back to the politicians and say that these programs are earning money... The flag was waving - 'Go after the money, as much as you can, within reason, of course' and this has kept us hopping trying to generate work. I think we've had to concentrate more on the fund-raising aspect. We got the drift. The message came from the province and the only way we could implement it was to build the cupboards, start a shop, etc... Over the last month we have been working much more diligently at the job-sites partly because of the 'pressure' to generate money.

Much of the direction which the program has taken seems to reflect these attempts to meet the expectations, as perceived by Workwin, of the various levels of government. Interestingly, no one in Communitas indicated any evidence of having received any similar communications regarding the expectations of the provincial and federal governments for that program. Although there is no firm basis for supposing that

either government has not expressed certain expectations from Workwin, it appears that Workwin has been influenced more by the insecurity of its position in anticipating or interpreting demands on their part. The individual from the city social services department who is most involved with the agency pointed out that:

> I presented the idea of getting the participants involved in projects and letting them take these projects over and running them, but Workwin didn't pick up on that the way it was intended. They picked up instead on the entrepreneurial idea of making a little bit of money.

And, where the director spoke of a necessity to start off-setting some of the program's costs, according to this city official:

> I think the idea was, once the project was stable, that they can make a little bit of money to supplement the program but it's going to be always a small part of the total.

It would seem then that the agency's objectives may be strongly influenced by the interpretation of the anticipated or real expectations of those other organizations most financially involved with Workwin. Moreover, these interpretations appear to be related to the perception of the program as being financially insecure.

The municipality is perceived as a source of quite definite demands on Workwin. The legitimacy of these demands is not questioned for, as the director pointed out:

> With one hundred per cent of our money coming from the city, how autonomous can you be?

Since the city refers its welfare clients to the agency and

pays for them to take advantage of the program's services, it expects certain results with regard to these clients. These results, as seen by the agency's personnel, are jobs, euphemistically termed 'placements'. The placement rate, consequently, is a statistic of some concern to the agency which feels that thereby hangs its fate:

> If the (city official) starts 'writing up' the program and he gets a bit of pressure from the city about placements then we feel it down here because we know that if we don't start doing a little more about getting some people job-ready then we're going to be out of a job ourselves.
>
> About a year ago our placement rate was really high. We were placing a lot of guys in jobs and yet in the past two or three months, well, the employment counsellor has been placing guys but we don't place too many. Then you get a budget coming up and you sometimes wonder if the city will say, 'That's just a waste of money.'

Although the city is the apparent source of this emphasis on 'placement', as a yardstick of success it has been adopted as a valid measure by the agency itself. Some staff, however, have reservations about the validity of such a criterion:

> Down at the social services, their main concern is placement. But they don't realize that many of these people have been from one social agency to another...and you don't change people in two, three, four weeks.
>
> With any program they like to see the results and the statistics are very important and we have to maintain that. The job placement counsellor is very important in order to get those guys jobs - those who are ready for work go directly to him and he tries to place them in work situations so that sort of helps our statistics.

Keeping the 'rate' up, then, is recognized by some as an undesirable but necessary evil in the circumstances. That the

pressures created by this ultimately lead the program in certain directions is undeniable. However, discussion of some of these consequences will be reserved for a later chapter when the organization's orientations to its client population will be dealt with.

Workwin, in its present form as an autonomous agency, started life under the 'Local Initiatives Project' program funded directly by the federal government. Its charter and board structure date back to this period of its existence. After eight months as a local initiative project, the municipal government indicated an interest in using the program for its welfare clients and consequently in providing financial support. This was arranged under the terms of the Canada Assistance Plan's provision for Work Activity Projects and the relevant provincial legislation (the General Welfare Assistance Act as revised in 1970). Workwin thus became a 'work activity project' and, at the time of this research, has had this status for eighteen months.

Workwin hás produced an impressive amount of literature recording its philosophy, goals, and methods of its program. Two major publications will form the basis of the present discussion of the agency's goals and philosophy. The first publication is dated one month prior to the agency's becoming a workactivity project. It is forty-six pages in length and appears to be intended as an overall blueprint for the agency's operations. The second report came out five months later. This report, forty-three pages long, is regarded as the official

statement of the organization although some sections pertaining to the agency's operating procedures have been outdated by subsequent changes introduced in this area.

The introduction to the second report outlines some of the concerns of the agency's initial developers and how these concerns led to the specific focus of Workwin's program. According to this account, the agency was seen as offering a solution to the "problem of hard-core unemployed peoples" in the local community. Two points regarding the program are emphasized: that it should "not result in increasing the financial burden to the community but on the contrary, ultimately result in large savings in a short period of time" and, moreover, that the program should be a community effort. Unemployed persons are defined as a problem for the community's financial resources:

> ...an increasingly large number of unemployed individuals continue to be a burden to the taxpayer...

The agency, therefore, was intended to provide "the best possible service at a minimal cost" and ensure that the public would "see an increasingly larger return on its financial investment in the program". Based on a conception of the agency's client's as "employable unemployed individuals" who desire to be self-sufficient "but lack...the basic life and work skills required to successfully secure and maintain employment...", the agency has, according to this introductory statement, transformed its clients into "a very conservative profit estimate of over two million dollars for the taxpayer

in the next five years". The translation of the program's objectives with regard to its client population into financial gains for the community's taxpayers may, in the context of this publication, be a public relations effort aimed at justifying the agency's role to the public from whom its financing ultimately comes. Indeed, as has been mentioned there are numerous indications throughout discussions with the agency's staff that they regard financial backing for Workwin at the municipal level as precariously uncertain (a point discussed at greater length in terms of its consequences for the agency and its clients in Chapter IV). However, it can be legitimately inferred from the introduction to this publication that the goal of employment for its clients has a high priority for Workwin.

The body of the report states specifically that the program's focus is:

> The acquisition of knowledge and confidence to face the realities of working successfully in today's society.

Further elaboration of the agency's objectives is found under the section of the report dealing with 'Program Structure':

> Our specific objective is to provide a substantial organized 'pause' in the participants's life to afford an objective look at himself/herself in relation to the past, strengths, failures, attitudes and relationships with others, knowledge of community resources, techniques for securing and maintaining employment, and to generate the self-confidence essential to successful work and living. The ultimate objective is to stimulate self-discovery which will change life directions toward a positive successful experience with employment being a major factor in the new life direction.

As in Communitas, Workwin's goals embrace both the personal and social development of its clients and their preparation for obtaining employment. However, the latter objective assumes a position of greater importance in Workwin than in Communitas. Twelve 'specific objectives' are outlined in Workwin's official publication. Of these, five relate directly to employment as a goal:

The participant:
1) obtained work and/or attending school
2) increased financial autonomy
3) increased work appreciation
4) improved work habits
5) improved job search techniques

The remaining seven stated objectives involve various aspects of personal/social development:

6) increased self-confidence
7) increased self-reliance
8) increased self-discipline
9) improved interpersonal relationships
10) improved personal appearance
11) improved self-image
12) improved nutritional habits

All of the above characteristics can be considered as having a fairly direct bearing on the participant's potential for obtaining and holding employment.

The first report which, in its title, claims to be a 'rough draft' describes six objectives for the agency in relation to its clients:

1. When and how to be self-reliant.
2. How to secure and maintain employment.
3. How to become financially independent; the need to be self-supporting.
4. How to show concern for others.
5. How to develop lasting interpersonal relationships.
6. How to cope with contemporary society.

Again, there is a strong emphasis on the program as a vehicle for moving clients into the labour market and enabling them to become indpendent of public assistance.

The concern that the agency should be a "truly community effort" resulted in the recruitment of various members of the local community to act as a sponsoring membership base for the organization in its appeal for funds. As explained by the director in a speech presented at the most recent annual meeting:

> The new arrangement (i.e. tri-level government funding) triggered the need for more formal structure including expanding the base of community interest, ...charter applications and by-law design were begun.

The charter, issued six months after Workwin had been accepted as a work activity project, sets forth the formal goals of the agency:

> To incorporate, promote and operate a program for disabled people (hereinafter called the Participant) who lack job and/or life skills and to create a program which will benefit the participant and...encourage them (sic) to this character of self-reliance and self-confidence all of which is to be done with a view to enable the participants to secure and maintain permanent employment and to assist them generally.

Initially a board of seven persons was drawn from the membership. This board consisted of two members of the industrial sector of the community, a top labour leader, a lawyer, an educator, and two individuals from other social service organizations. During the period of this research the composition of the board changed and the board was expanded to

include twelve positions. This move was explained by the agency director:

> We knew right from the beginning that the board had to be strengthened to get a better community base because, in turn, this may open more doors in the community to get people placed for work or to donate their services to Workwin as well as to provide, in some cases, a little more clout in our dealings with the city.

The program's emphasis on employment for its clients is carried through in the choice of 'community' representatives for its board. Eight of the twelve positions are now filled by persons from the industrial and business sector of the community. The remaining members are from the federal and provincial governments and from other social service organizations. The board's composition thus reflects Workwin's predominant goal orientation.

What about the staff members of Workwin? What do they feel is the purpose of the program to which they contribute their efforts? Since the agency's staff are in direct contact with the participants in the project and bear the responsibility for performing the organization's tasks, it is apparent that their conceptions of the agency's goals will be perhaps the most influential factor in terms of the agency's actual operations. The director's philosophy regarding the main purpose of the agency stresses that employment is the primary concern:

> I think that my own conception of (Workwin) from LIP to work activity has not changed that much. I still maintain the belief that our prime target is to get people into employment. I still feel our main target must be and should be getting people to work. And then, around that and

> supporting that would be learning how to cope with themselves, their family problems, their life problems, all these other aspects which, in turn, stabilize work and which, in turn, prepare them for work...I see our role as enablers - to enable these people to face reality, and that reality is what's 'out there', whether or not they've ever faced it before, in terms of first getting a job, selling yourself, having the confidence to hang in there during the necessary orientation period at work. And then, of course, once you've got work stabilized, presumably a person's life is going to be stabilized in other ways as well.

Although this view does not consider the personal development of participants to be totally unimportant, it clearly relegates this aspect to a position of secondary importance. The logic seems to be that work, being of central importance, is the first step towards an improved situation in terms of other aspects of living. The agency's role in so far as the personal and social development of clients is concerned is to concentrate efforts in the areas which are most directly related to preparing participants for employment.

When asked what they considered the main purpose of the agency's program to be, the staff of Workwin similarly indicated the goal of independence and self-sufficiency for clients by preparing them for the labour market. Although every staff member mentioned this, four of the seven additionally mentioned the task of assisting clients to develop as persons. However, in only one case was this goal given the greater priority:

(The main purpose of the program is:)

> To prepare hard-core unemployed for future employment.

> To help alienated people on welfare and disability allowances find meaning in their lives and to orient them towards becoming more independent and self-sufficient.
>
> To enable people to get into the mainstream of our system by obtaining employment.
>
> To assist people in difficulty to adjust to the demands of our rapidly changing society e.g. new role of women as active contributors in our financially-oriented society.
>
> To assist individuals with poor working abilities to obtain some success, satisfaction, and eventually confidence in themselves to such a degree that they may become self-sufficient and allow these people opportunities and experiences not readily available to them, for instance, counselling, good discussions, field trips, work opportunities and a chance to be accepted.
>
> To prepare people for employment. Help them solve their difficulties and make them useful citizens again.
>
> 'A man is more precious for "who he is" than for what he is or what he does'. To instill the real meaning of the above to each person by my own personhood through belief and respect, and only then will there be hope that this person will again feel his self-worth and together we can begin to iron out and hopefully solve or eliminate problems they have so we can look forward to employment.

During the interviews, staff members expanded on their conceptions of the purpose of the agency's program. Although the goal of employment is seen as a legitimate and important objective some staff members interpret this goal in a much broader sense than others. A distinction is made between assisting clients to <u>obtain</u> employment and helping them in ways which will assure that they will hold the jobs they do get. The basis for this differentiation seems to be the belief that, by merely polishing up a few job-search techniques,

most, if not all clients, could fairly readily obtain jobs. However, in order for them to remain employed and become successful in whatever work they enter changes of a much more fundamental nature are believed to be necessary. Those staff members who distinguish between these two aspects of the agency's goal orientation tend to emphasize the latter as being the most important part of the agency's program:

> At the beginning, when I first came, the picture I got was that we were here to get them jobs, but I think what's more important - you can get a person a job tomorrow but they're not going to last, not until all these other things are (solved to some extent)...To my mind, work is the last thing they're coming here for. I think the most important thing is that they come here and feel important as a person and many of them have lost their self-respect or their integrity and they don't really believe in themselves and they don't believe in other people.
>
> To me, a job isn't the only purpose of the program because it's okay to secure a job - it's another thing to maintain it... You're having people cope with everyday situations and get their ego-strength built and once that is established, perhaps they can get a job.
>
> The people we deal with - they don't just have problems getting a job - they do have problems; they're not steadily employed or they can't get jobs or they've had a changeover in jobs - they're not kept on when they do get employment but it's more because they have so many personal problems in their life. They've never learned to really adjust in their life and it carries over into their work. We have some girls in the program who are excellent typists but can't hold an office job because of their other problems.

The logic of this approach (i.e. successful employment follows upon the solution of other problem areas in the client's life) is in direct contrast to the views enunciated by the director of Workwin. The other staff members, along with the director

tend to put more emphasis on the placement of clients in jobs as the primary end of the agency's program:

> It isn't the fact that they're needy that should (influence the selection process). It's the fact that they're capable and have the ability to be job-ready in the amount of time they're kept on the program before you send them out to get a job.
>
> (After I was involved with the program for a time) I thought 'You can give a lot of people a lot of training but what good is it if they don't get jobs from it?' So I went straight into it and got interviews and lined up a lot of jobs. At one time they used to have life skill days until they found out I was placing more people in jobs through (direct contact with employers) so they said, 'Well, so much for life skills'.
>
> The six-week program was getting them off the program, although we still had follow-up, but they were actually off the program and in jobs. Then we got a new batch of people in and worked with them and went through the same procedure. Now we've had guys on this program for six months but they are dependent on Workwin and it is my opinion that they are not interested in work.

Workwin's goals and philosophy are thus focussed on 'work' as an end for its clients. Moreover, the means to this end are built around the premise that work experience is the best preparation for employment. Hence,

> To promote the reality of work experience for participants, (Workwin) simulates a company using standard procedures such as employment interviews, hourly pay rates, weekly pay cheques, lost time deductions, rules for absences, sick leaves, and other work disciplines. (from the second report)

By these devices job assignments are designed to be as close as possible to actual employment situations in order to prepare clients for the transition to a competitive labour market. Within this framework, the counselling staff function both as

'group leaders' and 'job foremen' by design. The counsellors are thus expected to play a dual role in their relations with clients. Not surprisingly, most staff tend to emphasize one or the other role. Those counsellors who are regarded as the most effective in their job appear to be the ones who have successfully maintained an integrated balance between the two.

In addition to work experience as a means of socializing clients to the appropriate behaviours and attitudes regarded as necessary for sustained employment, clients are also expected to participate in 'life skills' sessions. At one time these were formally planned for certain regular times each week. Although this structure has been largely abandoned, counsellors are still expected to emphasize 'life skills' as an integral part of the program. In the second publication of the agency a list of fify 'life skill' topics is presented. These include such things as 'the value of work', 'understanding and coping with authority', the three principal Canadian political parties, 'ethics in everyday life', plus areas related to health, community services, and interpersonal social relations. Throughout the various aspects of the agency's program there is an emphasis on the 'group' as the basic unit in the helping relationship:

> Information is not 'taught' but absorbed through group interaction using staff and outside leaders as catalysts. (from the second report)

However, there is no well worked out philosophy regarding the importance or the functions of the 'group' as a therapeutic

vehicle and group dynamics do not seem to play a very significant role for the staff in their relationships with clients.

Conclusion

As has been apparent throughout the preceding discussion these two agencies differ in a number of respects. The significance of the external organizations which control the financial resources is much greater for Workwin than for Communitas for the reasons discussed. Whereas Communitas has felt itself to be free to operate according to an internally generated philosophy, Workwin has felt forced to take into account these external factors and to modify its goals and methods accordingly. Communitas, influenced strongly by the leadership of its director, has developed a comprehensive philosophy which guides its structure, procedures, and staff-client relationships. Workwin, on the other hand, has no such philosophical system.

The two organizations are also distinctive in terms of their goals and the premises on which they operate. The dominant theme of Communitas is the community concept. The emphasis is on the development of the self concept of its clients on the assumption that negative self-images prevent them from leading satisfying lives. This is regarded as the fundamental area of concern and as the key to other problem areas of the clients' lives. The community functions as the vehicle whereby clients are socialized into 'healthy' attitudes

towards themselves and others. Workwin, by contrast, is characterized more by the centrality of 'work' as a theme in its goals and philosophy. The external pressure to maximize its 'placement rate' has contributed to this emphasis. In this agency, both 'getting a job' and 'holding a job' are dominant values and its success is measured in these terms. Work is regarded as the cornerstone of the development of participants in other areas as well.

In this chapter, the predominant philosophical framework within which each organization operates has been outlined. This assessment of the agencies' goals and belief systems has attempted to avoid a simple assumption of perfect consensus within each agency with regards to goals. This assumption is frequently implied when official statements of organizational goals are accepted as definitive. Although official statements from organizational documents have been cited, these have been supplemented by and contrasted with the views of each agency's staff members. Similarly, exclusive reliance upon the statements of the agencys' directors regarding the goals and philosophy has been avoided. However, because of their position in the organizations, they are more able to impose their views and thus influence the agency's movement in certain directions as opposed to others. The analysis, then, has tended to highlight the differences within each agency with respect to agreement on goals and methods but, in each case, a dominant goal orientation and philosophy have been identified. This

dominant theme in both agencies will form the background for further examination of their structures and orientations to their client populations.

CHAPTER IV

AN ANALYSIS OF THE STRUCTURES OF WORKWIN AND COMMUNITAS

Measures of Organizational Structure

The problem of defining the structure of the two agencies was approached in two ways. First of all, as has been already mentioned, much of the analysis of organizational structure relies on perceptual measurements derived from the responses given by the staff members of each agency. Supplementing these measurements are two objective indices of structure. One objective measure is based on the amount and nature of documentation used by each organization in order to arrive at an assessment of the degree of formalization which exists in the two agencies. Another index measures organizational complexity on the basis of the agencies' division of labour and the educational level of their personnel.[1] These objective measures will be discussed first before turning to an examination of the perceptual indicators of structure.

Objective Measures

The formalization index[2] lists a number of organizational

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[1] Please refer back to Appendices A to D which provide detailed descriptions of these measures.

[2] See Appendix D for a complete description of this index.

documents, the existence of which, irregardless of their being actually used, signifies a greater degree of formalization of the role definitions in the organization in question. These documents include: written contracts of employment, information booklets about various employment conditions, an organization chart, written operating instructions regarding the work to be performed, job descriptions, a procedures manual, policy statements, workflow or program schedules, and written research programs or reports. In addition to the scores given for the existence of each of these types of documents, each agency was also scored according to the numbers of employees who are given the information booklets mentioned above. This index of organizational structure employs the amount of documentation and its distribution as an indicator of the degree to which role definitions of the organization's positions are formalized.

