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Contradictions in Public Policy: Interagency Collaboration

and Bureaucratic Organization

by

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ABSTRACT

The general purpose of the study is to generate knowledge about the trend interagency collaboration in the bureaucratic organization of social policy. The trend is taken as a contradiction in as much as interagency collaboration conflicts with the division of labour and system boundaries that maintain bureaucratic organization. The contradiction is addressed according to characteristics of bureaucratic organization (hierarchy, specialization, standardization, and formalization) which are combined with radical humanist and radical structuralist approaches to analysis to constitute the conceptual framework to meet three objectives: 1. to describe an example of interagency collaboration and bureaucratic organization, 2. to describe contradictions for the intent of interagency collaboration in the bureaucratic organization of social policy and 3. to conceptualize the challenges and implications for social policy as a process of interest, articulation and practice. The example utilized in the study is Opening Doors: Collaborative Services for Children and Families in Calgary, Alberta with a focus on the period June 1993 to June 1994 when the collaborative endeavor was linked to the Alberta Government Interdepartmental 'Coordination of Service's for Children Initiative.' The contradictions for interagency collaboration are: 1. focus on person and process versus immobilization by a high tolerance for confusing directives; 2. cooperative values in a common culture versus lack of recognition because of "complexities"; 3. defining needs in the community qualitatively versus devolution of governmental responsibility; 4. experience of interdependence versus degradation of professional skills and knowledge; 5. allow high needs/high risk clients to define services versus displaced consequences for inadequate public policy; 6. build trust through relationship building versus assuming that silence is consent; and 8. solve problems by visioning versus intra-class conflict within the middle class. The challenges and implications indicate guides to knowledge and

action: 1. develop and maintain a dictionary of terms; 2. link to national and international organizations; 3. broaden needs identification process and sources; 4. articulate professional ethics; 5. maintain cross-disciplinary inclusive collaboration; 6. develop standards for distinguishing social problems and personal problems; 7. link goals and procedures; and 8. share information about discretionary practices.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

DEDICATION

To the Monuk sisters - Mary, Anastasia, and Pearl - and to my Father who loved all of their children.

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Nature of the Study

Public policy promoting interagency collaboration among bureaucratic organizations

providing education, health, and social services is a trend intended to enhance

effectiveness in ameliorating problems experienced by children and families, and to

enhance efficient use of fiscal resources required for maintaining schools and providing

health care and social services (Swan and Morgan, 1993, p. 3; Government of Alberta,

Coordination of Services for Children, Terms of Reference, 1992 ; McCarthy, 1989;

Ismael and Vaillancourt, 1988). The dual notion of effectiveness and efficiency is not

inconsistent with the foundations of the Weberian bureaucratic model (Clegg, 1990; Fay,

1987; Perrow, 1986) within which two operational elements are: division of labour and

system boundary (Boyd, 1991; Braverman, 1974). However, these operational elements

conflict with the notion of interagency collaboration which implies collapsing division of

labour and system boundaries via

> " . . . teamwork, mutual planning, shared ownership of problems,
> shared vision of goals, adjustment of policies and procedures,
> integration of ideas, synchronization of activities and timelines,
> contribution of resources, joint evaluation, and mutual satisfaction
> and pride of accomplishment in providing quality and a comprehensive
> delivery system." (Swan and Morgan, p. 22)

While "division of labour" in bureaucratic organization specifies limits to tasks

performed (Braverman, 1974, pp. 70-73) according to areas of expertise or level of

authority, interagency collaboration potentially reduces "visibility of individual experts . .

. through loss of autonomous practice domains" (Eldridge, 1986, p. 497) and

correspondingly, there is increased interdependence among actors. While system

boundaries self-preserve bureaucratic organizations integrating " . . . the needs of

organizations and the needs of individuals performing roles within organizations (Boyd,

1991, p.9) ensuring what Clegg (1990, p. 51) calls "distinctive survival", interagency

collaboration potentially threatens system boundaries of bureaucratic organizations

through primary accountability on the part of the individual to a cross-organization or

interdisciplinary team (Eldridge), and secondary accountability to the respective parent

bureaucratic organization, thereby, separating individual needs and the needs of

bureaucratic organization. Table 1. summarizes the contradiction between bureaucratic

organization and interagency collaboration in respect to division of labour and system

boundaries.

Table 1.
Comparison of Division of Labour and System Boundaries for Bureaucratic Organization and for
Interagency Collaboration Among Bureaucratic Organizations

	Bureaucratic Organization	Interagency Collaboration among Bureaucratic Organizations
Division of Labour	Promotes role autonomy.	Promotes role interdependence.
System Boundaries	Promotes integration of individual needs and organizational needs.	Promotes separation of individual needs and organizational needs.

Although interagency collaboration among bureaucratic organizations is intended to

enhance efficiency and effectiveness, it undermines the operational elements of

bureaucratic organization that enhance efficiency and effectiveness - division of labour

and system boundaries. While bureaucratic organization maintains efficiency and

effectiveness through role autonomy and integrating the needs of individuals and the

needs of the bureaucratic organization, interagency collaboration among bureaucratic organizations suggests role interdependence, and separation of individual and organizational needs as individual needs are met in the cross-bureaucratic team. The contradiction can be said to be a representation of what Marris' (1987) refers to as a "bewilderment between meaning and action" in social policy.

Marris (p. 120) attributes "bewilderment of meaning and action" in social policy to a paradigm shift away from liberalism toward an emerging paradigm within which government "cannot respond within the framework of its own ideology" (p. 126). For the purposes of his analysis Marris defines a paradigm as " . . . a set of assumptions about the scope, method and purpose of a particular science, which determines its questions, the nature of its evidence and its principles of interpretation." When a paradigm breaks down "latent contradictions become manifest and anomalies accumulate" (Marris, 1987).

> "A dominant paradigm represents . . . . the ability to ground
> action on a coherent sense of purpose and bring all relevant
> knowledge to bear on an issue. Once it disintegrates policies
> become more impulsive, opportunistic and vulnerable to
> intellectual or ideological fads - and being less coherent
> and consistent, are likely to be cumulatively less successful,
> on their own terms, and to teach less by their failures." (p. 128)

The relative stability of the liberal paradigm of social policy required " . . . the continual adjustment of taxation and public spending, which at once counteracted economic fluctuations by manipulating levels of profit and demand, and determined resources available for distribution (p. 122)." With the emergence of economic globalization, the nation state is less able to "adjust" taxation and public spending to counteract the effect of economic fluctuations beyond the nation state in the global market system. For what was once an adaptable mixed economy in terms of balancing a free market system with social

spending, the nation state is now confronted with diminishing access to revenue through taxation but in the meantime public expenditure is committed to such as education, health and social services which are "increasingly difficult to sustain". The dilemma demands that the emerging paradigm provides a new set of principles to replace liberalism, but, as Marris suggests, dissolution of the paradigm is not a "clear-cut" event.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of the study is to generate knowledge about the dissolution of the liberal paradigm of social policy. The focus of the study is on contradictions between the intent of interagency collaboration and the effect of bureaucratic organization on interagency collaboration. Three objectives guide the study and the study design.

1. To describe an example of interagency collaboration among bureaucratic organizations.

2. To describe the contradictions between the intent of interagency collaboration and the effect of bureaucratic organizations, utilizing the example described for meeting Objective 1.

3. To conceptualize the challenges and implications for social policy.

The next section describes the significance of the study.

Significance

Knowledge about the impact of economic globalization as a paradigm shift in social policy in which there are contradictions between the intent of interagency collaboration and the effect of bureaucratic organization will contribute to knowledge about the

capacity to shape social policy. Bowe, Ball and Gold in *Reforming Education and Changing Schools* (1992, pp. 19-23) present a framework that assumes a continuous cycle of three main components of shaping social policy referred to as 'contexts': the context of influence, the context of policy text production, and the context of practice. [1] Each context consists of a "number of arenas of action . . ." that frames the significance of the study, which is elaborated in Chapter Six: Challenges and Implications for Social Policy as a Process of Interest, Articulation, and Practice.

First, the context of influence refers to interests from which public policy is normally initiated. Bowe, Ball and Gold propose that narrow interests "struggle to influence the definition and social purpose of education" (p. 20). The study is significant in light of what Tupper, Pratt and Urquhart (p. 61) refer to as the growing "wedge between the government" and public service workers in Alberta's unstable economy" (p.34) Knowledge generated in the study will contribute to understanding the changing role of interests, such as public service workers, in influencing social policy.

Second, the context of policy text production refers to the various textual representations of policy. These may include: official legal texts and policy documents, formally and informally produced commentaries, and speeches and public performances of relevant

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1. Bowe, Ball and Gold (p. 19) " This is the development of an earlier formulation in which . . . the contexts were labeled intended, actual and policy-in-use. we have broken away from this formulation because the language introduced a rigidity we did not want to imply, e.g. there are many competing intentions that struggle for influence, not only one "intention" and "actual" seemed to us to signal a frozen text, quite the opposite to how we wanted to characterize this aspect of the policy process."

politicians and officials. Bowe, Ball and Gold (p. 21) contend that these various forms of representation reflect competition among ". . . groups of actors working within different sites of text production" to control the meaning of policy. In *Klein Kuts and Kontrol in Alberta* (1994, unpublished) Hesch refers to the "rhetoric of choice" in dismantling the "state's responsibility to provide education" while moving toward "the principle of market liberalism applied to education." The study contributes to developing conceptual tools for identifying and differentiating policy text representations that are more rhetorical than substantive.

Third, the context of practice refers to the arena in which policy is "received and implemented" (p. 22). Meaning is attached to policy according to the "histories, experiences, values, purposes and interest" of practitioners beyond the control of both policy-initiators or policy text producers. In *Case Critical* (1992) Carniol refers to the increasing pressure on social workers to confront whether they are agents of social change or agents of social control in an era of increasing poverty and unemployment coupled with reductions in spending on social benefits. Knowledge generated in the study will contribute to understanding the proclivities of practitioners of social policy to represent state control mechanisms or to represent the needs of those they serve.

The context of influence, the context of policy text, and the context of practice frame the significance of the study which is further elaborated in Chapter Six: "Challenges and Implications for Social Policy As A Process of Interest, Articulation and Practice" and in Chapter Eight: Conclusions, and Directions for Further Study". The next section "Background" provides information on the trend of interagency collaboration among bureaucratic organizations.

Background

The current trend toward interagency collaboration in the provision of public services is a phenomenon in Western capitalist countries. In Scotland the term 'community enterprise initiatives' refers to a broad spectrum of initiatives with public and private sectors collaborating as partners in prioritizing social and economic development according to local needs (McMichael, P., B. Lynch and D. Wight, 1990). The North American experience excludes such a link between social and economic development. However there is evidence that interagency collaboration is becoming equivocated with efficiency and effectiveness in the administration of social policy. In the foreword to *Collaborating for Comprehensive Services for Young Children* (Swan and Morgan, 1993) Nancy L. Peterson, Chairperson, Kansas Interagency Coordinating Council for Early Childhood Development Services, summarizes recent American experience.

> "Interagency collaboration and services coordination are topics
> that have had considerable attention over the past 2 decades. The
> late 1970s brought a recognition of the necessity for better
> collaboration between human services and education agencies . . . .
> . . The 1980s were an era of advocacy for collaboration. From this
> decade came federal policies and legislation that now move us to
> take action. Interagency collaboration shifted from being an intriguing
> topic of discussion to a perceived 'necessity' for state and local agencies
> that traditionally worked in isolation from one another. . . . . . . The
> 1990s are now the decade for making coordinated interagency service
> delivery a reality."

While the 1980s spawned policies and legislation for interagency collaboration in the United States, Canadian public policy and legislative initiatives on interagency collaboration appear to be escalating in the 1990s. In reference to the Canadian experience, Hanne Mawhinney refers to the trend as "a ground swell of interest in holistic approaches to overcoming structural barriers to the integration of services for children

and youth" (Mawhinney, 1993. p.1). In Alberta, the 'ground swell' is attributed to a variety of intents.

On the one hand, according to an information circular by the Alberta Education Response Centre (April 1993) intended benefits can be said to be outcome-based. They include: improved accessibility of services, reduced fragmentation and duplication, increased staff effectiveness, improved organizational efficiency, and improved public relations.

On the other hand, intended benefits are described in more global terms in the Alberta government document "An Administrative Guide: Educating Students with Special Needs".

> "Why collaborate?
> Agencies and organizations working together can bring about worth-
> while community action. Schools and community agencies have been
> collaborating in various ways for many years. However, the concept
> has been reborn due to social and economic conditions that are here
> to stay. Today we recognize the problems facing students and families
> as community problems that require community solutions. Interagency
> collaboration has become a necessity indicative of our changing times
> and our global focus on integration rather than isolation."
> (Alberta Education, Alberta Education Response Centre, draft, March 26, 1993)

In 1992 an Alberta Ministerial directive initiated the establishment of interdepartmental committees between Health, Justice, Education and Family Social Services: the "Assistant Deputy Minister's Committee" and the "Interdepartmental Officials' Committee" (Appendices C. and D.) for the purposes of developing a framework for integrated services. Independently, in the same year, the local Calgary School-Agency Collaboration Project Steering Committee (see Appendix B.) commissioned two studies: the Thomas Study and "Opening Doors: A Review of School-Agency Collaboration".

The studies concluded that "interagency collaboration promises a more effective and efficient approach . ." (Opening Doors: A Review of Interagency Collaboration, November 1992). From the initiating committee and the two studies, Opening Doors: Collaborative Services for Children and Families was spawned, which is the example of interagency collaboration utilized in the study in Calgary, Alberta. Opening Doors, which evolved over time, has its roots in 1991.

Calgary Opening Doors Initiative

In 1991 Alberta Education and the Calgary Board of Education struck a committee to engage in discussions about high needs schools. These discussions led to a decision to expand the committee and to explore the scope of and potential for interagency collaboration in ameliorating problems experienced by children and their families in high needs schools. Plans for the exploration were foundational to a series of developments that transpired over a three year period (Appendix A.). By 1992 the Committee expanded to include eight agencies: Alberta Alcohol and Drug Abuse Commission, Alberta Education, Alberta Family and Social Services, Alberta Mental Health, Calgary Board of Education, Calgary Roman Catholic Board of Education, Calgary Health Services and City Social Services (Appendix B.). The Committee then undertook to

> " . . . . implement an exploratory study of interagency collaboration
> in a selected elementary school within the Calgary Board of Education.
> The intention was to identify general characteristics of collaboration which
> may be applied to other school settings" (Opening Doors: A Review of
> School-Agency Collaboration, November 1992).

A subsequent review of the literature attempted to answer: what does collaboration mean? What are the benefits? What are the characteristics? What are the factors affecting collaboration? Should schools be the entry point for delivery of services to students? What does collaboration among agencies look like in a school setting?

By December 1992 the interagency steering committee overseeing the studies had successfully organized a meeting with senior leadership of respective agencies to gain support for developing a model for "improved coordination of services to children." This meeting was followed by a meeting two months later in February 1993 with front-line workers "to obtain input in the development of a service delivery model."

Coincidentally the provincial government, at the Assistant Deputy Minister level, was simultaneously targeting five pilot sites to implement the "Coordinated Services for Children Initiative" to be overseen by the Interdepartmental Officials' Committee (Appendix C.) By June 1993 the Calgary-based steering committee was inducted as one of the five sites. By early January 1994 a specific community, the Huntington Hills Community, was engaged to implement the model developed by the steering committee which by then was formally named "Opening Doors: Collaborative Services for Children and Families." The developments from 1993 to 1994 constitute the example of interagency collaboration and bureaucratic organization for the purposes of the study. The next section describes the theoretical framework for the study.

Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework for the study is drawn from the Weberian model of bureaucratic organization. The framework is useful in that it specifies characteristics of bureaucratic organization that explain how the division of labour limits tasks performed and hence promotes role autonomy and how bureaucratic organization is self-preserving through integrating individual needs and organizational needs. The characteristics are: hierarchy, specialization, standardization and formalization (Perrow, 1986 p. 260).[2]

First, in reference to hierarchy, Downey (1988) in *Policy Analysis in Education* describes a top-down structure of elements: governance, management, and service (p.25). The hierarchy is evident in health and social services as well as in education. Perrow (1986, p. 47) calls the hierarchy a "hierarchy of offices, with each office under the control of another one." Through control, hierarchy limits tasks performed and serves to self-preserve bureaucracies For example, governance can be understood as control at the provincial ministerial level in education, health or social services; each ministry controls respective management levels that may be a local board of trustees in the case of schools, a regional board in the case of health, or a district office in the case of social services. The service level of the hierarchy is the local school, health clinic or 'front-line' social service office. which is directly controlled by management. For the purposes of the

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[2]. In a discussion of the "basic Weberian model" Perrow (p.47-48) refers to three groups of characteristics: 1. the structure and function of the organization, 2. rewards, and 3. protection of the rights of individuals. For the purposes of the discussion in this study it is only the first group "structure and function" that is addressed for its relevance within the limitations of the study. A subsequent study of interagency collaboration may utilize the latter groups of characteristics.

study, "hierarchy' is assumed to be a mechanism of top-down control in the bureaucratic organization of social policy.

Second, specialization refers to a category that is distinguishable according to training and expertise (Perrow, 1986. p. 47). Pugh, Hickson and Hinnings (1978, p.63) state that specialization allows the organization or individual "to build-up expertise and thereby be more productive." However, specialization has an additional utility in the midst of mutliple specializations. According to Boulding (Ibid p. 169)

> " . . . the usual excuse for pursuing special interests is that one is acting as
> a counter-pressure against other interests. the menace to society lies in
> the fact that certain special interests may become powerful enough to demand,
> and receive privileged protection."

Specialization maintains a particular focus of activity for bureaucratic organization such that any other activities are marginalized within the "specialized" bureaucracy. For example, social workers in schools or in medical facilities are respectively in marginal roles relative to teachers in the school or nurses in the hospital. In sum, specialization is a condition of protected expertise with differential privilege according to the area of training or expertise.

Third, standardization refers to specifications for "the area of action" in relation to competence, responsibilities, and power or authority (Perrow, p. 47). To the extent that specifications are applied, deviations and compliance are monitored and sanctioned. Competencies, responsibilities and power and authority that are not standardized are not expected to be carried-out. For example, the school principal may be aware of psychosocial needs within the family of one her students; she may have built some trust while working with the family and she may perceive indications of effectiveness.

However, at some point, the principal may be intervening beyond her competencies as they are defined by legislation and beyond the school's responsibilities as they are described in its mandate. At this point, the principal may use her power and authority to engage psychological, health or social services on behalf of the family. Throughout the process of exercising competence, responsibility, and power and authority, the principal is engaged in a system of accountability for her actions.

Finally, formalization refers to the written rules, records, and decisions governing the performance of duties (Perrow, p. 47). Formal aspects of bureaucratic organization are deemed to be the tip of the "organizational iceberg" in French and Bell's (p. 19) representation of formal versus informal aspects of organization. The informal aspects are the submerged, deep and mysterious "underwater" composed of beliefs and assumptions, perceptions, attitudes, feelings, values, informal interactions, and group norms. Formalization protects bureaucratic organization from the informal aspects by reducing individual discretion in interpreting the primary goals or procedures maintaining bureaucratic organization. (Perrow, p. 20-21).

Table 2. summarizes how the division of labour promotes role autonomy and system boundaries integrate individual needs through hierarchy, specialization, standardization, and formalization.

Table 2.
How Division of Labour Promotes Role Autonomy and System Boundaries Integrate Individual Needs in
Bureaucratic Organization, According to the Characteristics of Bureaucratic Organization: Hierarchy,
Specialization, Standardization and Formalization

Characteristics of Bureaucratic Organization	Promotes Role Autonomy and Integrates Individual and Organizational Needs By
Hierarchy	top-down control from governance, to management, to service
Specialization	protected expertise with differential privilege according to area of training or expertise
Standardization	system of accountability for areas of action in relation to competencies, responsibilities. and power and authority
Formalization	written rules, records and decisions governing the performance of duties that reduce individual discretion in interpreting primary goals and procedures

In sum, the theoretical framework for the study assumes that the division of labour limits tasks that are performed in bureaucratic organization, and that system boundaries self-preserve bureaucratic organization though hierarchical top-down control, specialization that protects expertise with differential privilege, standardization by way of a system of accountability for areas of action, and formalization that reduces individual discretion in interpreting primary goals and procedures.

Delimitations

Although five sites (Calgary, Edmonton, Lethbridge, Wabasca-Demarais and Wetaskwin) were selected by the Interdepartmental Assistant Deputy Minister's "Coordination of Services for Children" Committee, only the Calgary site is utilized for fulfilling the

purpose and objectives of the study. However, a brief overview of the other four sites is described in Chapter Seven: Other Sites In The Coordination of Services For Children Initiative.

The study is bounded by a one year time period from June 1993 to June 1994.

Limitations

There are three main limitations to this study. The first relates to access to documentation. Although every effort has been made to acquire pertinent documentation, there may be limitations due to formalized confidentiality. A second limitation is the degree of willingness of individuals to divulge information and the extent of their capacity to recall information. Finally, due to the current climate of fiscal restraint, social policy and the structure of delivering public services is undergoing rapid change. Therefore, the study is limited in as much as it focuses on a transitory phase in the mode and direction of social policy related to education, health and social services.

Definition of Terms

For the purpose of the study the following definitions are for key terms used throughout the investigation.

Public policy. A dynamic and comprehensive process which includes, formulation, execution, implementation, and evaluation (Turner, p. 110) and is shaped by narrow

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interests, various textual representations, and interpretations in practice (Bowe, Ball and Gold, 1992).

Administration. Accountable to policy-makers, administration carries-out policies through establishing regulations, programs and procedures; selecting professional staff; setting expectations for performance; and establishing mechanisms to monitor the quality of service (Downey, 1988, p. 23).

Bureaucratic organization. A socially constructed entity that is characterized by formality, bounded rationality, and group usage (Perrow, p. 260-261).

Division of labour. Division of labour refers to levels of actions or domains (Ismael and Vaillancourt, p. 2). For the purpose of the study, actions or domains may be at various intervals in the policy-making process such as governance, management or service delivery; or across disparate units in the administration of public policy such as health, education or service delivery.

Interagency collaboration. Interagency collaboration refers to the *intent* of agencies/organizations and/or their representatives to work together with other agencies/organizations and/or their representatives.

Service delivery. Implementation of policies as they are specified as programs and procedures by administration. Service delivery may be performed by professional staff

such as teachers, nurses, social workers or psychologists; by para-professionals; or by lay persons in volunteer positions or as paid staff.

Social Policy. A category of public policy that defines citizen entitlements to health, education, and social benefits.

System boundary. The parameters of a particular set of actions or domain. The parameters may be objectively identifiable or the parameters may be a perception of any actor or group of actors within or without a particular domain.

Organization of the Study

This study is organized in seven chapters. Chapters One, Two and Three constitute the focus and conceptual approach to the study. The remaining chapters constitute the body of the study.

Chapter One: Introduction describes the nature of the study, the purpose of the study, the significance of the study, background to the study, an overview of Opening Doors: Collaborative Services for Children and Families as an example of interagency collaboration among bureaucratic organizations, the theoretical framework, delimitations, limitations, and definition of terms. Chapter Two: Literature Review describes perspectives on hierarchy, specialization, standardization and formalization according Burrell and Morgan's notion of radical humanist and radical structuralist approaches to analysis culminating in the conceptual framework for the study.. Chapter Three: Research Methodology describes the major categories of inquiry, critical inquiry as the

selected approach for the study, data collection and analysis procedures, and trustworthy criteria.

Chapters Four: Chronology of an Interagency Collaboration Among Bureaucratic Organizations details the sequencing of events relating to the Opening Doors: Collaborative Services for Children and Families initiative for the period June 1993 to June 1994. Chapter Five: Description of Contradictions for Interagency Collaboration Among Bureaucratic Organizations presents a description of contradictions in the case example according to the conceptual framework developed in Chapter Two: Literature Review. Chapter Six: Challenges and Implications for Social Policy As A Process of Interest, Articulation and Practice draws on the contradictions conceptualized in Chapter Five. Chapter Seven: Conclusions and Directions for Further Study highlights key elements of the study and suggests follow-up studies that would embellish knowledge generated in the study, and research problems that were uncovered in the study that are beyond the scope of the study.

Summary

This chapter, Chapter One: Introduction provides an overview of the nature of the study as addressing the contradictions for interagency collaboration in the bureaucratic organization of social policy as a representation of the dissolution of the liberal paradigm of social policy. The purpose of the study is to generate knowledge about the dissolution as a paradigm shift, with specific reference to contradictions between the intent of interagency collaboration and the effect of bureaucratic organization, and to conceptualize challenges and implications for social policy. Knowledge generated in the

study is significant for its capacity to shape social policy. The background to the study makes reference to the example used in the study: Opening Doors: Collaborative Services for Children and Families in Calgary, Alberta. The theoetical framework for the study is: hierarchy, specialization, standardization, and formalization. The next chapter is Chapter Two: Literature Review.

Chapter Two: Literature Review

Introduction

This Chapter first presents Burrell and Morgan's framework for analysis and secondly develops a conceptual framework according to the change approaches to analysis (radical humanist and radical structuralist) from Burrell and Morgan's framework and according to the theoretical framework for the study presented in Chapter One. The Chapter is organized in six main sections. First, Burrrell and Morgan's Framework for Analysis describes four approaches to analysis: radical humanist, radical structuralist, functionalist, and interpretive. The second, third, fourth, and fifth main sections below discuss the characteristics of bureaucratic organizations that maintain system boundaries and the divisions of labour - Hierarchy, Specialization, Standardization and Formalization - , from the perspective of the change approaches to analysis: radical humanism and radical structuralism. The sixth section, Conceptual Framework, presents a framework used for Chapter Five: Description of the Contradictions for Interagency Collaboration Among Bureaucratic Organizations. The chapter concludes with the section Summary which provides an overview of the contents of the Chapter Two: Literature Review.

Burrell and Morgan's Framework for Analysis

Burrell and Morgan's framework was chosen because the paradigm shift in social policy is unclear, and therefore not necessarily consciously experienced or structurally mediated

in the bureaucratic organization of public policy. The framework is valuable for its capacity for guiding the literature review to distinguish change from stability and to incorporate the experience of change and observable change. The former is important because in the midst of a paradigm shift in public policy, there is an inclination to cling to the declining paradigm wherein "change" is limited to technological or administrative fixes. [1] The latter is important in as much as the experience of change mediates structural change, and the structure of change mediates the experience of change.

In *Sociological Paradigms and Organizational Analysis* (1988) Burrell and Morgan identify two dimensions within which the general body of literature for social analysis can be categorized. The first dimension is the subjective-objective. The second dimension is the sociology of radical change-sociology of regulation. Taken together, the dimensions indicate four distinct "contrasting standpoints" (p. 23) on social phenomena: radical humanist, radical structuralist, functionalist, and interpretive. (see Table 3.) In a discussion of the uses of the approaches for analysis, Burrell and Morgan emphasize the commonality within each "which binds the work of a group of theorists together (p. 23)." The value for the analyst is that she can use the framework as a "tool for mapping intellectual journeys in social theory - one's own and those of the theorists who have contributed to the subject area (p. 24)." Their interest in generating such a categorization is, in part, to facilitate "schools of thought" in "talking to each other" (pp. 21-23).

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[1] The following are recent examples of technological and administrative fixes as approaches to change: Bosetti, Webber, and Johnson in *Partnerships in Education: Trends and Opportunities*, Calgary, 1993; Coleman and Laroque in *Struggling to Be Good Enough: Administrative Practices and School District Ethos*, New York, 1990; O'Reilly and Lautar in *Policy Research and Development in Canadian Education*, Calgary, 1991.

Table 3.

