

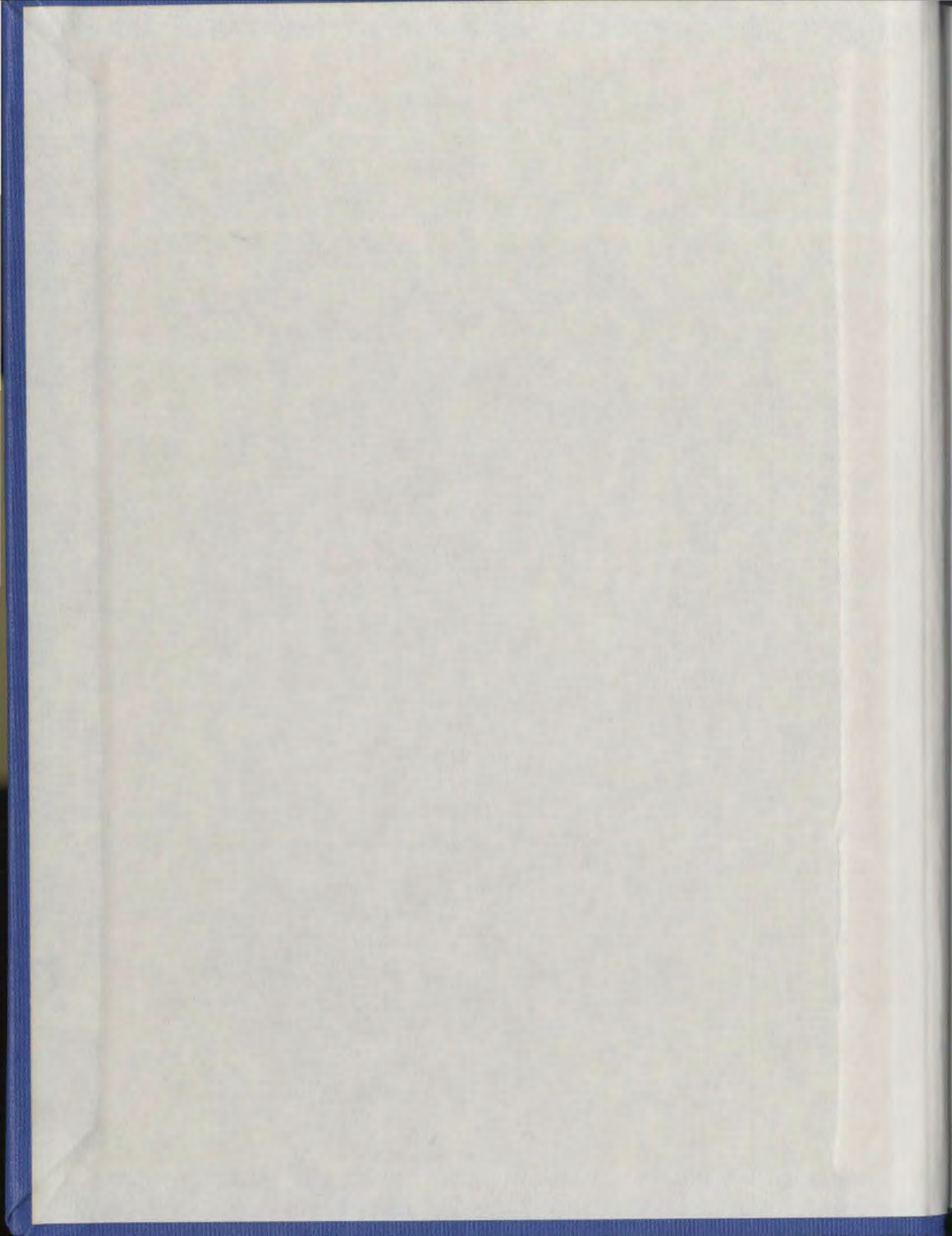
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ST. JOHN'S NEWFOUNDLAND

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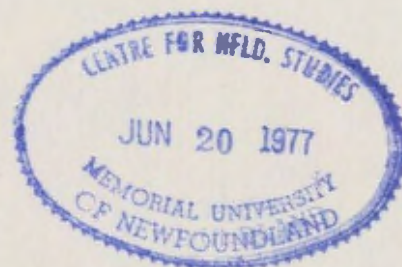
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COMPARISON OF TWO URBAN
CITIZEN ACTION GROUPS
ST. JOHN'S, NEWFOUNDLAND

by



BLAKE CRYDERMAN
B.A. (Hon.), Carleton University

A Thesis

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements

for the Degree of

MASTER OF ARTS IN SOCIOLOGY

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ABSTRACT

This study examines the role and process of the voluntary organization in the alleviation of social problems. Employing a case study approach, this research was conducted during two years of participant observation with two voluntary organizations in St. John's, Newfoundland.

The general area of concern for this research is an analysis of the internal structure of urban voluntary associations and its implications on organizational development and growth. Included in this analysis, as well, is a review of the goal selection, strategy formation and resource mobilization which accompanies the growth and decline of voluntary groups.

Of particular emphasis in this study is the description and analysis of organizational change and variation within the volunteer sector of community life.

Hypotheses are generated throughout the study for future verification and replication.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

There are many people who have greatly assisted me in performing this research.

To Dr. Jack Ross I owe inestimable debt. His knowledge in this area and his encouragement helped me overcome numerous problems. I would also like to thank a close friend, Rich Fuchs, for his sincere interest and his constructive evaluations.

As a result of my experience with the PPP and the CRA, I have acquired a great deal of knowledge for which I am genuinely grateful. I hope that the information contained in this study will be of some practical use to those interested in working with voluntary organizations. For their continued reassurance and encouragement I owe a great deal of thanks to my parents.

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CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

CHAPTER I

Introduction

In recent years there has been a significant increase in the number of voluntary organizations which have developed in Newfoundland. These organizations have focussed attention on a large number of social issues, including welfare rights, human rights, native rights, consumer problems, penal reform, and pollution, to mention only a few.

One factor which has led to the creation of such voluntary organizations is the radical shift in attitudes of many members of the service consumer sector of the population. There has been a substantial heightening of consumer awareness that all is not right and as a result there has been a revival of the concept of self-help.

Many residents express the feeling that services cannot be effective unless the barrier between the helper and the helped is diminished. These attitudinal changes on the part of the public have led to the creation of a number of voluntary organizations, and in a few instances a sophisticated neighbourhood corporation.

Within this general area of research (i.e. voluntary organizations) there are a number of aspects which have been studied and many more which require further research, including rates of participation, the role of voluntary organizations vis a vis social structure of a community and the effectiveness of voluntary

organizations as change agents. The one area which is of concern to me is the actual organization itself, including the internal structure and processes and how they relate to the selection of objectives, formation of a particular strategy, mobilization of resources and realization of goals.

This is of particular interest to me because I have found through experience that many voluntary organizations have not radically altered the traditional community structure, delivery of services, or increased the degree of real participation by the public in the decision-making processes of the community. The members of such organizations have failed to engage systematically in efforts to redefine problems, or change the technology of service delivery. Instead they have used their new resources merely to expand traditional services. Consequently, many organizations have lost the sense of pro bono publico in favor of self interest and self perpetuation, a finding which has been reinforced by research performed in the United States. I contend that this is due to the nature of the organization itself, especially the internal structure and processes, which develop. This proposition will be explained in greater detail in Chapters III and IV. Therefore, it is my intention to examine the internal aspects of two local voluntary organizations with the aim of providing those interested in creating a voluntary organization with the salient variables to take into consideration in order to facilitate the realization of its goals and the general alleviation of community social problems. This will be done using a case study approach based on participant

observation over a period of two years.

I feel it is important to point out that there are two major aspects to consider in examining the internal nature of voluntary organizations. In an article entitled "Toward a Reconstruction of Voluntary Association Theory" Ross refers to these two factors as the "association problem" and "voluntarism problem". The former refers to those aspects of opposition and support which the organization and its members in member roles encounter in attempting to reach organizational goals. The second problem concerns recruiting and keeping members and the relationships necessary to accomplish it. (Ross, 1972)

Although it is possible to make these two analytical distinctions it is important to note the degree of interrelatedness of these two factors. In other words, the ability of a group to reach its organizational goals is often greatly influenced by the member recruitment patterns and their relationships. The converse is also found to be true. It is not my intention to examine either of these factors in isolation but rather to investigate the structure and internal processes of each association which in fact is directly related to each of the above organizational problems.

Included in this study is the concept of voluntarism. Therefore, I feel it is important to briefly discuss the concept as it will be used in this research. In general terms, voluntarism refers to non-coerced human behavior. However, this is often interpreted as to mean that people who agree on the 'right' values are able to act effectively without the complications of politics. (Holden, 1973)

Politics in this context refers to the organization of control by man over man. (Maruyama; 1966) Given these two definitions it is possible to state that voluntarism is a critical political process and voluntary organizations accomplish one of three functions:

- (1) They organize and present public inquiries and demands to government;
- (2) They often perform functions which governments will not undertake, for example, the collection and distribution of information and other resources;
- (3) Voluntary groups themselves absorb public needs and pressures thus deflecting demands for action by government itself, eg. community and resource planning.

The two voluntary organizations under study (i.e. People's Planning Programme Association and Citizen's Rights Association) were designed to perform at least one of the above political functions.

The People's Planning Programme Association was a voluntary organization initiated and operated in large part by a small number of university students with the goal of increasing the degree of public participation in the decision-making process as it is related to the field of community planning. The group utilized conventional and non-conventional advocacy techniques to increase public awareness of the community planning process and to apply pressure to local government agencies to acknowledge the expressed needs and goals of the public.