In applying this measure to Communitas a problem arose concerning the source of the various documents of an agency embedded within the framework of a municipal bureaucracy. Although the actual operations of this agency are largely independent of the larger department, its position as a subunit means that the municipal department is involved in certain organizational areas as the employer of the agency's personnel. Similarly, the Board of Education stands in an employer-employee relationship with the teaching staff of Communitas. On the other hand, since Workwin is an autonomously chartered agency, its organizational boundaries are more clearly defined. In

order to make a meaningful comparison of the two agencies with regard to the extent of formalization as indicated by their documentation, it was considered necessary in the case of Communitas to distinguish between those documents originating with external sources and those generated by the agency itself.

The only group of employees in Communitas which is covered by a written contract of employment is the teachers since all Boards of Education normally make use of such contracts. Information booklets regarding certain conditions of employment and employee benefits are produced by the municipality for their personnel and are available to them on request. The municipal social services department also provides an organization chart for the department as a whole. This, however, does not include a description of the internal organization of Communitas itself. Communitas, as a separate entity, has no organization chart. There are no written operating instructions, procedures manual, written policy statements, or program schedules originating either from the municipality or the agency itself which are applicable to the work done by the agency's employees. Research reports have been produced regarding the agency's program. However, these have been the consequence of studies carried out by the province. Communitas, in itself, does not carry out any research whatsoever related to its program. The only documents which the agency has participated in producing are the job descriptions

(normally the product of the personnel division of the social services department) for the positions of counsellor, work-supervisor, and agency director. Thus, of the nine documents included in this measure of formalization, Communitas, as a unit, produces only one, resulting in a score of one.

On this same index of formalization Workwin received a score of four. This agency's higher score indicates a concomitantly higher degree of formalization of role definitions than was found to be the case for Communitas. In addition, as organization chart is available describing the agency's structure and a number of written program schedules have been produced at different times as the agency's program changed periodically. Each schedule outlines the sequence of activities and stages through which clients proceed in the program, although they are not necessarily followed very rigidly. Finally, research reports have also been written by the agency staff at different points in time on the agency's effectiveness in dealing with its clients and the characteristics of its client population.

Since those documents originating from external sources have been excluded from the computation of Communitas' score on the degree of formalization of role definition, a comparison of that agency to Workwin on this index could be misleading when all documents listed have been included in the calculation of the score of Workwin. Because the extent of external involvement on the part of the municipality and the Board of

Education with Communitas appears to be confined to their roles as employers of the agency's staff, it was decided to drop from the formalization scale those items which were relevant only to the employer-employee relationship for both agencies. This, in effect, afforded a stricter basis for the comparison of the degree of formalization of role definition resulting from the documentation imposed internally by the two agencies as independent bodies. Three items were, therefore, eliminated from the scale: the existence of written contracts of employment and the existence and distribution of information booklets relating to the conditions of employment. Although job descriptions are also related to the employer-employee relationship the directors of both agencies contributed to the creation of the job descriptions for the various positions in each organization. This category of document was therefore included with the six remaining on the list as being one of those which the agencies themselves could legitimately be expected to provide if considered desirable by them. Each agency was then scored on the basis of whether any of these seven documents listed were in existence. Again, the resulting score for Workwin was four and for Communitas one. As indicated by this index, whichever approach is used, Workwin shows evidence of more formalization of its organizational role definitions than Communitas.

The second objective measure provides an indication of the complexity of the organizations. Complexity, as used

here, refers to the diversity of occupational activities and the extent of professionalization of the agencies' personnel.[3] A high degree of complexity is denoted by numerous different occupational activities and a staff characterized by a high level of professional training. Of the two agencies, Communitas appears to be the more highly professionalized. Its score on the scale measuring degree of professionalization is two (the possible range is from 1 = low professionalization to 5 = high professionalization). On this index Workwin received a score of 1.3. The difference arises from the fact that in Communitas the five teachers are required to have a certain minimal level of education in order to receive certification and subsequent employment. Similarly, the municipal social services department specifies a minimal standard of education as part of the qualifications necessary for the position of counsellor at the level of a Bachelor of Arts degree or diploma from a community college. Workwin has not defined as strictly the level of education required for its counsellors. While some do have a university degree, others have less than this.

The number of different types of occupational activities in each agency, the other aspect of organizational complexity, also indicates that Communitas has a greater degree of complexity than Workwin. In the former, five occupational specialties can be identified on the basis of the accounts

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[3]See Appendix C for a description of the measurement of organizational complexity.

given by staff members of what they do in the agency: teaching, counselling, clerical work, truck driving, and worksupervision requiring some knowledge of various manual skills. In Workwin, there are two principal occupational activities: counselling and clerical work. On both aspects of complexity, then, Communitas has scores which would indicate that its organizational structure is characterized by a greater degree of complexity than that of Workwin.

The findings then with regard to the two objective indices of formalization of role definition and complexity just discussed provide some evidence to justify the preliminary conclusion that Workwin is the more bureaucratic of the two agencies. The remainder of this examination of the structures of these two organizations will rely on the results of the perceptual measures included in the questionnaire. The following analysis of the dimensions of centralization, formalization, routineness of work, communication, and the power base of the directors is based on the responses to the related questionnaire items. The discussion thus presents a picture of the above dimensions in each organization as they are perceived by the staffs of Communitas and Workwin.

Perceptual Measures

Centralization:

Two indicators of the degree of centralization in each

agency were used.[4] One, the hierarchy of authority, refers to the extent to which staff are free from close supervision and thus able to make their own decisions regarding their work.

On a scale ranging from 1, indicating high autonomy on the part of the staff, to 4, both Workin and Communitas received scores of 1.6. In both organizational settings then it appears that staff members have a relatively high degree of autonomy in their ability to make their own work decisions. In Workwin the counsellors each have their own caseload of clients for whom they are responsible. In their work situations clients are scattered throughout the city and counsellors spend most of their time away from the agency's headquarters visiting these work sites and conferring with clients and the client's supervisor where this is required. Some male clients are engaged in home repairs and in these cases the counsellor stays at the site, acting as the job supervisor. This geographical decentralization means that counsellors work largely independently without close supervision. According to the director:

> There is very little direct supervision of the counsellors or staff by me... I've felt in part that this autonomy of the group leaders is an advantage of this program in dealing with the participants.

The staff, too, generally concur with this view:

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[4]See Appendix A for a more complete description of these indices.

> I've got a free hand here. There's nobody down my back and usually I'm left to do the job.
>
> I don't feel limited at all as far as what I can do. The executive director does like to know what's going on and what you plan on doing but I've never really felt restricted in so far as what I can do. When I first came I was given a lot of leeway by the former program director and was told, 'Whatever you think and do, you go ahead and do and don't worry about it,' and that's about what I've been doing, like if I want to plan a field trip instead of a session, I just go ahead and do it.
>
> Here, there's a lot of freedom but it's slow. If you want to get things done you've got to push, push, push.
>
> If it's something you can deal with yourself, you just go ahead and do it.

A couple of staff members agreed to some extent with this but with certain qualifications:

> The director would like to have the final say on things. The best thing I find is to do a thing and have a 'fait accompli' and present him with the results, otherwise, if you ask him, he'll likely say 'No'.
>
> In many respects I'd have to say in all fairness, that this organization is pretty flexible. I can't expect the freedom that I originally wanted. I was really a free agent and ... I was in a hurry. There were certain things I had to do when this organization was becoming permanent that I wouldn't do in any normal organization, like going ahead and doing things without the express permission of the director which were in fact executive decisions.

Although these latter two comments reveal some feeling of less autonomy, there do seem to be, at the same time, wide limits on the worker's area of autonomous action and ways to get around even these without significant repercussions.

The staff members of Communitas, in contrast to Workwin,

spend the largest part of their time at the agency's headquarters. The teachers are in the school each morning and the counsellors are on another floor together, while the work supervisors are in the warehouse except for one work supervisor who drives the agency's truck. However, the director is infrequently at the headquarters since his preferred method of operating is to visit the warehouse for some of the time, or accompany clients on the truck making pick-ups and going to other work sites to talk with clients:

> My own priorities are the people and if that's what comes along, then that's what I do. I just refuse to let the job tie me down. If somebody needs somebody on the spot to yell at or whatever, then that's what's important. Officially, I'm supposed to be responsible for the counsellors and to write reports, etc. In a way, it's supposed to be like a supervisor in a district office. You're not supposed to have time for these other things - the workers are supposed to do that... I just refuse to fall into that.

Because the director sees his most important function as dealing with clients and their needs, he puts considerable emphasis on choosing for his staff persons who are able to proceed independently without requiring close supervision:

> I like them to come in and find their own niche. If they're uncomfortable or something either they operate or they don't and if they don't function then you know there's no sense in keeping them. If a new staff member came to me about twenty times and said, 'Well, what do I do now?' I'd figure that I'm going to spend more time educating that person than I can afford to because I'm taking it away from the people here... If I don't want a staff person they are not going to get into the program and if I don't want them they aren't going to stay there. If they can't deliver the goods to the people here, then this isn't the place for them.

The agency's staff see themselves as being allowed to operate without supervision and make their own decisions regarding their work:

> The director is sort of very lenient in the way of restrictions. He doesn't come on as if he's the big boss. He makes himself out to be like one of the participants.
>
> I work pretty much on my own. I don't want any bosses over me. If I wanted to do something, I just go ahead and start it. I wouldn't have to consult anyone unless it was something I needed money for.
>
> The only time I consult with the director is about an administrative matter involving a purchase of equipment. I work out other problems myself or with someone else involved with the same client.
>
> The director told me that I'm free to make mistakes. The first year I was here I felt under a lot of pressure and afraid to make mistakes. He set me free from that and it's been a helpful expectation for me - that I'm expected to make mistakes.

For some, however, although in agreement with the assessment of the degree of autonomy, this also implies certain drawbacks:

> I have the freedom to do what I want here but when I do I don't get very much cooperation. Decide you want to do something and you'd better be prepared to do it yourself... The director is completely non-directive.
>
> You more or less operate on your own. It's an individual game... You haven't got the cooperation of all persons so you make your own decisions. I make the decisions until somebody else hollers. I wish people would check up on me. If somebody would take an interest maybe I'd feel better.
>
> The first little while I was here I was really on my own. I didn't feel hassled at all. I don't feel any kind of pressure to do anything - here nothing's dictated, only suggested, and very little of that. When I was new here I would have welcomed some direction and guidance.

> All the teachers are becoming their own little islands. If you have a 'community', presumably everybody is working together but I certainly don't have that feeling... In many instances, if somebody takes the initiative, the director responds with 'You shouldn't have done that'. That often happens. When you have that philosophy, who wants to take the responsibility.

Although power appears to be decentralized in this agency, this decentralization is seen as being a disadvantage in some respects. With each staff member free to act on their own initiative, overall coordination and cooperation is more difficult. This has the effect of limiting the extent to which individually-conceived plans can be carried out. As a result, each staff member pursues his or her own objectives independently, being restricted only at the point where this comes into conflict with someone else's activities. There would appear to be also a fundamental incompatibility between this decentralization and its results in Communitas with the organization's philosophy of 'community', in the sense that such a highly decentralized system seems to encourage a retreat to a very individualistic mode of operating.

Even though both Workwin and Communitas received identical scores indicating a high degree of autonomy for their staff members, this apparently is the outcome of dissimilar processes. In Workwin the geographical dispersion of the staff while working reinforces the work-related autonomy accorded to them by the director. Were it deemed necessary to refer decisions to a higher level, the need for frequent contact with the director would greatly impede the agency's work under

its present arrangements. In Communitas the director actively pursues a policy of decentralization with regard to work-related decisions. This is reinforced by his frequency physical absence from the work location.

The second measurement of centralization is the extent to which staff actually participate in decisions affecting the policies and activities of the organization as a whole. This index refers to the degree of participation in decision-making regarding the hiring of new staff members and the adoption of new policies and programs. The range of possible scores is 1 (always participates) to 5 (never participates). On this dimension of centralization both organizations are closer to the highly centralized end of this continuum. Workwin had a score of 4.0 and Communitas a score of 3.9.

In both agencies the degree of participation with regard to hiring decisions is less than that in decisions affecting policies and programs. But, even in the latter, staff members in Workwin generally feel they have little influence in promoting changes they view as desirable:

> It's not too easy to get changes made around here. You can put in a recommendation for anything that you think of but that doesn't mean you get it. The director here is pretty conservative.
>
> Sometimes we go to the director and present an idea of something we think we should do and he'll say, 'Yeah, that's a good idea. I'll go and think about that.' I remind him the next day and the next and he says, 'Now are you sure this is what you want to do? Have you talked to anyone else?' A lot of times he'll act as a veto for a lot of things we come up with...

> At first, we were operating on grants and certain things had to be done very quickly and I just went ahead and did it. There was a tendency, at any meeting, to say 'No' because 'No" is a very safe thing to say... A lot of my ideas and a lot of things I like to push - these are stopped.
>
> You make suggestions at the staff meetings and it comes to a couple of people and they say, 'Well, maybe we should do it this way' and these people seem to have more authority so your suggestions go by the board.

The director is seen as maintaining a centralized power structure which operates against the desire of the staff to effect changes in the agency.

In Communitas there are considerable differences among the various staff groups with regard to the extent of participation in decision-making. The counsellors appear to feel a relatively high degree of participation in this process (their collective score is 2.3) while the teachers feel less involved (3.7) and the work supervisors see themselves as virtually excluded from decision-making (4.8). It appears that those closest to the director in terms of philosophy and goal-orientations are also most involved in decisions affecting the agency as a whole.

Both agencies are therefore essentially similar with respect to the overall perceived distribution of power throughout the organization. It should be noted here that in discussing the degree of centralization of decision-making in each agency that institutionalized barriers to participation did not exist in either setting. The staff meetings provided a forum for

involvement in this process by all staff members. In analyzing centralization of policy and program decisions the focus has consequently been on the degree to which staff members perceive themselves as having an influence on this process. In each agency, the perceived power structure differed with regard to work-related decisions and policy decisions affecting the entire organization. Whereas the former kinds of decisions are highly decentralized, thus giving staff members considerable autonomy in matters directly related to their work, the latter are very centralized with policy-related and hiring decisions controlled to a much greater extent by the directors of the agencies. In the case of Communitas, though, the overall score for the second index of centralization is somewhat misleading. As the breakdown of this score by staff groups indicated, the extent of power sharing varies significantly by occupational group. Those closest to the director in philosophy feel that they have a greater influence on decisions than other staff groups. In this agency, as compared to Workwin, participation in decision-making is therefore shared by some groups.

Formalization:

The perceptual measures of the extent of formalization of organizational roles focus on the types and number of rules and regulations which define role responsibilities and obligations. Three aspects of formalization were examined in

each agency: job codification, job specification, and rule observation.[5] The index of job codification refers to the extent to which rules exist for job occupants. Job specificity, on the other hand, measures the concreteness of the procedures manual and job descriptions in their specification of work procedures. The rule observation index refers to the degree of enforcement of organizational rules. Each of these three indices have a possible range of scores from one to four with the higher scores in each case indicating a high degree of job codification, specificity of the job, or rule observation, i.e. a high degree of formalization.

Communitas' scores on each of these dimensions are close to the less formalized end of the continuum. The job codification and job specificity scores for this agency are 1.8 and 1.9 respectively. Communitas' rule observation score is 1.6. Thus, rules governing role definitions and work procedures appear to be few and surveillance of staff to enforce rules is minimal:

> I've even asked for rules and guidelines but I've never received any.
>
> They don't let me know if there are any restrictions. You do your job and do it half-decently and make your own mistakes and live your mistakes out.

Although, in Communitas, there are no written rules and regulations, this is not to say that no rules whatsoever exist:

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[5]See Appendix A.

> There is an unwritten thing of what you should do and what you shouldn't do. Like if a client comes in drunk or high on drugs you're supposed to be sympathetic and not throw him out... You just don't disagree with the director - it's that simple.
>
> I feel fairly free in my work but I also feel there's a strong guiding principle or hand so you don't try to do anything against that.
>
> I don't feel I have the freedom to tell people where they're really at. When I went to school I benefited from being called to task for what I'd done... Another expectation I don't like is kind of crumbling now. I think all the teachers are seeing that we can't keep pussy-footing with a lot of people. I always felt the inhibition of 'Oh, these people are psychologically unstable. We can't rock the boat and we've got to be careful'...

Some staff, then, recognize the existence of implicit rules which are not clearly spelled out. The source of these expectations appears to be the director's philosophy regarding the treatment of clients. Since these 'rules' are not formally enunciated, staff do not become aware of them until they contravene them, at which point the 'rule' becomes more explicitly defined:

> The (staff member who left the program) was expected to do things he wasn't qualified or trained to do. He'd handle things the best way he knew how and they would be soundly criticized. He'd ask 'How should I have handled it?' He never got an answer. It was always, 'You DON'T do this' or 'You DON'T do that' or some abstract, vague idealistic answer that couldn't be translated into reality.
>
> The director will expect you to act on your own then if you do the wrong thing he's got no use for you. He's often said that the clients come first and if the staff can't hack it, the staff goes. If someone does something wrong then they get yelled at.

The director's philosophy acts as the framework within which appropriate job performance is defined. However, specific expectations are not codified but rather emerge in situations where staff behaviour conflicts with the director's conception of the philosophical basis of the program. As one respondent indicated, a gap exists between the philosophy and an adequate translation of it into operating terms. In the absence of any clear interpretation in this regard, staff have the freedom to function independently on their own initiative but have only vague knowledge of the boundaries limiting their behaviour until these boundaries are overstepped.

Workwin's scores on these three indices of formalization, i.e., job codification, job specificity, and rule observation, were also relatively low and did not vary greatly from those of Communitas. The score for Workwin on the index of job codification was 2.1, slightly higher than Communitas' score on the same dimension. Its job specificity score was 1.8 and rule observation score 1.4, i.e. about the same as Communitas. In cóntrast to Communitas, then, Workwin would seem to have slightly more rules governing the job occupants yet staff do not feel tightly bound by the enforcement of these regulations:

> We've got a free hand to work with the clients as we feel we should and just use our own discretion.
>
> This is one of the few programs where you do have a lot of control yourself about what you want to do, compared to other agencies who are sort of in a tight little box about what you can or cannot do... It's fairly free - we have a few restrictions.

The low degree of enforcement of rules is related to the highly decentralized structure of Workwin. Because of the physical work arrangements, the job performance of staff members is not under close scrutiny. The staff are neither in contact with each other or with the director as they carry out their work by visiting various locations throughout each day. They are, therefore, able to maintain a high degree of role invisibility.

Although, as in Communitas, there is no procedures manual, in contrast to Communitas, there are job descriptions which outline in very specific detail the duties of the counselling position in Workwin. In addition to one four-page job description covering all the counselling positions, there are separate position descriptions for each individual counsellor's job with somewhat different duties specified. The job description for the general position of counsellor lists forty-five specific responsibilities in various areas such as: administration, group discussions, supervision of clients, job search techniques, work days, incentive allowances, termination of participants, and miscellaneous. The individual job descriptions each present an additional six or seven duties specific to each position.

In view of this evidence, then, Workwin would be expected to score much higher on the job specificity index than Communitas. However, it appears that their scores are virtually the same. The staff at Workwin clearly do not see

their jobs in this way:

> It is more demanding here (than in other agencies) in a lot of ways because there are so many things that you have to do. It's not a safe situation where you can come in, do your files, and go home, or call a few clients or whatever. Here, you're constantly on the go and into so many things that your head is spinning. You really have to make your own goals... In one way it's good. I have room to grow myself in getting these things done. I feel I have to do it, nobody else will.