Burrell and Morgan's "Four Approaches to Social Analysis"[2]

The Sociology Of Change

<table>
<tr><td rowspan="2">Subjective</td><td>Radical
Humanist</td><td>Radical
Structuralist</td><td rowspan="2">Objective</td></tr>
<tr><td>Interpretive</td><td>Functionalist</td></tr>
</table>

The Sociology of Regulation

That is not to say that there are no differences of opinion and approaches within the quadrants. However, each quadrant represents distinctive "underlying unity" with respect to its approach to analysis. The following sections describe each of the four main approaches to analysis.

Radical Humanist Approach to Analysis

Radical humanist analysis focuses on change from a subjectivist standpoint. The social world is viewed as: nominalist, anti-positivist, voluntaristic, and ideographic. Radical

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2 Burrell and Mogan use the terms "paradigm" and "approach" interchangeably. For the purposes of clarity, the term "approach will be used throughout to distinguish between the notion of "paradigm shift" as per Peter Marris, and the notion of "approach" as per Burrell and Morgan "intending to emphasise the commonality of perspective which binds the work of a group of theorists together . . by very basic meta-theoretical assumptions which underwrite the frame of reference, mode of theorizing and modus operandi of the social theorists who operate within them."

humanist analysis emphasizes overthrowing or transcending the limitations of existing social arrangements in order that the individual free herself from the constraints of ideological structures which "drive a cognitive wedge between . . . (the self) . . . and true consciousness (p. 32)." In general, society is understood as anti-human and therefore the change-orientation of radical humanist analysis is to articulate ways that humans can "transcend the spiritual bonds and fetters which tie them into existing social patterns and thus realize their full potential." Key inhibitors to reaching full potential for the individual are alienation and false consciousness.

Burrell and Morgan cite the sources of radical humanist analysis in the German idealist tradition of Kant and Hegel, reinterpreted by the young Marx, with the infusion of Husserl's phenomenology. Later, in the 1920s Lukacs and Gramsci revived interest in subjectivist interpretations of Marxist theory. For the purposes of discussion below on hierarchy, specialization, standardization and formalization, the works of Habermas, Illich, and Laing are utilized as representations of radical humanist analysis.

Radical Structuralist Approach to Analysis

Radical structuralist analysis focuses on change from an objectivist standpoint. Similar to radical humanist analysis, radical structuralist analysis is committed to emancipation and potentiality, however, the emphasis is on structural conflict, modes of domination, contradiction, and deprivation as opposed to individual alienation and false-consciousness. The concentration is on change in structural relationships within a realist social world toward total social transformation. A primary assumption is that contemporary society is characterized by "fundamental conflicts which generate change

through political and economic crisis" which ultimately emancipate "men (sic) from oppressive social structures. Burrell and Morgan attribute the major intellectual debt for radical structuralism to Marx with later writers such as Engels, Plekhano, Lenin, Althusser, Poulantzas and Colletti making major contributions. In addition, Burrell and Morgan cite Dahrendorf, Rex, and Miliband as adherents to radical structuralism but with a Weberian influence that is described as "conflict theory." For the purposes of discussion below on hierarchy, specialization, formalization and standardization, the works of, Giddens, Liston, Bukharin, Woodhead et al, and Johnson et al are utilized.

Functionalist Approach to Analysis

Functionalist analysis focuses on providing an explanation of "what is" amidst objective and observable phenomena from the "regulated nature of human affairs" (p. 107). Society is understood as prior to man (sic) and can therefore be understood and explained through models used in the natural sciences. Knowledge gained about the social world is limited in that "parts" of the whole society can only be understood in relation to each other in a system of regulating those relations. According to Burrell and Morgan, functionalist analysis has dominated the study of social phenomena since the ancient Greeks with a more precise articulation with the work of Comte (1798-1857) followed by Spencer (1820-1903) and Durkheim (1858-1917).

Since, a plethora of "theories" have emerged from within the approach, which Burrell and Morgan attribute to reactions to external threats to functionalism (p.68).

"The German idealist tradition has influenced the emergence of functionalist theories of a more subjectivist orientation. The Marxist tradition is reflected in functionalist theories which focus upon conflict and change."

Nevertheless, the underlying "norm of purposive rationality" remains among the diversity within the functionalist analysis approach to social phenomena; the diversity includes: social system theory, interactionism and social action theory, integrative theory, and objectivism.

Interpretive Approach to Analysis

Interpretive analysis focuses on explaining and understanding "the social world primarily from the point of view of the actors directly involved in the social process (p. 227)." Social reality is taken as "an emergent process - as an extension of human consciousness and subjective experience (p. 253)." However, human consciousness and subjective experience exist in the context of the status quo in that individuals "negotiate, and regulate and live their lives . ." by meaningfully constructing and ordering their lives "amenable to study from a sociological perspective (p. 254)."

In a sense, the interpretative approach was a runaway reaction to functionalism that was successful in defining an independent approach to analysis. Burrell and Morgan cite the work of Dilthey (1833-1911) and Weber (1864-1920) as foundational to the interpretive approach in as much as they were concerned with bridging "the gulf between idealism and positivism" by developing a "cultural science" that focused on the internal processes of human minds as opposed to the functionalist approach and its adherence to external phenomena that is observable as in the natural sciences model. During the 1890s there

was "considerable intellectual ferment characterized by a concern with the subjective aspects of scientific inquiry (p. 228)." The emerging approach to analysis was guided by an ontological perspective that man (sic) was free, culminating in what Burrell and Morgan refer to as a twentieth-century phenomenon (p. 234).

For the purposes of a discussion of the significant dimensions of bureaucratic organization, the literature is selected from the radical humanist and the radical structuralist approaches to analysis. These are selected because they encompass the two main bodies of theories of change, consistent with the "change" inherent in the paradigm shift in social policy that is the focus of the study.

Table 4.

Comparative Summary of Radical Humanist and Radical Structuralist Analysis: Focus for Analysis, Problem, Focus of Change, and Method of Achieving Change

	Radical Humanism	Radical Structuralism
Focus for analysis	subjective experience of domination by structures	crisis in objective circumstances/structures
Problem	alienation as segregation from the true self	material domination/ oppression by existing social structures
Focus of Change	facilitate individual development by releasing individual from social constraints	transformation of structures generated from crisis
Method of Achieving Change	reflecting and acting	dispersing power

The interpretive and functional bodies of theory on the "regulation" end of the change-regulation continuum are not utilized in the study.[3] The following sections discuss the

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[3] According to Burrell and Morgan's formulation, the interpretive approach and the functionalist approach assume social order, social integration,

dimensions of bureaucratic organization - hierarchy, specialization, standardization and formalization - from the radical humanist and radical structuralist points of view.

Hierarchy: Top-Down Control

As per the discussion in the section Theoretical Framework in Chapter One "hierarchy" is assumed to be a mechanism of top-down control in the bureaucratic organization of social policy. In the following subsections, Radical Humanist Perspective on Hierarchy and Radical Structuralist Perspective on Hierarchy, hierarchy as a mechanism of top-down control is discussed from respective perspectives.

Radical Humanist Perspective on Hierarchy

From the radical humanist perspective hierarchical top-down control in bureaucratic organization is successful to the extent that it is not obvious. Through a process of legitimation of control as a function of cognition and consciousness , the less aware we are of hierarchical control to which we are subjected, the more amenable we are to being controlled.

> "One may be instructed, if things seem to be going wrong, to examine one's instructions. They may be wrong. They may require adaptation, modification, or to be dropped. But a special situation exists if there is a rule against examining, or questioning rules: and beyond that, if there are rules against even being aware that such rules exist, including this last rule."(Laing, 1971, p. 107)

solidarity and consensus.(p. 27-31). The study for which the paper addresses the dimensions of bureaucratic organization, assumes that social policy is undergoing radical change, consistent with the radical humanist and radical structuralist approaches.

One's experience of being controlled is therefore according to the rules about what should or should not be perceived as legitimate experience. Laing refers to the process of legitimized control of experience as "knots".

In essence, we are thereby controlled by our "self" which internalizes the hierarchical control of "other". Habermas (1977, p. 67-8) refers to a consequence as the *decisions* model of control in which the division of power and responsibility is distributed among experts and leaders and accordingly, " . . . the citizenry can serve only to legitimate the ruling group . . . " In the absence of public discussion about control ". . . democratic choice takes the form of acclamation rather than public discussion . . . (and therefore) . . . choice applies only to those who occupy positions with decision-making power . . . ." Habermas calls this "the scientization of politics" reducing "the process of democratic decision-making to a regulated acclamation procedure for elites alternately appointed to exercise power; in this way power, untouched in its irrational substance, can be legitimated but not rationalized." The loss of capacity to rationalize can be said to result in what Habermas (p. 75) refers to as "depoliticization".

We thereby hand over our ability to self-identify to the extent that we would not trust our ability to rationalize a belief that our identity may be otherwise. According to Laing (p. 107-108) " . . we . . (are) . . *trusting* of certain others, who tell us that we cannot trust ourselves. So that we are called on to place our untrustworthy trust in those who tell us to trust them when they tell us that we are untrustworthy; hence, our trust is untrustworthy." This is replicated by individuals in what Laing (p. 8) calls a pattern of relationships as an "incarnate group structure" such that all interactions in the social world become irrational and self-defeating.

The consequences for the individual are that in order to maintain a facsimile of integrity for the "self", the individual has multiple "selves" which are adaptable to external definitions as required within a hierarchy of relations. According to Habermas the process of adaptation to the constraints of what is/is not legitimized to govern choices available according to position in the hierarchy, there are two distinguishing tendencies: one is to obey, from below; the other is to command, from above (p. 97-98).

In sum, from a radical humanist perspective, top-down control in the hierarchy of bureaucratic organization is maintained through a process of individual internalization of the legitimacy of external control and hence loss of "self" to the extent that the individual "adapts" by maintaining two roles: one is to obey the other is to command.

Radical Structuralist Perspective on Hierarchy

From the radical structuralist perspective hierarchical control in bureaucratic organization is maintained through replication of the class structure in which the middle class play a key role in sustaining the class system. In *Class and Social Development* Johnson (p. 29) states that all social relations ". . . are first and foremost class relations . . . groupings of concretely situated people engaging in the rigors of daily activities." The groupings represent "fundamental patterned social relations of domination and exploitation and struggle."

> The forms of domination and resistance permeate the whole of society: supervisor/worker, technician/detail worker, social worker/welfare recipient, teacher/student, merchant/consumer, functionary/supplicant, doctor/patient, judge/defendant, landlord/tenant, IRS auditor/taxpayer, professional/client . . . . The permeation proceeds further: men/women, white/black, even parent/child are institutionalized as relations of inequality, of domination and subordination." (Johnson p. 30-31)

The demarcation between classes is determined by the relationship to the means of production by a respective class with " . . . those holding the means of production being at the top, and those without such means at the bottom."(Bukharin, p. 218) The patterns of relations among classes are not unique to modern capitalism, in as much as they are an historical phenomenon. Therefore, contemporary relations of hierarchical top-down control should not be viewed as static: " . . . all phenomena (should be) considered in their indissoluble relations; in the second place, . . they (should) be considered in their state of motion." (Bukharin, p. 67)

Outram (p. 24-25) applies this dictum of indissoluble relations and state of motion to the middle class in the education system referring to "status" politics in which "some groups of the middle classes fight to maintain their . . . privileged positions.

> "Middle class action, operates at a number of levels in the education
> system and throughout society; from the legislative, through the judiciary
> and administrative institutions, to important localized figures such as the
> headteacher and the teacher even to the 'right-minded' parent who
> complains about a child's school."

However, some semblance of stability among classes is maintained through self-interest (Oppenheimer, O'Donnell and Johnson p. 245 in Johnson) supported by structures for centralizing control of the labour process via ". . . decentralized institutional development." This was achieved through struggle on the part of middle class professionals to maintain " . . . a certain autonomy in work" through "self-interested assertions."

It is perhaps perceived professional immunity from the class structure that contributes to

Johnson's et al (p. 9) pessimism about the potential for structural change coming from the

middle class.

> "I do not harbor expectations that middle-class professionals will play a
> central role in making a new and better world. . . . (Professionalism) is a
> culture of arrogant elitism, of personal careerism, of hypocrisy, and, most
> of all, banality. "

In sum, the radical structuralist perspective on hierarchical top-down control in

bureaucratic organization is that the hierarchy of control is a reflection of class relations

in society at large. Class relations, and hence relations of hierarchical control are in a

constant state of change. However, combinations of centralized and decentralized

authority protect the middle class position in the hierarchy of control from substantial re-

alignment of their class position.

Specialization: Protected Expertise With Differential Privilege

As per the discussion of the theoretical framework for the study in Chapter One,

specialization refers to a condition of protected expertise with differential privilege

according to the area of training or expertise. The following subsections address

specialization from radical humanist and radical structuralist perspectives.

Radical Humanist Perspective on Specialization

From a radical humanist perspective, specialization is a form of commodification of

human experience in which specialists play a key role. Illich (1978, p. 36) places

professional services along with consumer goods "at the centre of our economic system." Habermas (1977, p. 54-54) refers to professional specialization as a type of "social labour" that objectifies human experience in which "the professional practice in question will always have to assume the form of technical control of objectified processes."

The binding role of specialization is a relatively recent phenomenon according to Habermas (1977, p. 62) who reminds us that before World War II and compared with military, expertise of government officials trained in law

> "were practicing an art more than applying a science. It is only recently that bureaucrats, the military, and politicians have been orienting themselves to strictly scientific recommendations in the exercise of their public functions . . . " (this transformation is due to) " . . . objective exigencies of new technologies and strategies."

The primary ingredient of the power of specialization is the power to determine need. Illich (1978, p. 50) states that " . . professional power is a specialized form of the privilege to prescribe what is right for others and what they therefore need. It is the source of prestige and control within the industrial state." Because the methods are scientific, "Professionals claim a monopoly over the definition of deviance and the remedies needed" in addition to "secret knowledge. . . about human nature and its weaknesses, knowledge they are also mandated to apply." (Ibid, p. 54) What would otherwise be communally relevant issues or ensuing expression of public will, become "public affairs" which "pass . . . into the hands of self-accrediting elite (Illich 1978, p. 58)." Issues such as unemployment become measurable levels of "poverty"; wife-battering becomes an incident of de-gendered "domestic violence."

From the radical humanist perspective, the effect of specialization is that overall freedom in society is reduced. To the extent that professions shape needs, there is a decline in freedom because needs ultimately determine rights. Illich states "I . . . observe the decline of freedom in societies in which rights are shaped by expertise (1978, p. 15)." According to Habermas, the decline in freedom is exacerbated by a misconception of the objectivity of science as it is used to justify specialization.

> "Technocratic consciousness is, on the one hand, "less ideological" than all previous ideologies.. . . . (By) the veiling of practical problems it not only justifies a particular class's interest in domination and represses another class's partial need for emancipation, but affects the human race's emancipatory interest as such (p. 111)."

In sum, the radical humanist perspective on specialization as a way of protecting expertise through maintaining differentiated privilege, explains specialization as commodification of human experience from which needs are defined by objective criteria, which thereby reduces freedom in society by taking away the right of a person or community to define her/his own need.

Radical Structuralist Perspective on Specialization

From a radical structuralist perspective "specialization" is understood as a phenomenon in relation to the whole of society. Specialization is maintained according to differential privilege according to the relation to capital: - " . . . the groupings of men (sic) are not accomplished in such manner as to cause the various groups to lie in a horizontal line, but rather in a vertical line (Bukharin, p. 143-4)." What is more, the position of groupings, is not at the various groups own choosing. (p. 144) The " . . . the workers do not

"distribute" the capitalists (under the capitalist system of society); they "are distributed" by capitalists in the interests of capital. "

For example, the specialization "medicine" links physicians to the technology of medicine such as pharmaceuticals and surgical equipment which are capital intensive commodities; this link ensures an effective political lobby in the development of social policies in health care delivery (Edginton, 1989). Strong links to capital reinforce links to other sources of institutional power, such as in the case of medicine, links are reinforced to hospitals and universities through grants and taxation exemptions.

Specialization's are woven into the web of institutional power via capital to the extent that " . . . any expression of class conflict outside this system is seen to be illegitimate (Outram, p. 25)." For example, training as professionals itself embodies anti-labour ideologies (Johnson, 218). In addition, larger interests specific to a class are not the same as professional interests of a group (Bukharin, p. 286). For example, female dominated professions have been slow to take feminist positions in the interests of maintaining professional credibility and hence legitimacy.

Structures of early education also serve to reinforce specialization as a tool of maintaining classes by teaching skills and attitudes for the labour force, and by " . . . selecting potential recruits for those middle class positions of authority and power necessary for the management of the social formation (Outram, p.23)." Not only does the school child learn some of the necessary skills for becoming a part of the labour force, the child also learns the appropriate values and code of conduct required of a 'citizen' in a liberal democracy (which includes the value of work in a capitalist society). Also, the education

system is responsible for selecting potential recruits for those middle class positions of authority and power necessary for the management of the social formation (Outram, p. 23)."

But increasingly in advanced capitalism, there is movement in the middle class causing Johnson to say that "Today the great middle class is less shrinking than bifurcating (Johnson p. 24)." to the working class. Examples include deregulation of trades, and reclassification of professional positions in public services to clerical positions or para-professional positions; promotion of voluntarism in community-based services as a supplement to, and in some cases a replacement of, professional positions.

In sum, the radical structuralist perspective on specialization is that privilege is based on its relationship to capital and reinforced by related institutions. However there is a current threatened demise of privilege according to specialization due to avoidance of social issues, dissatisfaction with specialization, and re-organization of the labour force.

Standardization

As per the discussion of the theoretical framework in Chapter One, standardization refers to a system of accountability for actions. The subsections below, Radical Humanist Perspective of Standardization and Radical Structuralist perspective on standardization address respective perspectives on standardization as a system of accountability for actions in bureaucratic organization.

Radical Humanist Perspective on Standardization

From the radical humanist perspective, standardization has to do with monitoring and sanctioning actions that govern access to commodities which in turn reduces insecurity. Illich (p. 23) contends that "we measure social progress by the distribution of access to these commodities."

In the face of ambiguity concerning universal access to "social progress" as it may be manifest by access to health care, education or social services, standards of competence, responsibility and power and authority provide a semblance of security that one's due is being upheld. Laing says that the confidence in the system of accountability begins in the family structure wherein the child's faith in the "other" provides security regardless of the reality upon which the child can depend for security.

> "If self depends on the integrity of the "family", the "family" being a
> shared structure, self's integrity is then dependent upon self's sense of the
> as a structure shared with others. One feels secure if one imagines the
> integrity of the "family" structure "in" others (Laing, 1971, p. 13)."

One becomes secure that there is a standard by which the appropriate answer can be provided for an ambiguous problem. For example, in a state of loss in bereavement there is ambiguity in the question "how will I cope with the loss?" In the physician we find the unambiguous solution: supported by standardization and faith in the system of accountability for competence, responsibility and power and authority, the physician prescribes a drug. According to Illich (p. 59) as prescriptions increased, competence shrank in that " . . people lost their will and ability to cope with indisposition or even with discomfort."

As a consumer of services, our capacity for self-determination is reduced to the extent that the measure of our worth is compliance to standards set by others. To be a "good citizen" is to " . .drown out any desire for any alternative, much less renunciation of need (Illich, p. 60)." This is a form of "modernized poverty" (Illich, p. 29) in which no one's problems are "real". In the face of standardization people begin to not only doubt their needs, but also renounce their needs.

In sum, from a radical humanist perspective standardization is a system of accountability for areas of action that provides security in the face of ambiguity with particular reference to ambiguous access to services as "commodities". The more dependent one becomes on the system of standardization for mediating insecurity, the more dependency is induced through self-doubt.

Radical Structuralist Perspective on Standardization

From a radical structuralist perspective there is an interplay between a variety of factors in maintaining standards of competence, responsibility and power and authority as a system of accountability. The system of accountability is understood as a method of suppressing class conflict (Liston, 1988). The interplay between factors can be traced to nineteenth century petty bourgeoisie being eliminated, and replaced by

> " . . . a new salaried intermediate class composed of technical,
> administrative, and professional employees was formed . . this class
> was formed in tempo with the capital accumulation process.
> Technological and organizational innovation gave scientists,
> organizational experts, and technicians an increasing importance
> (Johnson, p. 22)."

Acceptance of the new class required some agreement as to its value because " . . any form of society will convince us that its existence is rendered possible on the whole by the psychology and ideology of class harmony . . . . (Bukharin,1922)." Publicly understood standardization of accountability ensured that the new "ideological labour" of professionals (Bukharin, p. 227-8) was universally accepted. Bukharin refers to "social technology" (Ibid p. 134) as tools for class harmony through accountability: " . . . each given system of social technology also determines the system of labour relations between persons" governing the "type of worker, the degree of his (sic) skills, also the working relations, the productive conditions (p. 137)."

Once these become established as social norms (customs, morals, law, and a great number of other standards) they become regulators for suppressing class contradictions as they may emerge. (p. 157) An example is unemployment. Policies for intervention from which standards of competence, responsibility and power and authority are derived focus on individual deficit, masking the expansion of the marginalized labour force and hence reducing the potential for class conflict resulting from recognition of corresponding rising corporate profits while underemployment and unemployment increases.

Similarly, in the face of reduced universal access to education, the focus on standardization of student achievement, and teacher competence masks class conflict that may result from recognition of funding cuts having a differential impact on the various classes. Rather, issues of accountability for areas of action relate to what Johnson calls the class content of pedagogy: professionalism for the teacher; vocationalism for the student (p. 208)."

In addition to reducing class conflict by minimizing contradictions, standardization reduces the potential for conflict within sub-classes of a class. This is accomplished by a process of the various systems of accountability for areas of action adapting to each other. (Bukharin, p. 134) The process is protected by unique uses of language by each area of competence or responsibility. The differences in the use of language "may become so great as to prevent men (sic) from understanding each other (Bukharin p, 205)." Examples abound in language used between and among government departments and between and among professionals to the extent that one does not have the linguistic tools to challenge the alleged standards by which the government department or specific professional group bases its standardized procedures.

In sum, standardization is a system of accountability for areas of action that reduces class conflict by masking contradictions. Methods include focusing on the deficits of those negatively affected by the class system in the absence of a focus on structure, and in addition, reinforced by the use of language unique to an area of standardized practice.

Formalization

As per the discussion of the theoretical framework for the study in Chapter One, formalization refers to reducing individual discretion in interpreting the primary goals or procedures in bureaucratic organization.

Radical Humanist Perspective on Formalization

From the radical humanist perspective formalization is a complex process of procedures that eliminates the belief in one's own discretion through immobilizing people by confounding their inner life. Procedures

> " . . . . may not only be contradictory, incompatible, or disguised,
> they may be paradoxical. A paradoxical order is one which, if correctly
> executed, is disobeyed: if disobeyed, it is obeyed. Don't do what I tell you.
> Don't' believe me. Be spontaneous. Laing, p. 110)."

For example, the taxation system formalizes elaborate procedures for reporting personal and corporate income to ensure fairness. However, it is to an individual's or a corporation's benefit, (and indeed it borders on blasphemous not to) to utilize whatever means possible to justify "tax breaks." Formal courses and instruction manuals are provided by government and professional bodies on how to do so. Yet, if one is in error using the formalized procedures for maximizing benefits, the error may become "tax evasion". Similarly, the judicial system relies on formalization of procedures to the extent that consequences and convictions may fit less the crime or litigation, as they do a "technicality."

Confounding is successful to the extent that it creates illusions of rationality within which subjective experience is denigrated in favour of the objective technical procedures . The state " . . becomes . . the organ of thoroughly rational administration (Habermas, p. 74)." We may have a deep sense of guilt about a crime or offense, however, this sense is denigrated in the face of the formalization of our vindication.

Confounding is furthered by communication between experts (Habermas, p. 73) who reinforce "an objectively delimited problem area." In some instances they may compete, offering the individual a selection: was the offense a crime of passion (prosecutor) or what is it temporary insanity (psychiatrist) or was it a memory lapse (psychologist)? As Laing asserts: "formalization assigns a value to that which is formalized itself (Laing, p. 103)." The individual no longer recognizes evidence for its own sake; she becomes "out of touch with (her) world . . out of touch with what (she) feels (Illich, p. 11)."

In sum, the radical humanist perspective on formalization treats formalization as a process for confounding the individual's inner life to the extent that individual discretion is reduced to selecting at best from among a variety of others to validate her reality of experience.

Radical Structuralist Perspective on Formalization

The classical radical structuralist perspective on formalization would assume that individual discretion is shaped by structure: " . . . man's (sic) will is not free, . . it is determined by the external conditions of man's existence (Bukharin, p. 60)." Therefore the focus for analysis of loss of discretion would be less on the "what" and more on the "how" discretion is reduced.

More contemporary frameworks for analysis encompass both the "what" and "how". Outram (1985) contends that " . . the legal system is one of the key apparatuses in the reproduction and maintenance of liberal-consensual model of society and provides an arena for both proscribing and prescribing behavior (p. 22). An example of how it does

so is through bolstering - " . . patriarchal values that see women's role as being essentially within the family" however access to the legal system is differentially available and applicable according to the class position of a woman accessing procedures because cost of the procedures is the prime factor in differentiating individual discretion according to class.

While those who administer formalization in the bureaucratic organization are primarily drawn from the middle class, at the same time they are viewed by themselves and others with disdain: " . . . when we berate the bureaucrats, we mean a certain professional psychology of negative virtue; routine, red-tape delays, precedence of form over substance etc. (Bukharin, p. 214 ."

The middle class berate processes and procedures that are in place against their interests: "Through the state the rule of the ruling class is exercised (Therborn, p. 241)." Because there are two aspects to the effects: "*what* is done (and not done) through the state, and *how* things are done that are done through the state (Ibid)." Therborn suggests that analysis requires both "a *typology of state interventions* and a *typology of state structures*". The typologies may be useful for understanding the effects of formalization on reduction of individual discretion.

For example, the education system as a structure can be typed as reproducer of the class system (as opposed to being a structure that is antagonistic to the class system). Formalized interventions impact on individual "discretion" in a broad sense in two ways:

1. selection process (Liston, p. 112) (the capitalist class has a privileged position in the education system) [4] and 2. curriculum - "what is excluded from the curriculum is just as important as, if not more important than, what is included (Liston, p. 103)." The curriculum validates upper and middle class experience.

The validation through formalization of selection and curriculum links creates a link that Bukharin refers to as a link between social psychology with social ideology, which reinforces the ideology underpinning class structure.

> "What is the relation between the social psychology and the social ideology? The social psychology is a sort of supply-chamber for ideology . . . it may be compared with a salt solution out of which the ideology is crystallized . . . The ideology systematizes that which has hitherto been not systematized, i.e. the social psychology. The ideologies are a coagulated social psychology (Bukharin, p. 215."

In sum, the radical structuralist perspective on formalization is that reduced individual discretion has its consequences and antecedents which are differentially initiated and sustained according to class.

This concludes discussion about the radical humanist and radical structuralist literature related to hierarchy, specialization, standardization and formalization. Table 5. below summarizes the discussion of radical humanist and radical structuralist perspectives of change on hierarchy, specialization, standardization, and formalization.

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[4] Liston (p. 113) distinguishes three types of selection: sociohistorical, accidental, and systematic. "The first two types of exclusion are not connected to specific class interest; systematic selection is."

Table 5.