The other voluntary organization under study was the Citizen's Rights Association. This association was largely composed of women who had previously held the status of welfare recipients. The organization was created in order to assist poor with their problems especially those concerned with the delivery of government services.

CHAPTER 2

METHODOLOGY

CHAPTER 2

Methodology

The method employed to collect data concerning the two voluntary associations was largely based on the type of information being sought and the ways in which the information would be put to use. Before entering into a detailed description of method, an explanation of the "guiding principles" surrounding it are in order.

The nature of this research will be largely exploratory in nature since relatively little research appears to have been done in this area, especially when compared to the amount of research performed on business firms, government agencies and other formal organizations.

This is particularly true regarding the nature and determinants of the internal structure and functioning of voluntary organizations.

Regarding this situation there does not exist an elaborate theoretical framework concerning voluntary organizations. In fact, Hall (1972) states that the general field of organizations does not have a theory or even a set of theories in the sense of a set of empirically verified propositions that are logically linked. However, there does exist a number of perspectives or conceptualizations. These can be placed into two basic categories: (a) closed system approach and (b) open system approach.

The closed system approach tends to view organizations as instruments designed for the pursuit of clearly specified goals. This perspective is traditionally tied to Weber's writing on bureaucracy in which he discusses the strict divisions of labour and hierarchical structuring of groups where participation is based upon financial remuneration. The "closeness" of this approach is emphasized by a number of organizational means as outlined by Hage (1968).

These include (1) complexity of structure, (2) centralization or hierarchy of authority, (3) formalization of structure, (4) stratification or status system. The closed system perspective is based on internal factors and optimizes organizational rationality.

The distinction between the closed system and open system approaches to study of organizations can be attributed to the work of Alvin Gouldner. Gouldner describes the open system approach in this manner:

"The natural-system model regards the organization as a 'natural whole' or system. The realization of the goals of the system as a whole is but one of several important needs to which the organization is oriented." (Gouldner; 1959: 405)

One of these important needs is survival, which can lead to neglect or distortion of the goal-seeking behaviour. Furthermore, many organizational changes are seen as adaptive responses to threats of organizational equilibrium.

Gouldner's major concern is with the development within the organization that deflects it from the rational model (closed system). In a sense it still views the organization as a closed system since the emphasis is on maintaining equilibrium.

It is important to point out that these theoretical perspectives concern formal organizations and were not applied or directed to voluntary organizations.

As a result of this exploratory study I hope to be able to make some general observations concerning the application of these theoretical concepts and their relevance to voluntary organizations. Furthermore, it is my intention to generate some specific hypotheses for future verification. It is within this frame of reference that the following description of method should be placed.

Description of Method

The primary method used for the collection of data was participant observation. This was found to be the most useful for a number of reasons:

- (1) it allows one to record the natural behavior of the participants;
- (2) it allows one to collect information which would otherwise not be as easily obtained;
- (3) it allows one to collect information of a much wider range than that collected by other methods, eg. questionnaire or interview techniques;
- (4) it allows one to record the context giving meaning to expressions of opinion which would be difficult to obtain using other methods.

However, there are a number of disadvantages to be weighed in considering the usefulness of this technique. These include the following:

- (1) participant observation requires that one must fulfill a specific position thus reducing the assessability to information and communication;
- (2) using this technique the participant observer may be instrumental in changing the behavior or attitudes of other members of the group;
- (3) participant observation can reduce the degree of objectivity; the participant observer may become involved emotionally and react

rather than record the events. There is also the danger that the researcher will become so familiar with the various modes of behaviour that they seem perfectly natural. (Goode & Hatt; 1952) As a consequence he may fail to note the details.

- (4) In using participant observation as a technique for collecting data there is a problem concerning the degree of reliability achieved in such research. The experience of the participant observer is unique, and, therefore, a second researcher would not be able to record the same events or draw the same conclusions.

With the exception of the limitation of reliability, the other problems can largely be overcome by using a specific technique for systematizing and recording data which are part of the researcher's experience.

Selection of Organizations For Study

The criteria used for the selection of the study groups included the following:

- (1) a newly formed organization or group in the process of becoming a legal association (i.e. becoming legally incorporated and drafting of a constitution);
- (2) a small autonomous group. In other words, an association with less than 15 active members and excluding national organizations or branch organizations of provincial or national associations;
- (3) associations performing an advocacy function (i.e. representing and acting on behalf of a specific or general

sector of the population with the objective of increasing public awareness and participation in the political processes of the community, province or both;

- (4) associations with activity which is voluntary in nature.

Since the two organizations selected for study (People's Planning Programme Association and Citizen's Rights Association) were quite different with respect to the composition of the groups (i.e. age of participants, sex ratio, and educational training of participants and membership patterns), I feel it is important to note the various techniques subsumed under the role of participant observer used for data collection within each organization;

People's Planning Programme Association *

Entry Into the Association

My entry into the PPP came about as a result of a familiarity with one of the originators of the association who happened to be enrolled in the same university programme as I. Consequently, I joined the association as a volunteer participant similar to the other participants. At the time of my entry I expressed no preconceived ideas as to the nature of my research other than an examination of the general organizational processes of the group. Most of the participants of the association realized that it was my intention to perform research on the organization at some point in time but since the nature of the research was not specific and it was not to be my dominant role within the association, I was perceived to be a volunteer participant and not a researcher.

* The People's Planning Programme Association hereafter to be referred to as PPP.

Techniques and Sources of Data

As I mentioned earlier the primary method of data collection was that of participant observation. Taking into consideration the various potential problems accompanying the participant observation method as discussed previously, I made use of a number of other techniques which reduced the negative aspects of participant observation.

First of all, I had to assume a position within the organization which would ensure a high degree of accessibility to all information and at the same time not be instrumental in changing group behaviour and organizational processes. This was achieved by assuming a nominal position as one of three co-ordinators which in large part restricted my activities to those of a secondary nature (i.e. public relations, communications and collection of information from external sources while at the same time such a position ensured accessibility to information concerning other participants and their decisions and performance within the organization.)

In addition, I made use of work diaries and social activities concerning the participants in order to increase my sources of data and reduce the problems of objectivity and reliability concerning participant observation.

Work Diaries

Throughout much of the period with the PPP I recorded daily events in a diary. For example, I outlined unusual and/or significant events such as the formulation of a particular ad hoc strategy, signs of hierarchical structuring and specific

remarks made by participants about each other concerning decision-making processes. In addition, I copied events from the office diary in which the participants recorded events, names of people visiting the office and the nature of their business and various decisions made by participants present in the office at any particular time. This was also complemented by examining office files, containing letters, reports and individual reports.

Social Events

Due to the informal nature of the association a great deal of information concerning the decision-making processes, such as the formulation of goals and strategies was derived from informal discussions at beer parlors and casual house gatherings. This method was particularly instrumental in determining the origination of events since such decisions were not recorded in the form of minutes or recorded in personal files.

Citizen's Rights Association*

Entry Into the Association

I entered the organization at a point in time when the participants had informally created the association and were seeking funds in order to formally operationalize proposed activities. The participants of the association felt that by including an evaluation section in the grant application, they would acquire a degree of legitimacy thus improving their chances for receiving the grant from the federal government. They approached the sociology department of Memorial University and persuaded one professor to act as evaluator. Since I was interested in doing research on voluntary associations and

*Citizen's Rights Association hereafter referred to as CRA.

happened to be studying under this specific professor I became an assistant evaluator for the association. The fact that I was performing my own research was unknown to the participants until such time that I felt I had the confidence of the association members and required access to private reports, files and clients.

Techniques and Sources of Data

The methods used to collect data were similar to those employed in the PPP with the exception of the social events involving participants. This can be attributed to the fact that the participants did not socialize with each other after office hours. In terms of participant observation my position as assistant evaluator permitted me to discuss various aspects of the organization with all members and openly record all pertinent events.

Since the CRA tended to be a more highly structured organization with respect to recording events, keeping files and holding regular staff meetings, I was able to collect information and observe social behaviour in a shorter time and in a more systematic fashion than in the PPP.

The membership of the association was much larger than the PPP and their activities were spatially dispersed throughout the island. This factor plus the low degree of professionalization and the case work approach to handling requests for assistance led to the development of a very complex structure with a high degree of formalization of rules and regulations for operating the association. The association underwent a number of structural

changes as well as a high turnover in staff in the two year period of study. This was largely a result of conflict situations which arose between the leader and members concerning the personal aims of the members versus those of the association.

In the following chapters these two organizations will be examined in detail with the aim of providing the public with some of the problems voluntary associations contend with in attempting to alleviate community social problems.

CHAPTER 3

PEOPLE'S PLANNING PROGRAMME ASSOCIATION

CHAPTER 3

PEOPLE'S PLANNING PROGRAMME ASSOCIATION

General Overview of the Activities of the PPP Association

Introduction

In December 1971 a proposed master plan for the city was completed and released to the public. This proposal, known as Plan 91, was a twenty year plan for the city of St. John's, Newfoundland, and was prepared by planning consultants from Montreal (Sunderland, Simard & Preston Associations) under the aegis of city council. It was directly in response to this plan that two residents created the PPP.

The objectives of the PPP's response to Plan 91, how these objectives were achieved, as well as the manner in which the city council, the hired consultants and local residents reacted to the PPP is an interesting story. To appreciate it, the following outline has been developed. It depicts the activities of the PPP in terms of its relations with city officials and the general public as seen through the eyes of a participant observer.