> They (the counsellors) all have their own jobs to do but in my case I don't have just one job and that's it. I have a million jobs to do. With a couple of clients here, when they didn't have any place they could place them, they brought them here and I taught them quilting and corcheting. Wherever I'm needed, I pitch in. I talk to clients all the time... I think I've spoken to some clients almost as much as the counsellors, listening to their problems and talking to them on the phone...

The low job specificity score of Workwin would appear to be related, as the foregoing statements by some staff members suggests, to the expectations of its personnel in view of their knowledge of or experience in other comparable job situations. Their job roles in Workwin, involving both a multiplicity of tasks and some overlapping of roles between the clerical and counselling personnel, when contrasted with similar positions in more traditional agencies, appear much less specified as to obligatory procedures and duties.

The degree of formalization in each agency as indicated by measures based on the perceptions of the agencies' staff members no doubt reflect the consequences of the recruiting policies of the organizations in the composition of their personnel. The director in Communitas, as previously pointed

out, is somewhat unorthodox in his methods of selecting staff. Those who remain are the ones who find a place for themselves in the agency and fit into the highly unstructured work arrangements. In Workwin, recruitment and selection of personnel is handled on a more traditional basis. Although the scope of this study did not extend to an analysis of the staff selection process and its outcomes with respect to the types of personnel who may be recruited by each agency, it seems safe to assume that each attracts and selects very different sorts of persons. This difference would inevitably have consequences for the definitions of agency structure as perceived by the organization's staff in each case.

Routineness of Work

This index refers to the amount of variety in the work of an organization's role incumbents.[6] As is evident from the descriptions of the work of the two agencies, they are both engaged in tasks which are not easily subject to routinization. The state of the technology in work of this nature where people are the 'raw material' of the organization and the goals of the agencies involve changing their attitudes and motivational states is imprecise. Counselling techniques are not as readily standardized as, say, those for operating a punch press. The concept of routineness of work does not explore all the possible dimensions of technology, but it does

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[6]See Appendix for a description of this index.

present one way of measuring the kind of technology found in people-processing organizations.

As would be expected of agencies of this nature, both organizations tend to be near the non-routine end of the scale. Communitas has an overall score of 1.6 and Workwin a score of 1.5 on a scale ranging from one, highly non-routine, to four, highly routine. The tachers in Communitas had the most routine score on this dimension, 1.9, whereas the work supervisors had the lowest, 1.2. The counsellors' score on routineness of work was 1.5, exactly the same as that of the counsellors in Workwin. The higher score of the teachers is consistent with the type of work performed by them in the agency in contrast to that of the counsellors. The work supervisors, on the other hand, are required to supervise whatever clients show up each day at whatever tasks they choose to do. In addition they must also fulfill a counselling role to some extent with these clients.

Both organizations, then, are characterized by highly non-routine technologies to approximately the same degree.

Communication

Communication within the two agencies has been assessed with regard to both amount and kind.[7] The amount or frequency of both vertical i.e. with the director, and horizontal, i.e. with colleagues, communication was measured as to its content

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[7]See Appendix A.

and its quality. The measurement of content was based on the frequency, as indicated by the questionnaire responses, of communication about a range of different topics. The quality of vertical and horizontal communications was explored by asking respondents to rate the frequency of various kinds of feedback from their superior and from other staff members. The quality of organizational communication was categorized in two ways: feedback relating to explanations, information or directions regarding work tasks was defined as task-relevant communication; feedback of the kind expressing feelings of appreciation, approval, or criticism was characterized as communication directed towards group maintenance. All indices of communication were scored from one, meaning absence of communication, to five, indicating a high frequency of communication.

The content of vertical communication in Communitas centred more on ways to deal with specific client-related problems than on any one other topic of those listed. However, the frequency with which this subject was discussed was not great (score = 3.2). The next most frequently discussed topic focussed on ways to improve the program or make it more relevant to clients. The area least discussed with the director was that dealing with ways of improving employee benefits. Although the amount of vertical communication for all the topics listed was relatively low, those most discussed tended to be client-related whereas communication regarding staff-related issues

and subjects unrelated to work occurred much less frequently.

The content of horizontal communication in Communitas followed a similar pattern. However, the frequency of communication among colleagues pertaining to each topic was greater than the frequency of communication with the director. The greatest difference in the frequency with which a subject was discussed with other staff members as opposed to the director was found in the case of communication relating to things, people, or events unrelated to work. Vertical communication on this topic had a frequency of 2.5 whereas the frequency of horizontal communication was 3.4. The increased frequency of lateral communication over vertical communication on all topics may be largely a consequence of the close proximity in which staff members work, while the frequent absence of the director reduces the opportunities for communication with him, assuming, that is, that the frequency of reported communication reflects the actual situation with some degree of accuracy.

The other dimension of communication to be examined here is the quality of vertical and horizontal communication. In Communitas, the reported quality of communication from the director centred equally on task-relevant and group maintenance kinds of feedback. The scores of both, though, in terms of frequency, were not high (2.4). Feedback from colleagues, on the other hand, was of slightly greater frequency and was higher in relation to task-relevant communication than group

maintenance. The frequency of the former was found to be 2.8 while the latter had a frequency of 2.5. Staff members apparently felt that they received more task-relevant communication from each other than from the director although the difference, it should be noted, was not great. Again, the differences in quality between vertical and horizontal communication channels may be accounted for by the physical work arrangements and the absence of close supervision since the director is just not around for frequent task communication and colleagues are more accessible.

Since staff members work in common with the same clients in Communitas, the lateral flow of task-relevant communication is very important. There are indications, though, that the present level of communication is inadequate:

> Sometimes the clients get caught in the middle between a teacher and a counsellor... There is never a 'common front' among the staff... There is a great deal of manipulation of staff by the clients. The staff undermine each other. You can't blame the client.

The resulting gap appears to leave room for clients to take advantage of this situation by manipulating staff members and playing one off against the other. The deciding of incentives for individual clients was one important area in which disagreements and strained relations among staff arose since little communication among staff members preceded the individually-made decisions in this regard. As a result, some staff members felt that certain clients were either underpaid or overpaid in view of what they knew about the clients. It is

worth noting that the low amount of reported lateral communication in total is not offset by the maintenance of files on clients. The writing down of client information in such form is prohibited in the belief that such information is inevitably biased by subjective evaluations on the part of the staff and that this has the effect of building an incorrect historical picture of the client. Staff members instead "keep files in their heads". Verbal communication, then, is the only means of transmitting information about clients and becomes of heightened importance because of the minimum of written information.

In Workwin, as in Communitas, the content of both vertical and horizontal communication is focussed more on client-centred issues with the topic least frequently reported as being discussed being ways in which staff benefits could be improved. As was also found to be the case in Communitas, the frequency of horizontal communication on all topics was greater than that of staff-director communication. However, communication in both lateral and vertical directions in Workwin was reported to be more frequent than in Communitas. The frequency range of communication with the director in Workwin over the seven topics listed varied from 2.1 to 3.6. In Communitas, communication of this type was reported to be slightly lower with a frequency range of 1.8 to 3.2. The reported differences in the frequency of lateral communication between the agencies were greater than those regarding vertical communication. Communication with colleagues over all topics

in Workwin varied in amount from 2.7 to 4.4 whereas in Communitas the comparable range was 1.8 to 3.7. Although the patterns of communication which emerge from the data are similar in both agencies, there appears to be more overall reported communication in Workwin. If it can be assumed that the amount of communication as reported by staff members approximates the true amount of communication, then the finding of greater communication in Workwin is somewhat surprising given the physical work arrangements where staff are geographically dispersed from each other and from the director. On the other hand, there is the possibility that the work situation may influence the staff members to overstate the amount of communication if they feel that more communication than is actually possible is desirable or somehow expected of them.

In examining the evidence with regard to the quality of communication in this agency, the pattern contrasts somewhat with that of Communitas. Vertical communication is characterized more by a task-relevant orientation than by group-maintenance forms of feedback. The respective scores for each of these kinds of vertical feedback are 3.0 and 2.4. Horizontal communication, on the other hand, is lower than in Communitas in the frequency of task-relevant feedback and slightly higher with regard to the amount of communication directed towards group maintenance. The contrast with Communitas lies in the fact that there is greater concentration of task-relevant feedback in vertical communication channels in Workwin, whereas

in Communitas it is concentrated to a greater extent in lateral communication channels. A vertical direction of task-relevant feedback, as in Workwin, is characteristic of bureaucratically-structured organizations in which officials higher in the hierarchy direct job-related instructions and information to subordinates. Alternatively, in a debureaucratized structure, the superior-subordinate distinction is less emphasized in favour of a more collegially-based division of responsibilities. Consequently, the direction of task-related communication tends to be more lateral than vertical. The flow of task-relevant communication in Communitas conforms more to the pattern expected in the debureaucratized structure.

One of the mechanisms of communication in both agencies that should also be mentioned is the staff meeting. In Communitas these are held on a weekly basis during the lunch hour. All staff are expected to attend. The meetings are highly informal with individual staff members free to introduce whatever topics they would like to see discussed. No minutes are kept nor is an agenda presented. Staff members were asked to what extent staff meetings are used to discuss how individual clients might be helped or, alternatively, to evaluate the program as a whole and to decide on policies or changes. Both topics appear to be equally the subjects of discussions "to some extent". There are a mixture of reactions among the staff as to the value of the staff meetings:

> They sit there and talk about the same damn things that we've talked about for six months

> and haven't done anything about and you know that in another year they won't have done anything about it either. I just tune out because I think it's a waste of time.
>
> It is more or less talking about a subject that doesn't involve me. Everybody goes on his own. There's nothing tying one with the other. The meetings are mostly talking about the school.
>
> I don't think any time is given over to duscussing the essential purpose of the program. Occasionally someone would bring something up but when this happened at one point some people thought they were being accused of not handling their job.
>
> The meetings help insofar as we all sit down at the same table and talk, which is a vast improvement over last year... however, you can't talk about approaches and philosphies, you can't talk about particular individuals, so you talk about the practical things which need to be done.

They felt lack of communication among staff members was viewed as a source of many of the agency's problems:

> We do not know what is going on from day to day. Nobody lets you know. You can talk but it doesn't do you any good. I talk but I've never seen any action, so you get to the point where you just don't both with anybody else.
>
> There are many things I disagree with here but I have learned after some time here to keep my mouth shut... There are some things you say, some you don't, some things you do and others you don't. In other words, you don't rock the boat.
>
> We have done well and had openness in the past but, since that incident (when one of the staff members was let go) to say anything is to lay yourself open for attack because anything you say is seen as an attack on the other person. The pitfalls were always there and I frequently played a bridge between different staff but recently people have become more entrenched.
>
> People definitely tend to interpret things as very threatening to them. People are afraid to bring things out. I don't know if it's because we lack someone through whom different complaints and problems can be filtered...

> One of the things which needs to be done is to foster more communication and coordinate what's happening. Sometimes the director says, 'Well, that should never have been done' but the reason why it was done was that the teacher wasn't aware of what was going to happen until it did... Lately, people haven't been saying what they really think. The communication problem was always there. To be really free the staff has to accept each other. Why is there a difference between the way you relate to clients and the way you relate to staff, if this is a community? ... It's easier to relate to clients than to staff. It's all a problem of lack of communication and non-acceptance.

This lack of communication in the context of Communitas and its philosophy of 'community' seems to have the function of protecting the agency's basic operating assumptions from criticism and examination. There seems to be a feeling that complete openness in this regard would be destructive of the philosophy and the internal cohesion of the agency itself. The insistence on the 'rightness' of a particular philosophy forecloses the possibility of dissent.

The highly decentralized structure which encourages staff members to act on their own initiative and operate independently creates a situation where complete responsibility for work activities rests solely with the individual staff member. In such a situation criticisms directed at almost any aspect of the program become more easily perceived as personal attacks on particular staff members. Without guidelines or rules to fall back on there is no recourse to anonymous directions for one's actions, hence disagreements over methods or results can be translated as criticisms of the individual

staff members involved.

In Workwin, one afternoon a week is set aside for staff meetings. These are led by the director who presents an agenda which, in the case of one meeting attended by the author, was outlined on the blackboard prior to the meeting's commencement. The agency's secretary recorded the minutes of the meeting as it proceeded. Staff members reported that both individual client problems and agency policy were equally topics of discussion. In both cases these appeared to be somewhat more discussed than in Communitas. In Workwin, too, staff meetings are seen as a mixed blessing:

> Staff meetings are sometimes a waste of time. It's just talking over things and not helping the client out. A lot of times we just satisfy our own needs - we say we have to have a meeting, you know, something to do on a Friday afternoon.

> The staff meetings are pretty good. You can bring up that week's work or what happened in that week or anything new that's come up. We bring up what we are planning to do the following week. Maybe an odd time we discuss certain participants - what's the proper thing we should do to help them. It's good that we can get together that once a week because we're all so busy all week. If we didn't have that staff meeting we wouldn't get in touch with each other.

Some staff members had a very specific complaint:

> Nine-tenths of the whole talking about the program is men and one-tenth is women at the staff meetings and even at the board meetings. And half the program is women. When it comes to attendance the women outweight the men.

> The staff meetings seem to be mostly concentrated on the men participants and this happens even at the board of directors' meetings.

There is not the same concern for communication in general in

Workwin as there is in Communitas. This concern in Communitas stems partly from the central role accorded to verbal communication as opposed to written communication. A high level of verbal communication is necessary to transmit information about clients and in this regard the function of communication as a mechanism of coordination is also important. At the same time, though, adequate communication seems to be blocked by the conflict between groups with differing goal and philosophic orientations. In Workwin, staff members work independently of each other to a large extent and task-relevant communication is concentrated more in vertical channels. This, together with greater reliance on written forms of communication regarding clients, would tend to minimize the kinds of problems found in Communitas in relation to communication.

Power Base of Director

The staff members in each agency were asked to rank five statements in the order of their importance as a reason for why they would carry out the requests made of them by their agency director. Each statement referred to a different potential base for the director's power.[8] One possible base referred to was that of the personal attributes of the director (referent power). The director's knowledge or his expertise was recognised as another possible source of power. A

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[8]See Appendix A.

distinction was made between the director's ability to reward compliance or, alternatively, to punish non-compliance as two additional bases of power. The fifth power base was identified as legitimate power resting on the perceived right of the director to expect compliance by virtue of his position in the agency. The possible range of scores for each dimension was from 1 to 5 with higher scores indicating greater relative importance.[9]

POWER BASE	COMMUNITAS			WORKWIN
	Teachers	Counsellors	All	All
Referent	3.5	4.0	3.5	3.2
Expertise	3.8	3.7	3.7	3.4
Reward	2.2	2.0	2.2	2.0
Coercive	2.0	2.3	2.3	2.4
Legitimate	3.6	3.0	3.3	4.0

The relative importance of each of the above-mentioned power bases for the staff members differed in each of the two agencies. In Communitas, staff regarded the expertise of the director as the most important basis for his influence, although just slightly ahead of referent power. In Workwin, by contrast, the most important basis for the director's control

[9]Rankings were reversed when computing scores in order to make a high score consistent with increased importance of the dimension in question.

was legitimate power. The director's expertise was ranked as the second most important reason by the staff for "why they do the things their director suggests or wants them to do":

> I usually share my feelings about the clients with the director... (however) I wouldn't want him to become too involved with clients. With my training and experience I feel I can handle the situation perhaps better than he can.

The director of Workwin is seen by the staff more as a capable administrator then as a resource person with social work skills directly relevant to their jobs, since he has had neither training nor specific experience in this field:

> Before (the director) did all the interviewing of new applicants... He would be very strong on the application and making sure it's all filled out and he'd take a couple of hours to do it. I don't feel that that is as important as making the person feel at east and talk about themselves and their work experiences and what they've done.

> The director is very good at bookwork and I can talk to him anytime. If I want to write an official letter to a company or a client, he's very good at helping me get the right words down. He's experienced in these things and I look at him as an authority in these matters.

Although in Communitas, as already mentioned, the director's expertise was regarded as the most important power base, when the teachers and counsellors are compared as two distinct groups some differences emerge. The most significant power base of the director for the teachers was his expertise but the counsellors considered referent power as the most important. For counsellors, expertise ranked second while the teachers considered the legitimacy of the director's position as second in importance. For the entire staff of Communitas

as a whole the ability of the director to offer rewards was the least important power base. Although this was true also for the counsellors as a separate group, teachers rated coercion as the least significant basis for them. The counsellors would seem to respond to the director more as a charismatic leader than as an expert in a field with which they themselves are familiar. On the other hand, given the emphasis in the agency on the goals of personal psychological growth of clients and a particular type of interpersonal relationship as defined by the director, it is perhaps not surprising that the teachers regard his expertise as the most relevant power base for them:

> If we didn't have someone like (the director) to say 'I don't want to see you in front of a blackboard. Why aren't you out in the community?' well, then you would probably get into the rut that he's afraid of.
>
> His attitude to people is marvellous - he's very accepting.

The overall score for the staff of Communitas ranking expertise as the most important power base is influenced by the scores of the work supervisors and the clerical person - all of whom have had no previous experience in or training for the aspect of their work which requires them to establish helping relationships with clients.

The Weberian concept of bureaucracy points out the importance of position as the basis for authority in bureaucratic organizations and, along with this, the manipulation of rewards and sanctions. Although Weber considered technical

competence as an ingredient of authority in bureaucracy, he regarded this as essentially a precondition for the assumption of office. The power base of the bureaucrat resided in his office not in his distinctive expertise alone (Weber 1964:330-331). In delineating the possible bases of power of the agency directors, expertise was treated as a power base in and of itself apart from the official position of the director. Expertise, as a primary basis for authority, accords more with professional principles or organization and not bureaucratic principles. Referent power also is more characteristic of non-bureaucratic organization in which the charismatic qualities of the leader form the basis of his ability to elicit compliance from other members of the organization. The power base of the director in Workwin is consistent with the picture of a bureaucratic agency in which the rights of office are the most important source of the director's power. In Communitas, however, the basis of the director's control is his expertise, conforming to the pattern expected of professional organizations in contrast to those organized on strictly bureaucratic principles.

Before going on to a discussion of the conclusions suggested by the foregoing analysis of the structures of Communitas and Workwin the findings based on the indices used to measure these structures are presented below. The following table summarizes the various measures of organizational structure as discussed.