Summary of Radical Humanist and Radical Structuralist Perspectives of Change on Hierarchy,
Specialization, Standardization, and Formalization

perspectives of change	hierarchy : top-down control	specialization: protected expertise with differential privilege	standardization: system of accountability for areas of action	formalization: reduces individual discretion in interpreting primary goals and procedures
radical humanist	Individual internalization of the legitimacy of external control and hence loss of "self" to the extent that the individual "adapts" by maintaining at least two roles: to obey; to command.	Commodification of human experience from which needs are defined by objective criteria, thereby reducing the freedom to articulate need.	Provides security in the face of ambiguity by providing services as "commodities". Induces escalating dependency through self-doubt.	Confounds the individual's inner life to the extent that discretion is reduced to at best selecting from among a variety of "others" to validate reality of experience.
radical structuralist	Replication of class relations in all social relations. A constant state of change within the balance of centralized and decentralized structures protecting the middle class from class-re-alignment.	Based on relationship to capital and reinforced by related institutions. Threatened by avoidance of social issues, re-organization of the labour force, and dissatisfaction with specialization.	Masks structural contradictions and therefore by focusing on "deficits" of victims of class position, reinforced by use of incomprehensible language.	Consequences and antecedents are differentially initiated and sustained according to class position.

The next section, Conceptual Framework, presents a conceptual framework (Table 6.) for

the study.

Conceptual Framework

The conceptual framework below emerges from the literature review and is intended to

guide achieving the objectives of the study according to radical humanist and radical

structuralist perspectives on hierarchy, specialization, standardization and formalization.

Table 6.
Conceptual Framework For The Study

characteristics of bureaucratic organization	
hierarchy	1. dichotomous behavior - to obey and to command
	2. simultaneous centralizing and decentralizing tendencies that protect class status
specialization	3. limitations on capabilities for determining needs
	4. threats to the stability of specialization
standardization	5. dependency through self-doubt
	6. a focus on individual solutions to structural problems
formalization	7. external contradictory interpretations validate experience
	8. reinforcement of class structure.

Summary

This chapter, Chapter Two: Literature Review describes the characteristics of

bureaucratic organization for the purposes of the study. The selected perspectives on

change (radical humanist and radical structuralist) are described and related literature on

these perspectives frame the discussion of characteristics of bureaucratic organization:

hierarchy, specialization, standardization and formalization. The final section above

summarizes the discussion and outlines the emergent conceptual framework for the study.

The next chapter, Chapter Three, Research Methodology describes the rationale for, and

description of the selected methodology for the study.

Chapter Three: Research Methodology

Introduction

This chapter describes the research methodology for meeting the objectives of the study: to describe an example of interagency collaboration among bureaucratic organizations, to describe the contradictions between the intent of interagency collaboration and the effect of bureaucratic organization in the case example, and to conceptualize the challenges and implications for social policy as a process of interest, articulation, and practice.

The first section, below, Categories of Inquiry, describes the four major categories of inquiry according to Lather (1991): to predict, to understand, to emancipate, and to deconstruct. The discussion is framed by ontological, epistemological and methodological considerations in relation to the purpose and objectives of the study. The next section is Sub-Categories of Emancipatory Inquiry and Critical Inquiry as the Selected Methodology for the Study followed by the section Data Collection and Procedures. The section, Trustworthiness, addresses issues of credibility, transferability, and confirmability, preceding the final section, Summary which provides an overview of Chapter Three: Research Methodology.

Categories of Inquiry

In *Getting Smart: Feminist Research and Pedagogy With/In the Postmodern* Lather (1991) borrows from Habermas (1971) to conceptualize major categories of inquiry and their subcategories (Table 7. Categories of Inquiry). The categories are classified according to major purposes of inquiry: to predict, to understand, to emancipate and to deconstruct. The first category, 'to predict', characterizes positivist inquiry. The

remaining three (to understand, to emancipate, and to deconstruct) are referred to as

postpositivist modes of inquiry.

Table 7.
Categories of Inquiry
(Lather, 1991)

	Postpositivist Inquiry		
To Predict	To Understand	To Emancipate	To Deconstruct
positivism	interpretive naturalistic constructivist phenomenological hermeneutic	action research neo-Marxist feminist praxis-oriented educative Freirian participatory critical	poststructural postmodern post-paradigmatic diaspora

Each are discussed below in terms of their ontological, epistemological, and

methodological orientations . For the purpose of this discussion the following definitions

apply (Guba, 1990).

Ontological: What is the nature of the knowable? Or, what is the nature of
"reality"?

Epistemological: What is the relationship between the knower (the inquirer)
and the known (or knowable)?

Methodological: How should the inquirer go about finding out knowledge?

Positivism: To Predict

The ontological orientation of positivism is that reality is " . . . single, tangible, and

fragmentable" (Lincoln and Guba, 1985, p. 37). Reality is fragmentable in the sense that

it has independent "variables and processes" driven by "immutable natural laws and

mechanisms" (Guba, 1990, p. 20). Epistemologically, the inquirer adopts a value-free

stance in discovering the laws and mechanisms; in both the process of discovery and in

inquiry outcomes, there is a mutual independence between the "knower and the known".

Guba refers to methodology in positivist inquiry as experimental/manipulative in which "

. . . questions and/or hypotheses are stated in advance in propositional form and subjected

to empirical tests (falsification) under carefully controlled conditions" (p.20). Lincoln

and Guba state that positivist inquiry assumes that "there are real causes, temporally

precedent to or simultaneous with their effects" (p. 37). Adherence to "methods and

standards developed in the natural sciences . . ." (Lather, p. 102) ensures "correct

measurement methods" for the social and behavioral sciences.

Postpositivism: To Understand

The subcategories of the "to understand" category of inquiry are: interpretive, naturalistic,

constructivist, phenomenological, and hermeneutic. The ontological orientation

emphasizes that "realities are multiple, constructed, and holistic" (Lincoln and Guba,

1985, p. 37). Lather (1991, p. 88) refers to the ontological orientation as " . . . a world of

multiple causes and effects in complex and non-linear ways, all of which are rooted in a

limitless array of historical and cultural specificities." Reality is such that it is impossible

to distinguish causes and effects, compounded further by the nature of the relationship

between the inquirer and the phenomena under study. The epistemological orientation is

that the " . . knower and known are interactive, inseparable" (Lincoln and Guba, 1995, p.

37). Methodologically, inquiry "to understand" is typically value-bound in terms of time

and context, suggesting that any hypotheses are "ideographic statements" unique to the

phenomenon that is the focus of inquiry. The inquirer, as a key instrument, relies on tacit

knowledge; this is reflected in the research design which is subject to modification as the inquiry proceeds.

Postpositivism: To Emancipate

The subcategories are: action research, neo-Marxist, feminist, praxis-oriented, educative, Freirian participatory, and critical. The ontological orientation is that reality exists through a "value window" (Guba, p. 24) which is essentially the self-constructed self-definition. Fay (1987, p. 42) refers to the "activist conception of human beings" in which humans "broadly create themselves on the basis of their own self-interpretations" through the exercise of "intelligence, curiosity, reflectiveness and willfulness" (p. 48). Epistemologically, the inquirer's "values mediate inquiry" (Guba, p. 25) by enhancing the subject's capacity for self-definition. Guba (p. 24-5) refers to the methodology as "dialogic and transformative" in which the "aim of inquiry is to transform the (real) world by raising the consciousness of participants so that they are energized and facilitated toward transformation".

Postpositivism: To Deconstruct

The subcategories are: poststructuralism, postmodern, and postparadigmatic diaspora. For each, there is an implicit refutation of the value of any ontological orientation. In explicit terms, "to deconstruct" is anti-positivist and anti-paradigmatic and according to Lather, (1991, p. 254) "whatever 'the real' is, it is discursive". Similarly, there is no explicit epistemological orientation; rather, the anti-positivist and anti-paradigmatic stance assumes a "crisis of representation" which is symptomatic of "an erosion of confidence in prevailing concepts of knowledge and truth". To deconstruct , then, is to

go underneath/within/among/beyond the "to predict", the "to understand" or the "to emancipate" categories of inquiry. "To deconstruct" can be equivocated to an adolescent identity-forming stage of the potentials and limitations of human knowledge. Methodologically, there is experimentation with inquiry "behaviors" that are manifest in what Lather refers to as three "shifts" (1991, p. 90-92) along the positivist-postpositivist continuum: 1. from an emphasis on general theorizing to problems of interpretation and description; 2. increasing focus on the "textual staging of knowledge" - writing itself and its power "to conceal the artifice that produces the appearance of objectivity"; 3. increasing focus on "the social relations of the research act" which "mediates construction of knowledge; who speaks for whom becomes a central question".

In summary, the ontological orientation of the "to predict" category of inquiry is that reality is single, tangible, and fragmentable. The ontological orientation of the "to understand" category of inquiry is that realities are multiple, constructed and holistic. The ontological orientation of the "to emancipate" category of inquiry is similar to the "to understand" category of inquiry in as much as reality is multiple and constructed, however, in the "to emancipate" category there is an emphasis on the role of humans as active constructors of reality according to their self-definition. The ontological orientation of the deconstruct category is that any ontological orientation is itself non sequitur; at best, reality is discursive.

Comparison: To Predict, To Understand, To Emancipate, To Deconstruct

Epistemologically, the "to predict" category of inquiry assumes that the inquirer is capable of objectively identifying cause/effect relationships. The "to understand"

category of inquiry assumes that it is impossible for the inquirer to objectively distinguish between cause and effect; to the contrary, the inquirer can only understand any phenomena to the extent that she interacts with the phenomena. The "to emancipate" category of inquiry acknowledges the role of the inquirer's values in mediating the inquiry; the explicit relationship of the inquirer to the subject of inquiry is to enhance the subject's capacity for self-definition. Finally, in relation to the epistemological orientation in the "to deconstruct" category of inquiry, the inquirer denounces "prevailing concepts of knowledge and truth" in relation to the data.

Methodologically, the "to predict" category of inquiry is characterized by research questions as generalizable propositions that are tested under controlled conditions. For the "to understand" category of inquiry, research questions are ideographic with no expectation of generalizability. In respect to the "to emancipate" category of inquiry, research questions focus on creating a dialogue that raises the consciousness of subjects of inquiry toward their transformation. For the "to deconstruct" category of inquiry, the methodology focuses on research questions about the research process itself: problems related to interpretation and description; problems related to the power of writing; problems related to the inquirer as a mediator in knowledge construction.

The major categories of inquiry have varying relevance for the study according to ontological, epistemological and methodological orientations, . The category of inquiry "to predict" is the least relevant ontologically, epistemologically or methodologically. While the ontological orientation of the positivist approach assumes a single reality, the study acknowledges contradictions. Epistemologically, the challenges and implications due to the contradictions inherent for interagency collaboration among bureaucratic

organizations cannot be objectively discovered in a cause/effect relationship by the inquirer. Methodologically, significant variables are not controllable for "measurement". For example, concepts such as "hierarchy", "specialization", "standardization" and "formalization" cannot be measured or manipulated under controlled conditions.

The category of inquiry "to understand" has somewhat more relevance to the study than the "to predict" category of inquiry. Ontologically, there is a consistency in terms of multiple realities. Epistemologically, the inquirer may "interact" with the data in the process of gaining understanding of various interpretations. However, a limitation of the "to understand" category of inquiry is that the study is more than time and context specific from which any hypotheses are "ideographic statements." The results of the study has implications beyond the specific situation from which data is collected, to a general application to the further studies of the bureaucratic organization of social policy in the global economy.

The category of inquiry "to emancipate" is considerably more relevant to the study. Ontologically, this category is consistent with the study in relation to the role of "self-definition" as a window through which actors create reality. The study seeks to gain knowledge about the contradictions between intentions as "self-definitions" and the reality of bureaucratic organization. Epistemologically the inquirer, through elucidating the contradictions, enhances the capacity for realization of the intention of interagency collaboration.

The category of inquiry "to deconstruct" has some relevance for the study. The inquiry is discursive across the declining and emerging paradigms of social policy. In addition, objectivity is not assumed in the study; to the contrary, diverse points of view and

interpretations are assumed. However, less-consistent with the "to deconstruct" category of inquiry is the explicit role of the inquirer. As an active agent in defining the research problem and structuring the conceptual framework for addressing the research problem; she is the ultimate analyst of the data collected in the study. In as much as this role is carried-out by the inquirer, the role itself is not examined in the context of the study as it would be according to the "to deconstruct" category of inquiry; nor is there a self-conscious critique included in the study of the objectivity/subjectivity of the inquirer.

In sum, the category of inquiry most relevant to the purposes of the study is the "to emancipate" category of inquiry. The next section "Sub-Categories of Emancipatory Inquiry" describes each sub-category of emancipatory inquiry and discusses each for its relevance to the study.

Sub-Categories of Emancipatory Inquiry and Critical Inquiry as the Selected Methodology for the Study

The various sub-categories of the "to emancipate" category of inquiry are described and discussed below in terms of: the emancipatory process, the role of the inquirer, and the role of data sources (see Table 8. 'Sub-Categories of the General Category of Inquiry "To Emancipate", According to: The Emancipatory Process, The Role of the Inquirer, and the Role of Data Sources'). The framework is constructed by the author of the study in order to specify and differentiate practical considerations for determining the sub-category of the "to emancipate" category of inquiry to be used as the research methodology in the study. For each sub-category, the "emancipatory process" refers to the dynamics of inquiry; the "role of the inquirer" refers to the functional orientation of

Table 8.
Sub-Categories of the General Category of Inquiry "To Emancipate", According to: The Emancipatory Process, The Role of the Inquirer, and The Role of Data Sources

	Emancipatory Process	Role of Inquirer	Role of Data Sources
neo-Marxist	Meta-narrative (logocentric theories with specific universal truth claims) is used to uncover class interests, to transform the whole system.	Analyst	To distinguish class interests within a class structure.
feminist	Correcting the invisibility and distortion of the role of gender in shaping consciousness, skills, institutions, power and privilege.	Theoretician, Group Facilitator, Archivist, Analyst	To elucidate the dialectical relationship between personal experience and the social structure.
praxis-oriented	Observing and documenting activity to generate theory or direct the selection of theory that is relevant to the activity.	Facilitator and Recorder	To demonstrate the experience of people active in relationship with each other.
educative	Application of social scientific theories to achieve rational enlightenment as self-understanding.	Catalytic-Agent	To demonstrate observable behavior resulting from observable social processes.
Freirian participatory	Change self-understanding of those under study through problem-posing.	Teacher	To become subjects of own experience.
action research	Reconstruction of theory out of experience in situ by those directly involved in practice.	Collaborator	To be identifiable as a problem and its components.
critical (Fay[1], 1987)	A crisis in social system caused in part by the false-consciousness of those experiencing it; false consciousness is amenable to enlightenment, leading to emancipation.	Enlightener	To elucidate the dialectical relationship between the social structure and ideas about the social structure.

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[1] Fay presents a "fully developed critical theory" which includes ten sub-theories under four main theories: a theory of critical consciousness, a theory of crisis, a theory of education, and a theory of tranformative action. A more indepth treatment would juxtapose Lather and Fay's representational categories.

the inquirer; the "role of data sources" refers to the primary function of data sources. The sub-categories are: neo-Marxist, feminist, praxis-oriented, educative, Freirian participatory, action research, and critical.

The emancipatory process in neo-Marxist inquiry uses meta-narrative to uncover class interests toward transforming the whole system (Rosenau, 1992). The role of the inquirer is analyst, breaking the totality of class structure into parts; class interests, therefore, must have the capability of being conceptually distinguishable and discrete entities. For example, the division of labour that limits tasks performed in the provision of public services and the system boundaries that self-preserve public service bureaucratic organization would be perceived, at the outset of the study, as definable in terms of class interests within the larger totality of a class structure. The inquirer's task would be to identify class for interagency collaboration among bureaucratic organizations approach to providing education, health and social services, and to analyze the extent to which interagency collaboration reinforces and/or undermines the class structure in society.

Feminist emancipatory inquiry places gender "at the centre" (Lather, 1991). The emancipatory process in feminist inquiry is multi-faceted and demands multiple roles of the inquirer in her efforts to elucidate the place of gender in "shaping consciousness, skills, institutions, power and privilege." The role of data sources is to substantiate and concretize women's "unequal position" in the social order (p. 71-72). For example, the study would seek to establish gender as a category in the bureaucratic approach and in the interagency collaboration approach to providing education, health and social services by substantiating and concretizing the personal experiences of women and relating personal experiences to bureaucratic structures and to structures for interagency collaboration. For the former, the nature of bureaucratic structures and the personal experience of women in bureaucratic structures is well-documented (Bannerji, 1991; Bohan, 1992; Paludi, 1990;

Redelift, Nanneke, 1991). For the latter, the nature of structures for interagency

collaboration is ambiguous and ill-defined and therefore the personal experience of

women in interagency collaboration cannot be substantiated and concretized.

Praxis-oriented inquiry is driven by activity (Bottomore, 1983). The inquirer, as

facilitator and recorder, actively engages the experience of subjects in their relationships.

[2] Theory is applicable when it is "both relevant to the world and nurtured by actions in it

" (Lather, p. 12) ensuring that the active experience of subjects remains the focus. The

role of data sources is to generate theory or to provide direction for selecting what is

relevant to the experience of subjects in their relationships; theory that is not directly

related to the realm of experience of the subjects would not be utilized by the inquirer.

For example, the inquirer would derive theory or directions for selecting theory from

facilitating and recording activities that demonstrate the experiences of those engaged in

interagency collaboration; the experiences may or may not indicate incoherence and

inconsistency for interagency collaboration among bureaucratic organizations. The study,

however, assumes that there is a potential conflict between the bureaucratic approach and

the interagency collaboration approach, and hence the emancipatory process, the role of

the inquirer and the role of data sources are enjoined in an a priori theoretical framework

as a conceptual tool for focusing on experience which is intrinsically bound to the

conflict.

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[2] Lather (p. 172) laments the paucity of "ways to connect (praxis-oriented research methodology to (our) theoretical concerns and research methods." Perhaps the paucity is due to inherent contradictions: praxis-oriented inquiry is, by necessity, driven by a specific ontological orientation, yet praxis-oriented inquiry is claimed to be emancipatory because it it driven by the experience of subjects. The relationship between theory and practice is at the core of the methodological problems for praxis-oriented research.

The educative emancipatory process relies on social scientific theories. The inquirer is a catalytic agent utilizing a theoretical framework drawn from social scientific theories to guide observations of behavior. Data sources are demonstrations of observable behaviors that result from oppressive social processes. In relation to the study, there are well-developed theories about bureaucracy to guide observations of behaviors within bureaucracies; an educative approach to the study would include a comparative analysis of observable oppressive social processes in the bureaucratic approach to providing education, health and social services, and in the interagency collaboration approach. However, at the present time there are no theories of "interagency collaboration" as a category of organization to guide observation of behavior in any social process within interagency collaboration. [3] Interagency collaboration is simply an intent as opposed to a definable organizational entity with conceptualized characteristics. It is anticipated that by identifying the nature of the conflict between the bureaucratic approach for providing school, health and social services, and the interagency collaboration approach, and the nature of challenges and implications for interagency collaboration, the study will, to some extent, provide direction for elucidating relevant conceptual characteristics in subsequent studies of interagency collaboration as an organizational form.

Freirian participatory inquiry focuses on changing individual self-understanding (Freire, 1983). The role of the inquirer is "teacher"[4], using problem-posing pedagogical techniques. Data sources are the participants, who become emancipated as a direct result

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3. The literature on community development and on organizational development are potential sources of knowledge concerning implementation of "inter-agency collaboration".

[4] The commonly used term in the literature is "educator"; however, for the purposes of this discussion the term "teacher" is used to avoid confusion with the "educative" emancipatory process.

of the inquirer intervening to change their self-understanding from an objectified self-conception, to become subjects of their own experience. The assumption is that participants are objectified by existing structures and that when they become subjects of their own experience, they will transform existing structures. To some extent the emancipatory process, the role of the inquirer and data sources of Freirian inquiry are appropriate for the purpose of the study. The inquirer assumes that she will enhance the capacity for self-understanding of the subjects under study; "problem-posing" is applied in as much as the theoretical framework is constructed to locate individual self-perceptions based on their experience of division of labour and system boundaries in terms of hierarchy, standardization, specialization, and formalization. However, the study does not assume that subjects under study will necessarily transform structures as a result of their experience of being involved as participants in the study.

Action research involves the inquirer as collaborator in reconstructing theory out of the experience of those involved in practice (Borg, Gall and Gall, 1993). The role of data sources is to provide "a problem and its components" as it is identified by practitioners. For the purpose of the study, however, rather than practitioners defining the conflict between the interagency collaboration approach and the bureaucratic approach as the "problem" representing challenges and implications for interagency collaboration, it is asserted by the inquirer that the conflict is related to the division of labour and system boundaries characteristic of bureaucracies. Hence the "problem" is conceptualized by the inquirer, and not by practitioners in bureaucracies involved in the trend toward interagency collaboration. Furthermore, because interagency collaboration is more an intent than a definitive context within which the experience of practitioners can be

universally articulated, there is a lack of a universal context from which to reconstruct theory out of experience.

Critical inquiry has to do with crisis in a social system caused, at least in part, by false-consciousness. False consciousness refers to " . . . the systematic ignorance that the members of society have about themselves and their society . . . (Fay, p. 27)." The role of the inquirer is enlightener in that, through explaining the social crisis, she diminishes systematic ignorance. The role of data sources in critical inquiry is to elucidate the dialectical relationship between ideas about the social structure and the social structure itself. For example the crisis in the social system can be taken as the incoherence and inconsistency for interagency collaboration among bureaucratic organizations in efforts to enhance efficiency and effectiveness of bureaucratic organizations. Through describing and analyzing the incoherence and inconsistency and conceptualizing challenges and implications, she contributes to reducing systematic ignorance about ideas of interagency collaboration among bureaucratic organizations. This process of consciousness-raising provides data for clarifying the dialectical relationship between ideas about interagency collaboration and bureaucratic structures. Clarification of the relationship constitutes the nature of the conflict and challenges from which the inquirer may identify implications.

In summary, the differences among subcategories of emancipatory inquiry are distinguishable according to the emancipatory process, the role of the inquirer and the role of data sources. The "critical" sub-category of emancipatory inquiry is the research methodology selected for the study. The neo-Marxist, feminist, praxis-oriented, educative, Freirian participatory, and action research methodologies have relatively limited capability for describing and analyzing the incoherence and inconsistency and

conceptualizing the challenges and implications for social policy. They may be appropriate for future studies, as indicated in potential in Chapter Eight: Summary, Conclusions and Directions for Further Study. The next section addresses procedures for data collection and analysis used in the study.

Data Collection and Procedures

Data sources are selected for their capacity to reveal the contradictory relationship between "ideas and the social structure" as a dialectic representation of false consciousness. The "ideas" are representations of the intent of interagency collaboration among bureaucratic organizations. "The "social structure" refers to the reality of bureaucratic organization being characterized by: specialization, standardization, formalization and hierarchy. To elucidate the dialectical relationship between the intent and the reality of interagency collaboration among bureaucratic organizations, data has been collected from three main sources: meetings and documents of the Opening Doors: Collaborative Services for Children and Families initiative group from June 1993 to June 1994, government documents, and interviews with individuals involved in and related to Opening Doors: Collaborative Services for Children and Families.

The conceptual framework described in Chapter One: Introduction and elaborated in Chapter Two: Literature Review (Table 6.) constitutes the Conceptual Framework which guides the data collection and procedures for meeting the three objectives of the study.

Objective 1. To describe an example of interagency collaboration among bureaucratic organizations.

The data collection process began in the Spring 1993. The sources of data include

government documents pertaining to the Opening Doors: Collaborative Services for

Children and Families initiative; minutes of meetings of Opening Doors from June 1993

to June 1994; and records of proceedings from joint-meetings of the Opening Doors

Initiative, provincial government officials, and the other five sites in the province of

Alberta.

The description is organized chronologically in Chapter Four: Chronology of an

Interagency Collaboration among Bureaucratic Organizations. Selection of material from

among the data for the purposes of the description was guided by: articulation of the

intent related to interagency collaboration among bureaucratic organizations and

references to actions for operationalizing the intent.

Objective 2. To describe the contradictions between the intent of interagency collaboration and the effect of bureaucratic organization, utilizing the example described in Objective 1.

The data sources include the: chronology documented in Chapter Four, interviews

conducted with 16 individuals (see Appendix J. List of Interviewees) both directly and

indirectly involved in the Opening Doors initiative, field notes taken while the author of

the study attended meetings of the Opening Doors: Collaborative Services for Children

and Families from June 1993 to June 1994, and minutes of meetings. The interviews

were conducted between Spring 1995 and Winter 1996. The interviews were conducted

in-person utilizing an interview guide (see Appendix K. Interview Guide) according to

the conceptual framework developed in Chapter Two: Literature Review. Each

interviewee signed a consent form that was previously approved by the Faculty of

Graduate Studies at the University of Calgary (see Appendix J. Ethics Review

Committee Letter of Approval and Appendix I. Consent Form). Between June 1993 and

June 1994 the author of the study attended 14 meetings of Opening Doors: Collaborative

Services for Children and Families during which notes were taken on reflections on the

process and content of meetings, and on questions and issues for further reflection and

links to theory about bureaucratic organization.

Procedures for describing the contradictions between the intent and the reality of

interagency collaboration among bureaucratic organization included categorizing data

according to intent and reality for:

hierarchy in which top-down control induces
  • dichotomous behavior: to obey or command, and
  • simultaneous centralizing and decentralizing tendencies that protect class status

specialization in which protected expertise with differential privilege induces
  • limitations on capabilities for determining needs, and
  • threats to the stability of specialization

standardization in which the system of accountability for areas of action induce:
  • dependency, and
  • a focus on individual solutions to structural problems

formalization in which reduced individual discretion in interpreting primary goals and
procedures induces
  • contradictory interpretations, and
  • reinforcement of class structure.

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Objective 3. To conceptualize the challenges and implications for social policy.

The data sources for the challenges and implications for social policy are the contradictions between the intent and the reality for interagency collaboration among bureaucratic organizations that emerge from Objective 2. above. The procedures for conceptualizing the challenges and implications include relating the contradictions to Bowe, Ball and Gold's framework for social policy analysis - interest, articulation and practice - identified in the section "Significance of the Study" in Chapter One.

Trustworthiness

Lincoln and Guba (p. 290) describe the "basic issue" of trustworthiness as

> "How can an inquirer persuade his or her audiences (including self)
> that the findings of an inquiry are worth paying attention to, worth
> taking account of? What arguments can be mounted, what criteria
> invoked, what questions asked, that would be persuasive on this issue?"

In the non-qualitative realm of inquiry, Lincoln and Guba refer to internal validity, external validity, reliability, and objectivity as the criteria used to determine trustworthiness. In the qualitative realm, the criteria are: credibility, transferability, and confirmability. Each are discussed below with reference to the research methodology used in the study.

Credibility

Credibility can be understood as the "truth value" of the findings in the context of the inquiry. Lincoln and Guba (p. 301) identify three techniques that increase "the probability that credible findings will be produced." These techniques are: prolonged engagement, persistent observation, and triangulation. Prolonged engagement with

Opening Doors: Collaborative Services for Children and Families group members

contributed to trust. The aims of building trust are consistent with

> "(trust being a) . . . *developmental* process . . . to demonstrate to the
> respondents that their confidences will not be used against them; that
> pledges of anonymity will be honoured; that hidden agendas . . . are not
> served; that the interests of the respondents will be honoured as much as
> those of the investigator; and that the respondents will have input into and
> actually influence the inquiry process" (p. 303).

The purpose of prolonged engagement to develop trust is to "render the inquirer open to

the multiple influences - the mutual shapers and contextual factors - that impinge upon

the phenomenon being studied . . ." (p. 304).

Acceptance to observe the regular monthly meetings of the Opening Doors Initiative

group was achieved by the inquirer over the period February to June 1993. The first step

was a referral from Dr. Brian Staples (retired) of Alberta Department of Education who in

turn referred the inquirer to the local chair of the Opening Doors Committee. An

introductory on-one-on-one meeting was arranged to explain the inquirer's interest.