Initially, the two residents responsible for the creation of PPP (a former planner and a local architect) publicly criticized the plan for its lack of specificity.

... it was not concerned with any specific problem areas, there were no procedural requirements for the adoption or implementation of the plan, and no requirements for costing or phasing of the Plan. (PPP Overview; January 1972).

Their strongest criticism, however, concerned the lack of any specific requirements for the involvement of the citizenry in the formulation of the plan. The council and their planning consultants responded to this criticism by stating that in the autumn of 1969 a series of public presentations of the proposed plan had been held in the Arts and Culture Centre, where approximately 3,000 people viewed the display. Furthermore, a second series of discussions were held in the winter of 1971 prior to the preparation of the final draft (Plan 91). Nevertheless, the two initiators of the PPP were quite sure that the majority of the citizens of St. John's, including the 3000 residents who had previously viewed the display, failed to understand the Plan and, consequently, little interest or discussion evolved. They attributed the lack of understanding to two predominant factors:

- (1) the seven volumes making up the planning document plus the scaled drawings displayed at the Arts and Culture Centre were of a highly technical nature. It contained abstract, planning concepts written in the vernacular of the planner complemented with two dimensional multi-coloured maps which were incomprehensible to most laymen.
- (2) the lack of specific information concerning the implications of the proposed scheme for the environment in which the residents live. In other words, the plan failed to reveal what the implications of the plan were in terms of the people's streets, their shops and their homes.

As a result of the debate between the two resident

professionals and the city council, a number of volunteers joined the resident professionals to form what became known as the PPP.

In consideration of Plan 91, the specific objective of the group was to stimulate an awareness of the Plan and create a situation whereby the local residents would participate in the formulation of their own plan. This was to be operationalized by attaining public hearings on Plan 91 where citizens, upon acquiring a general understanding of the Plan, would present their criticisms and recommendations of the proposed planning scheme. At the same time it was hoped that the city council and their planning consultants would take into consideration the local residents' views in preparing the final draft.

The members of the PPP felt that in order for them to realize their objectives, three essential conditions had to be met first:

- (1) the local residents needed to acquire a clear understanding of the plan and planning process and the implications of the proposed plan on their environment;
- (2) the local residents develop the capacity to manipulate the technical data used by the planner as well as the ability to articulate their needs and goals;
- (3) the local residents had to be provided with a channel through which their views can be made and received by the city officials

The initial strategy used by the PPP to promote a greater understanding of the Plan by local residents was to

make the Plan a public issue. This was done by publicly criticizing the Plan in such a way as to dramatize and personalize the possible implications of the planning scheme.

The feasibility of using this tactic was based on the fact that the Plan was extremely general and vague thus allowing for a considerable range of interpretation and speculation.

This is a good example of the 'double edge sword' strategy.

In other words, the consultants developed a plan which, according to them, was very flexible and open to change. However, this

could be viewed as a built-in escape hatch preventing anyone from

making a specific criticism concerning the Plan. The PPP made

use of this character of the plan as a basis for their strategy

of making it a public issue. The PPP operationalized this

strategy by submitting a number of articles containing a list of

specific implications of the plan to the local newspaper, in

order to arouse the public's attention. This is revealed in an

article submitted by the PPP to the Evening Telegram on April 1,

1972.

...let's take the future mystery tour. As we approach Kings' Bridge Road (using Plan 91 maps) we are deeply in the throes of a mystery. Somehow we arrive at a right angle to Kings' Bridge Road. One of two possibilities will have occurred. Either a portion of St. Thomas' Church or a portion of the school will be missing.

...consider what it is going to cost the city. Old family homes, family businesses, corner stores that have been cementing neighbourhoods throughout the twentieth century, some of the most pleasant streets in St. John's, a substantial portion of our history, if you will, are the costs.

Non-conventional techniques were also used to accomplish

the same effect but in a less subtle manner. The list of possible implications of Plan 91 were directed to areas which were considered by local residents to be sacred ground. For example, the PPP, through the use of a local printing shop, acquired approximately 1000 posters displaying a photo of the Gower Street Church with the following phrase superimposed in bold black ink: "What Does Plan 91 Mean to the New Gower Street Church?" Since the plan allowed for the widening of the road surrounding the church, the possibility of it being destroyed was a reasonable speculation. Several copies were distributed to the local press and the remainder were posted throughout the area of the church. The response by local residents was phenomenal. The Mayor and councillors received a rash of telephone calls demanding an explanation concerning the future of the church. The Mayor went on local T.V. and angrily refuted the inference expressed by those who constructed the posters guaranteeing that the church would not be removed or physically altered. This promise was an ad hoc decision which would affect the transportation component of Plan 91.

The PPP also stimulated public awareness of the Plan by publicly emphasizing the fact that the Plan had cost the taxpaying citizens of St. John's \$200,000.00 and, furthermore, that the Plan had not been prepared by Newfoundland planners who had a greater familiarity with the culture and social structure of the community. Instead Montreal planners had produced the seven volume report of which six volumes were composed of data reproduced from Newfoundland literature already available.

The city council and their planning consultants sharply retaliated to the criticisms made by the PPP. The Mayor was

quoted in the Evening Telegram on January 6, 1972, as warning citizens not to heed "drifters and dreamers."

I don't think we should be too deeply concerned with the people who whistle in on a wave of prayer and will likely whistle out in the same way.

A representative of the consulting firm, G. Sunderland, also reacted strongly to the statements made by PPP:

I am inclined to believe that there is a grave danger that, having waited so long to respond to the 1969 Plan, those who now are questioning the overall principles may feel that the only way to bring about change is by conflict and confrontation in the more militant sense of the word. There is no need for conflict. (Saturday Night Magazine, December; 1972:46)

It is interesting to note that the city council and consultants failed to denounce the PPP in terms of their specific criticisms of the Plan. This can partially be attributed to the nebulous nature of the Plan itself.

The fact that the PPP initiated the debate by stating that they were in favour of developing a master plan for the city secured them a position which was favourable to the local citizens, and deprived the council from attacking them for not wanting the city to develop and progress.

By April 1972 Plan 91 was a controversial public issue in the minds of the residents of the city of St. John's. As a result of this situation they were aware of the debate occurring between the PPP and the city council. The PPP felt that the first component of their objective to stimulate public awareness had been completed.

The second essential component required for the realization of their goals involved the capability of the public to understand

and manipulate the technical data with which the professional planner works in reaching his conclusions. In other words, a greater understanding of the technical details of the Plan and the planning process was required. However, the selection of the strategy to be used to achieve this second objective was greatly affected by a decision made by the city council to hold public hearings concerning the Plan. These were scheduled for the twenty-fifth, twenty-sixth and twenty-seventh of April, 1972. It is difficult to ascertain whether the decision to hold public hearings was a strategy employed by the council to end the controversy and diminish the adverse publicity directed toward it by the PPP or whether it represented a sincere intent to attain public participation and consideration of the local residents' views concerning the Plan. Due to the fact that the city council of St. John's operates under the municipal planning act (St. John's Municipal Act) it is exempt from the regulations of the Urban and Rural Planning Act which specifically states that public hearings must be held concerning developments of this magnitude. Consequently, it is quite evident that the public controversy initiated by the PPP concerning Plan 91 influenced the city's decision to hold public hearings. However, the fact that the decision was made meant that the PPP had only a very short period of time (two weeks) to realize their objective.

The strategy employed by the PPP was to hold public meetings in their offices on New Gower Street with the intention of increasing the public's understanding of the Plan and the planning process thus enabling the local residents to actively

participate in the public hearings.

Ten days preceeding the public hearings the PPP conducted a series of informal public workshops concerning Plan 91. These were advertised in the local media and via posters and flyers as a forum for comment concerning the Plan. The workshops were designed to provide an opportunity for laymen and professionals to discuss the issues and implications of the Plan, as well as the technical details, with the intention that a "citizen's brief" would be developed for presentation at the hearings. The workshops were held for eight days where approximately 350 persons discussed the various aspects of the Plan, dealing with topics such as transportation, ecology, housing and social and public services. The initial task involved the translation of the Plan into the vernacular of the layman.

This was done by reducing the technical data system of the Plan to an illustration of the specific intents of the scheme. In addition, numerous alternative planning proposals were discussed which revealed to the local residents that it was not a question of accepting or rejecting this specific Plan. Rather what was important was the selection of a planning scheme which would take into consideration the needs and wants of the people. Once those present understood the technical aspects of the Plan they began to make known their needs and wants to the degree to which the proposed plan represented their views. This was greatly facilitated by the medium of communication utilized by the PPP. Mr. Orange, the person responsible for making most of the decisions within the PPP, felt that it was important for persons

to express themselves in their own way and in a setting that was comfortable to them. This was done by using video-tape recorders. There was a direct expression immediately available for the person commenting that did not require any translation or summarization in a written form. The discussions evolving from each workshop were recorded and then edited to approximately 20 minutes. Then at the beginning of the next workshop the edited version would be shown, thus allowing persons to further edit the tape if they so desired. At the same time it introduced the nature of the workshops to new participants and induced a dialogue. Thus, when the public hearings were held, the PPP presented, on behalf of the local residents present at the workshops, a written brief and two 45 minute video-tapes. This allowed the actual participation in the workshops to be directly expressed to the officials of the public hearings.