DIMENSIONS OF STRUCTURE	COMMUNITAS	WORKWIN
Objective Measures		
Complexity:		
Level of Professionalization	2.0	1.3
Occupational Specialties	5.0	2.0
Formalization of job definition	1.0	4.0
Perceptual Measures		
Centralization[1]		
Hierarchy of Authority	1.6	1.6
Actual participation in decision-making	3.9	4.0
Formalization[2]		
Job Codification	1.8	2.1
Specificity of Job	1.9	1.8
Rule Observation	1.6	1.4
Routinization[3]	1.6	1.5
Communication[4]		
Vertical: Task-relevant	2.4	3.0
Group maintenance	2.4	2.4
Horizontal: Task-relevant	2.8	2.6
Group maintenance	2.5	2.6
Power Base of Director[5]		
Referent	3.5	3.2
Expertise	3.7	3.4
Reward	2.2	2.0
Coercive	2.3	2.4
Legitimate	3.3	4.0

[1] Scale: 1 = Low, 5 = High

[2] Scale: 1 = Low, 4 = High

[3] Scale: 1 = Low, 4 = High

[4] Scale: 1 = Low, 5 = High

[5] Scale: 1 = Low, 5 = High

Discussion

Preliminary observations of the two agencies prior to this research had led to the expectation that they would provide a meaningful contrast in structures as a basis on which a comparison of their orientations to clients could be made. Accordingly, the author embarked upon a study predicated on the assumption that Workwin would provide a model of a more bureaucratized organization and Communitas that of a highly debureaucratized organizational structure. In examining the goals and philosophies of each agency the evidence appeared to point in the expected direction (see Chapter III). Although both organizations operated under the same legislative mandate to fulfill similar functions, both approached the same problem in very different ways. The emphasis in Workwin was on work as a goal for its clients and efficiency in reaching that goal (represented by cost-benefits analyses of the savings to taxpayers). Since their end results could be measured quantitatively, statistical records were kept which led to a concern for maintaining or increasing 'placement rates'. Communitas, on the other hand, eschews the keeping of any records or files and focusses on the unquantifiable aspects of helping clients. Its primary goal is to promote the personal growth of clients and help them overcome poor self-concepts. The philosophy of 'community' involves both staff and clients as both therapeutic agents and 'patients'. Thus, the picture of each agency presented by the analysis of goals and philosophy in the

preceding chapter would lead one to expect concomitant structural differences between them.

As has been discussed at the beginning of this chapter, the objective measures of structure do fulfill these expectations. The analysis has indicated that Workwin is both more formalized and less complex - as one would expect in an agency with efficiency as a goal measured by quantitative records. Communitas, on the other hand, is less formalized and more complex in terms of objective measures of structure - as was anticipated on the basis of unquantifiable goals and a community philosophy. However, on turning to an analysis of the perceptual measures the results are not so clear. It has been suggested, for instance, that a high degree of complexity of organizational structure is associated with a low degree of centralization (Hage and Aiken 1967). Other research has indicated that low formalization may be related to a low degree of routinization of work (Hage and Aiken 1969). In addition, the power base of the director in bureaucratic organizations, that is, those which are more centralized, formalized, and routinized, would be expected to be either legitimacy of office or the ability to manipulate rewards and sanctions. In non-bureaucratic organizations, on the other hand, the director's power base is more likely to be referent power or expertise. Communication in a bureaucratized organization would be expected to be more concentrated in vertical channels since the direction of orders and work-related information follows the hierarchical

structure of authority in such organizations. By contrast, the non-bureaucratic organization has been characterized by high levels of horizontal communication (Rosengren 1964).

Based on these suggested relationships between the structural variables examined here, the following description of each agency would be predicted on the basis of the results of the objective measurement of complexity and formalization of role definitions:

COMMUNITAS	WORKWIN
Objective Measures	**Objective Measures**
High complexity	Low complexity
Low formalization of role definitions	High formalization of role definitions
Perceptual Measures	**Perceptual Measures**
Centralization:	Centralization:
Lower hierarchy of authority	Higher hierarchy of authority
Higher actual participation	Lower actual participation
Formalization:	Formalization:
Lower job codification Lower job specificity Lower rule observation	Higher job codification Higher job specificity Higher rule observation
Less routinization of work	Greater routinization of work
Higher horizontal task-relevant communication	Lower horizontal task-relevant communication
Lower vertical task-relevant communication	Higher vertical task-relevant communication
Referent or Expertise power base	Legitimate, Reward, or Sanction power base

On the basis of the objective indices of complexity and formalization one would expect Communitas to conform to the more unbureaucratic model of organizational structure and Workwin to the more bureaucratic model depicted. However, the results of the perceptual measures of the organizational variables mentioned demonstrate that this is not always the case. There are no strong differences between the two agencies on many perceptual measures used. The greatest differences are those regarding the power base of the directors and the communication patterns, both of which differ in the expected direction. Both agencies emerge as relatively non-bureaucratic organizations on the other indices.

In Communitas the evidence indicating a debureaucratized structure corresponds closely to predictions based on the findings of the objective measures. However, the high degree of centralization with regard to policy and program decisions appears to be an anomaly in view of the other measures. As closer examination has revealed, though, this overall measure of centralization obscures the differences in participation in decision-making by the different staff groups in this agency. The responses given by the counsellors indicate greater participation by them than is indicated by the responses of either the teachers or the work supervisors. That this group is also the one closest to the director in philosophy points to the attempt by the director to maintain his philosophy against possible efforts to undermine or change it as it is

applied to the program. The degree of centralization in Communitas then varies on the basis of occupational groups.

The findings with regard to the extent of centralization in Communitas reveals a problem in the use of quantitative measures to characterize features of organizational structure. A comparison of the agencies solely in quantitative terms masks some of the real differences between them. A single summary score does not reveal the different processes underlying these results. In this regard the value of quantitative measures may be very limited in providing information about organizational structure especially in relatively small units where other research methods may be more fruitfully employed.

Although there is a high congruence between the results of the perceptual measures and those of the objective measures in Communitas, the findings produced by these two types of measures in the case of Workwin are contradictory in view of the expectations based on previous research. In Communitas the results of the perceptual measures supported the expected relationships of those variables to the objective measures except for the low overall extent of participation by staff in policy and program decisions. In Workwin, though, only three of the perceptual indices (actual participation, communication, and power base of the director) were in the expected direction. One reason for the divergence between the perceptual measures and the objective indices may be the influence of expectations based on previous experience on the staff members' perceptions of agency structure. One would

expect that past employment in organizations which are relatively bureaucratized would influence the extent to which they see their present organizational milieu as bureaucratized on the various dimensions explored. It is difficult, however, to assess the impact of expectations on the scores obtained for the perceptual measures since no attempt was made to collect the kind of detailed information on past employment necessary for such an analysis. The possibility of assessing the relationship between certain other variables such as age, sex, and length of time in the agency which might influence the results obtained by indices based on individual perceptions was explored. However, the level of measurement used, i.e. ordinal scales, led to considerable difficulty in the interpretation of the results.[10]

The convergence of the organizational structures of Communitas and Workwin as indicated by a number of the perceptual measures contradicts the results expected on the basis of differences between the agencies in goals and philosophy as well as in the degree of formalization and complexity shown by each organization. Clearly, then, an adequate explanation for these results must be sought elsewhere than in terms of goals or role formalization and complexity. A more powerful explanatory variable appears to lie in the dimension of technology. Perrow (1967) has provided a framework for analyzing organizations in terms of their technologies. His thesis is

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[10]Both multiple regression analysis and Pearsonian correlations were performed on the data but subsequently rejected for these reasons.

that technology, or the work process, is an independent variable and thus influences in certain ways the organizational structure which is, essentially, 'the arrangements among people for getting work done' (Perrow 1967: 194-195). The task structure is most directly influenced by technology while social structure is affected by both technology and task structure and organizational goals are only weakly related to these. Technology, task structure, and social structure only set limits on those goals which are maximized and those which are minimized. Perrow offers a definition of technology which includes two independent aspects: the number of exceptional cases that occur in the work done and the extent to which the search process initiated by these exceptions is guided by a logical, analytical process or, at the other extreme, by intuition and experience (Perrow 1967: 195-196). The perceived nature of the raw material is a determining factor in the kind of technology applied to it. The way in which the organization perceives its raw material can vary along two dimensions. These are the extent to which the nature of the raw material is well understood and the stability or variability of this raw material (Perrow 1967: 198-199).

In the present study the only dimension of technology which was measured in quantitative terms was that of routineness of work, roughly comparable to Perrow's variable of the number of exceptions encountered. As had been mentioned, both agencies had similar scores on this dimension indicating relatively low degrees of routineness. However, in considering

the nature of the task performed by the two agencies a number of other observations can be made regarding their technological base. Both organizations are engaged in an attempt to change the motivational and attitudinal states of their clients in some way. The techniques or methods for accomplishing this are not defined to a degree of precision which would permit clearly established procedures to be adopted across a variety of situations. Thus, the ways of handling exceptional cases, and these are likely to arise often, are probably more guided by experience and intuition than by any specifically defined treatment. The inclusion of teachers in Communitas results in a broader technological base for that agency as compared to Workwin. However, the nature of their task in the agency does not indicate that the level of technology involved is substantially different in terms of the number of exceptions and the search process undertaken when these occur.

Given the similarity between Communitas and Workwin with regard to their technology, a certain degree of similarity in their task structures would be expected. This may account for the low scores in both agencies on the hierarchy of authority dimension and the minimal differences between them with respect to formalization i.e. job codification, job specificity, and rule observation. The relationship between technology and goals would be expected to be even weaker:

> ...goals may be shaped or constrained, though hardly specified, through the influence of technology and structure... Personalities and the environment may shape goals more than the

> other variables of technology and structure... (these) only set broad limits upon the range of possible goals. (Perrow 1967: 202-203)

This hypothesized framework of decreasingly less powerful links between the variables of technology, task structure, social structure, and goals raises some questions regarding the utility of approaching organizational analysis through the goals of the organization. One would expect that predictions concerning structural dimensions based on an analysis of goals could not be made with a high degree of accuracy. As has been indicated in the case of the two social service agencies studied, there are more similarities between them at the levels of technology and task structure than at the level of their goals and philosophy.

The analysis of the structures of Communitas and Workwin has shown that both agencies have relatively de-bureaucratized structures except for the degree to which they are centralized with respect to decision-making regarding organizational policies. Workwin, however, can be considered slightly more bureaucratized on the dimensions of complexity and formalization as measured by documentation. The next step is to examine the orientations of each agency to their client populations in order to assess the significance of these structural similarities and differences.

CHAPTER V

ORIENTATIONS TOWARDS CLIENTS IN WORKWIN AND COMMUNITAS

Staff Attitudes as an Intervening Variable:

Before proceeding with an examination of the client-orientation dimensions in each agency, the responses of the staffs or Workwin and Communitas to their work situation will be discussed. Staff in both organizations were asked how they felt about their jobs in certain specific respects. The questionnaire included a number of items designed to assess the degree of alienation of staff members from their work, the amount of satisfaction experienced, and the extent of job-related tension associated with their work situation. The expectation was that the organizational structure would affect each of these variables in certain ways. Specifically, it was predicted that greater alienation among staff members would be found in the more bureaucratized agency (Hage and Aiken 1966). High worker discretion resulting from a low degree of supervision has been found to be associated with high job satisfactions (Blau 1963: 126). Thus the less bureaucratic agency with regard to the dimension of hierarchy of authority would be expected to have a staff reporting a higher level of satisfaction. Job-related tension or anxiety regarding the ability to meet expectations relating to job performance

was predicted to be greater in the less bureaucratized organization where formalization of role definition and amount of close supervision was minimized (Rosengren 1964). As the discussion of agency structure in chapter four indicated, Workwin is the more bureaucratic agency on the dimensions of formalization by documentation and complexity, whereas both agencies are equally non-bureaucratic in terms of closeness of supervision. Using these findings as a basis for prediction, it can be hypothesized that the staff of Workwin will manifest a slightly higher degree of alienation but a lower degree of job-related tension. Both agencies, however, would be expected to be only minimally different with regard to the amount of job satisfaction reported by their staffs.

Alienation:

The evidence provided by the scores of each agency on the index of alienation does not support the hypothesized expectations. Communitas has a slightly higher score (1.3) on this index than Workwin (1.1). The items included in the alienation index refer to the amount of control and influence

staff members feel they have over their work and the way the program is run. This perceived control appears to be somewhat lower in Communitas. But, as will be remembered, both agencies received almost identical scores on the two aspects of centralization relating to the degree of worker autonomy and the extent of participation in decision-making. Within the range of possible scores on this scale, i.e. zero to four, a difference of .2 cannot be considered to be highly significant. The fact that the degree of alienation in both agencies is close to the low end of that continuum adds weight to the association of low alienation with relatively debureaucratized structures.

Satisfaction:

The hypothesis regarding the relationship of job satisfaction to agency structure appears to be confirmed in the case of Workwin and Communitas. Both organizations had identical scores on this dimension. On a scale of one, indicating low satisfaction, to four, the two agencies received a score of 2.9. Work satisfaction is relatively high therefore in both cases. The ability of the staff members to operate independent of close supervision and to assume a high degree of discretion in work-related decisions appears to be a signficant contributory factor to high levels of job satisfaction.

Job-Related Tension:

The index of job-related tension provides an overall measurement for each agency of the amount of anxiety experienced by staff members in attempting to meet the expectations associated with their job performance. The range of this scale extends from one, for low tension, to five. There is a slight difference in scores between Communitas and Workwin in the expected direction but this difference is, again, not greatly significant. Communitas' score on the job-related tension index was 2.5 whereas Workwin's was 2.3. Both these scores fall between the alternatives of "rarely" and "sometimes" thus indicating a fairly low degree of job-related tension.

An examination of the scores of each agency on the specific items of this index, however, reveals some greater differences between them in particular areas. The following table outlines the scores for each agency on each aspect of job-related tension.

JOB-RELATED TENSION

	Communitas	Workwin
Being unclear on what the scope and responsibilities on your job are	2.5	2.2
Feeling that you have too little authority to carry out the responsibilities assigned to you	2.3	2.6
Thinking that you won't be able to satisfy the conflicting demands of various persons over you	2.5	2.7
Feeling that you're not fully qualified to handle your job	2.5	2.1

	Communitas	Workwin
Feeling that you can't get the information needed to carry out your job	2.6	2.0
Feeling that the commitment which is expected of you is too great to meet	2.4	2.0

The greatest difference between Workwin and Communitas relates to the adequacy of communication regarding work-related matters. This item, "feeling that you can't get the information needed to carry out your job", received the highest score in Communitas for its relationship to the amount of job anxiety felt. In Workwin, it received the lowest score. The previous discussion of communication in both agencies pointed out the concern felt by the staff of Communitas over the low level of verbal communication. It will be remembered, also, that written communication in the form of client-files was virtually non-existent. In addition, the staff in this agency felt that insufficient guidelines for their work operations were communicated to them and those which were offered by the director were seen as being vague and negatively-defined - i.e. only at their limits. This lack of communication is clearly related to feelings of tension on the part of the staff in attempting to perform their job functions in the absence of adequate transmission of needed information.

In Workwin, as compared to Communitas, staff reported a somewhat higher degree of task-relevant communication from their director. Furthermore, the keeping of extensive files

in which all information pertaining to individual clients is recorded, is regarded as important. Counsellors usually set aside part of their working time each week to bring their files up to date. The director reads these files periodically in order to keep informed on the clients' progress and problems. This information can then be used in his communication with the staff regarding their work. This communication process in Workwin apparently contributes to the lower amount of anxiety felt by staff members over the adequacy of information available to them.

In Chapter IV a description of the structure of the two agencies constituting the subjects of this study was presented. The analysis of structure was approached by defining a number of organizational characteristics which could be quantified and measured in the context of the two client-serving agencies chosen. The measurement of these structural dimensions permitted a comparison of Workwin and Communitas on the basis of the degree to which each exhibited the specified characteristics. The definitions of the structures of the agencies have been discussed in terms of the degree to which each appeared to be bureaucratized on each of the structural dimensions. The evidence thus far has indicated that both agencies approach the non-bureaucratic end of the continuum on a number of dimensions. Workwin, however, appeared to be the more bureaucratic of the two agencies when contrasted with Communitas on the extent of formalization by documentation and organizational complexity. The differences

in the power bases of the directors in the two organizations and in their communication patterns was congruent with the conclusion that Workwin is, in some respects, more bureaucratized. The findings with regard to job satisfaction, alienation, and job-related tension, though, have not revealed any great differences between the two organizations. Moreover, the positions of both agencies on these three variables have been consistent with expectations based on the characterization of the agency structures as relatively debureaucratized.

Client Orientations:

The initial hypotheses of the research specified that certain orientations towards clients would be associated with the degree of bureaucratization of agency structure. Five dimensions of client orientation were defined: the extent of the organization's interest in its clients' lives or 'laterality', the organization's definition of clients as simple or complex in nature, the degree of investment of the agency's resources in potential 'successes', the extent of emotional involvement considered to be appropriate for client-organization relationships, and the degree of social distance between clients and staff. The degree to which each of these dimensions existed in both agencies was assessed by means of indices composed of questions included in the questionnaire.[1]

[1]These indices are outlined in Appendix A.

In addition, the agencies' documents, staff interviews, and the actual operating procedures provided considerable evidence relating to each of these variables.

The difference between the organizational structures of Workwin and Communitas have been found to be minimal except for the dimensions of formalization of role definition by documentation and complexity, both of which indicated a higher degree of bureaucratization in Workwin. As noted, the communication patterns and power bases of the directors were congruent with this slight difference. Since the hypotheses specify a relationship between bureaucratization and orientations toward clients, certain predictions can be hazarded regarding client orientations in the two agencies studied. It is expected that in Workwin, as the slightly more bureaucratized agency, there will be indications of a lower degree of laterality, a greater tendency to see clients as relatively non-complex, more investment of resources in 'successes', a more objective, neutral attitude towards clients, and greater social distance between the agency's staff and its clients.

Laterality

All client-serving organizations concern themselves to some degree with various aspects of their clients lives. Some, however, extend their interest in the client into more areas of his or her life than do other agencies. This extension of the organization into biographical space with regard

to its client population has been termed 'laterality' (Lefton and Rosengren 1966: 805-806). The degree of laterality can vary from a limited concern with specific areas of the client's life considered relevant to the organization's tasks to a very wide interest in all aspects of the client's biography. One indication of the extent of laterality characteristic of an organization is the amount and type of information collected on the agency's clients. Staff members in Workwin and Communitas were asked to indicate the importance of four particular kinds of information about clients to their work. These four areas were: the client's family life, the client's contacts with other agencies or institutions, the client's educational background and employment experience, and the client's aspirations and feelings about his situation. Responses were scaled from one, very unimportant, to four, very important.

The greatest difference between the two agencies was on the dimension of 'information about the client's contacts with other agencies'. This assumed a greater importance for Workwin's staff-client relationships than it did for Communitas (their respective scores being 3.3 and 2.8). Workwin's staff also considered information about the client's family to be slightly more important than did the staff of Communitas. Workwin's score on this item was 3.6 compared to Communitas' score of 3.3. There was no difference at all between the

scores of the two agencies on the remaining two aspects of laterality. The greatest importance in both Workwin and Communitas was attributed to information regarding the client's aspirations and feelings about his situation. Both organizations scored 3.9 on this item thus indicating a very high degree of laterality on this dimension. To assess the overall degree of laterality in each agency the scores for the four items were totalled. Workwin's total laterality score was 14.2 whereas Communitas' total score was 13.3. It appears, then, that Workwin considers a more extensive interest in the client's biography to be necessary to its work with clients. Again, this result goes against the hypothesis which suggested that Workwin would be less interested in a broad definition of clients.

This 'plus laterality' characteristic in the case of Workwin is substantiated further by an examination of the client files. Eleven different forms which staff are required to complete with various kinds of client information were identified in the files. The first contact with a client who is accepted into the program involves the completion of the application which includes twenty-three questions relating to the client's background. Details concerning criminal offences committed, contact with other social agencies, medical and psychiatric history, and past employment are recorded on the application form. A social history is written by the counsellor about the client's family life and general background.

Clients are referred to a medical clinic for physical examination and a copy of the medical report is included in the file. In addition, aptitude test results are also filed. By contrast, Communitas explicitly prohibits the maintenance of records regarding the client's history as part of the overall philosophy of 'accepting' the client as a person with great potential regardless of his or her past:

> I think the most important thing about the program is that it accepts people as they come in without going through their records and finding out their past history.