Subsequently Norreen Baker, Assistant Superintendent at the time, brought the inquirer's

interest in Opening Doors to the Committee and a sub-committee was struck to make a

recommendation for approval/disapproval to the Committee as a whole. The inquirer met

individually with each sub-committee member: Dr. Dennis Fendall of the Calgary

Catholic Board of Education and Dr. Diane Hodson of the City of Calgary Social

Services. Their recommendation to the Committee was positive and the inquirer began

attending meetings in June 1993. Throughout the twelve month period the inquirer

attended meetings as a non-voting member. Indicators of trust in the inquirer include: all

minutes and notices of meetings were sent to the inquirer; the inquirer was included in

social activities among the Committee as a whole and among individual group members.

In addition, the inquirer was a resource person to the group on an ad hoc basis to clarify and conceptualize issues being discussed related to organization development and community development.

Persistent observation "provides depth" in an inquiry by continuously "identifying characteristics and elements in the situation that are most relevant to the problem or issue being pursued and focusing on them in detail" (p. 304). This process entails tentative labeling of salient characteristics and elements, for exploring relevancy's and "sorting out irrelevancies." Maintaining field notes on the group meetings allowed that the author of the study conceptualized and reconceptualized throughout a twelve month period, as she would reflect on both the subjects of observations and theoretical discussions on bureaucratic organization from the literature.

Triangulation refers to multiple sources of data. For the purposes of this study Diesberg's (1972, pp. 147-148) discussion of "contextual validation" is applied to triangulation by comparisons among data sources. Multiple sources of data are used in the study, and compared for commonalties and differences.

Transferability

Transferability in qualitative research demands that the inquiry provide a thick description "necessary to enable someone interested in making a transfer to reach a conclusion about whether transfer can be contemplated as a possibility" (p. 316). Criteria for determining transferability in this study include: opportunity for the reader to judge the extent of bias of the inquirer and provision of contextual information grounded in the case illustration. In the first instance, the inquirer has made her bias clear in the

discussion of the selection of emancipatory inquiry and in the discussion of why critical inquiry is selected as the research methodology. Second, the research methodology includes contextual information (Chapter Four: Chronology of an Interagency Collaboration Among Bureaucratic Organizations) as well as replication of in-use documentation (see Appendices A. to J.)

Confirmability

Confirmability is maintained by use of an audit trail of raw data, and recorded data reconstruction and synthesis. Records of data collection, reconstruction and synthesis is maintained as research is in progress. The original hand-written notes from observing Committee meetings are retained; referenced public documents are freely available; other documents of a more confidential nature such as interview proceedings will be retained by the inquirer under conditions specified in the Certificate of Institutional Ethics Review (see Appendix H).

Summary

The research methodology is designed to answer the three objectives of the study: The critical sub-category of emancipatory inquiry is selected from among other sub-categories (neo-Marxist, feminist, educative, praxis-oriented, Freirian participatory, and action research) for its appropriateness to the study in terms of the emancipatory process, the role of the inquirer and the role of data sources. Data collection and analysis procedures are described according to the three objectives of the study. Chapter Four: Chronology of an Interagency Collaboration Among Bureaucratic Organizations follow.

Chapter Four: Chronology of an Interagency Collaboration Among Bureaucratic
Organizations

Introduction

This Chapter meets Objective 1. of the study by describing an example of interagency
collaboration among bureaucratic organizations. The example is Opening Doors:
Collaborative Services for Children and Families. The data sources for the description of
the chronology and context include: minutes of meetings and hand-outs at related
meetings, observation notes of meetings attended by the researcher, and non-
governmental and governmental documents.

The description is organized chronologically. A broad outline of the background
spanning April 1991 to June 1993 to Opening Doors: Collaborative Services for Children
and Families is provided in the first section . The second section spans June 1993 to
June 1994. The chapter concludes with the section, Summary.

April 1991 to June 1993

In April 1991 discussions began between Alberta Education and the Calgary Board of
Education regarding collaboration among the various organizations and agencies involved
in providing services within high needs schools. By Fall 1991 an interagency committee
was formed composed of representatives from: Alberta Alcohol and Drug Abuse
Commission (AADAC), Alberta Education, Alberta Family and Social Services, Alberta
Mental Health, Calgary Board of Education, Calgary Catholic Board of Education,
Calgary Health Services, and City Social Services. The primary objective of the

committee was to "describe and evaluate the process of interagency collaboration with schools."

Between January to June 1992 the "Thomas Study", commissioned by the committee, documented the experience of collaboration within one high needs elementary school. The Thomas Study elucidated that interagency collaboration does in fact take place. By Fall 1992 the Committee was "building on the foundation" of the Thomas study by publishing a follow-up document called "Opening Doors: A Review of School-Agency Collaboration" which "examined the broader principles and issues associated with collaboration." The purpose was to "improve services to students through informing stakeholders about: characteristics of interagency collaboration with schools, factors affecting the collaborative process, and collaborative outcomes." The summary of the document highlighted the following "areas for planning and action."

1. Inter-ministerial planning and legislation to address the comprehensive needs of children and families.
2. Confidentiality.
3. Clearing house on collaborative initiatives, research etc.
4. Staff development.
5. Funding.
6. Model for collaboration.
7. Evaluations.
8. Adequate resources.
9. Interagency forums.
10. Preventive services.
11. Community involvement.

Independently, during November 1992 as well, the Coordination of Services for Children Terms of Reference (Appendix E.) was prepared by an interdepartmental government committee under the direction of an interdepartmental Assistant Deputy Ministers Committee at the provincial level for a "project" with the following purposes.

1. To better serve Alberta's children and youth in need, and their families, by improving the coordination of service delivery at the provincial and local levels.
2. To work cooperatively with local community groups and stakeholders to develop and implement action plans that use available resources in meeting those needs.
3. To function as a Steering Committee for the Brighter Future's initiative.[1]

The project was directed by the interdepartmental Assistant Deputy Ministers (ADM's) Committee (Appendix D.) which reported to respective Deputy Ministers in four Alberta government departments: Family and Social Services, Education, Health and the Solicitor General. Implementation of the project was to be performed by the Interdepartmental Officials' Committee (Appendix C.) established for the express purpose of carrying-out the project, and accountable to the Assistant Deputy Ministers Committee. Both the ADM's Committee and the Officials' Committee were chaired by staff from Family and Social Services.

The interdepartmental ADM's Committee was established initially "due to communities making demands for an effective and efficient way to deal with issues" (Meeting of June 16, 1993) which thereby "raised the awareness of the Ministers". The mandate of the ADM's Committee was to "take advice from the communities and to draft policies." The plan was to evaluate various regions, share with other regions, and "look at mandate and structural changes at provincial level in support of diverse communities."

In the meantime, during December 1992 the local Calgary committee called a meeting to which their "senior leadership" was invited "to inform them of the work of the committee and to request their support to develop a model for improved coordination of

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[1] "Brighter Futures" was a Health Canada Grant programme for provincial governments, Aboriginal nations, and non-profit groups to develop innovative and collaborative children's services.

service delivery to children and families." Senior leadership referred to those in local

top management positions within AADAC, Alberta Education, Alberta Family and

Social Services, Calgary Board of Education, Calgary Catholic Board of Education,

Alberta Mental Health, and City Social Services. The format for the meeting included a

presentation and discussion of the document "Opening Doors: A Guide to School/Agency

Collaboration." The discussion resulted in an addendum to the document which made

reference to the fact that the idea of inter-agency collaboration is not new, but previous

efforts get little beyond the "discussion stage". The addendum specified factors "at work

to propel the concept of school/agency collaboration beyond the discussion stage (p. 2.)."

1. Discussions are occurring at the local and provincial levels at the same time, indicating
a greater commitment from provincial leaders, as well as local agency administrators than
has been seen previously.

2. We have more information on collaboration and more successful initiatives to draw on
than before, strengthening the possibility of an informed process. Interest and energy are
increased when demonstrable results can be seen.

3. There is more at stake with decreasing budget and increasing workloads, creating a
stronger investment among schools and agencies in the collaborative process, and
creating more stakeholders.

4. There is generally a greater recognition of the need to employ community development
strategies to address social problems.

While the factors "propelling" collaboration were allegedly accelerating, there were other

indications of abatement of support and resources for school/agency collaboration. The

provincial government had announced that funding for community schools would end in

the current fiscal year. Yet, in "Toward a Philosophy for Community Schools: The

Community School Idea and Twenty-Five Possible Benefits of Effective Community

Schools for the Community School Construct" Brian Staples for the Canadian

Association for Community Education (Draft 6 - 92/03/04) cited "Twenty-Five Possible

Benefits of Effective Community Schools" which included "enhanced interagency

cooperation" (p. 7) wherein

> "community schools work with other community social services, professionals
> and organizations who are in the same business, i.e. helping people live their
> lives as fully and happily as possible. The strong commitment to interagency
> cooperation enhances the value of the resources society uses in these endeavors,
> as monies and people energy are pooled. Often a multidisciplinary approach is
> fostered in attacking community problems. Community schools, through
> interagency cooperation, become true community learning and participation
> centres."

In reference to what was perceived to be yet another Alberta Family and Social Services

reorganization the October 1992 Alberta Association of Social Workers "Submission to

the Children's Advocate Regarding the Review of Child Welfare" asserted that

> "Chronic and continual re-organization of Child Welfare Services must be
> stopped. Continuous reorganization over the past decade has:
> - deflected the focus of the Department away from its mandate and service to the
>   community
> - depleted the energy and morale of Child Welfare Workers
> - contributed to high turnover and the reluctance of professionally trained social
>   workers in seeking employment with the Department
> - impeded effective social work and child welfare practice
> - consumed financial resources that otherwise might have been directed towards
>   services to children."

In spite of the elimination of funding to community schools and blind to the protestations

by the Alberta Association of Social Workers to stop services reorganization, the Calgary

interagency committee that was initiated in April 1991 met on February 24, 1993 with

local "front-line workers to validate issues identified within the Opening Doors document

and to obtain their input in the development of a relevant and practical model."

The committee reviewed a model that was conceptualized in a schematic representation

that emerged from its discussions. The model was presented to the committee by the

Alberta and Family Social Services member of the committee as a potential proposal

called "Calgary Children's Services Partnership (CCSP) Pilot Project." The Proposal

detailed a vision and a description of features of the CCSP : child-centered,

comprehensive, integrated, accountability via "increased involvement and responsibility

on behalf of individuals and families requiring services as well as the broader

community", and adaptable to "evolving needs of the community prioritizing resources

accordingly". In addition, an operational plan outlined the purpose, structure, roles,

process, and context. The draft Proposal concluded with "Benefits" of "adopting this

approach to the delivery of services . . . ." (p. 4).

1. It does not require new services, only a reorganization of the way services are currently delivered.
2. It is adaptable to the particular needs of the community (e.g. high immigrant population; high special needs population).
3. It assists in narrowing the gap between mandates by bringing the agencies together in a collaborative effort that will allow the development of mutual trust and collegiality . . . (requiring) the team to problem solve together to meet the needs of the child.
4. It would reduce the need for a proliferation of specialized services and programs . . . (and) instead evolve according to the changing needs of the community.
5. Highly transient families would be much easier for the various agencies and schools to follow with the provision of integrated services.

In March 1993 the Committee incorporated feedback from the front-line in "formulating

a proposed integrated service delivery model." The feedback was summarized by one

Committee member in a Memo circulated to all Committee members. The summary was

drafted using the headings extracted from the original "Opening Doors" document:

interministerial planning and legislation to address the comprehensive needs of children

and families; confidentiality; staff development; funding; model for collaboration;

evaluation; adequate resources; interagency forums; preventative services; and

community involvement. In effect, the "feedback" elaborated what was to some extent

more general in the Opening Doors document. A second meeting was held on April 21, 1993 with senior leadership from participating agencies to review the proposed model for which "approval was received to proceed with implementation of the pilot."

While the demise of government support for community schools was finalized, and the critique by the Alberta Association of Social Workers went unnoticed, the Calgary committee invited Connie Roberts, Assistant Deputy Director, San Diego County Department of Social Services for meetings on June 3 and 4 of 1993 to describe the New Beginnings model in San Diego and to advise the committee on next steps in its self-proclaimed mandate. Shortly thereafter the event came to the attention of actors at the provincial government level and the committee was invited to be one of five "sites" for the provincial initiative: Coordination of Services for Children.

June 1993 to June 1994

In response to the invitation to be one of five selected sites in Alberta, on June 16 1993 the Calgary committee hosted a meeting with representatives from committees spear-heading the Coordination of Services for Children Initiative: the interdepartmental Officials Committee that was in turn accountable to the interdepartmental Assistant Deputy Minister's Committee; and local senior management from the respective organizations on the Calgary committee. Each provincial government committee was composed of representatives from four provincial government departments: Health, Education, Solicitor General, and Social Services. The Calgary Committee to become one of five selected "sites" among: Calgary, Edmonton, Lethbridge, Wetaskiwin, and

Webaska/Demarais. "Communities" at these sites were to be "supported" and "evaluated" by the interdepartmental government committees, with the communities deciding on "vision and on the evaluation criteria" and with the Assistant Deputy Ministers Committee providing evaluation guidelines." No "new dollars" were to be available for the interdepartmental project. The relationships between the committees are represented in Figure 1.

Figure 1.
Relationships Among Committees and "Sites" for the Coordination of Services for Children Initiative

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┌─────────────────────────────────────────┐
│  Interdepartmental Assistant Deputy      │
│                Ministers                 │
│               Committee                  │
│           • Solicitor General            │
│           • Social Services              │
│             • Education                  │
│               • Health                   │
└─────────────────────────────────────────┘
                  directs
                    the
┌─────────────────────────────────────────┐
│   Interdepartmental Officials Committee   │
│           • Solicitor General            │
│           • Social Services              │
│              • Education                 │
│                • Health                  │
└─────────────────────────────────────────┘
                facilitates
                /supports/
                 evaluates
                    the
                  "Sites"
                    who
                  decide
                 vision &
                 evaluate
                  criteria
┌──────────┬────────────┬─────────┬────────────┬──────────┐
│ Edmonton │ Wetaskiwin │ Calgary │ Lethbridge │ Webasca- │
│          │            │         │            │ Demarais │
└──────────┴────────────┴─────────┴────────────┴──────────┘
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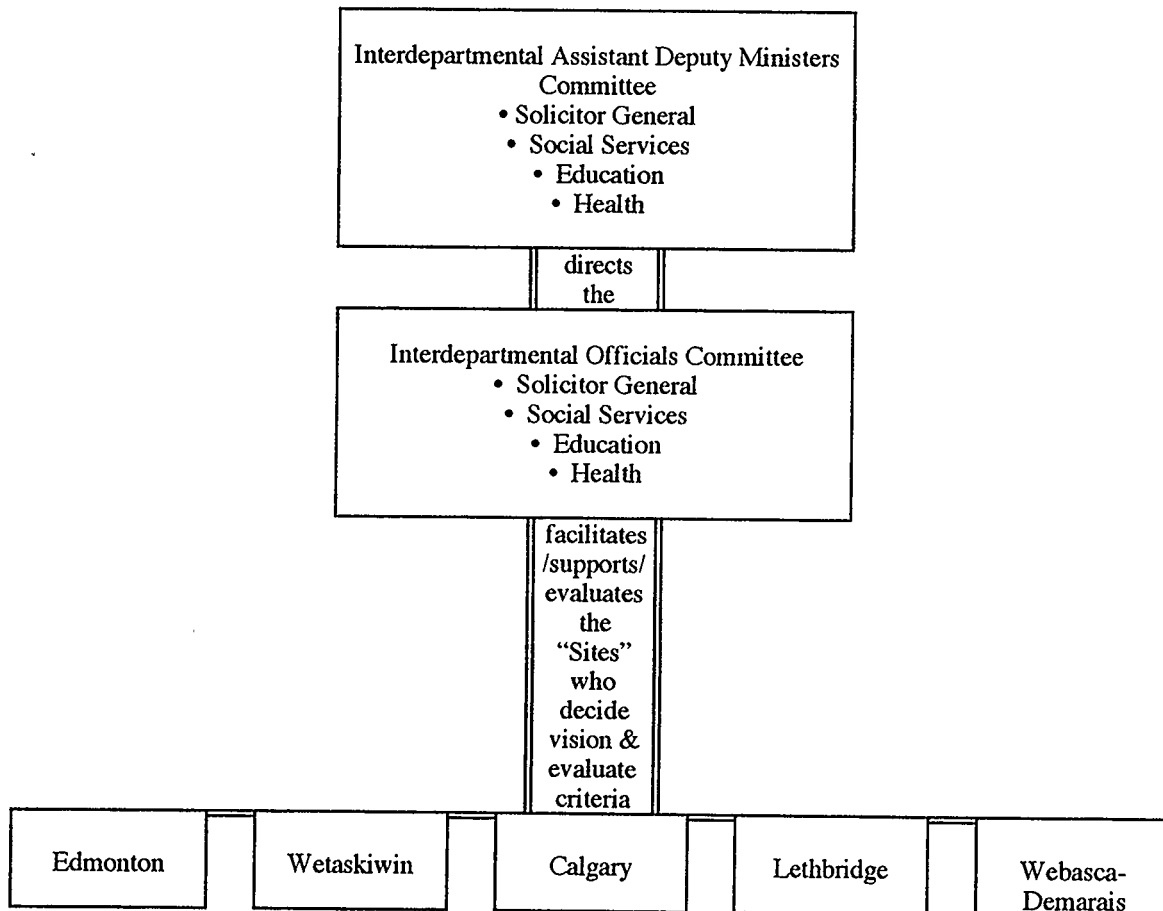
Prior to the arrival of the cohort from Edmonton for the June 16 1993 meeting the Calgary committee created a "socially constructed" agenda. Each committee level was to give a status report; during the Assistant Deputy Ministers Committee report and the Officials committee report reference was made by representatives of the ADM's Committee to their role in " evaluation as the follow-up" and reference was made to "support" to the Calgary committee from the Official's Committee.

The next two agenda items were next steps in collaboration" and "considerations in collaboration." For the former, the Calgary committee described next steps as: establishing governance agreements, delineating who on the committee is going to do what, identifying the community to engage in the pilot initiative, focusing on families and developing a community profile. For the latter agenda item, "considerations in collaboration", the Calgary committee summarized responses from their meeting with front-line workers on February 24, 1993, and notes from the meeting with Connie Roberts of June 4, 1993. The categories of considerations in collaboration included: blending roles and mandates, dealing with negative responses, collaboration versus coordination, client self-determination versus social control, confidentiality, and "shifting our thinking". While the new relationship was being formed at and following this meeting, there was a flurry of related activity and a proliferation of government documents elsewhere.

One was the government document "In Need of Protection" authored by the Alberta Children's Advocate at the time (July 1993), who made 300 recommendations for improving service to children in the province of Alberta. The recommendations included that the "mandates of Social Services, Health, Education and

Justice should be integrated to create a comprehensive approach to child, family, youth and family services (Commissioner of Services for Children)." (p. 2) In terms of service delivery, the recommendations included "Co-location of Child Welfare Services in schools." (p.4) Another was publicity and preparation for public participation in restructuring education that ultimately resulted in the document Meeting the Challenge: What We Heard/Education Roundtable's, October 1993. A result of roundtable discussions among the 240 people "representing a broad cross-section of Albertans" was a suggested need to "reduce duplication between different government departments, that is, amalgamate some departments; and more collaboration and sharing of resources between Health, Social Services and Justice."

Following the June 16, 1993 meeting representatives from the interdepartmental Officials Committee were assigned to the Calgary Committee. At a meeting on August 9, 1993 the Officials Committee representative presented an "Evaluation Planning Matrix" The matrix was structured to deal with two "issues": 1. to document processes and activities implemented in the Coordination of Services for Children Initiative, from the *service planning and delivery* point of view, and 2. to assess relevant outcomes for children and families, from the *service recipient* point of view.

Also distributed was the newly established newsletter, "Briefing: Coordination of Services for Children, August 1993 #1."; the interdepartmental entity answered its own questions: " . . . what is the Coordination of Services for Children All About? . . .that children and their families get the services they need with little intrusion to their lives . . . . This cooperative effort of five communities and four provincial government departments also aims to make better use of existing resources and to increase decision-making at the

local level . . . this number of communities allows different approaches to be tried and close working relationships to be formed between the communities and their government colleagues."

A day-long retreat for the Calgary Committee was held on August 13, 1993 to "focus on the next phase". The agenda included: revisit the vision and structure; CEO Committee; committee name; committee membership; subcommittee structure; leadership; meeting schedule; and workplan. At this meeting, three potential geographic communities were short listed as targets for implementation: Bowness, Forest Lawn, and Huntington Hills/Thorncliffe.

At the Calgary committee meeting of September 24, 1993 discussion about leadership of the committee resulted in thoughts about the role of the chair:

"- needs to reflect an agency and community balance
- needs to have a higher hierarchical link at CEO level
- need for continuity during transition period
- the rotating chair approach provides opportunity for diversity in context and emphasis as representation changes."

In addition, there was discussion about their local CEOs trust in provincial government commitment. It was announced by a representative from the Officials Committee that three levels of support were available from the Officials Committee: "Facilitation, evaluation, and community planning." Up to $5000 could be "authorized" if "needs" could not be met locally. In addition, a "Revised Coordination of Services for Children Evaluation Protocol". was distributed by the representative of the Officials Committee. This included the "Aim of the Coordination of Services for Children Initiative", the "Aim of the Provincial Evaluation", the "Scope of the Provincial Evaluation", the

"Clients of the Provincial Evaluation", and the "Design of the Provincial Evaluation". In respect to selection of the geographic community as the location for implementing the initiative, demographic reports were distributed for various communities that were considered to be "high needs" in Calgary: Penbrooke, Thorncliffe/Huntington Hills, Forest Lawn, Albert Park/Radisson Heights, and Bowness.

At the September 30, 1993 I was formally accepted by the group after having attended meetings since June 1993. I presented a schematic of policy, indicating that my working hypothesis while observing the Calgary committee was that interagency collaboration among their organizations required two way "circular" feedback among policy, administration and implementation functions within each organization.

Figure 2.
Schematic: Policy, Administration and Implementation as a Two-Way Circular Feedback Process
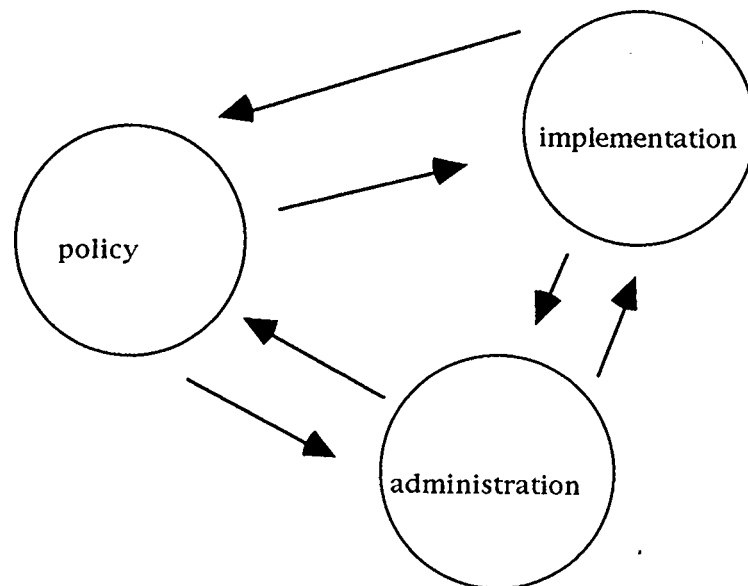
I contrasted this with a conventional notion of policy, administration and implementation as a one way process from the policy realm downward. It was recorded in the minutes of the meeting of September 30, 1993 that I volunteered to be "an objective observer providing process feedback." (Minutes of September 30, 1993 meeting). In addition, it was decided that minutes be made available for group members to distribute among their organizations.

Plans were made to invite the chair of the Assistant Deputy Ministers Committee to the Calgary committee meeting of October 26. Plans were also made to hire a planning facilitator for a committee internal "consultation" on October 22, 1993 and an additional planning day was scheduled for December 2. The purposes of the planning days were to: " . . consolidate the focus and approach of the steering committee, to commence site involvement, and to develop a long-term action plan and outcomes." Prior to adjournment of the September 30 meeting, a proposed "vision and goal statement" was presented by a sub-committee of the Calgary committee asking for feedback to be faxed to one member of the sub-committee before October 8. A substantial achievement at the meeting was the determination of site selection criteria.

"1. Community need - based on demographic reports from last meeting
2. Willingness - to learn and work with us, participatory, an open and flexible community
3. Freshness - is there an established tradition of collaboration?
4. History of resource allocation - existing resource allocation, success rate? current support systems
5. Utilizing existing resources (human, space) - school based? school linked? community based?
6. Tied into initiative vision and goals"

It was quoted in the minutes of the same meeting that "Thorncliffe-Huntington Hills communities received the greatest support. It is important to reinforce (that) other communities will benefit and learn from the Thorncliffe experience."

On October 6, 1993 a fax was circulated for people to give their feedback on the agenda for a provincial meeting called the "Fall Forum" scheduled for November 29. The Forum was sponsored by the Coordination of Services for Children Initiative. The Fall Forum was to bring together representatives from the five sites throughout the province. The agenda was to be discussed during a conference call among representatives of the five sites on October 12.

On October 12, 1993 as well, a subcommittee of the Calgary committee reviewed the vision statement. Minutes of their meeting concluded with questions and a recognition of "the enormity and complexity of what we are proposing." In addition, minutes of the meeting indicated that "we also began to realize that we were considering involving a whole new group of players before we had begun to sort out the working relationships of our respective agencies. (Not to mention the fact that it has taken us two years to get to this point.)."

To resolve the "enormity and complexity" the committee contracted the consultant to facilitate a workshop on October 22 , 1993 for the purposes of developing a vision statement, purpose, objectives, and outcomes. The workshop began with a review of individual expectations of the workshop, followed by a collective review of the vision, statement of purpose and objectives drafted by a subcommittee. The result of the review was agreement on the following.

"Name: Calgary Opening Doors Initiative (CODI)

Vision: Every child will grow up in a secure, nurturing family environment which will maximize individual development and concern for their community.

Purpose: To continuously improve the way work with children and their families to improve services.

Objectives: 1. To involve families and their committees as working partners.
               2. To establish collaborative practices that will impact the way services are delivered.
               3. To advocate on behalf of children and families."

The remainder of the workshop was spent explored the following "challenges".

1. What will our initiative actually look like once its in place in the community?
2. How do we select a suitable community? What are the criteria we should use? Whom do we talk to in the selected community)?
3. What communication strategies will we need to have in place, especially with respect to our own organizations and the wider community?
4. What should the role of the Steering Committee be? How about the composition of the committee?

The next meeting's agenda for October 26, 1993 was referenced as the "Calgary Opening Doors Initiative Steering Committee". The chair of the Interdepartmental Assistant Deputy Minister's Committee attended and began with a review of the status of the four other initiatives in Edmonton, Lethbridge, Wetaskawin, and Wabasca-Demarais. The Chair of the interdepartmental Assistant Deputy Ministers Committee emphasized that it is important to "move beyond cooperation, to integration" of services and that "this is an opportune time to influence service delivery in Alberta." In addition, there was collective agreement at the meeting for the Calgary committee to host a joint meeting of the Assistant Deputy Ministers interdepartmental Committee and the local senior officers of the organizations represented on the Calgary committee. The purpose of the meeting was to ensure that the senior officers are "on board" and that the ADM's Committee supports the senior officers in supporting the Calgary committee. At the October 26 meeting as

well, the Calgary committee's name was modified from the Calgary Opening Doors Initiative to "Opening Doors: Collaborative Services for Children and Families."

On November 2, 1993 two members of Opening Doors: Collaborative Services for Children and Families met with an interagency group of professionals called the North Central Interagency. The professionals all worked in the North Central area of the City wherein Huntington-Hills was located. The report to the November 8, 1993 Opening Doors meeting was that the North Central Interagency group "responded with great enthusiasm." A subsequent Opening Doors/Community meeting was arranged for December 6 to discuss "structural issues" and a workshop in the community was planned for December 10.