The public workshops held by the PPP fulfilled three functions:

- (1) by holding public meetings prior to the public hearings the PPP had undermined the role of the local city council and consultants concerning Plan 91. Furthermore, the PPP was playing a constructive enabling role (educational role) thus thwarting the allegations made by the council to the effect that the PPP was composed of radical militant youth,
- (2) the PPP provided local citizens with the opportunity to learn exactly what the plan entailed. This involved the translation of the Plan into layman's language plus

discussion with persons knowledgeable in community planning practices. This allowed citizens to articulate their needs and desires concerning Plan 91 at the public hearings,

- (3) as a result of the Public Workshops the PPP gained a great deal of public support (i.e. local residents, citizen and professional groups) for their objectives concerning Plan 91. This also stimulated other groups to publicly express their views concerning the plan

It is very interesting to note that two important groups within the city failed to attend or participate in the workshops or the public hearings. These were the city officials and the low-income groups.

City Officials

Although the city officials were invited to participate in the public discussions none attended. This may be attributed to a breakdown in communication between city hall and the officials. Whatever the reason, the participants of the public workshops severely criticized the officials for not participating, and the PPP exploited this situation to enhance their public image and gain public support. The local press assisted the PPP by reporting the incident on several occasions. "Meeting Disappointed, City Not Represented" (Evening Telegram, Tuesday, 18 April, 1972); More Criticism Levelled at City Council for Not Attending Planning Workshops (Evening Telegram, 21 April, 1972)

The co-ordinator of the PPP, Mr. Orange, strategically made use of the incident to respond to the consultant's statement that the PPP feel that the only way to bring about change is by

conflict and confrontation in the more militant sense of the word.

Mr. Orange discretely expressed the situation in an article to

the Evening Telegram on 24 April, 1972.

We approached City Hall in a cooperative manner and City Hall chose not to cooperate with us. This generated controversy. We did not an adversary role. However, we still feel there are many areas of cooperation between City Hall and PFP. We do share the same goals.

The fact that the city officials missed the public hearings is quite understandable if one adheres to the council's conception of a public hearing. This was expressed in a public announcement of the hearings in the Evening Telegram, 3 April, 1972.

... public hearings will be held prior to formal adoption (of Plan 91) in order that those who have intimated informally their objections and/or comments, and all those who have not yet offered their views, might have an opportunity to submit comments and/or objections in a formal manner.

Since the hearings were designed with the aim of obtaining the citizens' reaction and comment on Plan 91, the Mayor and councillors felt it was not in the best interests of the public to interfere in the public discussion. A commissioner was appointed to hold the hearings and report back to council the views expressed by the public.

However, the format of the public hearings can also be viewed as a strategy employed by the local government to quell adverse criticism, and shirk their responsibility. This position can be argued by using the basic premise of the democratic form of government. In other words, the city councillors and mayor are supposed to represent the views and needs of the public and are in turn accountable to the local citizenry. However, the

city officials did not attend the hearings but instead sent the planning consultants and city planners to respond to the citizens' questions and criticisms. Consequently, the focus of discussion which evolved was restricted to the specifics of the Plan and prevented participants from discussing the broader issues concerning the politics of the planning process.

Low Income Sectors

The low income segment of the city population did not participate in the public workshops or public hearings. Furthermore, the citizens' groups acting on behalf of the poor were not represented at the public workshops. This can be attributed to at least four factors:

- (1) the conventional means of advertising utilized by the PPP (i.e. newspaper, radio and T.V.) are not available to many low income groups or utilized to the same degree as those of other income levels.
- (2) the general topic of discussion (Plan 91) was perceived as not being relevant to the immediate needs of the poor. (e.g. food, clothing, health).
- (3) the view of the PPP as a radical communist group who were attempting to thwart development in downtown St. John's, development which was perceived by many low income people to be the panacea which would, consequently, improve the lot of the poor.
- (4) a fear that the PPP may threaten the existence of other groups who are striving to initiate social change.

The public hearings were held at city hall on April 25,

26, 27, 1972 with an relatively large attendance according to the mayor). considering the fact that the hearings were held during the afternoon hours as well as the evenings. Approximately 350 persons expressed themselves via video tapes which had been previously taped during the week of public workshops held at the PPP office. In addition, twenty briefs were presented by individuals and groups.

The fact that the public hearings were held as well as the activities which occurred at the ~~hearings~~ can partially be considered a measure of the success which the PPP achieved in reaching its goals.

The initial observation to be made concerns the fact that at least 75% of those attending the conference had participated in the PPP public workshops. In addition, many briefs revealed a high degree of understanding concerning the implications of Plan 91. These were largely presented by professional groups such as architects, environmentalists, historians and engineers, who severely criticised the Plan on substantive issues including transportation routes, environmental effects, economic costs and social casualties. A number of briefs also contained alternative schemes which could be utilized (e.g. an infill scheme proposed by PPP).

A more illuminating observation, however, concerns the degree of understanding and awareness of the planning process revealed by the participants. A great deal of discussion and criticism levied by the participants concerned the manner in which the council foisted the Plan onto the public without their consultation or participation in its formulation. These criticisms represented the more specific

personal interests of residents who demanded that the council take into consideration their needs and wants. The following examples reported in Saturday Night Magazine of December 1972 illustrate this point.

The Newfoundland Brewery found itself surrounded by non-commercial zoning and wondered what would happen if it desired to expand.

... Several land owners felt they would be barred from developing their land and protested this invasion of civil liberties of capital.

... The Y.W.C.A. noted with alarm that to widen Military Road would mean knocking down their building.

... And what's going to happen to us asked Mr. and Mrs. Kenny who live over their grocery store at Brazil Square and New Gower Street, just where the Harbour Arterial merges with a proposed Plan 91 crosstown route.

... Don't you dare touch us, consulted a stately group of well-to-do from Forest Road - through their lawyer, Leo Barry, then deputy speaker of the House of Assembly.

Other participants who were not specifically in the path of the proposed development demanded answers to their questions concerning the basic premises of the Plan even though the decision-makers were not present at the hearings or workshops to respond to their questions.

I'd like to know why the Plan seems to be based on private modes of transportation? Where's everybody going in such a hurry?

... It's based on building new suburbs and for the amount of community spirit in St. John's suburbs, they're nothing more than a place where you go and sleep at night. Do we have to accept this Plan? Isn't there anyway to fight it? (Evening Telegram, 18 April, 1972)

The following quotation is indicative of an awareness of the political contingencies in the planning process revealed by the participants of the hearings and workshops.

Before asking a Montreal firm to give us a plan for our city we should have decided what kind of city we wanted and then asked professional planners to assess its feasibility and suggest how it might be accomplished.

... the planners have stressed the importance of consultation with the public, but consultation should come before not during and after the preparation of the Plan documents. (Evening Telegram, 27 April, 1972)

Instead of focussing on the particular substantive issues of Plan 51 as revealed in the previous section it is more relevant to note the views of the commissioner and planning consultant concerning the activities of the hearings.

The views of the commissioner concerning the public hearings appear to vary according to the audience he is addressing and the role he is playing at any particular time. For example, Mr. Murphy, acting as commissioner for the public hearings, was quoted in the December issue of the Saturday Night Magazine as saying:

The participants (of the public hearings) may have been passionate, but they obviously didn't represent everyone. Overwhelmingly, the involvement was on the part of people who were not born here, and in some cases have been here only a year or so. It's very flattering to listen to their comments about how they love St. John's, how they finally found Shangri-La, or whatever it is. But, traditionally, Newfoundlanders have been satisfied to elect their officials and let them take care of it - and if they don't take care of it, toss them out at the polls. And perhaps, in essence, this is what democracy is. (Saturday Night Magazine; December, 1972:46)

However, after the commissioner had submitted his report on the hearings for which he was severely chastized because he expressed his own opinions, his view toward the activities of the

participants and his attitude toward the city officials was quite different from the above statement. He criticized six of the seven volumes of the planning document for containing information which any Newfoundlander could have provided. He also attacked the city council for their lack of consideration of the residents' views:

... these people (councillors and mayor) seem to consider all organized groups of people as simply people who should be allowed to blow off steam from time to time, but they number no experts among their ranks, they are really not worth paying much attention to.

... the situation where people are willing to give 'silent acceptance of unquestioning rule by those in authority' is changing and no longer will St. John's residents or those elsewhere in the province be content to accept what they are told as Gospel truth.

They have awakened and they question, and it behooves anyone in elected office who neglects their voices.
(Evening Telegram; June 23, 1973).

G. Sunderland, a representative of the planning consulting firm who prepared Plan 91, and who was present during the hearings to receive the citizens' views and criticisms, focused his attention on the representativeness of the participation at the public hearings.

I'm not at all concerned that the vast majority of people are in any way involved in this process. We're still dealing with a very small group, a very small minority of people with a very minority point of view. (G. Sunderland, Saturday Night Magazine; December 1972:46)

It is not the specifics of what each individual stated that is important nor the circumstances under which he or she expressed their view (i.e. role in relation to the local city council) but what is important is the fact that each responded to the criticisms made of the planning process and its political implications rather than specific aspects of the Plan itself.

The fact reveals the high degree of public awareness and

understanding of the planning process surrounding the Plan 91 issue exhibited by the residents participating in the public hearings. As was mentioned earlier a majority of the participants at the public hearings (i.e. approximately 75%) had acquired a general understanding of the Plan at the public workshops held at PPP office which involved a discussion of the various implications of the Plan as well as alternative planning schemes. This experience was largely responsible for subsequent discussion concerning the politics of the planning process which evolved at the public hearings. In other words, once the residents became familiar with the Plan and realized that there were alternative schemes, the focus of criticism moved from the specific details of the Plan to the political decisions made concerning the formulation and implementation of planning in general. Consequently, one can partially attribute the general understanding and awareness of the Plan and planning process and participation at the public hearings to the PPP. The participants of the hearings and workshops also attributed this to the activities of the PPP, which was reported in the local press on various occasions.