Documenting such information is also seen as destructive of the client-staff relationship:

> I asked one person how he felt about interviews at (another agency). He said that most people are so conditioned to it that the first thing, when you have an appointment with a social worker, they have to tell their background. After the interview you feel like a heel, that you have betrayed yourself, and you're so mad - why did you do it? But you end up saying it anyway.

In Communitas, the only form which is completed is the application form. This one page document deals only minimally with the personal history of the client. Some information related to the client's work experience is recorded but the remainder is concerned with the client's career aspirations and a detailed account of his income and its sources.

However, this apparent difference in the degree of laterality between the two agencies based on the amount of client-related documentation is minimized by the processes of staff-client interaction in Communitas:

> I don't find (client files) necessary because they tell us naturally about their background anyway when they are ready. One client, when he came, had all these fantastic stories. So I played the game up to a point and then I said 'This is it. I'm not playing your game any more. You didn't fool me even if you thought you had fooled everybody.' That's when he really told me about himself. I play until such time that they feel comfortable and I can tell them.

Other staff members have their own methods of learning about clients:

> The director doesn't believe that background is important but I do. The clients will tell me about themselves or a social worker will 'phone me and I'll ask her.

> When you talk to a person for two hours, I still don't think that you know that person. I have to work with the person to see what he's like. I have to know what these people are, not what they told me. I never question any person for a week. I study them. I want to know what he is doing and what he can do, what his attitudes to other people are.

Staff members in each agency were also asked to rate the importance of the client's family, other agencies, and the clients themselves as sources of information about their clients. In both organizations the client was considered the most important source with the other two possible sources of equal secondary importance. The scores for Workwin were: 4 for clients as sources and 3 for each of the other sources on a scale of one, indicating low importance, to four, highly important. Communitas' scores were 3.8 for the client as a source of information and 2.6 for both the client's family and other agencies.

One of the most interesting points regarding the

findings on laterality and sources of information is the relatively high importance attributed to the various kinds of client-related information as well as sources other than the client in Communitas, given its anti-investigation philosophy. Information-gathering appears to be a more subtle process in Communitas but the results would seem to be similar to Workwin's explicit questioning and documentation activities. The major difference lies in committing such information to a physical record which is maintained as a client file. Workwin has formalized and standardized this process by providing specific forms stating what information is required and allowing for the storage of this information. The consequences for the client-organization relationship in each situation, however, differ. In Workwin there are indications that staff see this process of collecting information on clients as inhibiting the possibility of establishing rapport between counsellor and client from the outset:

> I find that going through the application form with them is very formal and I find it extremely embarrassing. I'm inclined to tell them before I fill it out that I don't want to single them out but I'm going to have to ask them questions like 'Have you ever been on probation or parole?' It kind of makes them feel like a criminal. They could easily say 'yes' or 'no' to some things and you would never know the difference. But it's just to get the important information. Usually all the other comes out eventually whether they want to tell you or not. They end up telling you because they're quite open and free about that.
>
> I used to show them how I filled out the forms and say 'You see, there are no secrets - no one will see this except yourself' and I'd go over each point with them.

This information-gathering and documentation process appears to be seen as somewhat of a barrier between staff and clients and thus requires explanation and justification to the client in order to minimize its possible detrimental impact on this relationship. The client records are presented as a means of obtaining facts essential to the agency's work in an attempt to dispel any image of them as containing secretive judgements on clients. Clients are permitted to examine their own files so that they can see what the counsellor has recorded about their situation and progress.

In Communitas, the absence of record-keeping and the minimal collection of information function to avoid the possibility that these may interfere with effective client-organization relationships. Thus, clients are encouraged to place immediate trust in the staff who 'accept people as they come in'. The lack of client files clearly does not mean that information regarding the client's background is not obtained at all. Although clients can selectively inform staff or even provide erroneous accounts of themselves, staff appear to accept these only to the point where they feel that their relationship with the client is such that the truth can be demanded without destroying that relationship. As staff members in both agencies made clear, regardless of formal information-collecting procedures, in the end the client divulges his or her history anyway.

The feeling in Communitas that client records work

against the client by perpetuating a stigmatic interpretation of the client has resulted in the elimination of client files but not the possibility of stigmatizing clients. Without files, staff members keep mental records of client-related information. Subjective interpretations are not thereby ruled out. Moreover, the verbal transmission of such information is subject to distortion at least as much as written communication and clients cannot see and examine this knowledge for themselves to correct possible misinterpretations. The elimination of client files and explicit information-gathering may be more functional for staff than for clients in Communitas.

With regard to the dimension of laterality, then, Workwin emerges as having a greater interest in the biography of its clients both on the quantitative measurement of this variable and in the nature of its client files. However, the relative paucity of such files in Communitas does not mean that extensive information regarding clients is not sought or considered important. As has been indicated the information-gathering process in that agency is less formalized and operates through the ongoing communication between staff and clients.

Complexity of Clients:

Complexity refers to the organization's definition of its clients in terms of multidimensional persons with highly individual characteristics and problems. The treatment of

clients so defined must, therefore, be seen as requiring an individualized approach based on each client's distinct situation. The alternative to a complex definition of clients is that which sees the client population as homogeneous and their problems amenable to solution by a common treatment modality.

The index of complexity of clients[2] revealed that both agencies are almost identical with regard to seeing their clients as highly complex. The scale ranges from one, low complexity, to four, indicating high complexity. Workwin's score was 3.6 and Communitas' 3.5. Given the extensive amount of contact between the staff and their clients in each agency it is not surprising that clients are seen in a highly individual way. The staff members were also asked to describe the 'average' client in each organization. It was originally thought that this question would yield data on which an assessment of the degree of complexity of clients could be made for each agency. However the resulting answers could not be quantified in any meaningful way for this purpose. The responses do, though, provide some indication of the extent to which clients are seen as complex. Two of the staff members of Communitas rejected the idea that there was such an entity as the 'average' client:

> All clients are individuals - each has his or her own personal wave length. Most suffer from lack of confidence...each is strong and/or weak in different areas and their ability to cope.

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[2]See Appendix A.

> The average client is not typically any one type nor does he share in a composite picture other than, because of some barrier, he seems to need us. This barrier may be anything from low educational status (most prevalent) to every possible form of health, mental or physical, legal, family complications, and social disadvantages.

Others offered more explicit pictures of what they considered to be the 'average' client:

> The average client is single, male or female, 25 years old and low educational attainment at grade three level. Been to several social agencies, unable to relate to other people. Not competitive for employment, sporadic work record. Has emotional problems and a very poor self-image.

The staff members of Workwin supplied detailed accounts of their view of the 'average' client:

> The average male client has been on welfare for at least two years and has adopted a failure identity. He is overwhelmed by problems which act as a stumbling block from coping successfully e.g. alcoholism, nervous disorders, psychiatric problems, in debt, physical impairments, poor education, prison record. He usually has very few friends and does not belong to any group or club. He has had difficulty securing and maintaining employment. He usually has a low self-esteem, however, he is yearning to improve his situation.
>
> The avérage female client is about 18 years old, extremely slow - considered by some to be mildly retarded, lives alone in the slum area, often paying $25 a week for a room. She has no friends and is very lonely. She has a grade eight education, no confidence, no job skills. Her father died when she was small and her mother is now living with another man. The mother is domineering and always interfering. The girl is on the pill. She moves regularly and is very unhappy but wants to change. She has few hobbies or interests and lives on a diet of pop, chips, and cigarettes.

On the basis of both the staff reports of the defining characteristics of what is considered an 'average' client and the scores

resulting from the scale of complexity it can be concluded that both agencies regard their clients as highly complex in nature.

Depending on the extent to which clients are seen as complex, programs designed to help clients could conceivably vary from a highly standardized approach to a very individualized one. There is evidence that both agencies have attempted to build a program based on an individualistic approach to the client. Communitas, however, would appear to have gone further in this regard than Workwin:

> We tell the clients the jobs we have. They can select one and if they don't like it, we are flexible. If they don't come for a period of time or we don't hear from them, I get another client who's close to them to go and visit them.
>
> I don't think it's that important that they be kept busy. Some of the clients prefer it so it's good for them. But others don't really know what they want and I think sitting down and talking things out is good for them and just having easy assignments, not things where they're really got to stock to it and get it finished.
>
> The most important element in the school is flexibility and a very individualized program. No pressure is put on them... People are free to choose the program they want to follow. If they don't want math then they have the freedom to decide not to study that... They are expected to be on time and attend regularly but you have to make allowances in any adult program.

Clients are given choices in their work assignments and academic programs. If they prefer to do nothing in either of these areas then that, too, is acceptable. The staff may gradually get them involved in some tasks. There are no rules aimed at clients regarding what they should or should not do. The only prohibition is that interpersonal violence will not be tolerated.

Short of this, clients are free to participate or not and staff respond to their specific needs or problems as they arise.

Workwin's approach to its clients is on a more structured basis. All clients are expected to behave in certain ways and to follow certain rules. A five page document outlines the regulations pertaining to clients' conduct and the expectations regarding attendence and performance. All clients are assigned to a work situation which is regarded as a 'regular' job with the same rules applying regarding absences, sickness, and appointments. However, within the overall framework of 'work', each staff member is free to deal in a variety of ways with individual clients. This freedom makes possible some individualization in the treatment of clients:

> We've become more flexible. Life skills sessions were originally planned to have certain topics on certain days. Now we've gone to spontaneous discussions while we're working... An organization like this has to be less structured and more flexible than traditional agencies. It would never work otherwise. You can't put too much pressure on the client because they wouldn't be here unless they had problems. Your goals have to be lowered because you can't expect them to cope all that well and so, in dealing with them, you give and take a lot. If a person is late, we talk about it, we don't 'fire' him. If he's not working well or if he's swearing you talk about it.
>
> I work with people on an individual person-to-person basis...the life skills approach presupposes that everybody is ready at a particular time.
>
> I find it's important not just to talk about their past work experience but also to talk about where they are now and what they would like to do or where they would like to go. I believe they should be given a choice about their job placements here.

Thus, although staff, through their close contact with clients,

come to see them as complex in nature, the structure of the program limits the extent to which an individualized approach is possible. The central problem of its client population, as defined by Workwin, is that of unemployment. Therefore a standardized program based on work participation is applied to all clients. Clients who have other problems in addition to their lack of employment, such as alcoholism, drug addiction, or severe psychological problems, are referred to other agencies for treatment.

Although the staffs of both agencies, as the scores on the measure of complexity and the descriptions of the average client indicate, perceive their clients as highly complex Communitas has incorporated this definition of clients into their program to a greater degree than has Workwin.

Extension of Continual Help to Clients

One of the initial hypotheses of this research specified that bureaucratic organizations were more likely to expend their resources on clients who appeared to be potentially successful in terms of the organization's goals. The alternative thesis was that debureaucratized agencies would be more likely to extend services to all clients without cutting off help to some clients by defining them as unable to be helped. The findings based on the scores of Workwin and Communitas on the index assessing the degree of extension of continual help to clients indicate that there is no significant difference between

the two agencies in this regard.[3] The scores for Workwin and Communitas were 2.6 and 2.7 respectively on a scale of one, investment of organizational resources in 'successes', to four, the extension of continual help to all clients. However, these findings have to be balanced against an important difference between the two agencies with regard to the mechanisms which exist for controlling the composition of their client populations.

One of these control mechanisms is the admissions procedures by which each organization can regulate the kinds of clients for whom it will provide help. Communitas has never instituted any screening device for admitting clients to its program. The philosophy of the agency explicitly forbids any rejection of persons who express a desire to participate in the program. If an individual appears at the agency, an application is filled out and the person becomes a program participant immediately. Some clients are guided to Communitas by other social service organizations and others come because a friend in the program recommended it to them. Everyone who comes, though, must be admitted or helped in whatever way the agency can. The composition of the client population of Communitas, therefore, is influenced largely by the self-selection of clients and by the sources from which clients are referred to the program. At the time of the research several staff members stated that many of their clients were coming

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[3]See Appendix A.

from a nearby mental insitution. These clients were not considered to be in need of hospitalization but the institution's facilities were inadequate to provide the supervision these people needed. Communitas was being used to fill that gap. In the words of one staff member:

> Now the mental hospital is really dumping referrals on us. There are really bad cases here because there's no place else for them to go.

This has created some concern among the staff who feel that they are not trained to cope with these people. Moreover, some staff members pointed out that these particular clients were a disturbing factor to other clients and their demands on the staff deprived other clients of their time and energy. There was, in addition, some fear that the more 'normal' clients might tend to drop out of the program because of this. Communitas' 'open-door' policy has led to some strain on the organization's resources and a situation which may be detrimental to all its clients.

Workwin's admissions procedures contrast greatly with those of Communitas. A formal evaluation committee was created about four months prior to this research to provide some screening of applicants before their acceptance into the program. The director explained how this committee functions:

> The evaluation committee is composed of people from the municipal welfare department with, now and then, some people from outside who are connected with our program and to use them to look at prospective participants, hear the highlights about them, and then try to make a choice. The thing we look for now is the person who is

> so encumbered with problems, who had had a reasonably long history of welfare involvement, who's employment history is sporadic or who has some very obvious physical or mental problems which could be overcome. We have to be cautious about taking a person who is paralyzed, for instance, and a true retardate we will not take. They have to be employable after some process and involvement here. Those who are recently unemployed go to the employment counsellor and if that counsellor spots someone who needs more, we put them on the potential list of participants for the program. The person who is struggling with alcoholism or serious drug addiction is going to have a harder time benefitting from our program. We more or less say we're not going to take them in unless they're free from the booze because, out there, reality tells us that you walk into a place of employment drunk and out you go. We're not going to be able to have this as a place of employment for them - even though it's a practice employment - if they're not stone sober.

There is, then, a clear attempt to select clients who will be successful in the program. As the discussion of organizational goals demonstrated, Workwin is under some pressure to maximize the rate of placements of clients into jobs. One way to promote this end is to select a client population who appears more likely to succeed. The agency had recently been subjected to some criticism for having had the same individuals in the program for six months. This was considered too long a time for clients to remain on the program without the tangible results of job placements. Such a lengthy period of time was considered by the municipal rehabilitation officer to be dysfunctional for clients:

> In many cases the feeling was that they were there, they were staying on and you couldn't see any progress. Some of the staff were reporting that they thought that some of the people were regressing... I feel the program should not be building

> up another form of dependency. We're trying to get people to be a little bit more independent and working on their own. By setting up a situation where it becomes another family and parents and a lot of hand-holding, it's not very good.

As a result of this situation, it was decided to suspend the operations of the program and to have all clients who were participating at the time engage in a job search with the help of the counsellors.

Another mechanism for controlling the composition of the agencies' client populations is the expulsion of clients from the program under certain specified conditions. This has the effect of weeding out those participants who are defined as unsuited in some way to the services offered by the agency. Communitas firmly rejects expelling clients from its program for any reason other than the fact that the person represents a physical danger to others. Even then, this decision is not made until a client's behaviour actually threatens harm to another client or staff member. In a recent incident, a client associated with the program for some time stabbed another client. The perpetrator of the injury was told that he could not return unless he left his knife at home. In another case of violence, the police were called twice to subdue a client who was 'acting out' (the words of a staff member). Although no one was injured some damage was done to the agency's offices. This client, however, was not expelled from the program.

In Workwin, clients are asked to leave the program for a variety of reasons. The document outlining the rules governing

client conduct states that:

> Participants who are not benefitting from the program or who are disruptive will be asked to leave the program to provide an opportunity for someone else.

Although staff are not anxious to take this final step, they recognize it as a necessity in some instances:

> A person who's causing a lot of problems - you talk about it and if it continues then it might lead to an eventual discharge.

> I had to let one client go because that person just went in and took over one place. The client never wanted to take part in group sessions and really used the other participants. I have a lot of restrictions. I can accept people as they are but I don't get along with them playing games and using other people... I make certain demands. I don't go for too much folling around. If they're going to come, they're not going to come just whenever they want. It's a 5-day-a-week type of thing. There are too many people who are too serious and want to be part of the program. I can't really afford to let that happen because the work sites I have took a long time to get and there aren't many people who would let our clients come in and work with their staff.

It appears that one of the reasons clients are asked to leave the program is that they represent a possible threat to the program itself.

Judging from the evidence presented it would seem that Workwin tends to invest its resources in potential successes to a much greater extent than Communitas. The discrepancy between this evidence concerning the agencies' actual operations and the responses of staff members to the questions relating to this dimension may be a function of the questions themselves. The four items making up the index of 'continual help' appear to have tapped an aspect of the ideology relating to the helping

relationship between staff and clients more than the reality of the organizations' functioning in this regard.

The difference between Communitas and Workwin with respect to their procedures for controlling the composition of their client populations is linked to their dissimilar goal orientations. Whereas Workwin's goals enable the agency to define what constitutes a 'success' for its program, Communitas cannot easily measure its successes. How does one define significant 'personal development' on the part of clients? According to the director, a successful client is one who is 'healthy':

> The ones we haven't done anything for are still stumbling around and still lost souls. Like a guy who leaves us and gets the same kind of a job he had when he came in - like dishwashing or something. Unless he's healthy about it. If we've helped him to be healthy about his dishwashing job then maybe we've helped him. 'Healthy' means that he has a social life now. He's not tripping around from job to job. He's hanging in there for long periods of time at his job. It's hard to describe. The fact that a person gets a job isn't necessarily any success.

The definition of a 'successful' client then is highly subjective and can be made only by those who are in close contact with the client over some period of time. This largely precludes the possibility of screening out clients since there are no clear criteria for assessing the client's potential for change in this regard.

Professional 'Objectivism' versus Emotional Involvement

The polar extremes of this dimension might be regarded

as the maintenance of emotional distance from the client versus a complete identification with the client and his problems. 'Professionalism', as an attitude, has been criticized as constituting an aloof, unconcerned orientation towards clients, an interest more in the technical aspects of the professional process than in the client as a person. A neutral, objective and impassive attitude towards clients appears to be characteristic of bureaucratic organizations concerned with procedures more than with the person being helped.

An index of 'objectivism' was designed to assess the extent to which staff members in each of the two agencies supported emotional involvement as a positive element in the client-organization relationship.[4] The range of possible socres for this index extends from one, indicating that objectivism is valued, to four, representing support for a high degree of emotional involvement. Workwin's score on this dimension was 2.5 while Communitas' score was 2.3. There is, then, slightly more support for the belief that emotional involvement is necessary in dealing with clients in Workwin which, again, does not support the hypothesis. Both agencies, however, fall into the middle range of the scale, indicating that both extremes are rejected as desirable approaches to clients.