At the November 8 meeting a draft of an Opening Doors communiqué was circulated to members titled "Opening Doors: Collaborative Services for Children, November 1993, Communiqué #1". The contents included a definition of collaboration, what the "Opening Doors Initiative is all about", "The Provincial Connection", "What is the Mandate of the Opening Doors Initiative?", and "What are the next steps?".

While Opening Doors was initiating meetings with the professionals working in Huntington Hills, the Alberta Family and Social Services Department released the document Reshaping Child Welfare (November 1993). The document was "The Department's Plan" for : keeping children safe, holding parents accountable, improving services for Aboriginal people, and strengthening community involvement. This was according to a "Responsibility Framework: Eighteen Month Project for Reshaping Child

Welfare" (p. 17). The document included the diagram below, identifying the Deputy

Minister's Steering Committee as an interdepartmental steering committee.

Figure 3.
Structure for Reshaping Child Welfare

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┌─────────────────────────────────────────────────────────┐
│         Minister, Alberta Family & Social Services        │
│                     (Lead Minister)                       │
└─────────────────────────────────────────────────────────┘
                    │ ▼              ▲ │
┌─────────────────────────────────────────────────────────┐
│            Commissioner of Services for Children          │
└─────────────────────────────────────────────────────────┘
            │                              │
┌─────────────────────────┐   ┌─────────────────────────┐
│       Stakeholders        │   │    Deputy Minister's     │
│  • Aboriginal Groups      │   │    Steering Committee     │
│  • agencies               │   │  • Aboriginal Affairs     │
│  • public                 │   │  • Health                 │
│  • community groups       │   │  • Education              │
│  • staff                  │   │  • Justice                │
│  • Premier's Council in   │   │  • Family & Social        │
│    Support of Families    │   │    Services               │
└─────────────────────────┘   └─────────────────────────┘
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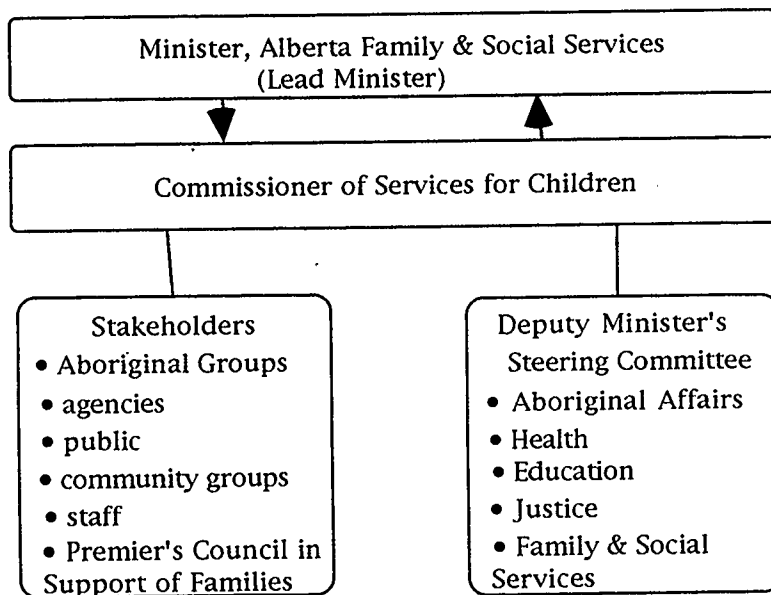
In addition to the Alberta Family and Social Services document, the Report on Education

Roundtable's: Meeting the Challenge, What We Heard (Education Roundtable's.

Calgary, October 15 and 16; Edmonton, October 22 and 23, 1993) was released. The

Report concluded with eighteen recommendations and concerns.

1. Reduce the duplication between different government departments.
2. Reduce the cost of administration.
3. Ensure equal access for all.
4. Measurement and evaluation are needed to ensure accountability and to improve the system.
5. Re-examine the breadth of programming now offered.
6. Decisions should be made at the local level.
7. Reduce the number of school boards.
8. Consider generating more revenue to pay for education.

9. Examine new ways to provide classroom instruction.
10. Decisions about education content should not be driven by funding considerations.
11. Focus more on serving the customer.
12. Transfer the teachers' retirement fund to treasury.
13. More time and consultation are needed.
14. Examine the way facilities are used.
15. Expand the use of technology.
16. Involve the business community more in education.
17. Involve parents more in the education system.
18. Improve cooperation and address the issue of turf protection.

By November 1993 the Department of Health published a parallel "Summary of Alberta Roundtable's on Health". This report was summarized for the "key points": putting the customer first, restructuring the health system, accountability, paying for the system, and getting on with the job.

On November 10, 1993 a news release from the Government of Alberta was titled "Minister Names Commissioner of Children's Services." The release indicated that the newly appointed Commissioner would report directly to the Minister of Family and Social Services in fulfilling the role outlined in the "Reshaping Child Welfare" document and thereby "operate independently of the department."

In the meantime, Opening Doors: Collaborative Services for Children Steering Committee met again on November 25, 1993. A schedule of meeting dates for twice each month from November 25 to June 23 had been developed by a subcommittee and was circulated to the group. Each meeting was scheduled for four hours. The agenda for November 25, 1996 included "feedback" from the "North Central Interagency Meeting held on November 8, 1993." The sub-committee responsible for liaison with the North Central Interagency Meeting reported that the geographic boundary was delineated for the

pilot initiative and a community workshop was scheduled for Saturday, January 15, 1994

to be planned by two members of Opening Doors: Collaborative Services for Children

and Families in conjunction with a yet to be determined "community subcommittee". A

Saturday was selected to "involve more community representation." The goal was to

"develop strategic thinking and strategic action by discussing
- the background and history of Opening Doors and the focus of the initiative
- the Provincial government connection/mandate
- the relationship with North Central Interagency and Huntington Hills community
- what does collaboration mean?"

The expected outcomes of the scheduled January 15, 1994 community workshop were :

information sharing, working together to develop common vision of collaboration,

develop timeline, identify specific issues to address."

On November 28 and 29 1993 all five sites of the Coordination of Children's Services

Initiative, and the interdepartmental Officials Committee and Assistant Deputy Ministers

Committee were brought together in Edmonton for the first (of two; the second was in

Fall 1994) "Provincial Fall Forum." Each site presented[2] a background and status

report, and topic-driven small discussion groups comprised the remainder of the two-day

event. The topics were: jurisdictional/boundary/issues between federal/provincial/local

governments; lack of structure for integrated service delivery; confidentiality; reactive

rather than preventive service approach; working environment: which included staffing

cutbacks, increased workloads, increased knowledge demands, and

accountability/responsibility issues; and fragmented service delivery/lack of

communication.

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2 For a detailed overview of the other four sites, see Chapter Seven: Other sites
in the Coordination of Services for Children Initiative.

Back in Calgary, the Commissioner for Children's Services and the Regional Director of

Alberta Family and Social Services were guests at the next Opening Doors meeting held

on December 6, 1993. The guests arrived following a period of preparation in which

"issues the committee would like further insight" from the Commissioner for Children's

Services were prepared.

1. Accessing and securing agency resources, supporting agency people to take risks, and government support of agencies which provide collaborative leadership.
2. Important to emphasize the immediacy of CEO communication from the ADM's committee.
3. Include highlights and baseline of Opening Doors Initiative and achievement to date. How do we work together? How can we liaise?
4. Is the Commissioner for Children's Services interested in observing the pilot projects? What role can we play?"

When the guests arrived, a brief presentation was made about Opening Doors; then the

Commissioner for Children's Services presented questions to the group beginning with

"what's going on now in the field?" Subsequent to answers given to the Commissioner in

response to his questions, the minutes of the meeting record that he

> " . . . invited the committee to send a letter identifying better ways to shape
> services for children and families and describe how that vision can be achieved
> in very specific terms. Include in our letter a description of our community,
> what we want to see happen (outcomes), and the service delivery model that
> works better. Keep Ray informed. Our letter can go directly to him and be
> structured as a response to this meeting and the Fall Forum."

At the December 16, 1993 meeting, the communications subcommittee of Opening

Doors distributed a report on the work of the subcommittee for which the "purpose" was

described as "community support and involvement to inform about the process." A

variety of communications types were identified for targeted groups were in three

categories: professionals, families, and politicians. Once again, the representatives from

the Officials Committee strongly suggested that the Aboriginal community be involved.

At the December 22, 1993 meeting the discussion focused on the Commissioner for Children's Services and his role; it was decided that clarification was needed and there was concern that he is moving too fast with a timeline of June 1994. The discussion was summarized: continue dialogue with the Commissioner for Children's Services, continue with the community vision (action plan); solicit letters of affirmation from the ministers responsible for each government department involved; and hold a joint meeting with CEO's on January 19, 1994. In addition the meeting struck a "structure" sub-committee, and planned the agenda for the January 19 meeting.

Plans for the meeting revolved around concepts such as "support", "affirmation", "collective plan", "system change", "endorsement", "small group interaction". Ultimately the "agenda" was to make a presentation on Opening Doors activities. A discussion about sending letters to provincial ministers to clarify intents, resulted in a decision not to send such because it "sounded like whining"

During December 1993 and early January 1994 Opening Doors meetings focusing on its structure and composition. The membership was ultimately determined to be composed of one person each from: Alberta Mental Health, Alberta Education, Calgary Board of Education, Calgary Catholic Board of Education, Calgary Health Services, City of Calgary Social Services, Alberta Solicitor General, Alberta Family and Social Services, and the Alberta Alcohol and Drug Abuse Commission.

On January 15, 1994 the "community meeting", also referred to as an "orientation workshop" was held in the Huntington Hill Community Association facility for "interested Huntington Hills community residents." In actual fact the majority of people

present were professionals, dressed in Saturday garb - jeans, sweatshirts and runners. The purpose of the workshop was to "provide background information about provincial and local developments, to clarify relationships with the Huntington Hills Community, and to develop a vision of collaboration." (Opening Doors: Collaborative Services for Children and Families, February 1994 Number 2.). The vice-principal of a local elementary school facilitated an introductory exercise; a City of Calgary social worker, a spokesperson for the North Central Interagency, spoke about the NCI being invited in November 1993 to be involved with Opening Doors: Collaborative Services for Children. A member of the Opening Door: Collaborative Services for Children and Families then spoke about its background that began in 1991 and culminated in the recognition that two things are required to "work together better for children and families": community from the bottom; and government from the top.

Next, a member of the Opening Doors: Collaborative Services for Children and Families presented Opening Doors as a City-wide "action research" which the provincial government is evaluating to apply to other areas of the province. In addition, the speaker presented that this community was selected because it is "full of life"; (has) "lots of resources"; (has) "many schools"; (has a) "large cross-section of people", and (has) "families who need support and families that can provide support." Also, people in the community are "already doing things differently such as the North Central Interagency." The Officials Committee representative from Edmonton provided information about the "key stakeholders" as a "team".

Figure 6.
January 15, 1994: Diagram Presented to Community Meeting by Member of Interdepartmental Officials Committee
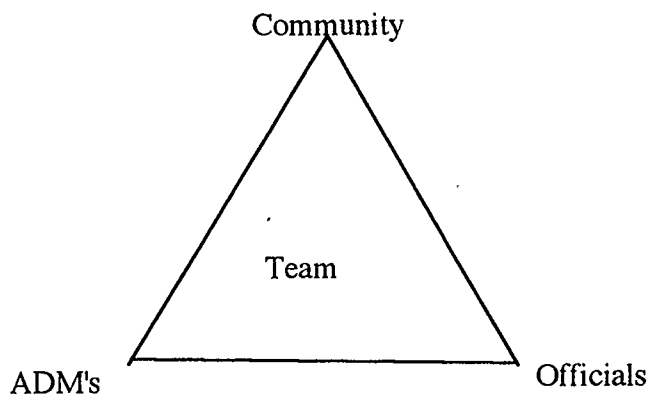
Next the "Three C's" were presented as "different ways of working together": cooperation, coordination, and collaboration. "Cooperation" was referred to as informally working together; "coordination" was referred to as mutual planning and sharing of resources; "collaboration" was referred to as sharing service delivery.

After lunch, the large group was divided into small groups. Then in a large group, the facilitator called for a brainstorm to answer the questions: where do we go from here? What would be the next step in getting people involved?

The results of the "large group" were action steps.

1. Identify a first-place entry for children and families.
2. Do an inventory of current formal and informal services in the community; compose a list and distribute/make available within the community.
3. Host a forum for exploration of matching community needs and resources (e.g.: unemployed people in the community being matched with businesses in the community.).
4. Develop a "personality" column as a regular feature in the community association newsletter, in which human service staff are given a "human face".
5. Have professional staff train a team of volunteers as first contacts for children and families requiring services; trained volunteers can then in-turn train other volunteers; use past-consumers as a source of volunteers.

6. Establish a service team or "working group" to be responsible for follow-up on today; and to report back to this group of today for feedback on above action.

The meeting broke-off at 2:30 p.m., earlier than planned.. At 2:45 p.m. in the same facility, the Opening Doors: Collaborative Service for Children and Families committee met separately from the North Central Interagency group and two community association members, with one member from Opening Doors sitting-in on the latter. The Opening Doors group decided on "action steps": get a team in place; that the North Central Interagency should take leadership in getting the team together; and that Opening Doors should once again call on a facilitator from Edmonton to help.

On January 18, 1994 there was a government news release called Restructuring Education. (Alberta, Government of Alberta. Edmonton January 18, 1994.) Minister for Education, Halvor Jonson was quoted as saying that restructuring is guided by principles that give "more authority to the schools and parents, lowering administrative costs and instituting a fairer system of funding." In the release, Mr. Jonson was quoted as saying that "during our education consultations Albertans told us that quality education, fiscal equity, accountability, and cost control were the essential considerations in determining future directions for education in the province." The government was therefore taking "full responsibility for funding for basic education" which was intended to "resolve the problem of fiscal inequity among school jurisdictions, allow for improved cost control and assist with the major restructuring of the education system." The methods for doing so included: reducing the number of school boards in Alberta from over 140 to 60; the province appointing all school superintendents; improving the coordination of services to children; increasing involvement of parents, the community and business. The

restructuring plan was deemed to giving "schools more authority in deploying resources and determining how results will be achieved. This will see greater school-based decision-making. Schools will be accountable for the results achieved." The News Release stated

> "In making the announcement, Mr. Jonson said, "Meeting the needs of Alberta students is the highest priority for this government - that's what Albertan's told us during our consultation - to make Albertans' priorities government priorities. Our kids come first."

On January 19, 1994 a meeting was sponsored by the Opening Doors: Collaborative Service for Children and Families group with respective senior leaders from among group members and representatives from the Assistant Deputy Ministers and Officials interdepartmental committees. The meeting room was arranged with six large round tables. A member of Opening Doors presented the objectives for the meeting. Various informational presentations were made: Opening Doors: Collaborative Services for Children and Families; An ADM reported on the four other sites, and that ADM's inform and make recommendations to policy-makers as information comes from the sites. The other four sites in the province linked to the Coordination of Services for Children Initiative; the process for providing information to policy-makers by way of the Assistant Deputy Ministers Interdepartmental committee; and an update from a representative of the Commissioner for Children's Services. The latter made four main points concerning impending changes: decentralization of Child Welfare, delegation of authority to communities; allocation of resources to local communities; and integration of services where appropriate. A member of the Community Resource Group presented on her involvement in Huntington Hills on the Community Resource Committee. In the final session the meeting was open for CEO feedback. During the discussion that ensued, there was interaction among all participants. The meeting concluded with an open

discussion that was informational sharing. Yet the previous evening, the government had made announcements of drastic cuts to education health and social services. The cut announced the previous day, was not formally acknowledged by this mixed group.

At the Opening Doors: Collaborative Services for Children and Families meeting of January 26, 1994 a large proportion of time was spent on discussing CEO's reactions at the January 19 meeting and a decision was made to distribute minutes of Opening Doors up to CEO's. Other discussions focused on getting the "community" involved because to date, Opening Doors has been "top-down' in terms of its relationship to the community. Discussion of planning the February 26 community meeting led to "how to involve the community." One member asked for clarification of who would be "involved". A member who was a lead link to the community drew a diagram.

Figure 4.
January 26, 1994: How Opening Doors Is Involved in the Huntington Hills Community
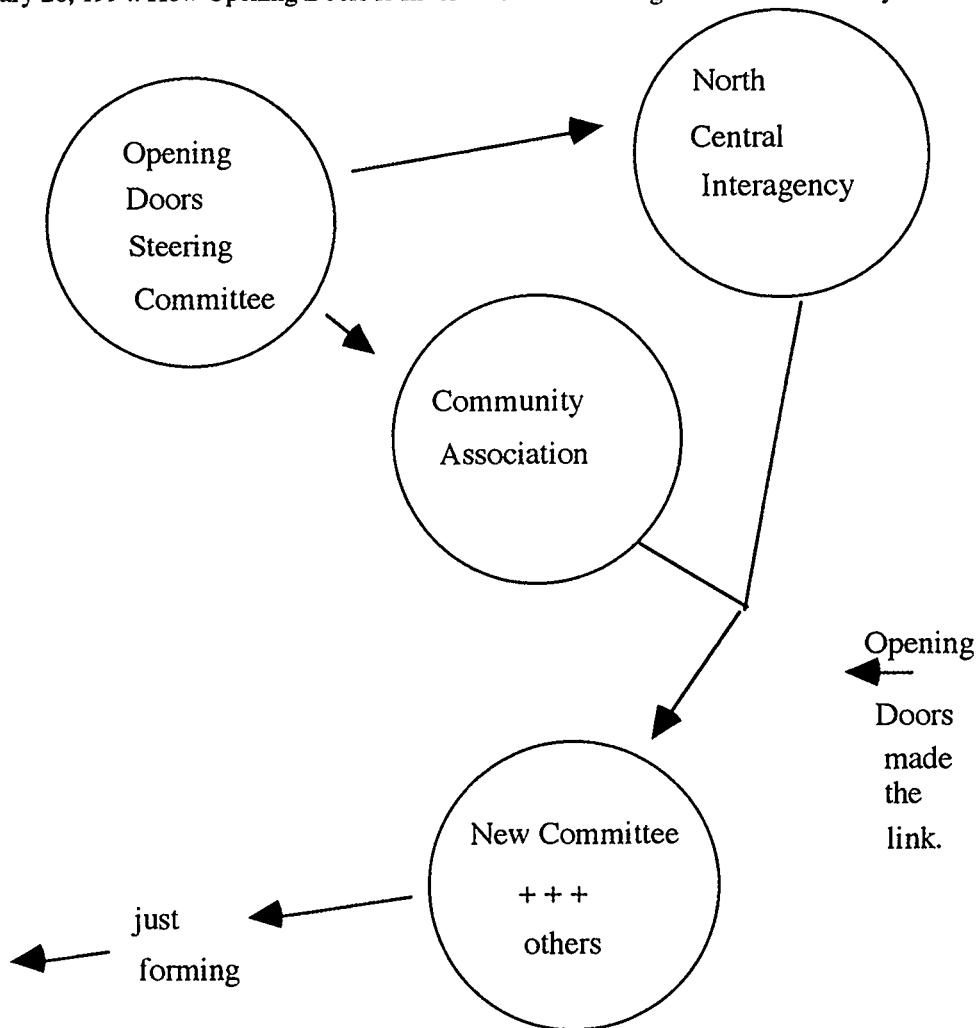
At the February 2 , 1994 meeting, the discussion revolved around the need for a

management plan, and then swung to discussion of the need for a staff "family support

worker" and/or a specification of core functions of Opening Doors. Clarification of the

core functions was prefaced by the need for the core functions "to develop and foster

implementation of collaborative service delivery models appropriate to each community

context with high risk children and their families." Core functions were summarized as:

• professional education, training and support
• expand to new site
• public education
• evaluation
• communication
• systems change
• coordinate and link with other initiatives
• site development.

A covering letter dated February 15, 1994 from the Commissioner of Services for   .

Children was attached to the document "Planning and Implementing A New Approach to

Services for Children and Families: Beginning the Transition," Alberta Commissioner of

Services for Children. The document began with a quote from John McKnight in

Regenerating Community.

> "Whenever hierarchical systems become more powerful than the community, we
> see the flow of authority, resources, skills, dollars and capacities away from
> communities to service systems. In fact, institutionalized systems tend to grow at
> the expense of communities. As institutions gain power, communities lose their
> potency and the consent of community is replaced by the service of systems; the
> citizens of community are replaced by the clients and consumers of institutional
> products.
>
> Those who seek to institute the community vision believe that beyond therapy and
> advocacy is the constellation of community associations. They see a society
> where those who were once labeled, exiled, treated, counseled, advised, and
> protected are, instead, incorporated in community where their contributions,
> capacities, gifts and fallibility's will allow a network of relationships involving
> work, recreation, friendship, support and the political power of being a citizen."

The document identified goals that represent

> " . . the reform of service systems, structures and funding mechanisms, our task is
> not just the reorganization of bureaucracies or services. The redesign of services
> for children and families is about social change. The following are the goals for
> the initiative.

Children   Children will be protected from harm.
More children will be born healthy and live healthy productive lives.
Fewer children and youth will come into conflict with the law.
Children will achieve their optimum level of development.

Families   Families will have the responsibility and the ability to find their own solutions.
Service strategies will focus on promoting strong, nurturing and self-reliant families.

Communities Helping children will be everyone's responsibility.
Dependence on services will be replaced by people caring for people within the community."

The document then goes on to discuss "involving Albertans with reference to Aboriginal involvement and 'interim working groups' drawn from: children and parents, aboriginal communities, service providers (government and non-government), municipal government, service clubs and organizations, and business." The tasks of the interim working groups were identified as: 1. to provide advice to the Commissioner on the redesign of services for children and families, and 2. to propose initial regional service plans following consultation with the wider community. The timeframe for task completion is 6 weeks later: is May 1, 1994.

Carrying on without a formal role to play in the "timelines", a second newsletter communiqué - February 1994, Number 2. - was issued by Opening Doors. The newsletter responded to its own question in the opening section.

"What could Collaborative Services for Children and their Families look like?
• a service team geographically based and community linked
• made up of staff from various helping services
• services adapted to local needs
• services informed by community direction
• service team responsible for outcomes."

The next section answered: "What have we done so far?" making reference to: the Fall Forum; orientation for interested Huntington Hills Community Residents; and a briefing meeting with senior leaders of the Opening Doors organizations.

The mailing list for the newsletter was distributed and included directors, managers and superintendents from within: Alberta Alcohol and Drug Administration Commission; Alberta Children's Hospital; Alberta Education; Alberta Mental Health; Alberta Social Services; Calgary Board of Education; Calgary Health Services; Calgary Police Services; Calgary Separate School Board; Calgary Young Offender Centre; Children's Cottage; City of Calgary Social Services; and the Learning Centre.

On February 26, 1994 the second Huntington Hills community workshop was held " . . to establish a community action plan and implementation strategy." Approximately 40 people attended throughout the day; seven community members were present and the remainder were professionals. Starting at 9:30 a.m. the President of the Community Association began the day by stating that 90% of families in Huntington Hills have no problems; by 1:25 p.m. there were three community members left.

One outcome of the day was the development of a list of "common objectives, based on the mutual expectations and needs of both community members and service providers."

1. To develop an approach in the community that will allow residents to identify their own needs.
2. To identify what services are presently available in the community an how families can make better use of them.
3. To find ways of getting Huntington Hills families more involved in Opening Doors: Collaborative Services for Children and Families.
4. To increase collaborative practices in order to improve the delivery of services and the

appropriateness of the services provided.

5. To establish how community members and service providers can work together as effective advocates on behalf of the community.

To take action on these objectives, two groups were formed. One was a "group of community members" who would explore the feasibility of a community resource centre, and to develop an inventory of volunteers and services available to the community. The second group was called the Community Resource Group (CRG) comprising service providers who would examine "a process for improving communication processes and the delivery of services to children and families within the Huntington Hills community . . . . which would provide families and service providers the opportunity to consult with a multidisciplinary team in order to expedite the access to relevant, timely, services." (Communiqué, Huntington Hills Community Association and Opening Doors Collaborative Services for Children and Families, no date.)

In the meantime, as a follow-up to the document released by the Commissioner for Children's Services , "Planning and Implementing a New Approach to Services for Children and Families" on February 28, 1994 there was a large meeting held at a provincial government meeting centre in Calgary as part of province-wide tour by the Commissioner. The Calgary meeting was the first in the series across Alberta. The Commissioner referred to the series of meetings as "the second part" of his job that began with the "Reshaping Child Welfare" document in the Fall 1993. The purpose relates to "not enough dollars" and the need to "deal with long standing issues in human services."

Although Opening Doors members were in attendance on behalf of their employers, Opening Doors as an entity was not invited. The presentation began by referring to

"major impacts that are eminent from the process": opportunity for managing change,

focus on what works, rethinking control at each level. These impacts are a "test" for

professionals to work together, and for "communicating." A series of overheads included

"Spending on Children's Services by Department" (Figure 5.). The overall approach to

the presentation was characterized by joint responsibility for "expensive" social policy.

Figure 5.
February 28, 1994: Commissioner for Children's Services Diagram on Public Expenditures

Total: $480 million.
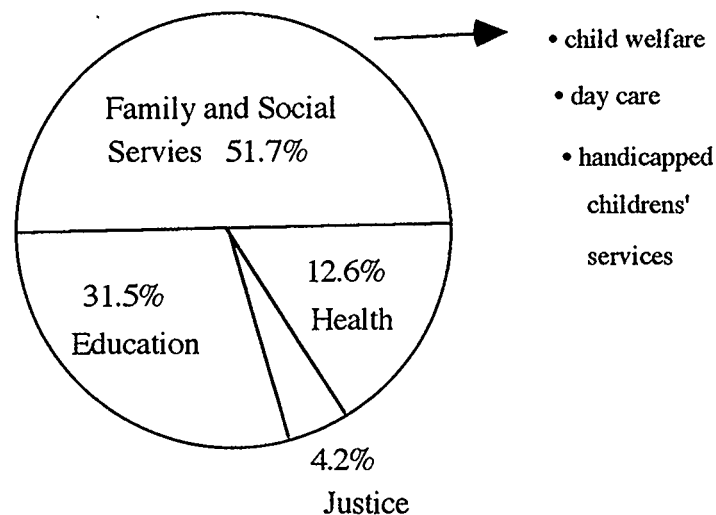
The presentation emphasized the role of the community in redesigning the system that

would be included in his recommendations which would be publishes for distribution on

July 31, 1994. Community input into the redesign was to be through working groups

established among those invitees present. The "work" of the working groups was to be

completed in five weeks - by May 1, 1994.

At the March 23, 1994 of Opening Doors, a representative to the Community Resource Group (CRG) reported that two notions of the composition of the CRG "concept" have emerged. One is that it continues to be an interdisciplinary team; the other is that a family centre be established within the community association facility and that professionals connect with the community through the centre via CRG staffing the centre one-half to two days a week. Feedback and discussion focused on the second option with specific issues being raised in relation to: confidentiality; shrinking resources and therefore CRG staff do not have the time; staff need to count in order to show output. [3]

At the May 4, 1994 Opening Doors meeting a topic for discussion was movement to a second site. A draft submission to the Commissioner for Children's Services, was circulated and plans were made for a retreat on June 1, 1994. The professional development committee reported and made reference to holding a forum to determine what people want for professional development. A draft of an orientation package concept was presented and discussed.

The retreat on June 1, 1994 began with a visioning exercise; there was a warm atmosphere in the log meeting room on the damp and rainy day, while the group sat in a large circle around a blazing fire. The day began with a relaxation exercise. The next item was a brainstorm on: what is the best and what is the worst that can happen today?