One woman commented during the workshops that "it is only through the PPP that I had any indication that Plan 91 and I did not have the same goals for St. John's. The press coverage has been so favourable (toward the Plan)." (Evening Telegram, May 1972). A number of others, including the planning consultant recognized that the activities initiated by the PPP represented a significant change from the normal

trend of citizen participation experienced in St. John's, Newfoundland. One individual expressed the view that

a year ago it would have been inconceivable that workshops could be held. (Alternate Press; 1972:23)

The planning consultant expressed his view of the change in this manner:

In 1972 consultation and public participation is the rage, in 1969 it had not even caught on in the larger metro areas. At the time Plan 91 was first presented, people were not used to being consulted in a serious and genuine way. (Alternate Press; May, 1972:24)

However, the only official to attribute this change directly to the PPP was the commissioner of the public hearings, who stated that:

the city was indebted to the PPP for stirring up interest in Plan 91. Had they not done their work so well there would probably be a mere handful of people here this afternoon. (Evening Telegram; April 26, 1972:4)

It is interesting to note that since the commissioner's report was submitted to the council on May 24, 1972, no response had come forth from the city officials concerning the Plan. Thus, the actual influence the public participation (i.e. in the form of public hearings) has had on the formulation of the planning document or on the planning process is impossible to determine. However, specific developments which will significantly alter the proposed plan have been approved and are in the process of being implemented (for example - Atlantic Place, Harbour Arterial).

Since the activity concerning Plan 91 was temporarily terminated while pending the decision of the city council as

to the future of Plan 91, the PPP decided to initiate a demonstration project with the intention of showing that their goals were quite valid and feasible.

In May 1972, the PPP applied to the federal government for financial assistance and received a \$12,000 Opportunities For Youth Grant to carry out their project. Although, the technical aspects of the project are not very relevant to this study, the circumstances which took place concerning the formulation and implementation of the project are of the utmost importance. This will involve an examination of the objectives of the project, the strategies utilized by the association and the changes which occurred within the organizational structure itself. The demonstration project devised by the PPP had several aims:

- (1) the major objective of the project was to demonstrate that a neighbourhood given access to the necessary resources can identify its own needs, formulate its goals and translate them into a coherent plan;
- (2) to demonstrate that the alternative planning scheme, which the PPP presented at the public hearings concerning Plan 91, was a valid and feasible proposal (i.e. that residential infilling and rehabilitation is a workable alternative in part to the suburban form of development and envisaged in the proposed master plan (Plan 91) for the city of St. John's);
- (3) it was hoped that this project would reveal to the

public that the PPP was not just a 'reactive' citizens group but rather an association which had the ability to rationally explore positive alternatives in line with its policy;

- (4) the PPP also hoped to reveal to the public their staying power and counter the allegation that the association was an ad hoc (fly-by-night) organization

Initially, it is important to note that the nature of the conditions surrounding the grant significantly altered the composition and structure of the association. Prior to this project the PPP was composed of a small group of volunteers operating in an informal structure with an absence of specifically assigned roles, statuses or normal hierarchical decision-making structure. However, due to the fact that the Opportunities For Youth Grant is designed to provide youth with paid employment for the summer, the size of the group increased from six to twenty with at least one-half of them receiving a salary. The effect of these changes on the interpersonal relations and organizational structure, in terms of the groups' performance, will be examined in a later chapter on the associational structure and processes.

The PPP selected a central city area in which to perform their research. The criteria for selection of the area included the following:

- (1) a lower town area;
- (2) an area that could be considered a "likely" candidate for urban renewal;

- (3) an area that had a piece of "idle vacant land";
- (4) an area that had space available for an office.

The area was arbitrarily named St. John's centre and the project was accordingly titled St. John's Centre/Planning 72 or SJCP72. For the purposes of the project the boundaries of St. John's centre were defined by Henry Street on the south, Church Hill on the east, Long's Hill on the northeast, Murray Street on the northwest, by Carters' Hill and its extension to Queens' Road on the west and by Boggan Street on the southwest. It included Allan Square, Bulley Street, Balsam Street, sections of Livingstone Street, and Queens' Road, Young Street, Tessier Place and Dicks' Square. The area enclosed was approximately twelve (12) acres.

The strategy employed to realize their objectives was similar to that utilized in conjunction with Plan 91. The initial objective of the PPP was to generate an awareness of the needs and problems of that area by establishing a rapport with the local residents of the area thus encouraging them to freely express their feelings about the neighbourhood. It is important to note that the PPP did not distribute any planning schemes or planning information concerning the master plan (i.e. Plan 91) to the residents. Instead of entering the area with a planning proposal for them to see and okay, emphasis was placed on allowing them to identify needs, problems and possible solutions and assisting them in formulating goals to be presented, using a community planning format. Numerous polls were established to obtain the information in a systematic fashion. A door to door

canvass of all households was conducted to gather the views of the residents. Empirical surveys were also carried out concerning such matters as city services available to the residents of the area (for example, garbage collection, street cleaning and police protection). In addition, an assessment of the structural qualities of the area including housing, land use and transportation was also conducted by the PPP members.

As a result of the discussions with the residents a general goal of maintaining and reinforcing the residential qualities of St. John's Centre was identified. The PPP then assisted the residents by transforming their general goal into a planning form thus facilitating the construction of a planning solution which conforms to the norms of the planning process. This resulted in the development of an in-fill rehabilitation scheme which would theoretically provide a solution to the problems expressed by the residents.

90% of the residents participated in the demonstration project. Considering the population of the area (800) plus the fact that there was no citizen groups or associations in the area, this figure is extraordinarily large. Furthermore, as was mentioned previously, the large majority of the residents did not attend the public workshops or public hearings concerning Plan 91, and, consequently, had very little experience or familiarity with participating in the formulation of planning schemes or social action phenomena. In large part this high degree of participation and interest in the project can be attributed to a number of

factors which comprise the strategy employed by the PPP. Initially, the PPP staff became familiar with the area by talking to residents and spending considerable time in the area. One specific location within the area which provided the male staff with considerable knowledge and familiarization of the residents and their environment was the local billiards hall. This fulfilled the function of a mens' social club where local residents as well as outsiders came to drink beer, shoot pool and play darts. By frequenting the hall the male members of the PPP staff established friendship ties with many men of the area. Consequently, a number of long term residents of the area who were held in high esteem by the local residents were identified. This process conforms to what Alinsky (1972) referred to as the identification of indigenous leaders.

Due to the Opportunities For Youth Grant the PPP initiators of the project had the opportunity of employing a number of local residents to work on the project. Consequently, the PPP, through consultation with the indigenous leaders, hired a number of local residents (mainly women) who greatly assisted the PPP in their efforts to encourage participation on the part of the local residents. The employed resident members of the PPP also provided the non-resident members with introductions into the area and, subsequently, a degree of trust and confidence in the PPP was achieved. The fact that the PPP was not a government agency or a profit-making enterprise reduced suspicions held by the residents and, subsequently, enhanced the position of the PPP within the area. The methodology employed in performing the task of collecting information also affected the degree of acceptance and participation

by the residents. The nature of the survey was that of an informal open-ended conversation. There was no time limit on the length of the interviews. However, the responses were unstructured and the data was understandably not capable of being either statistically organized or retrieved.

Once the planning form was drafted and accepted by the residents it was presented to the city council for their consideration. The proposed solutions presented to the council were considered to be economically feasible and easy to implement (i.e. parking signs to regulate traffic flows within the area and a play space for children). The PPP encouraged the selection of these two specific proposed solutions to enhance the possibility of success in achieving their goals rather than raising false aspirations by selecting proposed solutions in which the likelihood of success was very low. The PPP discussed the formulated goals with the councillors responsible for traffic and recreation and the residents received word that their proposed solution for a play park for children would be likely to be given approval in the spring of 1973. The other proposed solution for the traffic problem was given approval and the signs were placed in the area. The residents had been successful in obtaining one of their specific objectives and given approval in principle for the other. In addition, the PPP also used the information collected from the residents to prepare a planning document for the residents. This document contained the views of the residents as well as an analysis of the various services and structural components of the area. The document also contained several photos of the streets

and houses within the area. In this way the PPP provided the residents with a meaningful document which was easily understood since they had participated in its formulation. Not only did it provide them with consolidated information concerning their area but it also furnished them with a document that could be used as a guide or manual for action concerning future developments which may occur in the area.

Upon completion of the SJCP72 project the PPP was approached by a citizens' committee from the Mundy Pond area, which was being affected by an urban renewal programme. In the renewal scheme Blackler Avenue was to be partially closed and a number of families relocated. The residents objected, and then approached the PPP for their opinion about the validity of the planning argument calling for the closure of the street. The PPP felt that the planning argument was weak. The citizens' committee met in the absence of the PPP and devised a strategy which involved the preparation of a planning proposal by the PPP on behalf of the interests of the residents. The PPP, in consultation with the residents, federal, municipal and provincial government representatives at a public meeting in the area, revealed that the government cost benefit statement was inaccurate. The cost study done by the PPP came up with a 30% savings to the public purse if the houses were serviced instead of removing them and their occupants. Consequently, the city government agreed with the PPP proposal and the people were not relocated. The PPP had engaged in what could be called 'classical' advocacy planning and had been successful

in representing their clients. The PPP performed similar work for the residents of Shea Heights.