The director of Workwin pointed out that one of the

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[4]See Appendix A.

major concerns of his staff was the extent of appropriate emotional involvement with clients. Staff members appear to see a high degree of involvement as necessary in effective staff-client relationships yet they also see possible negative consequences of too great an emotional involvement:

> I've found that I've got to be careful that way because if I get so involved emotionally then I can't be objective. And that's very necessary. Maybe this type of work doesn't harden you but you have to learn to put it into perspective... I get 'phone calls at home and I go out on the weekends or in the evenings but I don't feel that I'm overworked or abused. I know that when I first came and I sat down with some clients and heard their stories - I'm still affected to a degree. You have empathy because of what they've gone through. You're touched physically and emotionally but not to the degree where I would not be able to know what I'm doing or where I'm going or how to operate.
>
> I don't think it's wise to get so emotionally involved with participants that it affects your own balance or you take their problems home with you. This doesn't mean that it's not all right to get called at home or make home calls after working hours. In the beginning I got very involved with one client - the director kept telling me to pace myself - until I saw that the client chooses to do these things himself. The people involved in this program are all adults, not children, and they can make decisions by themselves.
>
> I think, based on reality therapy, that the person does have to get involved with the client. If you become too detached or objective I don't think it makes for a good relationship in a social work setting. Too emotionally involved, of course, is detrimental. As I see it, I have to live my own life... I do get emotionally involved at time and it does bother me but I don't think overly so. I sort of try to make that break when I go home.
>
> I don't get too involved with clients. I'm interested in each one of them but I don't take their problems home with me... I would never get too emotionally involved with a family. For the

> first couple of years our business cards had our home numbers on them and we got calls at night. Only a couple of times I left home to go and see some client who was really in trouble but it didn't bother me. The new cards have only the office number.

There appears to be some consensus regarding the rejection of an objective, emotionally neutral orientation to clients. However, emotional involvement, when carried too far, is seen as destructive of the ability of staff to help clients as well as possibly detrimental to the personal life of staff. The attempt to find a balance between the two extremes appears to be an ongoing process.

The same tension between objectivism and involvement is evident in Communitas as well:

> A worker here should be willing to involve himself with the program. It all depends on the degree to which they would like but they have to get involved. I agree with emotional involvement but it can't go overboard. It has to be a controlled involvement. I get involved but I draw the line to the point where it's not helping the participant then I'll withdraw gradually without the person knowing. The staff has to be emotionally strong and not allow themselves to be manipulated. I get called at home and if I can do something, I'll do it. If I can't then that's the end of it. I don't think it's healthy if it goes to an extreme. I don't think you can help anybody then. If I strongly believe I have done my part then I don't feel guilty about it.
>
> I don't think emotional involvement is avoidable. It's inevitable, even in a district office. I don't think you can solve it. You have your own limitations, how to be fair and just to everyone and to yourself. I think emotional involvement is a good thing but it's a matter of personal judgement... Our program allows a different type of relationship that isn't accessible to our people at the various other institutions. The welfare department, for

> example, is very formal and official. Many people find their contact there very negative. You don't have as personal an involvement with the people you invest with authority as you do here.
>
> I get involved as a listener but I don't do a lot. I'm limited by a lack of knowledge about what to do. One guy with nine children - I helped him all I could. I spent a lot of time and brought all sorts of friends over to help him fix up his house. I began to feel that his wife was taking me for granted, just feeling that she could use me. I still intend to go over and be with him but I don't intend to be at his back and call.
>
> I make the distinction between a 'professional' emotional involvement and an 'unprofessional' emotional involvement. As soon as you become emotionally involved you're no longer effective. You have to keep your own identity... My students know I am friends with them to a certain point but they still know that there is a distinction. They are the students and I am the teacher. I believe it is a bad policy to become too emotionally involved or to bring your personal problems to work with you.
>
> I don't really get involved too much in clients' problems. I try not to. At the beginning, I put myself out and I was too exhausted so I decided that, for my own sake, there has to be a limit.

There are indications in the comments of the staff members of both agencies that initial intensive involvement with clients has led to an eventual retreat from this position. One condition prompting this withdrawal on the part of some staff appears to be the feeling that they were being manipulated to some extent by clients with whom they were closely involved. Although a high degree of emotional involvement is seen as desirable in the client-staff relationship there seems to be a concomitant fear of being exploited by clients as a result

of too great an involvement. The solution arrived at by most staff members appears to be a 'controlled' emotional involvement. This paradox suggests that emotional involvement itself is, to some extent, a useful technique in dealing with clients.

Social Distance

The maintenance of a higher degree of social distance from clients on the part of staff appears to be more characteristic of bureaucratic organizations than of debureaucratized organizations (Seeman and Evans 1961a, 1961b). Accordingly, one of the predictions regarding the two agencies studied here was that greater social distance between staff and clients would be found in Workwin.[5] The scores of the two agencies on the scale of social distance used here indicate that a greater degree of social distance is indeed to be found in Workwin. That agency's social distance score was 5.6. This compares with a score for Communitas of 8.2 on a scale ranging from zero to eleven with the higher scores representing lower degrees of social distance. The hypothesis linking greater social distance between staff and clients with bureaucratic structure seems, therefore, to receive support from this data.

The social distance index asked staff members whether they had engaged in a number of different social activities with clients. The responses indicated that these activities

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[5]For a description of the measurement of social distance see Appendix A.

represented various degrees of social distance. Almost all staff members in both agencies reported that they had gone to lunch with clients during the working day and had discussed their own personal experiences with clients. On the other end of this scale was the item asking whether the respondent had ever associated with clients socially outside of working hours apart from either going to the client's home or having the client to the staff member's home. While only one of the seven staff members of Workwin reported that they had done so, eight out of the twelve Communitas staff members replied that they had associated with clients socially.

The attitudes of the directors of the two agencies differed on the issue of the appropriate degree of social involvement with clients. Communitas' director regards the relationships between staff and clients as being based on mutual friendship in the ideal case with social relations and emotional involvement developing naturally as a consequence of this friendship. While some staff felt able to comfortably approximate this ideal, others preferred to keep their personal life distant from their working relationships with clients.

The director of Workwin, on the other hand, explained that there was an unwritten rule that staff in that agency were not to socialize with clients with particular reference to a 'taboo' against counsellors going out drinking with their clients. However, he recognized that the nature of their

contact with clients would sometimes make it difficult to decide where 'business stops and socializing begins'. The staff members of Workwin accept this distinction between 'business' and 'socializing':

> There's sort of an unwritten rule that you don't associate with clients. It's not a good policy. It just doesn't make for a good therapeutic relationship. You're here to do a job, in a sense, and I'm opposed to after-hours relationships with clients.
>
> The only thing I don't do is go out and drink with them at night. If something comes up I go out and have a coffee with them but it's not purely social. It's mostly because of a need that has come up. I wouldn't say that I socialize that much with them.
>
> I wouldn't get involved socially with the families but it's nice to periodically visit them. Suppose the guy is off sick and we had the time to drop in and see them and at least talk to his wife so she knows who you are, where you're from, and what you're trying to do for him.

Discussion

The evidence on the orientations towards clients in Workwin and Communitas provides support for some of the hypotheses but, in the case of others, the evidence does not support the hypothesized results. The most clear-cut support was found for the dimensions of social distance and investment of the agency's resources in clients defined as optimal candidates for success in the program. Workwin was shown to be higher on both these dimensions than Communitas. This is consistent with the expectation that increased bureaucratization

would be related to a higher degree of social distance and a lesser tendency to extend continual help to those clients who appear to be the least likely candidates for success in terms of the agency's goals.

The data presented with regard to the variable of laterality indicate that both Workwin and Communitas have extensive interests in their clients' biographies. However, Workwin has developed a formalized procedure for information-collecting and the documentation of its clients' histories. An examination of the agencies' definitions of clients with respect to their degree of complexity showed no significant differences between staff perceptions of clients as highly complex. Yet Workwin's more standardized program and regulations designed to govern client conduct revealed that it does, in fact, respond to its clients as if they were a relatively more homogeneous group with similar problems. The agency's approach to its client population, based on the goal of job placements, is more segmental than that of Communitas. The findings related to the degree of emotional involvement with clients considered appropriate did not disclose any significant differences between these two organizations.

The hypotheses described refer largely to a 'bureaucratic' structure as a totality. This, in effect, implies that an organization which is labelled as 'bureaucratic' exhibits a cohesive and integrated picture in this regard. It has been assumed, therefore, that 'bureaucracy' implies that all

structural dimensions will vary consistently in the same direction. However, as Hall (1963) has argued, the concept of bureaucracy may be considered as a series of dimensions which may vary independently of each other. The evidence of the present research lends support to this conclusion. As has been seen in the case of both Workwin and Communitas, the existence of a high degree of bureaucratization on some dimensions coincided with a relatively low degree of bureaucratization on others. Thus, it would appear to be reasonable to conclude that organizations may typically be characterized by the presence of various combinations of these structural dimensions varying in their degree of bureaucratization.

This finding, then, calls into question the assumption that certain orientations towards clients are related to bureaucracy per se. If bureaucracy is not a unitary phenomenon the relationship between client orientations and organizational structure is necessarily more complex than has heretofore been assumed. It would seem that different client orientation dimensions are likely to be associated with different structural dimensions and also with the extent to which these dimensions are bureaucratized. Furthermore, the client-orientation variables, themselves, have been treated here as continua i.e. as existing to various degrees, instead of being treated dichotomously as either present or absent. Such a conception of both the dimensions of client orientation and those of organizational structure suggests that the relationships

between them could conceivably vary in a considerable range of combinations. The concrete specification of these relationships will require further research into this question.

In the present research, staff attitudes towards their work were originally introduced as intervening variables between organizational structure and orientations towards clients. Although the literature suggests certain relationships between structure and staff attitudes, there is no similar indication of the nature of the relationship between staff attitudes and orientations towards clients. It is conceivable, however, that there would be some deflection of the structure-client orientations relationship by the attitudes of staff members as they are affected by organizational structure. In actual practice, though, the differences between the two agencies on this set of variables were not sufficiently great enough to permit a comparison of their effects in this regard. The role of staff attitudes as an intervening variable remains, then, an open question.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

This research was initially undertaken in order to examine an issue which has been largely overlooked in the literature on organizations. Students of organizations have traditionally tended to relegate the question of organization-client relationships to a largely peripheral status in both theoretical and empirical terms. The issue of the relationship between organizational structure and the organization's orientations to its client population has not been subject to systematic analysis even though certain assumptions concerning this link have appeared to operate as premises for much of the concern regarding the pathologies of bureaucracy. Throughout the literature on client-serving organizations, a number of conclusions have been suggested or implied regarding the consequences of certain structural arrangements for the greatment of clients. These have centred largely on the concept of bureaucracy and its implications for the client groups served by such organizations.

It has been variously suggested that bureaucratic organizations, because of the specific features of their structure, produce consequences which are dysfunctional for their clients. On the other hand, the 'debureaucratized' organization has been offered as an alternative through which

the needs of clients can be more adequately met. The perceptions of clients by debureaucratized organizations, it has been argued, will differ in a positive manner from the way in which bureaucracy sees its clients. The operating assumption throughout is that organizational structure, in whatever form, necessarily has an effect on the organization's orientations to clients yet very little attempt has been made to focus on specifying in a systematic way the nature of this link between structure and client-orientation. In view of the relative neglect of this theme as a subject for empirical analysis the present research was undertaken in an attempt to clarify this issue.

Two small social service agencies were chosen for this purpose with the focus of the analysis being on the specification of their organizational structures and the ways in which they perceive and treat their respective client populations. The restriction of the research to only two organizations was recognized as constituting a sample size from which no clear confirmation of the hypotheses could be expected. At the same time, the disclosure of evidence which contradicts the hypothesized results could not be accepted as clear grounds for rejection of the hypotheses. In order to be able to confidently accept the initial hypotheses guiding this research a much broader sample of organizations would have been desirable. The nature of the specified hypotheses is predicated on the treatment of the organization itself as the relevant unit of analysis. The structural dimensions considered here, such as formalization, centralization, routineness of work, have as

their referent the organization as a whole. In treating these dimensions as existing along continua and therefore capable of providing an indication of the extent to which an organization is bureaucratized, the concern has been with attempting to characterize the nature of the organization as an entity. In this respect then, the analysis focusses on the complex of relationships which form the totality of organizational functioning not on the specific attributes of individuals within the organization.

Because the focus is on the organization an adequate test of the hypotheses would have demanded the selection of a broad sample of client-serving organizations.[1] The use of statistical tests of significance in hypothesis-testing requires the assumption of random sampling of the population about which inferences are to be made. In order to have confidence that the research will provide an adequate test of the hypothesis, the sample selection must give some degree of assurance that it is indeed representative of the population involved. To obtain a representative random sample of client-serving organizations, as would be necessary to adequately test the hypotheses proposed in the present study, would require a definition of the universe of organizations from which to draw

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[1] It may be added that this problem is endemic to organizational studies. The definition of the total population (regional, national, etc.) is as problematic as the drawing of a random sample, to say nothing of the empirical problems posed by such a sample. (cf Peter M. Blau and W. Richard Scott, Formal Organizations, Chapter One, especially pp. 10-15.

such a sample.

In the present research the choice of the two social service agencies which provided the setting for the analysis does not meet the requirements of sampling procedure to produce a representative sample of client-servicing organizations. Consequently, the initial hypotheses regarding the relationship between organizational structure and orientations towards clients can neither be accepted nor rejected completely. In other words, although the findings may be accepted with some confidence in so far as they characterize the specific agencies studied here, they cannot be regarded as a general statement about other organizations of this kind.

In defining organizational structure in terms of the dimensions of centralization, formalization, routineness of work, the power base of the director, and the kinds of communication patterns, the organization is, as has been pointed out, the basic unit of analysis. Consequently, the measurement of these dimensions requires that they be treated as organizational properties rather than as individual characteristics. The measurement of the structural dimensions has been approached here in two ways. One alternative employed has been based on objective indicators in assessing the degree of formalization of role definitions and organizational complexity. These measures have relied on objective data in the form of agency documents, the occupational activities of staff members, and their level of training and education. The

second basis for the definition of organizational structure consisted of the perceptions of the staff members of the two agencies. This provided the data for the measurement of the degrees of centralization, formalization, routineness of work, the power base of the director in each agency, and the patterns of communication. In addition to the objective and perceptually-based indicators, the observations of the researcher provided a further source of data. The measurement of the agencies' orientations to their client populations was also based on the perceptions of organizational participants as well as documentary evidence and observation of the actual functioning of the two agencies.

The measurement of system properties, such as organizational structure, on the basis of individual perceptions can be questioned. Is it legitimate to conclude that the aggregation of the perceptions of organizational participants provides an adequate measurement of dimensions regarded as characterizing the organization as a unit? This raises the issue of how organizational structure can best be measured and the relative validity of the various possible approaches. Unfortunately, the present state of the development of measures related to aspects of structure in organizations has not produced any consensus with regard to the question of what constitutes the most desirable approach. Three methods in particular have been widely used in this context. One is the use of organizational documents. Although some indices based

on this type of data have been developed (for instance, the measure of role formalization used here), there have not yet been designed the variety required to cover all the dimensions of structure which have been identified and which would also apply to all types of organizations. Another method is to have an observer in the organization over a period of time to observe the activities of organizational members in the actual process of the ongoing work of the organization. Both these approaches offer the merit of eliminating the perceptual distortions inherent in employee-based descriptions of organizational activity and functioning. An outside observer, however, also brings certain biases with him which can influence the data in certain ways. Furthermore, it seems probable that, because an observer cannot see all the processes involved in the activity of participants, he may have to rely to some extent on verbal reports of individuals in the organization. Finally, perceptual measures, as employed in this research, have frequently been used although they suffer from the kinds of difficulties outlined above.

Measures based on objective data such as organizational documents would appear to offer a promising approach to the measurement of structure rather than relying only on the perceptions of staff members of their work situation. However, further work has yet to be done on developing satisfactory and comprehensive measures of this type.

In the present study all three methods of organizational

measurement discussed above were used where possible in an attempt to extend the data base. This permitted the comparison of findings based on perceptual measures with other types of data. As has been noted, this has revealed some discrepancies between the findings resulting from the objective indices and the perceptual measures. The latter in particular run contrary to expectations based on the results of previous research. Although there are other possible explanations for these discrepancies (see 'Discussion', Chapter IV), they may be related to the validity of the perceptual measures themselves. No independent confirmation of the validity of these measures was obtained but extensive use was made throughout the research of staff interviews as a check on the validity of the scales used in the perceptually-based measures of structure.

The use of perceptual measures to define both organizational structure and client-orientations introduces a possible source of difficulty in the interpretations of the findings. Both independent and dependent variables with respect to the quantitative data collected were obtained from the same source i.e. perceptions of organizational members. Therefore, the direction of the relationships between structure and client-orientations could logically run either way. It could be argued that workers who see their clients in certain ways will also perceive their organizational environment in particular ways or vice versa. In order to overcome this problem, the results of the indices used to measure organizational structure

and orientations towards clients were supplemented with documents and data obtained by observation of the actual operations of each agency. In discussing the analysis of both organizational structure and client-orientations, then, reliance was not placed exclusively upon the perceptual measures, but objective and observational data were utilized to the greatest extent possible.

The difficulties raised here with regard to the measurement of organizational structure points up the general problem of developing adequate methodological tools for research in organizations. In the present case all structural measures were adapted from previous research in client-serving organizations. Thus the choice of the specific structural dimensions explored here as well as the methods of measuring structure were limited to those which had been developed in other contexts. This meant that the present analysis of structure in two social service agencies was forced to rely largely on measures based on the perceptions of staff members. A number of these measures were taken from work done by Hage and Aiken in a series of studies based on a group of health and welfare organizations. The perceptual measures of centralization, formalization, and routineness of work were devised by Hage and Aiken for their research (Hage and Aiken 1966; 1968; 1969). The difficulties involved in the use of perceptual measures have been discussed, and the findings of Hage and Aiken are subject to similar criticism in this respect. However, a

further complication in the studies carried out by these authors arises from the method of sampling of participants within each organization.

Hage and Aiken proceeded by dividing each organization into levels and departments with respondents being randomly chosen within these categories. All department heads and supervisory personnel were interviewed but all non-supervisory, non-professional personnel were excluded entirely. This resulted in a range of eleven respondents in the smallest organization to sixty-two in the largest. Respondents in the same social position (as defined by level and department) were treated as collectivities with the scale scores of individual respondents being averaged to yield a score for each social position. These social position scores were then averaged to produce the organizational score. The scores on each dimension of structure for all agencies were then related to scores on other structural dimensions by using the Pearsonian correlation technique. By averaging the scores on the basis of 'social position', Hage and Aiken appear to believe that they have overcome the problem of defining system properties on the basis of individual perceptions. According to them, this procedure raises the level of analysis since the organization is "perceived as a collection of social positions rather than an aggregate of individuals" (Hage and Aiken 1969: 368).[2] Furthermore, they premise their definitions of

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[2]See also their response to similar criticisms in their "Reply to Tausky", American Sociological Review 32 (1967) 118-120.

organizational structure only on certain groups of organizational participants while others are considered irrelevant in this regard. Additionally, one can question the use of statistical techniques such as the Pearsonian correlation on what is essentially ordinal level data generated by the scales used to measure organizational structure.

By adapting Hage and Aiken's perceptual measures for use in the present research it is, at the same time, recognized that the problem of defining structure in terms of the perceptions of participants has not been resolved. Instead this problem has been imported along with the measures themselves. To avoid this problem the development of new scales of measurement based on other criteria would have been necessary before undertaking the present research. However, there has been an attempt throughout the discussion of the findings to emphasize such alternative data as had been obtained, for instance the indices relating to formalization of role definition and complexity as well as information about the agencies' actual operations. Sincé the agencies studied were relatively small, it was possible to interview all of the staff members in both Workwin and Communitas. This constituted then a saturation sample of respondents within each organization which avoids the distortions and biases resulting from inadequate sampling. Saturation samples are, however, not usually praticable in situations where a large sample of organizations of greater size than those chosen here is involved. The use of measures

based on individual perceptions introduces the problem of adequate sampling procedures within the organizations to be studied. A stratified random sample of all categories of personnel in the organization in proportion to their total numbers would probably be the best alternative where the number of organizations precludes the possibility of interviewing all staff members.