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[3] A staff was later hired by the community association to liaise with the Community Resource. Group. This was for a one-time funding project. Later, in 1995, a Calgary Board of Education staff was assigned to staff the Opening Doors group on a part-time basis.

Best	Worst
• steering committee roles alignment: some direction, moving ahead, common end • recognition of the barriers • clear sense of where we are going and how we will get there • project "change"; or system change? • meeting process, functioning of committee • sense of where everyone is at	• frustration because of lack of programs • lack of individual commitment to group decisions • no action or direction at this "crossroads"

A result of the day was a "clarification of purpose/objectives:

> To continuously improve the way that governments, agencies, communities and individuals work together to provide effective services for children and their families."

In addition, the role of Opening Doors: Collaborative Services for Children and Families was defined as

- liaison between community front-line workers, CEO's, ADM's,
- act as a resource to community front-line workers, CEO's, and ADM's.

The retreat brought my group observation of the Opening Doors: Collaborative Services for Children and Families to a close.

Summary

This Chapter provided a description of the chronology of interagency collaboration among bureaucratic organizations initiated by a committee that became the Opening Doors: Collaborative Services for Children and Families group. The chapter first described the background from April 1991 to June 1993, and second the period from June 1993 to June 1994 which is the focus for the next chapter, Chapter Five: Description of the Contradictions for Interagency Collaboration and Bureaucratic Organizations.

Chapter Five: Description of Contradictions for Interagency Collaboration and Bureaucratic
Organization

Introduction

This chapter meets Objective 2. of the study: to describe contradictions between the intent

of interagency collaboration and the effect of bureaucratic organization using the example

described in Chapter Four: Chronology of Interagency Collaboration Among Bureaucratic

Organizations. The chapter is organized according to the Conceptual Framework For The

Study developed in Chapter Two: Literature Review (see Table 6, page 45). Each section

below describes the contradictions between intent of interagency collaboration and the

effect of bureaucratic organization within respective categories in the conceptual

framework. The sections below are: 1. Dichotomous Behavior: To Obey; To Command;

2. Simultaneous Centralizing and Decentralizing Tendencies That Protect Class Status; 3.

Limitations on Capabilities for Determining Needs; 4. Threats to Stability of Specialization;

5. Dependency Through Self-Doubt; 6. A Focus on Individual Solutions To Structural

Problems; 7. External Contradictory Interpretations Validate Experience; and 8.

Reinforcement of Class Structure. Each section concludes with a summary grid that is

cumulative with each section for the final Table. 9. 'Summary: Contradictions Between the

Intent of Interagency Collaboration and the Effects of Bureaucratic Organization.' The

chapter concludes with a section 'Summary' with reference to the subsequent chapter,

Chapter Six: Challenges and Implications For Social Policy as a Process of Interest,

Articulation, and Practice.

1. Dichotomous Behavior: To Obey or Command

"Dichotomous behavior: to obey; to command", is identified in Chapter Two: Literature Review of the study as the radical humanist perspective of top-down hierarchical control - from governance to management, to service - in which there is "individual internalization of the legitimacy of external control and hence loss of "self" to the extent that the individual adapts by maintaining two behaviors: to obey and to command."

Among those involved in Opening Doors: Collaborative Services for Children and Families, the intent of interagency collaboration was that individuals are a "person" above any position in the hierarchy of control in which they would obey or command. As activities evolved over the period June 1993 to June 1994 there was an emphasis on the "person" of actors involved and on their personal attributes as the main vehicle for ensuring the success of collaboration. One member of Opening Doors said that their role was clear: "to step out of the government role . . . (and to be) . . .a person first." In respect to the "front-line", questions about the capacity for successful collaboration centered on personal characteristics such as "independence and creativity". On the other hand, when asked, "what would you do differently?" in relation to the front-line workers, one member of Opening Doors asserted that written agreements between participating agencies would have ensured commitments of resources and accountability for honoring the commitments.

However, because the "person" was perceived to be more important than adhering to obeying or commanding behavior, "process" issues took predominance. One Opening Doors member emphasized "process" issues as being at the heart of effectiveness of collaboration: it is an "enhanced perspective of working in groups." However, when, at the meeting of September 24, 1993 there was discussion about a chair for Opening Doors, the general opinion was to have a CEO (senior management) as chair. The value was

perceived to be that a CEO could "easily liaise with (other) CEOs" and, specifically, that it was best to ask a superintendent with the Board of Education to be co-chair because 'the Board is the most bureaucratic organization and therefore the choice could be justified among the other CEOs" for meeting the need for a "delicate balance between 'protocol' and 'selection'.

In addition, in spite of personal and process issues being considered primordial to effective collaboration, a front-line worker referred to increased confusion as Opening Doors affected her work: "I was formerly responsible to my caseload and to my supervisor" and now "(I am) accountable to another system and don't know what (I) can and cannot do." Another contradiction to the predominance of process, was that in relation to Opening Doors, the mandate of the ADM's committee was to "take advice from the communities and to draft policies." (Meeting of June 16, 1993.) Hence, involvement of Opening Doors was perceived at the ADM level as not necessarily conciliatory.

The intent of personal characteristics and process issues being primordial to effectiveness of interagency collaboration was evidently justifiable in several ways. One way was related to different habits associated with modes of intervention. One Opening Doors member suggested that because their agency provided longer term intervention and did not provide early intervention, they required ample time to "process" issues within the Opening Doors group. In reference to process at the front-line level, another member of Opening Doors said that a coordinator should have been hired at the outset, who would be "neutral" in the linkages between Opening Doors, front-line workers, and the "community." In contrast, there were references to issues that could not be resolved by qualities of the "person" or the process.

There were references to lack of clarity between the provincial level and the local level concerning jurisdictions with different responsibilities that have different chains of command. One person felt as a "lone cannon" both above and below, and hence relations are beyond influence. Another referred to the limitations of interagency collaboration from their perspective: "I still report to the Director, there is no change" (because of involvement with Opening Doors). Another said that any changes are due to down-sizing, not to Opening Doors.

In my notes from the Opening Doors meeting of October 22, 1993 I write "This group has taken no personal risks" outside of their immediate group. Yet a high tolerance for confusion was evident when it was announced by a government official at the same Opening Doors meeting which was well after the relationships with the interdepartmental ADMs and Officials committees were well established, that the Commissioner for Children's Service was appointed to head up a re-structuring with a "mandate is to integrate services" and report outside of Departments being "integrated" directly to the Minister of Alberta Family and Social Services. This meeting was characterized by a more serious tone than usual at meetings, and a sense of urgency remained when the five selected 'sites" from throughout the province were called together to a meeting in Edmonton on November 29 and 30 1993.

The seriousness was reinforced by an ADM chairing the interdepartmental initiative saying to all five sites that: "this is not a pilot; it is a new way of doing things; we need to hear about the challenges from the communities." At the closing session on November 30 the Commissioner urged the congregation of Assistant Deputy Ministers, members of the Interdepartmental Officials Committee, and representatives from the "sites" (Calgary,

Edmonton. Lethbridge, Wabasca Demarais, and Wetaskiwin) to "capitalize on the successes we've had", that while there is "no structure or definition for his job" this is a "challenge for you and me . . . (in which we must) . . focus on system maintenance and system change . . . evaluate the change process and evaluate the maintenance process . . . be results oriented (by starting with) . . results that we want."

An emphasis on "person" and process combined with a high tolerance for confusing external factors, had an immobilizing effect. One CEO saw coming together as "symbolic" but "damned important" for the individuals and personalities; "we may have a vision, but we don't know what it will look like." One respondent who was critical of the commitment of the front-line in saying that the "front line and (Opening Doors) saw themselves as separate," was nonetheless optimistic without any indications of overcoming the separateness: "we should be interdependent partnerships for richness with health , social services, and education." In recognition of levels of hierarchy, another member of Opening Doors said that there was a "subtle shift in emphasis (on the part of the interdepartmental Assistant Deputy Ministers and Officials committees) about half-way through: " . . . from the original idea of 'coordination of services' to 'community', but the structure remained." On October 26, 1993 the contradiction between person/process and confusing demands was reinforced by a government official who spoke about the "virtual organization", making references to the space age and computer technology. Members of Opening Doors appeared mesmerized by the discussion, and there was an ambiance of feeling at the leading edge of things. I have in my notes that the official "is really talking about down-sizing government. Yet these people did not seem to realize the implication for what they do and why."

The contradiction between person/process and confusing external control was further exemplified, at a "community meeting" wherein the community association staff said that the community association can "take the action follow-up results to their next meeting." But the professionals in the group had other plans: "establish contact people today" and several other professionals agreed. The community association staff compromised by providing phone numbers and names of persons involved on the day, but not to establish contact persons yet because they wanted to have the contact people designated by their employer: the Community Association Board. In the end, the facilitator, hired by Opening Doors at the recommendation of the representative from the Officials Committee, recommended that Opening Doors "clean" the results of the day-long session, to which there was agreement.

In sum, the dichotomous behavior: to obey; to command was not an intention of interagency collaboration for Opening Doors. Rather, it was intended that personal qualities of individuals - the 'self' - functioned to ensure effective process for Opening Doors, which was it own reward. However, a high tolerance for confusion in directives surrounding Opening Doors had the effect of immobility in the face of the confusion.

Intent of Interagency Collaboration	Effect of Bureaucratic Organization
Focus on person and process to achieve effective collaboration.	Immobilized by high tolerance for confusing directives.

2. Simultaneous Centralizing and Decentralizing Tendencies That Protect Class Status

The notion of 'simultaneous centralizing and decentralizing tendencies that protect class status' is identified in Chapter Two: Literature Review as the radical structuralism perspective on top-down hierarchical control - from governance, to management, to service - which is a "replication of class relations in all social relations in which there is a constant state of change within the balance of centralized and decentralized structures protecting the middle class from class re-alignment."

There were different agendas within the hierarchy for shaping "collaboration", but Opening Doors saw itself as the leader armed with cooperative values in an evolving "common culture" within the hierarchy. One respondent said that the self-sacrifice of those in collaboration at all levels were consistent with the "cooperative values" of Opening Doors. As one member of Opening Doors said, all levels are "shaping services for children and families - city and provincial, and other professions (are) doing, not just talking about it." One member of Opening Doors believed that their status within the group and within government is attributable to their being an initiator and because of their "involvement and time." Another saw their personal role as not atypical in their work because they have always been a "risk taker and big mouth." Another pointed to their high status that emerged within their "own group", referring to both governmental and non-governmental agencies. In addition, it was believed that the concept of collaboration increased the status for everyone, and that this "starts with the ministers and the community knows this and all were influenced raising status of the concept."

However, the common culture of cooperative values was not so evident to a community association staff who said that schools are hierarchical in nature and that they are "not

structured to collaborate." The staff provided an example of their experience in reference to

activities at the community association in that they can "pick out which kids come from

each school by their behavior" because there is "no collaboration between the two school

boards and much less between schools." Nevertheless, in preparation for leading the

community in engaging in a common culture, at an all-day planning session on October

22, 1993 Opening Doors: Collaborative Services for Children and Families brainstormed

a list of thoughts on why there should be a community meeting.

1. To develop awareness of the initiative and (awareness of) wider implications of the
   initiative.
2. To create ownership.
3. To find out what the community needs.
4. To involve the community in planning.
5. To involve all stakeholders.
6. To build support and identify areas of involvement.

This list assumed a common culture from which the community could, if they would,

engage in 'cooperating" with Opening Doors.

Within a week, at the Opening Doors meeting of October 26, 1993, urging came from the

offices of Assistant Deputy Ministers to involve the Aboriginal community in the "design

and planning" because of the "beginning of self-government" and that the "current

government long-term strategy includes Aboriginal self-government." The response from

Opening Doors was that they would work with the community and "sub-groups" within

the community. This implied that Aboriginal representation would be identifiable as a

"sub-group" in the geographic community Huntington Hills that was designated by

Opening Doors, and that Opening Doors chose to disregarded the Aboriginal agenda

initiated at higher political levels in the hierarchy.

In response to different approaches on the part of the community association and on the part of the Coordination of Services for Children Initiative, there was a perspective that differences were related to other than differences in the cooperative values held by Opening Doors. Yet on the part of community association staff, a main difference was related to the view that while the community association deals with the "normal population" Opening Doors is targeting "high risk" populations. In reference to the government there was an inclination among Opening Doors members that should the government had "thought through" collaboration, there would have been a better result. This view persisted during the period of the study although the "government's" agenda was obvious at an August 13, 1993 meeting attended by 11 members of what was to become Opening Doors, and two government bureaucrats, when it was announced that the three ministers - Health, Education, and Social Services "want measurable benchmarks by December 1993." These were to be submitted by the interdepartmental committee who in turn would have extracted the measurable benchmarks from their collaborative work with such as Opening Doors. In addition, on November 29, 1993 a government official emphasized that some of the things the government would like are: one-stop-shopping, regionalization/ decentralization, and integration between departments to eliminate gaps and overlaps. At the same time it was pointed out that the options for this new system are: a) for the government to design the system, or b) to partner with communities for appropriate models for coordinated services.

The differences in agendas and approaches to cooperative values for collaboration were acknowledged by Opening Doors as reflecting "demands" that are complex. One CEO suggested that a "superministry" is required that integrates health, education and social services in order to combat a "too rigid structure" with "too many variables." It was

suggested that another contributing factor was the "complexity" which is "enormous" in developing a "common culture." On December 22, 1993 one member distributed a graphic depiction for an integrated services structure. In my notes, I recorded that the model is "administration - not implementation and not policy."

Another justification for "complexity" was that some members had more support than others for participating in Opening Doors. One said that the lack of time inhibited their participation because participation is "not recognized on time sheets" and if they would have asked for it, they "don't think (they) would have gotten it." Another respondent lamented that support was limited by a "traditional view of mandate and responsibility (that was related to) limited resources (wherein) people are more apt to stick to definitions of mandates." A government official said that there are "big egos at the top", but in reflecting on what might be done about it, the respondent said: "therefore what do I do? Be less confrontational? Remain ethical? Avoid certain people? But ultimately (I must answer): what do I stand for?"

The potential for a cooperative "common culture" of collaboration was not recognized equally among all participating sectors. One respondent lamented that while the roles and demands of service provision are increasing, Opening Doors became little more than a "focus group". A government official would agree in as much as Opening Doors had a role from June 1993 to June 1994 and that after June 1994 the government itself had achieved the "community level." Notwithstanding that at a meeting of December 6, 1993 with the Commissioner for Children's Services, Opening Doors was given the impression that they had the power to influence politicians.

By June 1, 1994 at an Opening Doors retreat, perhaps defeated, none of the barriers to the "common culture: were addressed. After a brainstorm of "the best and the worst to happen today", and a review of the vision statement, the discussion was summarized in terms of issues to be resolved which largely acknowledged the lack of a common culture in as much as Opening Doors worked in isolation from various levels in the bureaucratic hierarchy.

1. Clarify: do we provide service or do we do community development? That is, do we develop the whole community or are we service providers?
2. Ownership: who owns it?
3. Purpose and vision: each sector (in the community) can have a different purpose but share a vision.
4. Is it a partnership or an ownership/community development?

Overall, however, any status gained by Opening Doors for its cooperative values for creating a common culture, was found elsewhere. For example, Opening Doors Collaborative Services for Children and Families was featured in one chapter of a book by OECD for the World Health Organization. In addition, Opening Doors achieved national recognition by being invited to present at the Canadian Council for Advanced Research and the Canadian Foundation for At-Risk Children.

In sum, Opening Doors: Collaboration Services for Children and Families intended that their cooperative values for "shaping" collaboration would advance a common culture in the bureaucratic hierarchy. However, different approaches and agendas prevailed. While rationalizations relating to complexity persisted, recognition of the cooperative values were received only out of the context of the related hierarchy that was the potential "common culture."

Intent of Interagency Collaboration	Effect of Bureaucratic Organization
Focus on person and process to achieve collaboration.	Immobilized by high tolerance for confusing directives.
Demonstrate cooperative values in a common culture.	Recognition only received from out of context of the hierarchy only because of "complexities".

3. Limitations on Capabilities for Determining Needs

The notion of "limitations on capabilities for determining needs" is identified in Chapter Two: Literature Review as the radical humanist perspective on standardization as protected expertise with differential privilege according to area of training or expertise, which results in "commodification of human experience from which needs are defined by objective criteria, thereby reducing the freedom to articulate need."

There was a pervasive intent that interagency collaboration would meet qualitative needs. For example, needs of those receiving services would be met for: advocacy, prevention and immediate provision of service. A stated ideal was to bring in a "different level of clients": those that request prevention/promotion before other reasons occur. It was established on September 30, 1993 that the Huntington Hills Community was selected for its "freshness", demonstrated need, "community" willingness, and a "history of resource allocation."

However, quantitative representation of need was deemed to be more convincing in that statistical data was used at the outset to justify selection of the Huntington Hills Community to implement the vision and objectives of Opening Doors. When in September, 1993 the Huntington Hills Community was short-listed and ultimately chosen, it was according to statistical data such as: crime rates, number of single parents, and

number of children per capita. Community members did not share the conviction of neediness. At the "community" workshops in January and February 1994, the majority of persons present were professional service providers, with most of the remaining being paid staff or Board members of the Huntington Hills Community Association. One member of Opening Doors remarked that "it eventually took a $50,000 advertising job to "sell" the concept to the community." Again, at the February 26 , 1994 "community meeting" there were about 40 people present; only 7 are community members, two of who are staff of the community association. Half way through the day, four "community" people left the community meeting. The meeting carried on with vigor. I write in my field notes: "the professionals are operating from their own needs, not the needs of the community." And I wonder if their well-intended need is for a mandate.

At a December 6, 1993 meeting the Commissioner for Children's Services asked the Opening Doors group what they would like "in their wildest dreams." Among the responses were: flexibility in budgeting to respond to community needs, co-terminus boundaries for all agencies in a community, and continuity of one worker with a family throughout the duration of a required intervention. When asked what was needed by the Commissioner to have this happen, the group responded that the services should be "needs" driven rather than by mandate, and to be able to say "I work with children and families rather than "I am with Alberta Education." Overall then, the focus on needs, whether qualitative or quantitative were understood to be met best when driven by the "community", unobstructed by government mandate.

All the while, the government official repeatedly suggested at Opening Doors meetings over 1993 to 1994 that Natives should be included as a "high needs" population; but

others in the group did not share the view that Native needs should be "treated any differently than others." In another realm, the idea of community need in the absence of mandated services was frequently referred to. On October 26 a government official stated in reference to Opening Doors as one of the five designated provincial sites, that "these five are not 'pilots', they are 'community initiatives' because they are a beginning" and not a beginning and end and they "will continue as long as the community wants it."

Further to the issues of qualitative versus quantitative needs, and the predisposition to place services as meeting "community" needs rather than services being mandated, there was a struggle with the influence of community strengths and capacity versus 'needs" being derived from weaknesses. The February 15, 1994 document from the Commissioner of Services for Children, quotes from John McKnight who suggests that the system of services is evidenced by

> "those who seek to institute the community vision believe that beyond therapy and advocacy is the constellation of community associations. They seek a society where those who were once labeled, exiled, treated, counseled, advised, and protected are, instead, incorporated in community where their contributions, capacities, gifts and fallibility's will allow a network of relationships involving work, recreation, friendship, support and the political power of being a citizen."

Adhering to a similar point of view, one member of Opening Doors lamented that organizations "now take responsibility for the family" but the member enthusiastically endorsed that Opening Doors will have the family "take ownership" for prioritizing their problems in such as health or education. The perspective on ownership in meeting needs was shared by members of Opening Doors who saw their role as the impetus for the community to provide its own services, in addition to enhancing service provision by professionals via a joint case-management model. This was in contrast to the community association staff who saw the community in terms of its strengths with "greater strengths

than weakness": long term residents, a strong community association, and school communities within each school. The "high needs" referred to by the professionals are to the community association workers, consequences of a "high mix" of population with big pockets of low income rentals that have very specific needs that require professional services.

Yet the rhetoric of the government that "communities will tell us what makes sense" in terms of need was reiterated by a government official at a meeting with the Commissioner for Children's Services on December 22, 1993. This need was referred to as "community capacity development and planning." Another spoke of the need to "improve the community's capacity to respond" so that clients in need will not move to another community. Another view was that government "doesn't support people well and therefore the government can help build strong communities so that "people can come together to support each other." One person said that we need "creative ways . . not just rising out of existing institutions" to define what needs are because people "at risk have to define themselves" in order to not "reinforce the problems that are already there." At the June 1, 1994 retreat, Opening Doors renewed its purpose: "To continuously improve the way governments, agencies, communities and individuals work together to provide effective services for children and their families." The "need" from this point of view is clearly to absolve governmental services from taking responsibility for mandating services.

Yet the roots of Opening Doors are entrenched in "mandate" in that the Provincial Department of Education in looking for projects to evaluate in 1991, jointly with a superintendent of education with the Calgary School Board, selected interagency collaboration for high needs schools. Subsequently, the same Calgary superintendent

wrote in February 1993 to the Assistant Deputy Minister who chaired the interdepartmental committee because to achieve interagency collaboration, we "could only do so much within availability of resources." In hindsight, one respondent said what could have been done differently would have been to establish goals at the outset such as "what do we want to achieve?" because "philosophical concepts don't do this". A better approach would have been to "strive for outcomes earlier . . . (by) specify(ing) outcomes and indicators."

In sum, the intent of Opening Doors was to define needs qualitatively. However to engender support, there was a perceived requirement that needs be identified quantitatively. Although there was an intent to "collaborate" with the community in identifying needs, this attempt fell short on interest from the community. The intent to define needs from a "community" perspective rather than from a mandate was maintained, on the part of Opening Doors, and on the part of government officials. For representatives from the community, a mandate was necessary for high needs families, independent of the community association's role. The effect was, devolution of responsibility on the part of the government.

Intent of Interagency Collaboration	Effect of Bureaucratic Organization
Exercise tolerance for ambiguity.	Immobilized by high tolerance for confusing directives from within the hierarchy.
Demonstrate co-operative values.	Recognition received from out of context of the hierarchy only, because of "complexities" within the hierarchy.
Define "high needs" in the community qualitatively without a mandate.	Devolution of government responsibility.

4. Threats to the Stability of Specialization

The notion "threats to stability of expertise" is identified in Chapter Two: Literature Review as the radical structuralist perspective on specialization as protected expertise with differential privilege according to area of training or expertise which is "based on relationship to capital and reinforced by related issues and threatened by avoidance of social issues, reorganization of the labour force, and dissatisfaction with specialization."

The intent of interagency collaboration was to replace an "expert" role with a "grass-roots" orientation, in spite of the fact that bureaucratic organization in the first instance legitimizes the experts to make such a choice. The effect of role 'replacement' was more an expanded notion of the expert role. A member of Opening Doors believed that they brought to the group: knowledge of how services and districts work, knowledge of special needs of children, knowledge of resources, and in addition, a "personal predisposition" for collaboration and a "vision" for the "new way of doing business." Three members of Opening Doors were offered new jobs as a direct result of being a member of Opening Doors. In all three cases there was a perception that specific expertise was brought to and gained from the experience of Opening Doors. One referred to their new job being due to gained knowledge through the Opening Doors experience about how organizations work .

On the other hand, according to a government official, although Opening Doors was "pushing in a lot of right places" they and especially the CEO's, were not clear about their roles. A member of Opening Doors thought that professions need to be initially trained to be "interdisciplinary" and holistic in order to enhance their effectiveness. One respondent said that although they gained an appreciation of the complexities of change in a bureaucratic environment and gained collaborative skills with specific reference to

"individuals, mandates and ideologies" through their involvement with Opening Doors, the attitudinal gains were more apparent than gains in knowledge or skills. In any event, there was a rich conglomerate of professional development benefits to the members of Opening Doors.

On the other hand, Opening Doors saw itself as "grass-roots" yet assigned blame to the community for not sharing its "enthusiasm." In the midst of blame, professional expertise was given credence for mobilizing the less than enthusiastic community: our " . . . area of expertise was exercised by the "community taking responsibility for its own, agencies working together, and in creating one-stop shopping for families." To do this, there was a perception that professionals as "persons' and 'people' contributed "beyond" their positions.

On December 16 , 1993 the composition of Opening Doors was being discussed and the terms such as "grass roots" and "community" were abundant in the discussion. In my notes, I wonder why they do not start with the vision and goals to direct the discussion of "community involvement." At the January 26, 1994 meeting at which there was a debriefing on the January 15 community meeting, a point once again was made about lack of enthusiasm on the part of the community. A perceived compensatory factor was that the front-line worker who made a presentation was also coincidentally a resident of Huntington Hills. The group agreed that this was important for "emotional and informational" reasons which provided a "sense of workers belonging to the community."

The expansion of the role of the expert to a "grass-roots" orientation was also exemplified at the January 15, 1993 community meeting during which a government official presented the following diagram.

Figure 6.
January 15, 1994: Diagram Presented to Community Meeting by Member of Interdepartmental Officials' Committee

TEAM

community

Assistant
Deputy
Ministers

government officials
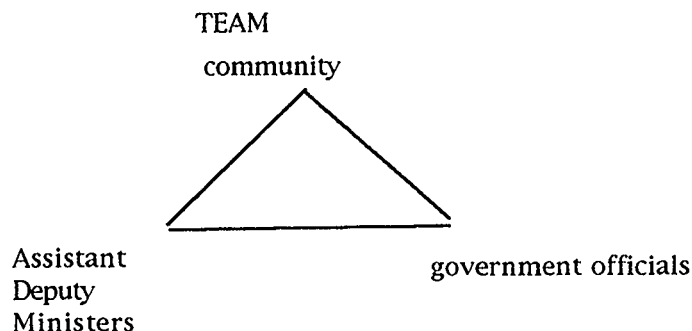
The diagram implied that the "community" included the members of Opening Doors, reinforcing a notion of "grass-roots" professionals.

On March 23, 1994, Opening Doors was still grappling with who should be members of Opening Doors. This discussion followed a meeting on February 2, 1994 where Opening Doors reviewed its purpose. The purpose was described in terms of "core function": "to develop and foster implementation of collaborative service delivery models appropriate to each community context with high risk children and their families." The following sub-functions were then determined as: professional education, training, and support; expansion to new sites; public education; evaluation; communication; systems change; coordination and link with other initiatives, and site development. In light of these functions requiring professional skill and knowledge, it is not surprising that the composition of Opening Doors did not change to include "grass-roots" members.

In sum, most members of Opening Doors seemed to think that they had special skills in working with communities and that they brought knowledge, skills and experience with them to Opening Doors, and subsequently expanded the skills and gained knowledge and "contacts that they previously did not have access to." In addition, most respondents felt

they brought interdisciplinary experience and skills to the group and through involvement they "refined" these skills. A government official felt that they were an "imposed player in the group" - "they want you (and your expertise) but they don't want you." It can also be said that members of felt the same way - the "grass-roots" community was not there to receive their expertise; however, nor were the grass-roots invited to join the experts' group. Yet any threat to role expansion from "expert" to "grass-roots" was minimized by an omnipotence in as much as professional skills and knowledge were perceived to be enabled to expand without constraint in the community context.

Intent of Interagency Collaboration	Effect of Bureaucratic Organization
Focus on person and process to achieve effective collaboration.	Immobilized by high tolerance for confusing directives.
Demonstrate cooperative values in a common culture.	Recognition received from out of context of the hierarchy only, because of "complexities."
Defines "high needs" in the community qualitatively without a mandate.	Devolution of governmental responsibility.
Replace expert role with "grass-roots" orientation.	Omnipotence of experts.

5. Dependency Through Self-Doubt

The notion "dependency through self-doubt" is identified in Chapter Two: Literature Review as the radical humanist perspective on standardization as a system of accountability for areas of action in relation to competencies, responsibilities, and power or authority in which "providing security in the face of ambiguity by providing services as "commodities" induces escalating dependency through self-doubt."