In the early part of 1973 the PPP began to utilize a slightly different strategy to achieve its objective of increasing citizen participation in the planning process. This change becomes quite evident upon examination of the PPP activity concerning two major proposed urban developments. However, it is important to note that this change can partially be attributed to the nature of the two proposed schemes and their effect on the population of St. John's. The two developments referred to are the CJOH radio station on Signal Hill and Atlantic Place. Whereas in the past the proposed planning schemes pertained to one particular segment of the population, as in the urban renewal in Mundy Pond, or involved long range schemes with an emphasis on transportation routes which conceivably could be altered at the implementation stage (i.e. Plan 91). These two developments were immediate and final and would significantly alter the character of the city, a factor affecting emotional attachments and traditional ties of the majority of the population. Thus, when the members of the PPP began their programme to investigate the implications of the first development (i.e. Atlantic Place) the constituency with which they intended to work was much larger and diversified than those they had worked with in the past. Initially, the PPP used similar techniques to generate awareness as those used in the past. This involved public criticism of the city council for not consulting the population earlier and not providing the

public with adequate information concerning the financing, the size and structure of the building or the parking facilities.

Without examining the specific details of the development, a brief description of the events surrounding the scheme is essential for one to understand the role of the PPP.

After stimulating public awareness as to the nature of the proposed development, the PPP utilized a different strategy in playing their role of enabler or catalyst. In the past they would singularly assume the leading adversary role and seek out resources to assist them in mobilizing the specific constituency to demand a say in the formulation and scrutiny of major proposals presented to the council. In this situation the PPP initiated the protest to generate public awareness but they began to mobilize, organize and co-ordinate various existing groups (e.g. Citizens' Rights Association, Community Planning Association of Canada, university groups and residential organizations) in such a way as to create a new ad hoc group with the specific aim of achieving public hearings concerning this development. The new group became known as the Concerned Citizens Committee. The new group under the initial direction of the PPP was careful not to allow the basis for the protest to be the desirability of the development. Rather their objective was to criticize the council on the fact they would not sponsor public hearings to discuss the schemes. In this way the group received considerable support for their objective from many who did approve in principle with the proposed development as it was presented to city council. As in the case of Plan 91 there was considerable criticism of the

council and developers by local residents including provincial and federal politicians, as well as professional and non-professional groups. However, the council disregarded the public's criticisms and demands for public hearings.

Incidentally, the council was under no legal obligation to hold public hearings because of the fact that the St. John's Municipal Planning Act does not require the council to hold public hearings, as does the Urban and Rural Planning Act. Consequently, the proposed development was given formal approval and has since commenced construction. In general the other scheme (i.e. CJOJ radio station on Signal Hill) underwent a similar process, although the final outcome has not yet been decided.

However, within the context of this paper the important aspect of these two developments concerns the change in the strategy of the PPP. To determine the reasons why the PPP changed their strategy, one must take into consideration the nature of the proposed developments, as well as the existing state of affairs of the PPP:

- (1) the two developments proposed were affecting a change in the trend of urban development for the city. Atlantic Place was to be twenty stories high, which is almost twice the height of any other building in St. John's. It was to be placed in the older section of the city near the waterfront. Consequently, the constituency with which the PPP had to address themselves was significantly large due to the fact that many people besides those living in the area did not want the character of the city changed. The same was true for the CJOJ development

on Signal Hill. Many people felt the character of the city would be threatened and more specifically felt the historic site would lose its natural setting. Perhaps the greatest fear of the people pertained to the notion that these two developments would set a precedent in urban planning, which would lead to development typical of large urban centres such as Toronto. Thus, the constituency was much larger and diversified than that which the PPP was used to working with, and, subsequently, the PPP looked for groups representative of the constituency to front the program. In addition, PPP recognized the power and influence of the developers who were initiating these developments and felt they would require all the available resources they could mobilize to influence the council and challenge the developers;

- (2) the state of affairs of the PPP was also instrumental in affecting the change in strategy employed by the association. The PPP had failed to receive a Local Initiatives Program Grant for the winter months and also was refused an Opportunities for Youth Grant for the summer months. Consequently, the association lacked the financial resources required to singularly administer a protest campaign. Thus, the rate of participation dropped significantly. The number of participants went from a high of twenty in spring of 1972 to a low of two with a few volunteers working intermittently.

Thus, the PPP lacked the manpower to carry out any large scale programs, not to mention the skills necessary for such a programme, for example, the skills required in architectural drawings.

Since the two proposed development schemes have been approved the PPP staff have shifted their emphasis from initiating projects to providing resource skills to other groups. That is, groups who have similar general goals but stronger financial backing than the PPP. One such example involves the conference on the city hosted by the Extension Branch of Memorial University of Newfoundland.

The PPP staff was instrumental in organizing public participation and coordinating the activities. The PPP has received a small grant from the Secretary of State, Citizenship Branch to perform the duties of this nature. This grant of \$3,000 has allowed the PPP to retain their storefront office, although there are insufficient funds for initiating any formal programme of activity. As of June 1973, the PPP exists in name only, has been non-functional since the conference on the city, which was held in the last week of May 1973.

Characteristics of Classification of the PPP Association

One major difficulty facing anyone who attempts to describe an organization concerns the classification of the group under study. In other words, what type of association or group is one examining?

The need for classification often appears to be solely an academic exercise. As a matter of fact this is not always true. Man must be able to classify social phenomena in order to analyze them. This is particularly true for those studying organizations. This is revealed by the fact that members of organizations make decisions that are based on the implicit categorization of organizations. Since the essence of any real classification lies in the determination of the critical variables for differentiating the phenomena under study, selected organizational characteristics will serve as the classificatory basis rather than attempting to fit the phenomena into a given typology of organizations. The justification for using this method is based on the fact that many typological classifications of organization do not exist in reality. Furthermore, as R. Hall points out, most typologies fail to account for the array of external conditions, the total spectrum of actions and interactions within an organization and the outcome of organizational behaviours. (R. Hall; 1972)

Initially, the most evident characteristic of the PPP concerns the nature of its activity. As revealed in the discussion concerning the origination of the PPP, the association is based on voluntary, non-profit activity (i.e. members or participants are not required to join by the economic necessity of earning a living) aimed at influencing the degree of real participation

of local residents in the community planning process, which exists in the community of St. John's.

A selection of practice variables developed by J. Rothman (1968) will be used to reveal characteristics of the organization which in turn will comprise the classification of the organization. The practice variables include organizational goals, community structure, basic change strategy and tactics, salient practitioner roles, value orientations, orientation to the power structure, boundary of the constituency and conception of the client system, and the financial resources of the organization.

Organizational Goals of the PPP

An organizational goal is a desired state of affairs which an organization attempts to realize. (A. Etzioni; 1964)

Organizational goals can be approached from a variety of perspectives. The PPP will be examined in terms of its official goals, operative goals and maintenance goals.

Official Goals

The official goals of an organization refer to the general purposes of the organization as put forth in the constitution, annual reports, public statements given by the executive or other authoritative pronouncements.

The general purpose or official goal of the PPP can be stated as:

... the creation of a circumstance where people plan their own physical and social environments rather than maintaining a circumstance where people are planned for, which currently exists. (PPP Constitution)

However, this official goal is very general in the sense that it only specifies the area of activity not the specific

operative goals within the area.

Operative Goals

Operative goals designate the ends sought through the operating policies of the organization. They tell us what the organization is trying to do regardless of what the official goals say are the aims. (Perrow; 1961)

The operative goal of the PPP includes the following:

To practice advocacy planning, defined as a situation where planners and architects make available their skills to citizens, who ordinarily do not have access to such resources. In this way, the PPP would act on behalf of citizens in terms of expressing their needs and assisting them with the formulation and communication of their objectives in a planning format.

Maintenance Goals

Maintenance goals are more oriented to system maintenance and capacity, with aims such as establishing cooperative working relationships among groups in a community. They are concerned with the capacity of the system to function over time.

The maintenance goal of the PPP was to practice community development techniques, which facilitated the realization of the advocacy role of the PPP. This involved the generation of public awareness of the local planning processes, a necessary prerequisite to continued participation and involvement in community affairs.

Assumptions Concerning Community Structure and Problem Conditions

The underlying assumption concerning the community structure expressed by the PPP stresses the idea that citizens

who are affected by local community planning schemes are not involved in the planning process or its implementation and, consequently, their expressed needs are not taken into consideration. This is attributed to the fact that the majority of citizens of the community or specific neighbourhood are not asked to participate and those who are approached are without a clear understanding of the planning process because of a lack of planning expertise, an absence of a power base to demand a participating role and a lack of information concerning proposed planning schemes for their local environments. Thus the PPP views the community as composed of a number of social problem conditions. These are specifically identified as social consequences of community planning projects or possible social problems, which may result from proposed planning schemes. (e.g. Plan 91, Blacklar Avenue development)

Basic Change Strategy

The planning approach to change taken by PPP is one of "lets get the facts and take the next logical step". (Rothman; 1968) The PPP made this operational by identifying planning proposals, examining the proposed scheme in terms of its physical and social implications, translating this data into the community vernacular and then disseminating this information to the public at large and to specific groups of citizens who would be directly affected by such planning schemes. The other major aspect of the basic change strategy involves the identification, formulation and articulation of the citizens' response to such planning programmes. This is done by creating a setting whereby the

citizens discuss the planning projects with those with planning expertise, formulate their needs and goals and then transmit their goals to the town administrators in the appropriate manner. In addition, the PPP played an active role in assisting citizens in applying pressure to local government to have their expressed needs taken into consideration.

Characteristic Change Tactics and Techniques

The PPP's characteristic change tactics and techniques vary according to three distinct segments of the population which are confronted, recognized and exploited in order to achieve its goals.