In addition to these methodological points, there are a number of theoretical implications arising from the results of the present research which deserve to be explored. One of these concerns the assumed nature of bureaucracy as a unitary phenomenon. The concept of bureaucracy as described by Weber has frequently been treated as a completed statement regarding the nature of the relationships between its interdependent parts rather then as a series of hypotheses about the extent to which certain characteristics of organizations may be associated with one another.[3] In this respect, bureaucracy has been seen as a totality in terms of the assumed coexistence of its defining characteristics to the same degree. Weber, however, was aware of the hypothetical nature of his construct. His outline of bureaucracy and its features was developed on the basis of his methodology of the ideal type. This, as Weber pointed out, consisted of abstracting from reality in order to refine concepts for theoretical analysis:

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[3]This criticism was initially raised by Alvin Gouldner in his "Discussion of Industrial Sociology", American Sociological Review 13 (1948) p. 396.

> In order to give a precise meaning to these terms it is necessary for sociologists to formulate pure ideal types of the corresponding forms of action which in each case involve the highest possible degree of logical integration by virtue of their complete adequancy on the level of meaning. But precisely because this is true, it is probably seldom, if ever, that a real phenomenon can be found which corresponds exactly to one of these ideally constructed pure types... The more sharply and precisely the ideal type has been constructed, thus the more abstract and unrealistic in this sense it is, the better it is able to perform its methodological functions in formulating the clarifications of terminology and in the formulation of classifications and hypotheses. (Weber 1964: p. 110-111)

It is clear that he intended the ideal-type model of bureaucracy to serve as a guide for the development of hypotheses for further empirical testing. The dimensions of bureaucracy exist as a cohesive unit only in the ideal case. There was room, therefore, within Weber's description of bureaucracy for assuming considerable variation in reality from the ideal type.

Hall (1963; Hall and Tittle 1966) has expanded on this using it as a point of departure for an examination of the 'dimensional' perspective of bureaucracy. Based on the Weberian definition, Hall proceeds by treating the characteristics described therein as existing along continua. When each of the dimensions incorporated in the conception of bureaucracy are viewed as existing in varying degrees then the two possible extremes are the ideal type bureaucracy with all present to a high degree and the non-bureaucratized organization exhibiting a low degree of all dimensions. Between these two extreme

cases a wide range of variation would be conceivable. Hall concluded, from his research, that bureaucracy was not, in reality, a unitary phenomenon and, furthermore, that "the magnitude of the dimensions varied independently in the organizations studied". (Hall 1963: 39)

The results of the present study of two social service organizations indicate also that the conception of bureaucracy as a totality must be questioned. There is some evidence showing that the structural dimensions examined varied independently of each other. In Communitas a high degree of centralization on decisions relating to policies and programs coexisted with relatively low formalization as measured both by objective and perceptually-based indicators. High centralization in this area of decision-making was found in conjunction with low centralization of work-related decisions in both agencies. Such evidence indicates a need for further empirical work to establish the extent to which specific characteristics may be associated with one another or completely independent. These findings, in addition, serve as a cautionary notice that the study of organizations cannot operate on the premise of total bureaucracy without providing evidence that this is in fact the case. Other characteristics thought to be highly correlated with 'bureaucracy' may instead be discovered to be associated only with certain structural dimensions which exist

to a high degree.[4]

In examining the relationships between organizational structure and orientations towards clients, the dimensions characterizing the latter were not found to exist to the same degree within each of the agencies. Greater social distance in Workwin along with a tendency to screen out potential failures in the program were found together with a relatively high degree of laterality and complexity in the perception of clients. In Communitas, similar degrees of the latter two dimensions coexisted with a low degree of social distance and minimal selection processes. There is, thus, some evidence indicating that, as in the case of the structural dimensions of bureaucracy, orientations towards clients ought also to be treated as varying independently of each other. It cannot be assumed that increased social distance, for example, automatically indicates that clients will be regarded as relatively non-complex and in a narrow segmental way. An organization's orientations to its client population may show considerable variation among the particular dimensions characterizing perceptions of clients.

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[4]Kohn, for instance, explored the effect of the bureaucratic setting on the values and social orientations of workers. Merton's analysis of the dysfunctions of bureaucracy for its role incumbents indicated that exaggerated conformity to rules and a tendency towards conservatism and technicism resulted on the part of bureaucrats. Kohn characterized his organizations by the degree of hierarchy of authority only and found that this dimension, at least, was not associated with the kinds of consequences predicted by Merton. Instead, people who work in organizations bureaucratized on this dimension valued self-direction more than nonbureaucrats, were more tolerant of nonconformity, and more receptive to change. (Kohn 1971)

Because of the way in which the relationship between structure and orientations towards clients was approached i.e. by examining a number of dimensions simultaneously in each case, there is no basis on which to assess the extent to which specific structural variables are related to specific client-orientation variables. Workwin, in which there was a higher degree of formalization, lower organizational complexity, and bureaucratic communication patterns, also manifested greater social distance between clients and staff as well as a greater tendency to select potential successes. Communitas, on the other hand, was lower on these same structural dimensions and, at the same time, had no screening mechanisms and a low degree of client staff social distance. The remaining client-related variables appeared to approximately the same degree in both agencies although the agency structures varied in certain ways. Thus the only link between structure and client-orientations found in this study lies in the concomitant appearance of increased social distance and screening mechanisms with increased formalization, relatively low complexity, and bureaucratic communication patterns. Because of the nature of the research, consisting as it was of a case study of two agencies only, the question of support for or against a direct link between structure and client-orientations remains unanswered. The possibility exists that other dimensions of organizational structure not examined here or even some aspect of organizational functioning entirely apart from structure itself are the key elements in explaining various orientations

towards clients. These case studies have only been able to explore some of the aspects of this issue and to offer some tentative findings as possible directions for future research.

The finding of independent variation among the structural variables measured in this study does not preclude the possibility that one dimension may be central in determining the extent to which other dimensions may be more or less bureaucratized. Perrow assigns this role to technology. In his theoretical analysis of the influence of technology on other structural features of organizations he sees this dimension as being of central important in determining the task structure, of lesser influence on the social structure, and least important in the determination of organizational goals. Perrow's conception of technology includes two factors: the number of exceptions occurring in the work and the type of search process which these exceptions initiate (Perrow 1967). Although only one feature of technology i.e. routineness of work was measured in the present study, the evidence suggests that technology may play an important role with regard to the other dimensions of structure examined. As has been shown (see the discussion of routineness of work in Chapter IV), the type of technology characteristic of the two agencies appeared to constitute a meaningful explanatory factor in relation to the high degree of similarity in their task structures. This is not meant to imply a completely deterministic view of the role of technology with regard to

other structural dimensions. However, it seems reasonable to conclude that technology places certain constraints on other aspects of structure. The extent of possible variations within the limits imposed by particular technologies would appear to vary for the different aspects of structure included in this study. In the case of Workwin and Communitas technology appeared to have stronger links with their task structures but relatively weak links with their goals (as Perrow would predict).

In concluding the present discussion of both the shortcomings and significance of this case study of two social service agencies, a number of issues have emerged which suggest areas for future research. One issue which this research has not been able to clarify is the specification of the link between structure and client-orientations. The evidence here suggests that there may be a relationship between some dimensions of structure and particular orientations towards clients, but this is by no means clear-cut or conclusive. The question of whether or not there is indeed any relationship between organizational structure and orientations towards clients remains to be resolved. In addition, the association between specific structural dimensions and specific client-orientation variables needs to be examined.

An important lacuna in the research undertaken here lies in the failure to explore client perceptions of organizations in addition to the concrete relationships between organizations and their clientèle. This has been an underdeveloped area of study in the sociology of organizations.

To date, the client as a part of the organization has been either disregarded or overlooked to a great extent. Some time ago Parsons (1956) recognized the importance of the client in the role of organizational participant:

> an operative member of the service-providing organization... This taking of the customer into the organization has important implications for the nature of the organization. (Parsons 1956:)

Although the reference here was specifically to such organizations as hospitals, schools, and universities, this does not exhaust the range of organizations in which the client becomes an 'operative member' even though contact may be more limited and tenuous. The implications of this approach have not been fully explored with the most neglected factors being the nature of the organization's clientele and their perceptions of the organization with which they deal. Lefton and Rosengren (1966) have proposed a model of formal organizations which incorporates client characteristics as a major variable in explaining various aspects of organizational functioning. Their framework provides a number of hypotheses for further research in this area. It is the belief of this author that more attention must be focussed on clients if an adequate theory of client-serving organizations is to be developed.

APPENDIX A

The staff questionnaire was completed by all staff members of both Communitas and Workwin except for the agency directors in each case. Five aspects of organizational structure were defined as relevant to the focus of the research: the degree of centralization of authority, the extent to which the organization was formalized, the degree of routineness of work, intra-organizational communication, and the power base of the agency director.

Centralization

Hage and Aiken (1967, 1968) in their research on organizational structure in a number of health and welfare agencies have defined two aspects of centralization. One is the degree of participation by staff members in both organizational decisions and work-related decisions. The other is the extent to which staff relies on superordinates for social control or are allowed to make their own decisions about their work. In order to measure these two facets of centralization, Hage and Aiken devised an index of actual participation in decision-making and an index of hierarchy of authority. Some of the wording of their questions has been modified and some items dropped in the adaptation of these indices to the present

research. Questions 46, and 47 constitute the index of actual participation and questions 49, 52, and 55 make up the hierarchy of authority index. Very low participation of the staff in decision-making and a high degree of reliance on superiors for superiors for direction in their work would indicate a more highly centralized power structure approximating the bureaucratic hierarchy.

Formalization

Formalization is defined as the degree to which the norms of a social system are explicit (Price 1972). The work of Hage and Aiken (1969) has, again, been used as the basis for the measurement of this aspect of organizational structure. They include three factors in the analysis of formalization: rule observation refers to the extent to which the rules of the organization are enforced (question 51); job specificity (questions 54, 56, 57 and 59) indicates how concrete the job descriptions and procedure manual are; job codification (questions 50, 53, and 58) measures the extent to which staff members are allowed to make their own rules on the job. The basis for assessing these organizational characteristics is the staff members' perceptions of the degree to which they exist. An organization would be defined as highly formalized then if staff felt they were closely watched to see that they obeyed all the rules, and if their expected job activity was perceived as being strictly defined.

Routineness of Work

This index is taken from Hage and Aiken (1969). It provides a measurement of one aspect of technology following the work of Perrow (1967). Routineness of work essentially refers to the amount of variety in the work and includes questions 60 and 61. Again this is a perceptually based index which asks respondents to assess the degree to which their work is routine.

Communication

Communication is, simply, the transmission of information among the members of a social system. In organizations communication is necessary for the adequate performance of tasks involving coordination among various roles. There are several characteristics of communication which are relevant to the functioning of an organization. Georgopoulos and Mann (1962) in their study of communication among nurses in ten general hospitals have focussed on a number of these aspects. Their measurements have been adapted for use in the present research on two social service agencies. Questions 35 and 36 refer to the quantity of lateral or informal and vertical or formal communication respectively over a range of topics. Question 38 assesses the quality of formal communication and question 39 is directed towards the quality of informal communicatio. Quality specifically refers to the extent to which communication is task relevant i.e. the giving or

requesting of information, opinions, suggestions about work, and the degree to which it is oriented towards group maintenance i.e. through expressions of appreciation, approval, or disapproval. Question 37 is a measure of the total amount of vertical and lateral communication.

Power Base of the Director

The power base is the source of the director's ability to obtain performance from the staff members of the organization (Price 1972: 145). Individuals may respond to the direction of their organizational superiors for a number of reasons of which the superior's position in the hierarchy may not be the most important. The measurement of the director's power base used in this research is taken from the work of Bachman et al (1966, 1968). The index consists of a five-part question (question 40) in which the respondent is asked to rank the relative importance of each reason presented for doing what the director asks. Each reason stated refers to a different power base: referent power, expertise, reward, coercion, and legitimacy. In a bureaucratized organization the more important bases of power would be expected to be legitimate authority and the manipulation of rewards and sanctions.

The questionnaire was also designed to include items relating to the response of staff members to the organizational structure and their work. Three characteristics of staff attitudes were measured: the degree of alienation, the amount

of satisfaction, and the extent of job-related tension.

Alienation

Pearlin (1962), in a study of nursing personnel, employs a four-item index of alienation which he defines as "subjectively experienced powerlessness to control one's work activities". (p. 314) According to Pearlin, these items "also capture an overtone of resentment at being deprived by outside forces of greater control over one's own work" (p. 315). The alienation index is composed of questions 43, 44, 45, and 48. In a highly centralized and formalized organizational work setting staff members would be expected to be more likely to respond with greater feelings of alienation as defined by Pearlin.

Satisfaction

The state of the morale of staff members and how they feel about their jobs is, at least in part, a response to the structure of the organization. In this regard, a more bureaucratised structure is likely to be associated with lower job satisfaction (Blauner 1964). Questions 62 to 67 make up the index of job satisfaction. They have been adapted from two sources: a scale of job satisfaction (Brayfield and Rothe 1951) and a study of job involvement (Lodahl and Kejner 1965). Brayfield and Rothe present an eighteen-item questionnaire

containing statements describing "how people feel about different jobs" (p. 309). Questions 65, 66, 67 are taken from these. The job-involvement scale consists of 20 questionnaire items from which three (questions 62, 63, 64) were chosen.

Job-related tension

Job-related tension refers to the degree to which staff members 'feel bothered' by certain aspects of their work. Kahn et al (1964) in a study of organizational stress present an index for job-related tension which includes eighteen statements of 'things that sometimes bother people' (p. 424-425). Question 42 incorporates six of these items which seemed appropriate to the purposes of the present research. The statements chosen focus on two sources of job tension: ambiguity regarding the expectations concerning job performance and the conflict which exists around job expectations and the individual's felt ability to fulfill those expectations. To the extent that organizational structure is low in formalization and centralization a higher degree of job-related tension among the organization's staff would be expected (Rosengren 1964, White 1969).

The third group of items in the staff questionnaire were drawn up to provide a measurement of the orientations towards and perceptions of the client population with which the organization deals. Since no specific instruments for this purpose could be found in the related literature, these

questions were designed especially for this research. Guided largely by the work of Perrow, Lefton and Rosengren, and Hage and Aiken, the author isolated a number of dimensions with regard to clients which appeared relevant.

Laterality

Lefton and Rosengren (1966) define laterality as the "biographical space" of the client. Organizations differ in the amount of client biography in which they are interested. Similarly, there is great variation among organizations with regard to how relevant certain biographical aspects of clients are seen to be to the defined client problems. Question 15 focusses on the importance of different kinds of information about clients to the ability of staff members to provide 'help' for them.

'Complexity' of Clients

According to Perrow (1967) organizations approach the 'raw material' with which they work with varying definitions of its nature. One of the dimensions along which definitions may vary is with regard to the stability and variability of the raw material, i.e. whether it "can be treated in a standardized fashion or whether continual adjustment is necessary" (p. 197). Staff members were asked to what extent they agreed with statements describing clients as alike or different and

therefore requiring similar or individualized treatment (questions 11 and 19).

Investment of Organizational Resources in 'Successes'

Sjoberg et al (1966) have pointed out that client-centred bureaucracies tend to select and serve those clients who are most likely to ensure the organization's success according to the criterion of efficiency. Questions 10, 13, 18, and 20 contrast this orientation towards clients with the view that the agency's program can help all clients, not only a particular type of client, and that it is always wrong to 'give up' on a client.

'Professional' Objectivity versus Emotional Involvement

In White's (1969) analysis of client relations in the bureaucratic agency and its dialectical opposite he concludes that "a personal involvement rather than an objective-instrumental type relation would be characteristic of the non-bureaucratic client relation..." (p. 36). Three questions were included (questions 12, 17, 21) to assess the extent to which the staff of each organization regarded emotional involvement with clients to be important to the helping process in which they are engaged.

Social Distance

Merton's (1952) examination of the structural sources of the bureaucratic personality depicts the effects of bureaucracy on interactions with clients. The bureaucrat views clients as subordinates in an extension of the bureaucratic hierarchy to this relationship. The social distance between the incumbent of bureaucratic office and the client is, therefore, maximised. In order to assess the social distance between clients and workers in the two organizations under study, staff members were asked to indicate whether they had ever participated in a number of activities with clients. The activities listed were considered to represent differential degrees of social distance (questions 27, 28, 29, 30, 31).

Sanctions

Question 14 relates to the types of sanctions employed to control client behaviour in a situation in which this behaviour would interfere with the ongoing operations of the agency's program. The alternative response typify punitive, permissive, and normative reactions to such behaviour.

APPENDIX B

Scales

The indices constructed from the questionnaire items are based on response alternatives that form ordinal scales. Most of the questions have been designed to elicit answers in terms of four-point and five-point scales. Individual scores were derived from the means of the responses to items making up the indicators. The agency was assigned as score based on the mean of all individual scores in that organization. These mean scores yield an ordinal score for each agency. The indexes representing structural variables were assigned values so that the highest scores in each case indicate the greatest degree of bureaucratization.

Centralization:

I Actual participation in decision-making (questions 46 and 47)

Scores range from 1 for 'Always' (high participation) to 5 for 'Never' (low participation). The answers for each respondent are combined to produce an average score. The organizational score is the mean calculated from all individual scores.

II Hierarchy of authority (questions 49, 52, 55)

Scores range from 4 'Definitely true' to 1 'Definitely

false'. A high score indicates low autonomy in work decisions. Again, an average score for each respondent is arrived at and these are averaged to produce the agency's score.

Formalization

I Job codification (questions 50, 53, 58)

These questions are scored from 1 for 'Definitely true' to 4 for 'Definitely false'. A high degree of job codification would be represented by a score of 4. Individual means are the basis for the organizational scores.

II Rule observation (question 51)

This question is coded 4 for 'Definitely true' to 1 for 'Definitely false'. These extremes correspond to a low emphasis on obedience to rules and a high emphasis on obedience to rules respectively.

III Specificity of job (questions 54, 56, 57, 59)

The responses are scored 4 for 'Definitely true' to 1 for 'Definitely false' with greater job specificity being indicated by higher scores.

Routineness of Work (questions 60 and 61)

Score range from 1 for 'Definitely true' to 4 for 'Definitely false'. A high score on these questions represents

a high degree of routineness of work. Individual scores are averaged to produce the organizational score.

Power Base of the Director (question 40)

Respondents assign a rank from 1 to 5 indicating the order of importance to them of each of the reasons listed for doing the things the director of the program suggests. For convenience in interpretation of the scores the ranks have been reversed before computing the scores so that a high score indicates a greater degree of importance of that factor. Scores are based on the means for each of the reasons listed. These means are the organization's scores for each type of power base.

Communication

I Informal (questions 35 and 39)

All parts of both questions are scored from 1 for 'Never' to 5 for 'Very often'. The higher scores thus indicate greater frequency of the various kinds of communication. An average score for each type of communication is calculated from the individual responses. This mean is the organizational score.

II Formal (questions 36 and 38)

A Score of 5 represents the highest frequency, 'Very often', and the lowest frequency of each type of communication is scored 1 ('Never'). The organization's

score is the mean of the individual scores for each of the kinds of communication listed.