A "sense" of interdependence was perceived to be evident on the part of members of Opening Doors in spite of absence of a mandate and the resources to achieve interdependence. One member of Opening Doors said that there was a strong sense of interdependence and a sense of relationship among respective members. Another emphasized that Opening Doors helped to develop a strong sense of interdependence in the community between the "recreation and leisure" sector and the "service provider" sector. In retrospect, the initiative was seen as "interdependent" from the start because it began with the question: how can we work better with other agencies?"

On the other hand, another member believed that no interdependence evolved because mandates and resources did not change. The gap between a sense of interdependence and no sense of interdependence can be traced to when the notion was first introduced by the interdepartmental ADMs and Officials Committees to Opening Doors. I have in my notes: what (is the former) referring to when they speak of "site" and "community"? Each conjures up different meanings for the role of Opening Doors in relation to other sectors. For example as a community association staff pointed out, "the community association serves everyone, not just high needs or high risk."

Doubt about roles was evidenced on November 25, 1993 when a sub-committee member of Opening Doors reported that there were three goals for the upcoming community meeting.

1. To share information about the background and history of Opening Doors, the mandate of the provincial government, and the goals of collaboration.
2. To arrive at a common vision and "why".
3. To develop an action plan.

It is noteworthy that there was no reference made to the mandate of Opening Doors beyond what is implicit in as much as the independent mandates continuing for each organization in respect to their front-line workers. In reference to a role during the October 22 1993 meeting when terms such as "leadership", "coordinated services" and "community development " were being used interchangeably, a general feeling (one said this and others nodded in the affirmative) was expressed that the CEO's were being conservative and hence the lack of clarity of their role. Hence, although Opening Doors relied on their CEOs for support, the relationships were not relied upon.

As a rationalization for lack of clarity of role, one member attributed "theory and experience" to the belief that exclusivity causes power plays and that Opening Doors did not have this problem but the front-line did because there was no "team-leader". Nonetheless, Opening Doors "sensed" interdependence with the community when they spoke, without a mandate, on the community's behalf at the meeting of November 8, 1993, concerned that the term "Briefing" as a title for the newsletter from the government officials was too "official" for the community.

In retrospect, from a government official about what they would do differently, Opening Doors was disregarded when it was said: "let communities be more directive rather than government being more directive." However, most identified their professional training and experience as being the source of their standard for practice, and in addition the standards of the organization spoken of as such as "organizational culture", "organizational values", "organizational practices", or "organizational policies." This was reiterated by a front-line-line worker who felt that her standards are maintained by being answerable to one system. Group activities validated their professional knowledge and independent

mandates in the process of effectively short-listing at the August 1993 meeting without statistical data or official reports.

In sum, the sense of interdependence prevailed in spite of strong evidence to the contrary: no clarification of 'site' versus 'community'; no mandate as to the role of Opening Doors within the community/site and a less than reliable relationship with the CEOs as a group. The effect was a misuse of skills and knowledge among the professionals on Opening Doors.

Intent of Interagency Collaboration	Effect of Bureaucratic Organization
Focus on person and process to achieve effective collaboration.	Immobilized by high tolerance for confusing directives.
Demonstrate co-operative values in a common culture.	Recognition is only received from out of context out of context of the hierarchy because of "complexities."
Defines "high needs" in the community qualitatively without mandate.	Devolution of governmental responsibility.
Replace expert role with "grass-root" orientation.	Omnipotence of experts.
Experience a sense of interdependence.	Degradation of professional skills and knowledge.

6. Focus on Individual Solutions to Structural Problems

The notion "focus on individual solutions to structural problems" is identified in Chapter Two: Literature Review as a radical structuralist perspective on standardization as a system of accountability for areas of action in relation to competence, responsibilities, and power and authority that "masks structural contradictions and therefore by focusing on "deficits" of victims of class position, reinforced by use of incomprehensible language."

The intent of interagency collaboration was to meet the needs of high risk children and families. In addition, the intent evolved over time to include a notion of the high needs/high risk families themselves, defining what services would "look like" as opposed to structural change to ameliorate problems. In spite of the overall evolution of Opening Doors, a CEO lamented in an interview in 1995 that Opening Doors did not stay with a focus of families, but instead, was preoccupied with restructuring, because a focus on families "brings out policy boundaries, gets them out on the table, raises questions about boundaries that create problems for clients."

An argument for clients directly designing service delivery was exemplified by a front-line worker who said "we can't reach people because we try from middle class standards, therefore we still serve the middle class. When a community association member at the February 26, 1994 community meeting said that 90% of families in Huntington Hills do not have problems, "therefore what we need to do is educate the 90% on how they can be role models to the other 10%", a member of Opening Doors retorted that none of us are immune to receiving social assistance.

In response to the question "why are children and families at risk?" there was a range of answers, but a theme of poverty: family poverty, unemployment a "broad societal thing"; loss of support from family and services; parenting skills; divorce; isolation; loss of extended family; economic problems and lack of economic security; individual conflict; and a "heavy burdens for kids." A minority position focused on lack of "skills" as the root of high needs/high risk children and families: "(we) haven't taught kids to look after themselves, we teach ABC's and expect grandparents to do the other work: such as banking skills to be productive citizens, and therefore would not need welfare, (because)

the system gives up on people who are non-contributing in society." On the other hand, one person directly pointed out: "collaboration is not a substitute for resources."

On March 23, 1994 I write in my note book: twenty-six agencies were identified in the original study as being involved in one school; therefore, why is there a need for clients to design a system of services? While the view prevails that clients should define services, discussions continue along the lines that staff need training to "collaborate" because the system is inflexible. There is little or no reference to structural change to end poverty. In the meantime, consequences of shifts in policy mount. On October 22, 1993 the media announced $369 million cut from education in the province. A respondent described a situation in which a psychotic child was taken to a hospital at 3 p.m. seen at 6. p.m. at which time the child was sent away and told that they were "faking it." The respondent then asked "who is handling standards now?

The January 19, 1994 meeting with the CEO's was the day after the Alberta government had announced major cuts in public services. "The mood is mellow" I write in my notes "perhaps as in shock and denial after an earthquake." I compare the atmosphere to a recent television news report on a severe earthquake in Los Angeles where a victim of the earthquake spoke, seconds after the earthquake occurred, descriptively and calmly about her husband's car disappearing through an opening in the freeway. At the CEO meeting on January 19, 1994 one CEO mentioned that we need to meet to address the cuts. A response to the impact of cuts on high needs clients was not addressed.

On September 24, 1993 the Opening Doors group wanted a letter of "formal endorsement of commitment to this initiative" from the Minister, to the CEOs confirming the

ministers' commitment. At the time, the group saw the importance in CEO involvement

in future directions for formulating government policy. Such a role for the CEOs vis-a-vis

Opening Doors was not to pass.

In the end, primary satisfaction for one CEO was the development of "a client referral

form that brought out the different statutory and organizational factors that create barriers."

The CEO "leadership" role was administrative and not policy oriented. The high needs

continue and in fact escalate over the duration in the face of many reductions in social

spending, without reductions in unemployment levels. In sum, the intent of interagency

collaboration was to allow high needs/high risk clients to define services, while the

professionals played an administrative/coordinating role. The effect was that the focus

stayed on "administrative" change in the face of shrinking resources for social programs.

Intent of Interagency Collaboration	Effect of Bureaucratic Organization
Focus on person and process to achieve collaboration.	Immobilized by high tolerance for confusing directives.
Demonstrate cooperative values in a common culture.	Recognition only received from out of context of the hierarchy because of "complexities."
Defines "high needs" in the community qualitatively without a mandate.	Devolution of government responsibility.
Replace expert role with "grass-roots" orientation.	Omnipotence of experts
Experience interdependence.	Degradation of professional skills and knowledge.
Allow high need/high risk clients to define services.	Displaced consequences for inadequate public policy.

7. External Contradictory Interpretations Validate Experience

The notion of "external contradictory interpretations validate experience" is identified in Chapter Two: Literature Review as the radical humanist perspective on formalization as the written rules, records, and decisions governing the performance of duties that reduce individual discretion in interpreting primary goals and procedures which "confounds the individuals inner life to the extent that discretion is reduced to at best, selecting from among a variety of "others" to validate reality of experience."

The intent was to build trust via informal relations, but the effect was a confounding of issues, procedures, and decisions. The view that formality meets organizational needs and not client needs, and that client needs are met through informality, was widely held. Furthermore one Opening Doors member felt that informality broke down the lack of relationship between their CEO and other CEO's. Within the Interdepartmental Officials Committee, relations were perceived to be informal because "high trust" levels had developed. In spite of these perceptions, the Commissioner for Children said at the November 25, 1993 meeting that "success" for the Minister of Alberta Family and Social Services may be reduced to expenditures; but after several minutes of group discussion on trust and relationships, the Commissioner acknowledged that reality is changing in relation to trust.

Even in the face of reducing expenditures, there was a strong view that trust and informality were important. A government official claimed that their work was "effortless" because of trust and relationships. Rather than any formal mechanisms, some thought they were guided by "pragmatics" that were effectively expedited because of informality. One person attributed formality to defining roles only: professionals with their

expertise in change, and the clients who were involved in bringing about change. The strength of informal relations caused one to say that members of Opening Doors are "more committed to a common vision" than to their employing organization.

"Formality" was seen as a constraint to effective collaboration that was overcome by the quality of relations. Reflecting on the outcome, a CEO said that it "would have been a challenge if followed-up with funding; perhaps with Regional Health Authority, but Health, Education and Social Services are still separate departments" at the provincial level. However, another thought that "equal partners goes along with informality because leadership is dispersed, and there is no need for authority."

A front-line worker said that roles are clearer going down than going up, yet there is more informality at the lower levels. However, in spite of reference to the value of "access high-up" that was gained through informality, at the Opening Doors meeting of January 11, 1996, it was agreed that Opening Doors: Collaborative Service for Children should influence the Commissioner only if ADMs ask them to.

Without formal procedures, confounding of issues , procedures, and decisions allowed the consequence of assuming that "silence is consent." A member of Opening Doors presented at the January 15, 1994 community meeting that Opening Doors is

> "city-wide action research and that the Huntington Hills Community was selected because there is so much going on: full of life, lots of resources, many schools, large cross-section of families who need support and families who can provide support; people in the community are already working to do things differently such as the North East Interagency Committee. We will find out what we are doing and apply it to other areas in City and in province. To-day, we need community support and ideas to proceed, because "what needs to be done has to be done with whatever exists."

I write in my notes as a member of the audience, who lives two communities away: but what does Opening Doors do? The presenter asks for questions from the floor. There are none and the presenter responds after a few moments: "Oh gee, I'm getting better at being clear!"

An official gave an overview of the evaluation plan on November 8, 1993. One member of Opening Doors asked if the evaluation plan will be tied to provincial goals. The response from the official was that they would "rather the goals came from the community." Yet earlier on, the key community association representative worker stopped going to community meetings because of frustration over the various (non-formal) definitions of community. Subsequent lack of formalized broad-based participation by the community did not prevent an assumption of "community involvement."

It is notable that at the June 1, 1994 meeting, they did not review accomplishments of the past year. Rather the continued discussion ensued about identity of Opening Doors: "coordination of service providers" or "community development." One member of Opening Doors who received a promotion after being on Opening Doors said that they "need to build a mechanism for communicating with the community." This had been a theme since September 24 , 1993.

In sum, the intent to build trust though informal relationship building had its limitations due to confounding issues, decisions, and procedures. Resistance to and avoidance of formality had the effect of those in "formalized" positions, carrying-out their activities, assuming that the silent voice of others meant consent.

Intent of Interagency Collaboration	Effect of Bureaucratic Organization
Focus on person and process to achieve collaboration.	Immobilized by high tolerance for confusing directives.
Demonstrate co-operative values in a common culture.	Recognition only received from out of context of the hierarchy, because of "complexities."
Define "high needs" qualitatively without a mandate.	Devolution of governmental responsibility.
Replace expert role with "grass-roots" orientation.	Omnipotence of experts.
Experience interdependence.	Degradation of professional skills and knowledge.
Allow high needs/high risk clients to define services.	Displaced consequences for inadequate social policy.
Build trust through informal relationship building.	Assume "silence is consent."

8. Reinforcement of Class Structure

The notion "reinforcement of the class structure" is identified in Chapter Two: Literature Review as the radical structural perspective on formalization as written rules, records and decisions governing the performance of duties that reduce individual discretion in interpreting primary goals and procedures, for which, "consequences and antecedents are differentially initiated according to class position."

The intent for interagency collaboration was that it fit into the existing social structure as a relatively homogeneous structure that lacks cynicism toward trust in government. Hence the predisposition for "visioning" that was revisited many times between June 1993 and June 1994, which can be said to represent a middle class point of view. On the other hand, the effect was that throughout the process, rather than cynicism developing, actors were more likely to suggest that each other were inadequate, leaving the class structure intact.

For example, it was said that the real work was with Opening Doors and that the ADMs committee "piggybacked" on Opening Doors' successes. Another member of Opening Doors said that the vision was not shared by the ADMs who go with political whims. On the other hand the middle-class values were expressed: "Calgary is unique, pride in being a volunteer city (wherein) communities take responsibilities for problems." In addition, another respondent felt that "all levels share the same purpose: (to) integrated service delivery."

However, there was less of a positive attitude on the part of one respondent: "There is a need for "visioning" at the ministerial level because the ministers have different visions about health, education, justice, and social services." Another felt that any constraints were due to "narrow interpretations of professional mandates and top-down structure.' On October 26, 1993 and Assistant Deputy Minister said the government looks forward to the challenges of removing barriers at (the) provincial level when communities tell "the government" what the barriers are." But according to the Community Association staff this was "too broad a definition of community."

At an Opening Doors meeting on September 24, 1993 a government official said that their "job in relation to this initiative is to see what role is for government in delivery of services." As a system of maintaining class structure, the government's role went unchallenged over the period of the study to June 1994. What one CEO would do differently in retrospect, is to have the CEO's get together monthly informally to "name ambiguities and embrace them."

An Opening Doors member felt that the professionals in the community were not committed because they did not have enough leadership from Opening Doors.

The community association staff felt let down because they thought that the professionals would do the needs assessment and ask the community to develop programs to meet the needs.

Another perspective was that (we) "should have involved the community earlier because the politicians listen to the 'community' rather than to professional caregivers". the respondent expressed that they should have done this to "play the game, but it is not the way it should be."

Beyond the games, there were grounded perspective: "It is "pie in the sky" that the community is doing it; it really is professionals who are doing things differently. If we interviewed clients, how may would say there is a difference?" A CEO suggested that "because of budget cuts, people look over their shoulder to protect jobs," therefore, "anything will wash." One Opening Doors member thought that rather than restructuring health, education and social services, they are all making different mistakes. Another perspective was even more cynical: "The overall initiative was to: shut people up; conceptually people got along well as 'good buddies' but when start to do work, fights start."

At the last meeting of Opening Doors that I attended on June 1 1994 the group determined that their role is to liaise with and act as a resource between community front-line workers, CEO's, and ADM's. Ultimately, the failure of intents for collaboration were not

understood as a consequence of the class, structure; rather, failures were understood as

difference from among their own class.

Table 9.
Summary: Contradictions Between Intent of Interagency Collaboration and the Effect of Bureaucratic Organization

Intent of Interagency Collaboration	Effect of Bureaucratic Organization
Focus on person and process to achieve collaboration.	Immobilized by high tolerance for confusing directives.
Demonstrate cooperative values in a common culture.	Recognition only received from out of context of the hierarchy because of "complexities."
Define "high needs" in the community qualitatively without a mandate.	Devolution of governmental responsibility.
Replace expert role with "grass-roots" orientation.	Omnipotence of experts.
Experience interdependence.	Degradation of professional skills and knowledge.
Allow high needs/high risk clients to define services.	Displaced consequences for inadequate public policy.
Build trust through relationship building.	Assumes that silence is consent.
Solve problems by visioning.	Intra-class conflict within middle class.

Table 9. summarizes the contradictions between the intent of interagency collaboration and

the effect of bureaucratic organization.

Summary

This chapter describes the contradictions between the intent of interagency collaboration

and the of bureaucratic organization. While the intent was to focus on "person" and

"process" to achieve collaboration, the effect of bureaucratic organization was immobility

due to a high tolerance for confusing directives. While the intent of interagency

collaboration was to demonstrate cooperative values in a common culture, the effect of bureaucratic organization was that recognition of those values were not achieved within the hierarchical context. While the intent of interagency collaboration was to define needs qualitatively in the community without having a specific mandate to do so, the effect of bureaucratic organization was devolution of governmental responsibility. While the intent of interagency collaboration was to replace the "expert" role with a grass-roots role, the effect of bureaucratic organization was an expansion of the expert role toward omnipotence. While the intent of interagency collaboration was to experience a sense of interdependence, the effect of bureaucratic organization was degradation of professional skills and knowledge. While the intent of interagency collaboration was to have high needs/high risk clients define service, the effect of bureaucratic organization was displacement of consequence for inadequate public policy. While the intent of interagency collaboration was to build trust informally through relationships, the effect of bureaucratic organization is the assumption that silence is consent. While the intent of interagency collaboration is to solve social problems by visioning, the effect of bureaucratic organization is intra-class conflict for the middle class.

Next, Chapter Six addresses challenges and implications of the contradictions for shaping social policy.

Chapter Six: Challenges and Implications For Social Policy as a Process of Interest,
Articulation, and Practice

Introduction

Consistent with the assumptions of the study, the following discussion of challenges and implications for social policy as a process of interest, articulation and practice, assumes that economic globalization contributes to the breakdown of the liberal paradigm of social policy and that interagency collaboration is a trend related to the breakdown. In addition, the challenges and implications are presented with the assumption that the break-down will continue and that pro-active responses on the part of professionals are both necessary and appropriate in order to maintain and/or replace the social policy (health, education and social services) within the liberal paradigm . Finally, it is assumed that the knowledge generated in the study may contribute to understandings and subsequent actions for shaping social policy, with particular reference to understanding and actions in the realm of interagency collaboration.

For the purposes of the discussion "challenge" refers to an issue that can be called into question as a direct result of a respective contradiction. The contradictions are those summarized on page 133. in Table 9. 'Summary: Contradictions Between Intent of interagency Collaboration and the Effect of Bureaucratic Organization.' "Implication" has to do with the consequences of the challenge.

The chapter is organized in five sections: hierarchy, specialization, standardization and formalization, and summary. The challenges and implications for social policy as a process of interest and articulation, and practice are discussed in the first four sections. The final section summarizes the potential responses to the challenges and implications.

For the purposes of the discussion below, "interest" refers to "narrow interests" that struggle to influence initiation of public policy. "Articulation" refers to "representations" of policy on the part of politicians and government officials who compete to control the meaning of policy. "Practice" refers to the meaning that is attached to policy at the level of implementation, which is beyond the control of the narrow interests involved at policy initiation, and beyond the control of politicians and government officials who articulate public policy.

Hierarchy

For the purpose and objectives of the study, hierarchy refers to top-down control - from governance, to management, to service. The contradictions between the intent of interagency collaboration and the effect of bureaucratic organization in relation to hierarchy that are elucidated in the study relate to 1. a focus on "person" and "process" to achieve collaboration versus immobility due to a high tolerance for confusing directives, and 2. demonstration of cooperative values in a common culture versus recognition only received from out of context of the hierarchy because of "complexities."

First, a challenge for the contradiction between a focus on person/process, and immobility due to a high tolerance for confusing directives is to maintain a balance by attending to the former while filtering and interpreting confusing directives. In the absence of balance, the group experience predominated at the expense of clarity of directives. For example, various levels within the hierarchy, from the North Central Interagency Council, to Opening Doors, to the CEOs, to the Official's Committee, to the Assistant Deputy Ministers Committee, apparently had valuable and rewarding personal experiences in

collaboration within their own groups; any frustrations experienced were by and large related to ambiguities <u>between</u> various levels in the hierarchy. A consequence was that rhetoric between levels prevailed without being confronted or challenged. In respect to "interest" there was a tacit assumption from the higher levels of the hierarchy that "this is what the community" wants - implying that the community has influenced the provincial government to initiate interagency collaboration; on the other hand, attempts on the part of Opening Doors to generate interest among community residents was met with minimal enthusiasm and response. In respect to policy articulation, the meanings assigned to collaboration obviously have greater strength for implementation at the higher levels than at the lower levels. In the absence of "integration" of functions between health, education and social services at the political level, there are severe limitations on the potential for "integrated services." An implication for the practice of interagency collaboration, is to remain vigilant of the difference between rhetoric and policy. At a very practical level, it might mean that interagency groups maintain a "dictionary" of policy terminology and identify the word or phrase, various definitions, and the sources of the definitions from each level in the hierarchy.

Second, a challenge for the contradiction between a focus on the intent of demonstrating cooperative values in a common culture, and receiving recognition only from out of context of the hierarchy because of "complexities' is to develop and maintain support for cooperative values elsewhere, and to utilize the support to develop strategies for developing a common culture in the existing hierarchy of social policy. In the absence of support, cooperative values will diminish without recognition. Recognition for the work of Opening Doors was received by two national organizations and by one international organization; yet locally, its efforts were frustrated by "complexities." In order to further

develop and maintain support, collaborative groups may make links to local organizations that are national and international in scope. Such links, while reinforcing local efforts, would, in addition, serve an educative function via learning about other initiatives in the global context, and developing a "common culture" of cooperative values in the global context. In respect to policy initiation, education about options would influence organized interests (professional associations, unions) to pressure elected representatives to support cooperative options. In respect to policy articulation, rhetoric about collaboration on the part of politicians and government officials would be more distinguishable from intent as a result of education about examples of collaboration from the global context. In respect to practice, enhanced education from the international context would lend support to international practice exchanges, perhaps at all levels in the bureaucratic hierarchy.

Specialization

For the purposes of the study specialization refers to protected expertise with differential privilege according to area of training or expertise. The contradictions between the intent of interagency collaboration and the effect of bureaucratic organization in relation to specialization that are elucidated in the study relate to 1. defining "high needs" in the community qualitatively without a mandate versus devolution of government responsibility, and 2. replacing the expert role with "grass-roots" orientation versus omnipotence of experts.

First, a challenge for the contradiction between defining "high needs" in the community qualitatively without a mandate and devolution of governmental responsibility is that persons who are "high need' are not likely to articulate their need without a mandated

service being available. For example, Opening Doors defended their selection of Huntington Hills on the basis of statistical data, to justify its selection over other "communities". However, in presenting the offer to the "community" for a collaborative endeavor, the statistics on need were embellished with qualitative characteristics such as a "caring community", and "families who need help and families who can provide help." The interface with the "community" was with persons who were clearly socially and recreationally oriented for community programming. Although the community welcomed participation by Opening Doors at the outset, it clearly saw its role as distinct from providing services for high needs children and families, respecting the level of professional expertise required. In respect to policy initiation, professionals play a key role in distinguishing needs from wants in the formulation of strategies to maximize the use of resources to both prevent and ameliorate social problems; in a sense, professionals are the knowledge bearers upon which ideological decisions of politicians and senior bureaucrats are made, and in turn providing a base line from which policy-makers can be held accountable. A focus on broadening the notion of "needs' in collaborative circumstances would be valuable; that is, to include not only both quantitative and qualitative date, but also to ensure that the criteria categories for data collection are generated by divers sectors in the community. In terms of policy articulation, overlaps and redundancies would be reduced. For example, there were those who generalized about Huntington Hills being a high needs community; there were others who generalized about Huntington hills being an extraordinarily stable community.

Second, a challenge for the contradiction between replacing the expert role with a "grass-roots" orientation and omnipotence of experts, is to exercise expertise in a multidisciplinary setting without compromising professional ethics or codes of conduct. For example, in the

interests of being grass-roots, the term "community development" was frequently used among members of Opening Doors, but not one person had formal training in community development. In reference to policy initiation, professionals would lose credibility as interests groups to the extent that their training and expertise are ambiguous and ill-defined. In reference to policy articulation, the matrix of how various professions and collaborative endeavors would serve the "whole" person or "whole" community would be rendered ineffectual. In reference to practice, without clarity of practice domains, professionals in collaboration would work with the lowest common denominator for ethics and standards of practice.

Standardization

For the purposes of the study standardization refers to a system of accountability for areas of action in relation to competence, responsibilities, and power and authority. The contradictions between the intent of interagency collaboration and the effect of bureaucratic organization in relation to standardization that are elucidated in the study are: 1. the experience of interdependence versus degradation of professional skills and knowledge, and 2. allowing high needs/high risk clients to define services versus displaced consequences for public policy.

First, a challenge for the contradiction between the experience of interdependence, and degradation of professional skills and knowledge is that the experience of interdependence provides affective satisfaction in the short term, but in the absence of a systematic accounting for the benefits of standards, degradation of professional skills and knowledge has negative long-term effects. In respect to interests in influencing policy, collaborative

endeavors between professions should include mutual support to maintaining standards across disciplines. While the members of Opening Doors were enjoying the experience of collaboration, institutions such as mental health, health, and social services were down-sizing and in a variety of ways deprofessionalizing. In respect to policy articulation, cross-professional critiques of policy representations would be in order. Finally, in respect to practice, systematic support to the front-lines in existing joint case management and collaborative endeavors should be balanced with "building" relationships at the management level. For example, the early study in 1991 showed that twenty-six agencies were already involved in one school. This means that interagency collaboration is occurring to service children and families of prior to Opening Doors and prior the Coordination of Services for Children Initiative. Cross-disciplinary inclusive collaboration at all levels of professional activities are therefore required for maintaining standards for all professionals.

Second, a challenge for the contradiction between allowing high needs/high risk clients to define services and displaced consequences for inadequate public policy is that social problems may be increasingly "pathologized." Those in high needs/high risk positions are fragile and vulnerable to abuse of standards in the face of intervention. Although those involved with Opening Doors generally agreed to some principles of consumers of services defining services, at the same time, they believed that poverty was a major source of problems for children and families. Yet the focus of activities for collaboration was on "service" models as opposed to the root causes of poverty, such as unemployment. A long term consequence of avoidance of social problems is intrusive "treatment" such as pharmacological responses to psychodynamic symptoms of poverty; the larger problem of poverty is not within the affected persons' perception when they are the most fragile and

vulnerable. In respect to influencing public policy and articulation of public policy, those involved in collaboration should maintain knowledge of and critique interests that are influencing policy that benefit from pathologizing social problems - such as the pharmaceutical industry lobby. In respect to practice, joint standards for distinguishing social problems from personal problems would enhance knowledge and capability for critique.

Formalization

For the purposes of the study formalization refers to written rules, records and decisions governing the performance of duties that reduce individual discretion in interpreting primary goals and procedures. The contradictions between the intent of interagency collaboration and the effect of bureaucratic organization in relation to formalization that are elucidated in the study are: 1. building trust through relationship building versus assuming that silence is consent, and 2. solving problems by visioning versus inter-class conflict within the middle class.

First, the challenge between building trust through relationship building and assuming that silence is consent is to ensure that goals and procedures are mutually understood. The relationships between the North Central Interagency, Opening Doors, and the Officials Committee were not formally linked for goals and procedures. There were many consequences. In relation to the role of the Commissioner in providing direction to policy-makers via gathering information from "stakeholders" a missed opportunity prevailed on the part of the North Central Interagency and Opening Doors because the links for goals and procedures were not formalized. In relation to policy articulation, it required that an

Officials Committee Representative presented the goals and procedures to the "community", not via the professionals, but aside from the local professionals who have better access to the community in respect to their day to day activities in providing services. In relation to practice, in the absence of goals and procedures being linked at various levels, an entire system of non-governmental agencies in the community were excluded from participating.