- (1) the specific segment of the population which are most likely to be directly affected by the planning project, or as in some cases, those who are presently objecting to the effects of actual implementation of a planning project;
- (2) the local community administrators and other members of the local community power structure composed of a number of powerful interest groups, such as businessmen, and lawyers;
- (3) other voluntary associations and individuals who can be considered as a potential supportive resource.

Given the three distinct segments of the population the change tactics and techniques include the following:

- (1) the initial objective is to make citizens aware of proposed planning schemas and their implications thus increasing their understanding of the planning processes. This involves a fact-

finding process and subsequent translation and distribution of planning data to the citizens. In addition, a discussion of the proposed plan plus a formulation of the citizens' goals is achieved through a door to door campaign to be followed by a public meeting in the specific neighbourhood. The techniques of organizing are only required in such instances where there is no previously organized group of citizens. An example is the effects of Plan 91 on the people of St. John's centre;

(2) the other major objective of the PPP is to establish a dialogue between the town administrators and the citizens thus ensuring that the council takes into consideration, or at least listens to, the citizens expressed needs and goals. This technique could only be considered after the citizens had a clear understanding of the proposed plan and had formulated their goals. This is often comprised of a written brief complemented by video tapes of the citizens' discussion with professional resource people. The tactics used to persuade the local administrators to establish a forum for dialogue involves public pressure using conventional means (i.e. newspaper, radio, and T.V.) as well as non-conventional pressure tactics (i.e. demonstrations, sit-ins and an array of embarrassing antics). In most cases, the specific goal of such tactics has been to obtain public hearings, which include discussion, criticism and general consensus-bargaining processes involving community wide participation;

- (3) another characteristic strategy used by the PPP to obtain its objectives involves the mobilizing of community wide support for the citizens' struggle. This is done by establishing social communication with other citizen groups as well as with numerous professionals and politicians. The technique often utilized is to persuade potential support personnel to publicly endorse the groups' aim to achieve public hearings rather than to seek support for the specific goals of the citizens' group. In this way, there is a greater possibility of obtaining support for the citizens' cause which would otherwise be difficult to acquire outside the boundaries of a public hearing.

Salient Practitioner Roles

The salient practitioner roles of the PPP are varied rather than discrete. They tend to overlap and vary according to the social conditions surrounding the specific planning proposal, for example, availability of information, motivation of the residents, organizing ability and resources available to a group given the social economic status of any particular sector of the population. Due to the planning approach to social change and the problem-solving process taken by the PPP, the predominant role is one of "technical expert". This involves community diagnosis, collection, interpretation, translation and distribution of planning information to interested citizens and organized citizen groups. However, the PPP found that many of the citizens who would be affected by proposed planning schemes were not only unorganized but unaware of

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the proposals and their implications.¹ Therefore, the PPP found it necessary to assume an enabler and activist role.

(1) Enabler Role

This role included such activities as developing in people an awareness of proposed planning schemes and their implications through door-to-door information campaigns and neighbourhood public meetings for the purpose of discussion and formulation of the residents' expressed needs and goals. In other words the manipulation of small task oriented groups. This organizing-enabling role was found to be particularly useful in carrying out a planning project in centre town, St. John's. This project is a unique example of "initiative" citizen planning rather than citizen community planning of a "reactive" nature.²

(2) Activist Role

This role involves the manipulation of mass organizations and political processes.³ It usually takes the form of mobilizing community wide support to influence the political process, in such a way as to change the attitude of the members of a given institution.

¹This can largely be attributed to the fact that much of the information concerning proposed planning schemes was not made available to the public and that which was disseminated was incomprehensible to most citizens, other than those with a knowledge of technical planning concepts and jargon.

²This project involved the analysis and formulation of expressed needs and goals concerning the existing nature of an area prior to the development of planning schemes rather than responding to the possible negative consequences of a formally proposed plan for the area.

³Political process refers to all community decisions that involve the allocation of important resources.

This role was considered by the PPP to be of particular importance in situations where the local governing body was perceived to have exhibited or expressed an informal norm or policy of non-involvement of citizens in the planning process or operates outside of the boundaries of legislation. This dictates that citizen participation in the planning process must accompany the design and implementation of any specific proposed plan (e.g. the St. John's City Council is excluded from adhering to the conditions of the Urban and Rural Planning Act which states that the local governing body must provide the residents with public hearings on all major schemes.)

This new role was adopted by the PPP concerning the proposed Atlantic Place development and used to obtain support from other groups and citizens in order to overcome the problem of insufficient resources and influence present in a single citizens' organization, such as the PPP.

Value Orientation

In describing the various goals, strategies and practitioner roles of an organization it is important to note that these are usually based on certain value orientations expressed by the members of a voluntary association. Therefore, I feel it is important for any group planning on forming a voluntary association to specify their orientation toward the community power structure; to define their constituency and conception of the client population and to outline their assumptions regarding the interests of the community subparts. In addition, these value orientations are directly related to the structural processes that evolve within

an organization. For example, the strategy devised by an organization to realize its goals may be significantly affected by the size and aspirations of the group with whom they are working. Thus, a group should be able to determine the boundary of its constituency.

PPP's Orientation to the Power Structure

The community power structure will be viewed as the characteristic pattern within a social organization whereby resources can be mobilized and sanctions employed to affect the organization as a whole. (Warren; 1955) The organizations constituting the community power structure will include the local government agencies, (e.g.; city council) powerful economic institutions and the granting agencies present in the community, as well as those located beyond the boundaries of the community. Most often the components of the power structure function as sponsor or employer of the social planning organizations.

Morris and Binstock state the case this way:

realistically, it is difficult to distinguish planners from their employing organizations. In some measure their interests, motivation and means are those of their employers. (Morris and Binstock; 1966:16)

The PPP as a planning organization is unique in the sense that its members are not the employees of the components of the community power structure nor are they sponsored by the local community power structure. The clients of the PPP are their employers and these are composed of local citizen groups; organized and unorganized.

The PPP has been sponsored by the Extension Service,

Memorial University of Newfoundland, to the amount of a \$2,000 seed grant plus considerable clerical assistance. In addition, the PPP has received an Opportunity For Youth Grant (\$11,000) and a small operation grant from the Secretary of State Department (\$3,000) to act as a resource for other local voluntary organizations.

There is very little evidence in the PPP of a perception of the power structure as collaborators in a common venture as expressed by other groups (i.e. community development groups who restrict the formulation of their goals to those of mutual agreement with the member of the power structure, consequently, excluding system change goals). Nor does the PPP exclusively conform to the social action approach to the power structure which identifies it as the outside target of action which must be overturned in order for the client population to reach its objectives.

It is interesting to note that in most cases a group's orientation to the power structure is primarily based on its conception of the public interest, even though there may exist a variety of strategies used by a group in dealing with a given component of the power structure. Therefore, the most useful way to discuss PPP's orientation to the power structure is to outline its conception of the public interest.

This will be done using the notions of public interest developed by Myerson and Banfield (1955) including the unitary and individualist concepts, plus the following analytical categories developed by Schubert (1960): (1) rationalist, (2) idealist, and (3) realist conception.

In reviewing the research literature it is extremely interesting to note that these categories represent ideal types and, therefore, the selection of the category into which PPP is placed is based on a predominance of characteristics revealed by the organization. Furthermore, the conception of public interest does not necessarily restrict an organization to any given set of strategies.

The rationalist view postulates that a common good is determined through the expression of majoritarian interests symbolized by the instrumentality of a parliament or congress. (Rothman; 1968).

The idealist view holds that the common good can best be achieved by the exercise of judgement and conscience on the part of knowledgeable and compassionate advocates of the public interest.

However, this judgement can be based on the interaction with various segments of the community populace, or by professional or political elites, who draw on scientific knowledge to make decisions on behalf of the public interest. (Rothman; 1968)

The realist position views the community as composed of a multiplicity of conflicting interest groups. Public officials respond to the pressure of such interest groups and thus public policy registers the balance of power at any given point in time. Accordingly, it exists only as a transitory compromise resulting from conflicting resolution of group interaction.

(Rothman; 1968) Unitary conception of public interest

implies a choosing process in which the outcome is derived from a single set of ends through a central decision. It implies that legislators or administrators strive in some central decision-making locus to assert the unitary interests of the whole over

the competing lesser interests. (Rothman; 1968) The individualist conception of public interest places an emphasis on the lesser competing interests and holds that no central locus of decision-making can take the place of a pluralistic interplay of these forces to arrive at the common good. (Rothman; 1968)

The PPP as a social planning organization tends to express an idealist-unitary conception of the public interest. This is supported by the fact that the PPP, often in collaboration with other professionals, not of the power structure, places an emphasis on the power of knowledge based on theory and empirical analysis of community need. This is done by analyzing proposed plans and discussing them with other professionals to validate their criticisms and formulate alternative schemes and recommendations on the behalf of the public interest group. However, the PPP also reveals characteristics of the realist-individualist conception of the public interest. This is made evident in their attempt to distribute information and knowledge to citizens as a resource thus enabling them to pressure the local city council or economic institution to respond to their expressed needs.

Taking into consideration this conception of the public interest, the PPP orientation to the power structure of the community is more complex than it would appear to be at first glance. It is important to note that the PPP stresses advocacy planning with the objective of creating a circumstance where people plan for their own environment. This involves providing the citizens with technical resources to facilitate the

achievement of goals, as well as providing them with the knowledge to increase their ability to solve problems in the future.