Alienation (questions 43, 44, 45, 48)

Each of the responses which indicate no alienation are scored 0 and the 'alienated' responses are scored 1. Thus the scoring for question 43 is (0) 'Never', (0) 'Once in a while', (0) 'Rather often', and (1) 'very often', question 44: (0) 'A lot', (0) 'Some', (1) 'Very little', and (1) 'Almost none', question 45: (1) 'Almost never', (1) 'Once in a while', (0) 'Rather often', and (0) 'Very often', question 48: (1) 'Agree', (0) 'Disagree'. Response scores for each individual were totalled and the organizational score was represented by the mean of these scores for each agency.

Satisfaction (questions 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67)

All items are scored from 4 ('Definitely true') to 1 ('Definitely false') the higher scores thus indicating greater satisfaction. The answers for each respondent were totalled to produce the individual scores. The agency's score was represented by the mean of the individual scores. The satisfaction scale therefore has a range of 4 to 24.

Job-related Tension (question 42)

The response alternatives for each part of this question

were assigned coding values of 1 for 'Never' to 5 for 'Nearly all the time'. The tension-score for each individual was obtained by summing the responses over all items. The organizational score was derived from the mean of the individual scores. The range of the scale of job-related tension is 6 to 30 with higher scores indicating a higher degree of tension.

'Complexity' of Clients (questions 11 and 19)

Responses for these questions were scored from 1 for 'Strongly Agree' to 4 for 'Strongly Disagree'. The scores for each respondent were totalled then divided by the number of respondents in each organization to produce the organizational score. This yielded a scale ranging from 2 for low client complexity to 8 for high client complexity.

Investment of Organizational Resources in 'Successes' (questions 10, 13, 18, 20)

Response alternatives were coded 1 for 'Strongly Disagree' to 4 for 'Strongly Agree'. The higher scores therefore represent a greater extension of continual help to clients and a lesser tendency to invest organizational resources in those clients defined as likely to be most successful. The total score for each respondent to the four questions was summed for all respondents in each agency and the organizational score is the mean of these totals. The scale for this dimension of client orientation ranges from 4, minimal extension of continual

help, to 16, maximum extension of continual help to clients.

'Professional' Objectivity versus Emotional Involvement (questions 12, 17, and 21)

Possible answers to these questions were scored from 1 indicating low emotional involvement with clients to 4 for high involvement. The organizational score was based on the mean of the individual totals for the three items. The potential range for organizational scores is from 3 to 12 with the higher score signifying greater emotional involvement.

Social Distance (questions 27, 28, 29, 30, and 31)

Each of these questions was answered by a simple 'Yes' or 'No' alternative. By comparing the frequency of 'yesses' and 'noes' for each item in both organizations the yes answers were assigned different weights for each question (excluding 27b). A 'Yes' response to question 27a and 31 was coded in each case as equivalent to a score of 1, to question 29 a score of 2, to 28 a score of 3, and to 29 a score of 4. Increasing weight was given to 'yes' answers for items which were judged to represent decreasing levels of social distance between staff and clients. The scores for each respondent were totalled for all five questions. The mean score for each agency was calculated to give the organizational score. This scale has a range of 0, representing high social distance, to 11.

APPENDIX C

Complexity Scale

Hage and Aiken (1968) define complexity as the degree of "diversity of activities". There are two aspects to the question of how complex the organization is: the extent to which there is a high number of different types of occupational activities in the organization and the degree of professionalization of the staff. The assessment of the complexity of the two client-serving organizations studied was based on the procedures used by Hage and Aiken although their method of calculating the number of occupational activities has been somewhat modified here.

Occupational Activities:

Hage and Aiken asked respondents to describe what they did and this was coded according to the kind of professional activity and whether it was a specialty. The procedure used in the present study was to ask staff members what they did and then assess the number of different occupational activities on the basis of this regardless of whether they were 'professional activities' or 'specialties', e.g. in one agency a staff member reported that he was a truck driver which cannot be considered as a professional activity nor a specialty

in the sense in which Hage and Aiken use the terms. It is, however, a separate occupational activity in that organization. This method of assessing complexity is more closely related to the division of labour which exists in the two agencies.

Degree of Professionalization:

Following Hage and Aiken, the degree of professionalization was computed on the basis of the extent and type of education of the organization's staff. This was coded as: a score of 0 for high school graduates or less education with no professional training, a score of 1 for high school graduates or less but with some other professional training, a score of 2 for those with some college or a college degree but no other professional training, a score of 3 for some college education or a college degree plus other professional training, a score of 4 for training beyond a college degree but no other professional training, and a score of 5 for training beyond a college degree and other professional training.

APPENDIX D

Index of Formalization

An index of formalization based on the documents used by the organization was derived from the index devised by Inkson et al (1970). Their schemat for the analysis of documents is designed specifically to provide an indicator for the extent of formalization of the role definitions of staff members in industrial organizations. Some of their items have been modified or deleted in order to make their instrument applicable to client-serving organizations. Inkson et al assess formalization on the basis of whether certain documents are available accompanied by the explanation:

> The question is whether documents are available irrespective of whether they are actually used. A document is, at minimum, a single pice of paper with printed, typed, or otherwise reproduced content - not handwritten. Several copies of the same piece of paper may each score as separate documents if used for separate purposes (e.g. organization A may score 3 for unrelated pieces of paper while Organization B may score 3 for a docket of carbon copies, each of which is detached for a particular purpose.

Following is the list of documents used for the present study and the method of scoring these documents.

1. Written contracts of employment: score 0 if none exist and score 1 if written contracts do exist.

2. Information booklets (covers a general topic or topics such as employment conditions or safety. It is not specific to a particular job but may be specific to a topic): score 0 if no booklets exist, 1 for one booklet, 2 for 2 booklets, 3 for 3 booklets, and 4 for 4 or more booklets.
3. Which categories of employees are given booklets? Score 0 for none, 1 for few employees, 2 for many employees, and 3 for all employees being given information booklets.
4. Organization chart: score 0 if there is none and 1 if one exists.
5. Written operating instructions available to the worker: score 0 for none and 1 if these do exist.
6. Written terms of reference or job descriptions: score 0 if none exist and 1 for the existence of such documents.
7. Manual of procedures: score 0 for none and 1 for the existence of a procedures manual.
8. Written statement of policies: score 0 if none exist and 1 if it does exist.
9. Written workflow schedule or program: score 0 for none and score 1 where it does exist.
10. Written research program and/or research reports: score 0 for none otherwise score 1.

The scores for each organization are then totalled to provide the organizational score for formalization.

APPENDIX E

The questionnaire which you have been asked to complete is an attempt to find out how the staff members of this organization see their relationships with clients and with other staff members as well as how they see the organization as a whole. Your answers will be treated anonymously and will be considered confidential information. The questionnaire should take approximately one hour to complete. If you have any questions about it or desire clarification of any items please feel free to see me about any difficulties you may have.

Thank you for your co-operation.

Jane Campbell

1. What is your particular position or job title in this program?

2. What are your specific responsibilities and duties in the program? Please describe these briefly.

3. How long have you worked here? Please give your answer in terms of years and/or months.

4. Could you briefly describe the nature and extent of your previous work experience in terms of the type(s) of work you have done and the length of time involved in each?

5. What is the highest level of formal education you have obtained?

6. Who is your immediate supervisor in this organization?

7. What is his/her job title?

8. What is the main purpose of this program as you see it?

9. In order that we can better understand the nature of your work and the kinds of client problems you encounter, would you describe for us an "average" client? (i.e. a composite picture based on the most common characteristics of the clients with whom you have been involved).

Please indicate your reaction to each of the following statements by circling the appropriate category which best describes how you feel about them.

10. A program like this can help everyone who wants to participate in it.

Strongly agree
Agree
Disagree
Strongly disagree

11. Every client is different really. Each has different problems and needs and, therefore, requires treatment designed to suit his/her individual situation.

Strongly agree
Agree
Disagree
Strongly disagree

12. In this type of work, it is important not to become emotionally involved with clients.

Strongly agree
Agree
Disagree
Strongly disagree

13. All clients can be helped. It is always a mistake to "give up" on a client.

Strongly agree

Agree
Disagree
Strongly disagree

14. The best way to deal with a client who is disrupting the program and disturbing other people is by:

    a) Requiring the client to leave the program.

    b) Telling the client that the behaviour must stop or he/she will be asked to leave temporarily.

    c) Ignoring the behaviour and carrying on as usual.

    d) Explaining to the client that he/she is disturbing others.

    e) Treating the behaviour as symptomatic of some underlying problem and attempting to get at the basis of it through counselling.

15. How important, in your opinion, are the following kinds of information in your ability to help a client/student?

    a) Information about the client's family life

    Very important
    Somewhat important
    Somewhat unimportant
    Very unimportant

    b) Information about the client's contact with other agencies or insitutions.

    Very important
    Somewhat important
    Somewhat unimportant
    Very unimportant

    c) Information about the client's education and/or job-related experience.

    Very important
    Somewhat important
    Somewhat unimportant
    Very unimportant

    d) Information about the client's aspirations, attitudes and feelings about his/her situation.

    Very important
    Somewhat important
    Somewhat unimportant
    Very unimportant

16. How important are each of the following as sources of information about a client?

    a) the client's family

    Very important
    Somewhat important
    Somewhat unimportant
    Very unimportant

    b) Other agencies or institutions with which the client has had contact.

    Very important
    Somewhat important
    Somewhat unimportant
    Very unimportant

What is your reaction to each of the following statements?

17. In order to help clients effectively the worker cannot remain emotionally detached from them.

    Strongly agree
    Agree
    Disagree
    Strongly disagree

18. It is only realistic to recognize that some clients cannot be helped and our efforts would be better spent on others who can be.

    Strongly agree
    Agree
    Disagree
    Strongly disagree

19. All clients are essentially alike. They have the same kinds of problems and needs and require the same sort of treatment.

    Strongly agree
    Agree
    Disagree
    Strongly disagree

20. This program is probably best suited to and most helpful for a particular type of client.

    Strongly agree
    Agree
    Disagree
    Strongly disagree

21. Objectivity in relationships between worker and client or teacher and student is an important element in the helping process.

Strongly agree
Agree
Disagree
Strongly disagree

22. If you have a problem concerning a particular client or want some advice on how to deal with a situation involving a client, whom would you approach for help in this regard? Why?

23. Whom would you be least likely to consult with over this matter? Why?

24. If you have a personal problem that you would like to discuss with someone to whom, in this organization, would you talk? Why?

25. To whom would you be least likely to talk about a personal problem? Why?

26. Do you see any of the staff members of this organization socially outside of working hours? If so, whom do you see?

27. a) Have you ever discussed your own personal experiences with a client as a means of helping a client who is in a similar situation?

Yes
No

b) Has discussing your own problem(s) in this way helped you personally?

Yes
No

28. Have you ever invited a client/student to your home?

Yes
No

29. Have you ever gone to a client's/student's home on invitation?

Yes
No

30. Have you ever associated with clients/students socially after working hours?

Yes
No

31. Have you ever gone out to lunch with clients/students during the working day?

Yes
No

32. a) How often are staff meetings held which include all the staff members of the program?

Less often than once a month
Once a month
Twice a month
Weekly
More often than weekly

b) Are these meetings held on

(i) a regular planned basis?
(ii) only whenever a situation arises which requires such a meeting?

33. To what extent are staff meetings used to discuss how individual clients might be helped?

To a very little extent
To a little extent
To some extent
To a great extent
To a very great extent

34. To what extent are staff meetings used to evaluate the program as a whole and to discuss or decide on policies and changes regarding the program?

To a very little extent
To a little extent
To some extent
To a great extent
To a very great extent

35. How often do you discuss each of the following topics with <u>other staff members</u>?

a) Ways in which the program could be improved or made more relevant to participating clients?

Very often

Rather often
Sometimes
Rarely
Never

b) Ways to deal with specific problems you are having with particular clients

Very often
Rather often
Sometimes
Rarely
Never

c) Ways in which satisfaction or morale of the staff could be improved

Very often
Rather often
Sometimes
Rarely
Never

d) Ways in which hours, promotion opportunities, salaries, or employee benefits could be improved

Very often
Rather often
Sometimes
Rarely
Never

e) Ways in which worker/client relationships, in general, could be improved

Very often
Rather often
Sometimes
Rarely
Never

f) Ways in which relations between this organization and other community agencies could be improved

Very often
Rather often
Sometimes
Rarely
Never

g) Things, people, events unrelated to work.

Very often

Rather often
Sometimes
Rarely
Never

36. How often do you discuss each of the following topics with the director of the program?

a) Ways in which the program could be improved or made more relevant to participating clients?

Very often
Rather often
Sometimes
Rarely
Never

b) Ways to deal with specific problems you are having with particular clients

Very often
Rather often
Sometimes
Rarely
Never

c) Ways in which satisfaction or morale of the staff could be improved

Very often
Rather often
Sometimes
Rarely
Never

d) Ways in which hours, promotion opportunities, salaries, or employee benefits could be improved

Very often
Rather often
Sometimes
Rarely
Never

e) Ways in which worker/client relationships, in general, could be improved

Very often
Rather often
Sometimes
Rarely
Never

f) Ways in which relations between this organization and other community agencies could be improved

Very often
Rather often
Sometimes
Rarely
Never

g) Things, people, events unrelated to work

Very often
Rather often
Sometimes
Rarely
Never

37. Approximately what proportion of your time would you estimate is spent in discussion with

a) other staff members?
b) the program director?

38. How often do you receive each of the following kinds of feedback <u>from your supervisor</u>?

a) Appreciation of your efforts or expressions of confidence in your abilities

Very often
Rather often
Sometimes
Rarely
Never

b) Directions or orders about what you should do

Very often
Rather often
Sometimes
Rarely
Never

c) Explanations, information, or suggestions related to your work

Very often
Rather often
Sometimes
Rarely
Never

d) Requests for suggestions or opinions from you about new ways of doing things

Very often
Rather often
Sometimes
Rarely
Never

e) Requests for information or explanations from you about your work

Very often
Rather often
Sometimes
Rarely
Never

f) Criticisms or refusals to help

Very often
Rather often
Sometimes
Rarely
Never

39. How often do you receive each of the following kinds of feedback <u>from your fellow staff members</u>?

a) Appreciation of your efforts or expressions of confidence in your abilities

Very often
Rather often
Sometimes
Rarely
Never

b) Directions or orders about what you should do

Very often
Rather often
Sometimes
Rarely
Never

c) Explanations, information, or suggestions related to your work

Very often
Rather often
Sometimes
Rarely
Never

d) Requests for suggestions or opinions from you about new ways of doing things

Very often
Rather often
Sometimes
Rarely
Never

e) Requests for information or explanations from you about your work

Very often
Rather often
Sometimes
Rarely
Never

f) Criticisms or refusals to help

Very often
Rather often
Sometimes
Rarely
Never

40. Listed below are five reasons generally given by people when they are asked why they do the things the person in charge suggests or wants them to. Please read all five carefully, then number them according to their importance to you as reasons for doing the things the director of the program suggests or wants you to do. Give rank "1" to the most important factor, "2" to the next, and so on.

a) I respect the director personally, and want to act in a way that merits his/her respect and admiration.

b) I respect the director's competence and judgement about things with which he/she is more experienced than I.

c) The director can give special help and benefits to those who cooperate with him/her.

d) The director can apply pressure or penalize those who do not cooperate.

e) The director has a legitimate right, considering his/her position, to expect that his/her suggestions will be carried out.

41. What is the main purpose of the program as you think <u>the director</u> sees it?

42. All of us occasionally feel bothered by certain kinds of things in our work. Can you indicate how frequently you feel bothered by any of these commonly mentioned problems?

a) Being unclear on just what the scope and responsibilities of your job are

Nearly all the time
Rather often
Sometimes
Rarely
Never

b) Feeling that you have too little authority to carry out the responsibilities assigned to you

Nearly all the time
Rather often
Sometimes
Rarely
Never

c) Thinking that you won't be able to satisfy the conflicting demands of various persons over you

Nearly all the time
Rather often
Sometimes
Rarely
Never

d) Feeling that you're not fully qualified to handle your job

Nearly all the time
Rather often
Sometimes
Rarely
Never

e) Feeling that you can't get the information needed to carry out your job

Nearly all the time
Rather often
Sometimes
Rarely
Never

f) Feeling that the commitment which is expected of you is too great to meet

Nearly all the time
Rather often
Sometimes
Rarely
Never

43. How often do you do things in your work that you wouldn't otherwise do if it were up to you?

Never
Once in a while
Rather often
Very often

44. How much say or influence do you feel you have on the way the program is run?

A lot
Some
Very little
Almost none

45. How often do you tell the person in charge of the program you own ideas about things you might do in your work?

Almost never
Once in a while
Rather often
Very often

46. How frequently do you usually participate in the decision to hire new staff for the program?

Never
Seldom
Sometimes
Often
Always
There have been no new staff members hired since I have been here.

47. How frequently do you participate in decisions on the adoption of new policies and programs?

Never
Seldom
Sometimes
Often
Always

Please indicate how you feel about each of the following statements by circling the appropriate categories.

48. Around here, it's not important how much you know; it's who you know that really counts.

Agree
Disagree

49. There can be little action taken here until my supervisor approves a decision.

Definitely true
Somewhat true
Somewhat false
Definitely false

50. Most people in positions like mine in this organization make their own rules on the job.

Definitely true
Somewhat true
Somewhat false
Definitely false

51. Around here, people in positions like mine feel as though they are constantly being monitored to see that they obey all the rules.

Definitely true
Somewhat true
Somewhat false
Definitely false

52. People who want to make their own decisions would be quickly discouraged here.

Definitely true
Somewhat true
Somewhat false
Definitely false

53. I feel that I am my own boss in most matters.

Definitely true
Somewhat true
Somewhat false
Definitely false

54. Whatever situation arises, we have procedures to follow in dealing with it.

Definitely true
Somewhat true
Somewhat false
Definitely false

55. I have to ask my supervisor before I do almost anything.

Definitely true
Somewhat true
Somewhat false
Definitely false

56. Whenever we have a problem we are supposed to go to the same person for an answer.

Definitely true
Somewhat true
Somewhat false
Definitely false

57. Everyone here has a specific job to do.

Definitely true
Somewhat true
Somewhat false
Definitely false

58. How things are done around here is left pretty much up to the person doing the work.

Definitely true
Somewhat true
Somewhat false
Definitely false

59. The organization keeps a written record of the job performance of all staff members.

Definitely true
Somewhat true
Somewhat false
Definitely false

60. One thing people like around here is the variety of work.

Definitely true
Somewhat true
Somewhat false
Definitely false

61. There is something different to do every day in my job.

Definitely true
Somewhat true
Somewhat false
Definitely false

62. The major satisfaction in my life comes from my job.

Strongly agree
Agree
Disagree
Strongly disagree

63. I am very much involved personally in my work.

Strongly agree
Agree
Disagree
Strongly disagree

64. Most things in life are more important than work.

Strongly agree
Agree
Disagree
Strongly disagree

65. My job is usually interesting enough to keep me from getting bored.

Strongly agree
Agree
Disagree
Strongly disagree

66. I enjoy my work more than my leisure time.

Strongly agree
Agree
Disagree
Strongly disagree

67. I feel that I am happier in my work than most other people.

Strongly agree
Agree
Disagree
Strongly disagree

68. Would you please indicate your age and sex below?

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