Second, the challenge between solving problems by visioning and intra-class conflict within the middle class is to share information about discretionary practices and procedures. While "visioning" came close to being a preoccupation for Opening Doors, it went relatively unrecognized that "stretching mandates" is common at the front-line of service delivery. For example, the original reason for forming the North Central Interagency group was a common interest among front-line workers in providing services in the geographic area for which clients would otherwise have to travel out of the community to access. Yet in reference to influence on policy initiation, the front-line was without a vehicle to do so. In relation to policy articulation, the rhetoric from government officials was viewed with cynicism. In respect to practice, there was hope that the best that would happen when Opening Doors was introduced is that the formalized procedures required in each department would not interfere with what the North Central Interagency was hoping to achieve.

Summary

The challenges and implications for interagency collaboration are discussed for the social policy process - interest, articulation and practice - within the original theoretical

framework for the study, and embellished conceptually for intent of interagency

collaboration and the effect of bureaucratic organization developed in Chapter Five. Table

10. below summarizes the above discussion.

Table 10.
Summary of Discussion: Challenges and Implications for Understanding and Action in Interagency
Collaboration

Hierarchy	• develop and maintain a dictionary of terms from various levels in the hierarchy • link to national and international organizations for support and education
Specialization	• broaden "needs" identification process to include qualitative and quantitative data, and establish areas for data collection from a variety of sources. • maintain and articulate distinct professional ethics and codes of conduct
Standardization	• cross-disciplinary inclusive collaboration at all levels of professional activities • joint standards for distinguishing social problems and personal problems
Formalization	• link goals and procedures between various sectors involved in collaboration • share information about discretionary practices

The next chapter concludes the study - Chapter Seven: Conclusions and Directions for

Further Study.

Chapter Seven: Conclusions and Directions for Further Study

Introduction

This Chapter provides conclusions of the study, and suggests directions for further research. The purpose of the study was to generate knowledge about the dissolution of the liberal paradigm of social policy with a focus on contradictions between the intent of interagency collaboration and the effect of bureaucratic organization. The study generated contradictions according to radical humanist and radical structuralist perspectives on hierarchy, specialization and formalization (see Table 9. page 133) utilizing the Opening Doors: Collaborative Service for Children and Families as it was linked to the Alberta Government Coordination of Services for Children Initiative. The contradictions were then discussed for challenges and implications for social policy as a process of interest, articulation and practice for a series of knowledge and action guides to shaping social policy (see Table 10. page 144).

Conclusions of the Study

The contradictions between the intent of interagency collaboration in the bureaucratic organization of public policy are less apparent than the rhetoric of its intentions. Nevertheless, the notion is popular in the 1990s. How long the lack of awareness of the contradictions remain at the level of frustrations in achieving the intentions, is yet to be known. However, until awareness is enhanced, the voice of those who may influence, articulate, and understand the implement issues is silent amidst the dismantling of social policy.

Awareness is required to appreciate that the frustrations are due to more than individual ability or will to collaborate. Our current system is not designed to collaborate; it is organized such that service agencies are responsible for delivering services, governmental agencies are responsible for monitoring standards. Those whose received services have relied on objective interpretations of their rights and responsibilities, and policy makers have been accountable to the electorate for the principles guiding universal access to services, monitoring standards to ensure the that the rights and responsibilities of citizens are maintained.

The system worked well to the extent that Canada and its provinces are among countries with the highest standards of health, education, and social services in the world. The system relied on a combination of public spending to ensure high standards, and taxation on economic enterprises as a source of revenue. When fluctuations in the economy occurred, the spending/revenue generation mix was adaptable. Now, with the emergence of economic globalization, governments are less able to adapt to economic fluctuations. We do not yet have an economic development and social policy alternative to replace the system that relied on continuous balancing of social spending and taxation of economic development. In the meantime, it is clear that the role of those in the bureaucratic organization of social policy - whether at the level of interest, articulation or practice - is critical to ensure that the human well-being of citizens through health, education and social services are woven into the new paradigm as it may emerge as the old is dissolving.

The guidelines generated in the study are an attempt to provide strands for those in the bureaucratic organization of social policy, who are attempting to weave a new paradigm.

1. Developing and maintaining a dictionary of terms used by all involved in collaboration, ensures that meanings of words are understood and shared. For example, what is the definition of "consumers focus", "regionalization", or "community participation?"

2. Maintaining international links may gain support and learning's from others with experience of collaboration that similarly emerged out of historical necessity. Countries such as those in Asia, Africa and Latin America have undergone dramatic social and economic changes; we can learn from these experiences.

3. It is important to broaden the "needs" identification process to include qualitative and quantitative data, and establish areas of data collection from a variety of sources. The conventional means of data collection has relied on demographic data; expanded notions of need should include qualitative indicators of the experience of well-being.

4. Compiling information about professional ethics and codes of conduct across professions (social workers, teachers, psychologists, physicians, and rehabilitation practitioners) would result in the formation of a basis of information from which to develop standards that unite the professions on a perspective of equity and self-determination for those receiving services.

5. Determining if the collaboration is supported at all levels surrounding the collaboration will reduce sabotage of collaborative efforts. For example, is a local community collaboration supported by the related regional authorities? Umbrella organizations of service providers? Professional associations? Provincial authorities? Consumer groups? Politicians? If not, lobby the various levels for their support.

6. Developing and monitoring joint standards for distinguishing social problems and personal problems elucidates what is a "community" or personal responsibility and what is public responsibility. For example, "personal problems" such as abuse may be the effect of the social problem "poverty." A guide may be: is the social and economic life-situation of this individual or family in violation of the Canadian Charter of Rights and freedoms?

7. Linking goals and procedures between various sectors promotes inclusive collaboration. For example, establish program goals and procedures for maximizing well being that are all encompassing: economic, physical, social, rights and obligations in the community, and inner/life meaning.

8. Sharing information about discretionary practices makes explicit that mandates are stretched on a regular basis as public policy is made to shrink resources. While discretionary practices are advantageous on a case by case basis, the disadvantage of remaining informal, is that in the long run persistent and universal hidden stretching of mandates masks gaps in the quality of services and the resources available for providing services.

The challenges of creating a new system to replace the declining system are many. Collaboration brings one set of challenges. But it is unlikely that the frustration of collaboration will entirely defeat the intentions of collaboration. Awareness of the challenges and conscious efforts to understand the sources of the frustrations in order to be proactive, will contribute to success in carrying-out the intentions of collaboration.

Directions for Further Study

In light of knowledge generated in the study, and in light of the problem addressed in the study vis-as-vis the contradiction between interagency collaboration and bureaucratic organizations in the paradigm shift of public policy, the following are some suggested directions for further study. The discussion for further research is framed by the presentation based on the general category of inquiry "to emancipate" (see Table 8. page 54) in Chapter Two: Research Methodology.

A neo-Marxist approach might be utilized to examine the economics of the dissolution of the liberal paradigm of social policy. The role of data sources would be to distinguish class interests. Such a study would generate knowledge that would be valuable for developing strategies for introducing community economic development into interagency collaboration endeavors.

A feminist approach might be utilized to explore the feminization of collaboration in the midst of the paradigm shift in social policy. The initiatives to improve "efficiency and effectiveness" primarily target the systems within women and children receive services and with which women are employed. Such a study would elucidate relationships between the personal experience of women in the midst of enhanced legislation to protect their rights over the past several decades, which is now limited severely in effectiveness because of poverty linked to economic globalization.

A praxis-oriented approach might be utilized to gain understanding about the actual impact of interagency collaboration on the experience and lives of persons receiving services.

Such a study would make a contribution elucidating and distinguishing what can be ameliorated through administrative procedures and practices, and can only be ameliorated through public policy.

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Appendix A
Chronology of Events

- **APRIL 1991**   Discussions began between Alberta Education and Calgary Board of Education regarding joint evaluation of collaboration within high needs schools.

- **FALL 1991**   Formation of an Interagency Committee comprised of eight agencies: AADAC, Alberta Education, Alberta Family and Social Services, Alberta Mental Health, Calgary Board of Education, Calgary Catholic Board of Education, Calgary Health Services, City Social Services. The primary objective of the Committee was to describe and evaluate the process of interagency collaboration with schools.

- **January to JUNE 1992**   An in depth study of the experience of collaboration within one high needs elementary school (Thomas Study), was commissioned by the Committee.

- **FALL 1992**   Building on the foundation of the Thomas Study, a follow-up document entitled "OPENING DOORS" was published by the Committee.

- **DECEMBER 14, 1992**   A meeting with senior leadership from the participating agencies was held to inform them of the work of the Committee and to request their support to develop a model for improved coordination of service delivery to children and families.

- **FEBRUARY 24, 1993**   Committee met with "front-line" workers to validate issues identified within the Opening Doors document and to obtain their input in the development of a relevant and practical model.

- **MARCH 1993**   Feedback was incorporated by the Committee in formulating a proposed integrated service delivery model.

- **APRIL 1993**   Meeting with senior leadership from participating agencies to review the proposed model. Approval was received to proceed with implementation of a pilot.

- **MAY 1993**   Selection of Calgary as pilot site for Coordinated Services for Children.

- **JUNE 1993**   Connie Roberts, Assistant Deputy Director of the San Diego Department of Social Services.

- **OCTOBER 1993**   Meeting with the Central Interagency Council to establish pilot site and enlist participation.

- JANUARY 1994   Orientation of Huntington hills residents to develop a vision of collaboration.
- FEBRUARY 1994   Opening Doors Committee and Huntington Hills Core Team jointly sponsor second community workshop "Shaping Our Shared Future."

Appendix B
School-Agency Collaboration Project Steering Committee
Spring 1993

AADAC
Gloria Wilson, Supervisor, Youth Programs Team, Community Education Services

Alberta Family and Social Services
Jim Pritchard, Manager, Community Involvement Initiatives

Calgary Board of Education
Norreen Baker, Assistant Superintendent, Curriculum
Shirley Edey, Specialist, Curriculum
Don Moench, Principal, David D. Oughton Elementary School
Karen Moench, Principal, Maple Ridge Elementary School
Evelyn Wotherspoon, Community Liaison, Curriculum

Comprehensive School Health Initiative
Cathy Maclean-Stearn, Program Coordinator

Alberta Education
Patti Newton, Assistant Director, Calgary Regional Office of Education

Alberta Mental Health
Gay Blauel, Alberta Mental Health

Calgary Catholic Board of Education
Dennis Fendall, Assistant Superintendent, Student Services

Calgary Health Services
Bonnie Johnston, Assistant Director of Nursing, Child and Adolescent Health

City of Calgary
Diana Hodson, Social Planner, City Social Services

Appendix C
Interdepartmental Officials' Committee
November 10, 1992

Reporting to the ADM's Committee, the Interdepartmental Officials Committee may include, but not be limited to:

- Val Kinjerski, Strategic Issues Manager, Strategic Planning, F&SS (Chair)
- Evelyn Swanson, Research and Planning Branch, Policy and Planning Services Division, Health
- Regina Beckett, Mental Health Consultant, Service Development and Delivery Branch, Health
- Pearl Morrison, Director, Family Health Services, Public Health Division, Health
- Rick Morrow, Deputy Director, Education Response, Education Response Centre
- Percy Mirochnick, Assistant Director, Policy and Planning, Education
- Ken Maskiw, Executive Director, Program Policy Development, Social Services , Support, Family and Social Services
- Barbara Turner, Legislative Planner. Legislative Planning, Strategic Planning, AF&SS
- Cheryl McKenzie, Public Affairs Officer, Communications, Family and Social Services
- Peggy Garritty, Director, Communications, Education
- Rhonda Stevenson, Director, Communications, Health

Functions of the Inter-Departmental Officials Committee is to undertake work as designated by the ADM's Committee including:

- to develop and recommend a policy framework and action plan to ensure coordination of services at the policy, program and operational levels

- to examine departmental mandates, review existing programs/protocols/projects, and initiatives in other jurisdictions

- to present and analyze strategies and options for service coordination and resource options

- to facilitate and coordinate consultation in cooperation with local community leaders

- to guide the development of inter-departmental policies, protocols and program initiatives

- to develop and recommend strategies for pilot projects in cooperation with the local communities and oversee implementation by pilot project managers

- to develop and recommend a communication strategy

Representatives from other departments may be invited to attend the Inter-departmental Officials Committee as appropriate.

Appendix D
ADM's (Assistant Deputy Ministers) Committee
November 18, 1992

Reporting to the Deputy Ministers of Family and Social Services, Health and Education, the ADM's Committee is comprised of:

Pat DeZutter, ADM Strategic Planning, F&SS (Chair)
Gary Zatko, ADM. Planning and Information Services Division, Education
Cecilie Lord, ADM, Policy and Planning Services Division, Health
Steve Petz, ADM, Public Health Division, Health
Don Fleming, ADM, Social Support Services F&SS
Bernie Doyle, ADM, Mental Health Division, Health
Hank O'Handley, ADM, Correctional Services, Solicitor General
Harvey Finnestad, Executive Director, Education Response Centre, Education
Val Kinijerski, Strategic Issues Manager, Strategic Planning, F&SS

Function of the ADM Committee:

• to define the scope and set the parameters of the project

• to review and approve draft Terms of Reference

• to formulate a vision of inter-departmental and inter-agency coordination of service delivery and supporting principles

• to guide the planning of orderly, coordinated delivery and development of services for children and youth in need, and their families, ensuring principles are upheld, terms of reference are followed and offering support and advice as required

• to review and approve work submitted by the Officials Committee, including strategies and options, and to make recommendations tot he Deputy Ministers

Consultation with other departments will occur, as appropriate, to address specific issues, e.g. Solicitor General, AADAC, Attorney General.

Appendix E
Coordination of Service For Children
Terms of Reference
November 1992

BACKGROUND

Many services to children and youth in need, and their families in Alberta are fragmented, often resulting in gaps in some areas and duplication in others. In addition, the problems and challenges facing children and youth today are more complex - resulting in increased demands, and generally requiring services from more than one department, agency or program. In a time of need and stress, the families often must go from program to program to seek the service required, an indication of the ongoing need for planning and linkages across departments and at the community level. As fiscal resources become more restricted, it is increasingly important to find ways to maximize resources and share responsibilities for meeting the needs of children and youth in need, and their families. It is specifically important to avoid off-loading responsibility to other departments and agencies which can result in service gaps and increased fragmentation.

SERVICE DELIVERY ISSUES

• Children may have a wide range of needs: physical health, mental health, behavioral, learning, developmental or social service related. If the family is not able to identify and arrange the required services, then some degree of assistance may be necessary.

• The absence of collaboration between government departments and the community when planning for service delivery, as well as the lack of clarity with respect to department mandates leads to a fragmented approach to serving children.

• Some children and families have difficulty accessing services, particularly mental health services, early intervention programs, speech therapy, and health services in schools.

• Previous attempts to address the issue of coordination by various departmental and interdepartmental committees, including the Special Education Review, Community Support unit Task Force, and the Interdepartmental Working Group on Children's Mental Health Services, have shown the magnitude of the problem.

• The existing service system can be described as having multiple points of entry (e.g. schools, hospitals, mental health clinics, health units, social service agencies, treatment centers, family physicians). There can be difficulties in identifying all the appropriate sources of service and in arranging the array of services that may be required.

PURPOSE

• To better serve Alberta's children and youth in need, and their families, by improving the coordination of service delivery at the provincial and local levels.

• To work cooperatively with local community groups and stakeholders to develop and implement action plans that use available resources in meeting those needs.

• To function as a Steering Committee for the Brighter Futures initiative.

<u>SCOPE</u>

• This project will affect F&SS, Health, Education, and the Solicitor General as well as agencies like AADAC. It will involve significant consultation and collaboration of the communities and stakeholders.

• The project will determine a framework and guidelines for the delivery of coordinated services to children and youth in need, and their families. Departmental budgets, structure, legislation, policy and contracting methods may be impacted.

<u>COMMUNITY PARTNERSHIPS</u>

• The community and service providers will have a significant role with local departments in the design, development and implementation of an action plan.

• The ADM's Committee will provide the vision and leadership, and support the collaboration with community leaders in addressing specific problems and area of service.

<u>KEY ASSUMPTIONS AND PRINCIPLES</u>

• This initiative is fully supported by all the departments involved.

• Authority with a clear mandate to guide the planning of orderly, coordinated delivery and development of services for children is given to the ADM committee.

• Several examples of coordination already exist in the province, and need to be built upon.

• Emphasis will be on innovative ideas, projects, and pilots that take a new approach to service coordination and delivery.

• Implementation of pilot projects and related initiatives will be completed within existing resources and evaluated for their effectiveness.

• Focus will be on collaborative efforts that emphasize local/community planning and management as well as effective, efficient, flexible and more accessible service delivery.

• Service delivery will include prevention and direct services to children, youth and their families such as education, children's mental health, child welfare, public health, child care, young offender and other services.

• Consultation will focus on concrete pilot options rather than the philosophical component of this project.

• Children in need require many supports. This project will focus on prioritizing and coordinating services to meet their priority needs, and those of their families as it relates to meeting the children's needs.

• Policies, programs and services will be client centered, equitable, consistent, and support the independence of families to the greatest extent possible.

• Children should be maintained and supported within their familiar settings of home, school and community to the greatest degree possible.

• Pilots with the Aboriginal community will reflect the reality of the existing agreements and plan for the devolution of services.

Successful projects have a balance between top-down directions and locally driven.

• Accurate and timely information should be available to families so that they can make informed decisions.

• Inter-agency coordination should be based on a consistent philosophy and an agreed upon approach for identifying needs.

AREAS FOR STUDY

• Development of a strategic framework to coordinate services for children and youth in need, and their families.

• Strategies and options to address inter-departmental and inter-agency issues and barriers.

• Assessment of costs and fiscal impacts associated with the strategies and outcomes, including budget reallocation options.

• Creative options for sharing resources between departments, stakeholders and service providers (e.g. different delivery mechanisms, protocol agreements).

• Development of an implementation strategy and evaluation plan which will support and assess positive, early results.

OUTCOMES

• Families, youth, children, and service providers perceive that services to children in need are better coordinated, and more efficient and effective.

• Senior government and local officials identify and remove barriers to interdepartmental and interagency cooperation and implement solutions for improving the efficiency and effectiveness of services.

• Government departments and community service providers support a policy framework and action plan for improving the coordination of services to children and their families at the policy, program and operational levels.

• Government departments and community service providers agree to implement a set of action plan priorities to achieve coordinated, integrated service delivery.

• Interdepartmental policies, protocols and program initiatives are implemented.

• Coordinated community based services and collaborative partnerships are functioning at the local level on behalf of children.

• Evaluation results identify the successes and shortfalls of pilot projects and ways to improve interdepartmental policy, protocol and program initiatives.

• Government departments and community service providers have a better understanding of what makes a significant difference in delivering coordinated services to children and youth.

PROJECT CLIENT/REPORTING

This project reports to the Deputy Ministers of Family and Social Services, Education, Health and the Solicitor General and is directed by the ADM's Committee, comprised of representatives of the four departments and chaired by Pat DeZutter, ADM Family and Social Services.

RESOURCES

The ADM's Committee will meet every 3 weeks, while the Deputy Minister's and ADM's will meet every 6 weeks. An interdepartmental Officials Committee will meet at least twice monthly. Subgroups will meet as required in their Terms of Reference.

Fiscal resources will be required for the purpose of communication, consultation, workshops, demonstration pilots, evaluation etc. Pending more detailed work, each department will contribute $10-15,000 for the remainder of the fiscal year, and $100,000 for 1993/94.

TIMEFRAMES

Timeframes will be dependent on scope, resources and public consultation expectations, however, the following timeframes are envisioned:

Phase 1

Submission of Terms of Reference to Deputy Minister	October 26, 1992
Quarterly progress reports to Deputy minister starting	February 1, 1993
Initiation of a consultation process regarding a pilot	January 15, 1993
Initiation of an evaluation process	January 15, 1993
Recommendations of at least 2 significant improvements to the delivery and coordination of services to children to be included in the budget throne speech	April 1, 1993

Part 11

to be developed	ongoing

WORKPLAN

- develop terms of reference
- form officials group and subcommittee
- formulate a realistic vision of inter-departmental and inter-agency cooperation in the delivery of services to children and youth in need, and their families
- define principles and assumptions to guide the project
- determine mandate and coordination issues among departments
- determine how inclusive the coordination of services will be; e.g. education, health, child welfare, young offenders, drug and alcohol, police services, court services (A.G.'s)

- for each department, complete an inventory of activities/projects that will impact or be impacted by the project
- review existing programs/projects underway or under development with a view to the " services for children" initiative
- review formal protocols with a view to effective coordination of services, e.g. school; YOA; child Abuse, and ensure others develop where required
- review coordination initiatives on other jurisdictions for success, failures and recommendations
- clarify roles and departmental mandates and determine if changes are needed to facilitate cooperation
- identify barriers to the coordination of service delivery and strategies to eliminate.
- develop options for sharing resources between departments and service providers
- assess legislative implications and recommend amendments
- define community partnerships and stakeholder consultation in this process
- identify and initiate 2 to 6 projects in which existing resources are redeployed to ensure efficient and effective delivery of services to children and youth in need, and their families
- recommend a coordinated service delivery framework(s)
- develop and implement inter-departmental policies, protocols and program initiatives
- ensure congruence of recommendations to the Family Policy Grid
- develop and implement a consultation strategy
- develop a communications strategy
- evaluate coordinated services

Appendix F
Summary of Proposed Follow-Up Actions From
Community Meeting
January 15, 1994

1. Identify a first-place entry for children and families.

2. Do an inventory of current formal and informal services in the community; compose a list and distribute/make available within the community.

3. Host a forum for exploration of matching community needs and resources (e.g.: unemployed people in the community being matched with businesses in the community).

4. Develop a "personality" column as a regular feature in the community association newsletter, in which human service staff are given a "human face".

5. Have professional staff train a team of volunteers as first contacts for children and families requiring services; trained volunteers can then in-turn train other volunteers; use past-consumers as a source of volunteers.

6. Establish a service-team or "working group" to be responsible for following-up on today; and to report back to this group of today for feedback on above action plans.

Appendix G.
List of Persons Interviewed For The Study

1. Norreen Baker
2. Gay Blauel
3. Pat Boyton
4. Diane Dalley
5. Else de Groot
6. Bill Dickson
7. Linda Erikson
8. Dennis Fendall
9. Brent Freisen
10. Marg Gauley
11. Diana Hodson
12. Bonnie Johnston
13. Jean Lafrance
14. Jim Prichard
15. Randy Trafford
16. Gloria Wilson

Appendix H.
Interview Guide

1. Role autonomy versus role interdependence.
What has been your experience of depending on others and having them depend on you?
What changes in interdependence occurred over time from the outset of your involvement
with Opening Doors? What advantages and disadvantages of interdependence did you
experience? In retrospect, what might you have done differently in relation to
dependence/independence issues?

2. System boundaries integrate individual needs and organizational needs versus
separation of individual needs and organizational needs.
Were there any particular satisfactions that you experienced? If so, what re they? Can
you describe what organizational characteristics supported these satisfactions? Can you
describe what organizational characteristics inhibited these satisfactions? In retrospect,
what would you do differently in relation to your satisfaction?

3. Control in the hierarchy induces dichotomous behavior - to obey and command.
Have there been changes in who you are accountable to? Have there been in who is
accountable to you? What adjustments were required on your part? In retrospect, what
would you do differently?

4. Control in the hierarchy induces simultaneous centralizing and decentralizing
tendencies that protect class status.
Has your status changed and if so, in what way? Have the actors who played a part in
determining your status changed? What indicators are there that your status has changed?
In retrospect, what would you do differently?

5. Differential privilege according to specialization induces limitations on capability for
determine needs.
What needs are being met by Opening Doors? For what reasons are these needs not met
without Opening Doors? What needs are being overlooked? In retrospect, what might
have been done differently?

6. Differential privilege according to specialization induces threats to the stability of
specialization.
What are your areas of expertise? In what way were these areas of expertise availed
opportunities for expansion? In what way were your areas of expertise constrained? In
retrospect, what would you do differently?

7. Systems of accountability to achieve standardization induce dependency.
What are the sources of the standard of practice that you brought o Opening Doors?
What has been the impact of Opening Doors on the standard of practice? Have the
sources of standards of practice changed? In retrospect, what is your perspective on
issues related to standards of practice?

8. Systems of accountability to achieve standardization induce a focus on individual solutions to structural problems.
In your opinion, why are the children and families at risk? Are these reasons consistent or inconsistent with the assumptions of Opening Doors? Why and why not? What are the indicators of reduced risk? In retrospect, how would you define "at risk" from the perspective of Opening Doors?

9. Reduced individual discretion through formalization induces contradictory interpretations.
What is the difference in the degree of formality and informality in your work in your work with Opening Doors and your work elsewhere? What has been the impact on you and your work? How have you managed that impact? In retrospect, what would you do differently?

10. Reduced individual discretion through formalization induces reinforcement of class structure.
What are the similarities and differences between your group and the others ? What would be different for you if you were in any other groups other your own? What would be the same for you if you were in any other group than your own? In retrospect, what would you selectt to be in if you had a choice? Why?

Consent Form

This document confirms the consent of _____
to participate in the research project Schools and Community Services: A Case Study of Interagency Collaboration. The researcher is Emily Mansfield.

The purpose of the research is to enhance understanding of the process of interagency collaboration among school, health and social services and to contribute to knowledge of the policy-making process as it relates to interagency collaboration.

I have been informed, to an appropriate level of understanding, about the purpose and methodology of this research project, the nature of my involvement, and any possible risks to which I may be exposed by virtue of my participation.

· I agree to participate in this project by: engaging in one or more one-on-one interviews with the researcher, and/or being observed as a group member.

My participation is voluntary and I have the right to withdraw from this research at any time without penalty. The researcher has a corresponding right to terminate my participation in this research at any time.

As research progresses, all data will be kept in a secure place inaccessible to others.

Raw data will be summarized, synthesized, categorized, and reconceptualized for presentation in the study report. Exceptions may be in the case of direct quotes or paraphrasing that identify me as a source; these will be included in the report only with my approval in writing. In all other cases the researcher Emily Katherine Mansfield is the only party with access to information that identifies opinions and statements provided by me.

All records of interviews and participant observations will be destroyed by the researcher upon final publication of the study.

I have read the Consent Form and I understand the nature of my involvement in this research project. I agree to participate within the above stated parameters.

I understand that it may be desirable, for comparative purposes, to repeat this research on another site or to use data from this research for comparison with related existing research. I understand that any subsequent use of the data from this research will conform to the above parameters.

I understand that the results of this research will be used for a Doctoral Dissertation by Emily Katherine Mansfield, and I do not object to the use of the research data and I give Emily Katherine Mansfield permission to use the data for this purpose.

Name _____ Signature _____

Date _____ Researcher _____

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Department of
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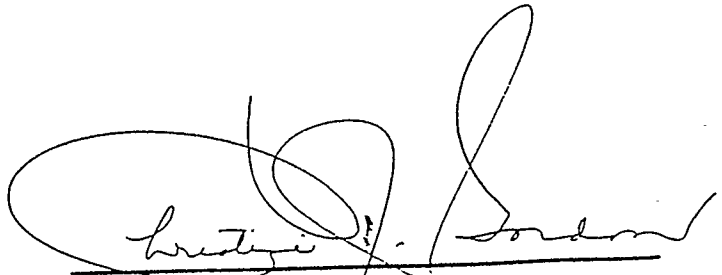Telephone (403) 220-5675
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EDUCATION JOINT RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE

CERTIFICATION OF INSTITUTIONAL
ETHICS REVIEW

This is to certify that the Education Joint Research Ethics Committee at The University of Calgary has examined and approved the research proposal by:

Applicant: __Emily Mansfield__

of the Department of: __Educational Policy and Administrative Studies__

entitled: __Schools and Community Services: A Case Study of Interagency Collaboration__

(the above information to be completed by the applicant)

__April 8, 1994__
Date

__Chair, Education Joint Research
Ethics Committee__