The best analogy that can be used to describe the PPP orientation to the power structure is that of a legal aid storefront counselling service. The PPP represents a client and provides him with the technical information and advice concerning problem solving of a planning nature. At the same time the PPP wants to win the case for the client and aims to do so by changing the attitude and subsequent policy of the local town officials (i.e. city council). Thus, the power structure (i.e. the city council being perceived as the main component) is viewed as the court where the final decisions are made concerning planning at the community level. Consequently, the PPP makes use of a variety of strategies to persuade the members of the power structure to change a prior decision or to establish a setting whereby the citizens of the community, more specifically, those who are significantly affected by planning proposals are taken into consideration.

In terms of procedure the PPP initially works within the confines of the norms of the local government (i.e. formal letters, briefs, and appointments) however, if the PPP perceives such procedure to be futile it will utilize public pressure tactics (media, demonstrations, petitions) to persuade the members of the power structure to respond to the citizens' expressed needs.

Boundary Definition of the Community Client System or Constituency

The boundary definition of the client system of the PPP varies according to the nature of the problem to be solved and other times to the client group seeking technical assistance. An example of the former concerns the circumstances surrounding the CN-Crosbie complex to be known as Atlantic Place. In this case the PPP defined the boundary of the constituency as the total population of St. John's. This was based on the fact that the proposed complex was intended to benefit all residents of the city and certainly would affect all residents, some more directly than others (i.e. taxpayers, downtown businessmen, residents in the immediate area of the complex, automobile owners and operators). In other instances, the boundary of the client system or constituency is based on the functional area represented by a citizens group seeking technical resource from the PPP.

An example of this definition is revealed in the project contract PPP had with a citizens' committee in the Mundy Pond Urban Renewal Area, who asked the PPP to assist them in their struggle to persuade the local city council to reverse its decision concerning a proposed planning scheme for the area.

Assumptions Regarding Interests of Community Subparts

In general, social planning organizations have no pervasive assumptions about the degree of intractability of conflicting interests; instead the approach appears to be pragmatic and oriented to the particular problem and the actors involved in it. (Rothman, 1968)

Morris and Binstock reveal the situation of the planners

and the problems facing them in this way:

A planner cannot be expected to be attuned to the factional situation within each complex organization from which he is seeking a policy change; nor can he always be aware of the overriding interests of dominant factions. Considerable study and analysis of factions and interests dominant in various types of organizations will be needed before planners will have sufficient guidance for making reliable predictions as to resistance likely in a variety of situations. (Morris and Binstock; 1966)

However, it is important to note that Morris and Binstock were mainly addressing planners who are employed by economic institutions and governmental bodies, not voluntary non-profit planning organizations such as the PPP.

Initially, the PPP did conform to the above generalization put forth by Rothman, especially, in situations where they perceived conflicting interests to be reconcilable (e.g., circumstances surrounding Plan 91). This can largely be attributed to the nature of the problem and its constituency (i.e. long range twenty year plan with no concrete immediate changes proposed). However, as other complimentary provincial planning schemes were implemented (the Harbour Arterial) the flexibility of Plan 91 was perceived as declining rapidly. Thus, people began to recognize possible problem areas which would have a significant effect on the social structure of their own environment.

As a result the PPP began perceiving the community as composed of a number of conflicting interest groups competing for a share of control of resources. However, when the PPP attempted to pressure the local town administrators to take into consideration their criticisms and recommendations, they soon became defined as a threat and were subjugated to public

and private smears (e.g., Mayor's definition of the PPP as composed of a bunch of drifters and dreamers).

Conception of the Client Population

In terms of the PPP, the constituency is composed of recipients of services active in consuming of services rather than the distribution of services or the determination of policy pertaining to services. They are perceived as groups which are able to define their needs but lack the technical expertise to formulate their goals and articulate the persuasion necessary to obtain a participatory role in the decision-making processes. They, subsequently, receive a response to their expressed needs and objectives.

Financial Resources of the PPP

The PPP as a voluntary non-profit association was limited in generating capital for its operation. Consequently, it must rely upon grants from government agencies and donations from private individuals and professional groups.

The PPP began operations with a \$2000 seed grant from the Extension Department of Memorial University in January 1971. This allowed the group to pursue its objectives concerning the Plan 91 issue. Then in May 1972 the association received a \$11,000 grant from the federal government (Opportunities For Youth) to do a five month demonstration project in St. John's centre. It is important to note that out of the two years of operation this five month interval was the only time that participants received a salary. The implications of this situation on the structure of the organization will be examined

in a later chapter.

In September 1972, the association received another federal grant from the Secretary of State to act as a resource group for other organizations. This allowed the PPP to operate until June 1973. In total, the association received approximately \$16,000 during the three years of operation.

Summary

In summary the PPP can be considered conceptually as a social reform planning group.

The goals' categories are predominantly task-oriented, usually providing a social resource for a disadvantaged group of citizens. The basic change strategy involves the provision of a technical problem solving resource to a group who has as its objective participation in the planning of the local environment. The specific change techniques in large measure utilize campaign tactics plus the employment of facts, thus allowing citizens to apply public pressure to appropriate decision-making bodies. The salient practitioner roles include fact-gatherer, analyst, distributor, enabler, legislator technician. The medium of change is through the manipulation of voluntary associations and government agencies. The power structure is viewed in terms of a "gatekeeper" as decision-making centres that can be influenced through persuasion and/or pressure. The community client system is predominantly defined in terms of disadvantaged (i.e. planning expertise and resources) segments of the local population. The interests of the community subparts are perceived as reconciliable or in conflict, while the PPP's conception of the public interest is a combination.

of idealist-unitary and realist-individualist. The client population of the PPP is considered to be composed of consuming service recipients who lack the technical expertise and other resources necessary to formulate their goals and articulate their views on local planning proposals.

Structure of the PPP Association

An organization's structure and the major type of strategy it employs may be seen as critical to the realization of its goals. As a result of the description of the activities of the group from the time of its origination until the present, several structural qualities were made evident. However, a more detailed investigation of the structure of the association is required to determine the influence of the structure on the groups performance in achieving its goals. The importance of structure is related by R. Hall.

While it is possible to study goals without much concern for structure, it would be fruitless to examine effectiveness without considering the various structural arrangements that might be related to different forms of effectiveness. (R. Hall; 1972:106)

One major difficulty in analyzing the structures of an association concerns the selection of various components of the structure to be examined. A review of literature on structure reveals a wide array of components one can examine. P. Blau focuses attention on the hierarchical patterns and size. (P. Blau; 1968) Hage and Aiken (1967) examine centralization, formalization and complexity, while J. Thompson (1967) examines the common elements in administration.

A further problem concerns the methodology involved in

the determination of a structure. Most of the literature on organizational structure treats the various components as distinct analytical types when in actuality they are inseparably enmeshed, interrelated and dependent upon one another. This is especially true in considering the structural changes an organization undergoes in a two year period of time. Structure affects change and is affected by change. Thus, it is very difficult to isolate structural components of an organization at any given point in time. Initially, I have attempted to overcome this problem by providing the reader with a brief description of the activities of the association from the point of origination to the present. In this way structural changes that the association have undergone have been revealed as well as an indication of the interrelatedness of the structural components of the association. However, to further reduce the effects of these methodological limitations I have selected specific structural topics, which are broad enough to allow other important components to be arranged within these categories. The specific structural components will include size, complexity and formalization.

Structure has been defined in many ways including the following:

.... structure is a consistence of means, of things used for consequences not of things taken by themselves or absolutely.

.... structure consists of agreed upon instruments through which the group puts its purposes into action

.... structure is an arrangement of changing events such that properties which change slowly limit and direct a series of quick changes and give them an order which they do not otherwise possess. (G. Coyle, 1930)

Within each of the structural categories selected for the analysis, a distinction may be made between whether an analysis provides a static depiction of a social phenomenon or reports phases or sequences through which an organization passes over the course of time. A phase analysis using the selected structural components will be utilized whereby the changes in structure will be revealed. Not only does this method reveal the changes in structure over time but it also elucidates the ephemeral character of the association and the key variables, which are influential in explaining the degree of effectiveness achieved.

Size as a Structural Condition

The first problem which must be resolved concerning an analysis of the structural component, size, is a conceptual one. It involves the designation of organizational members or those who can be considered as part of the composition of the association. In the case of an organization with paid employees, the problem is easily resolved. However, in the case of the PPP, a voluntary association with an absence of any membership fees, there arises a problem of knowing who should be counted as a member. In addition, many individuals belonging to other agencies and institutions were instrumental in the operation of the association (e.g., Members of the Extension Branch of Memorial University and Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation Employees) thus complicating the problem.

A second problem is the specific kind of voluntary association which also influences the size of the association.

The PPP association is a community planning association, which is perceived by many people to mean that in order for one to participate in such an organization, one must have a basic knowledge of the concepts of community planning. Otherwise, he must at least express an interest in acquiring a knowledge of community planning. In fact the composition of the group supports this hypothesis in that the majority of the active participants were trained in a profession or in the stages of becoming a professional in areas which are closely related to the field of community planning (i.e. architecture, engineering, sociology, social work and city planning).

However, this effect was partially diluted by the fact that a number of individuals joined the association because of experience in other voluntary associations or because of an attitude similar to that of the originators.

Effect of Size on Other Structural Components

There is considerable evidence in the literature supporting the argument that the size of an association directly affects the type of structure which evolves. Pugh and his associates maintain that size causes structuring of organizations through its effect on intervening variables, such as frequency of decisions and social control. (R. Hall; 1967) Blau and Schroenherr also suggest that size is a major factor in determining the "shape" of an organization. (P. Blau; 1971) At the same time other writers such as Scott, Hopkins, Haas and Johnson argue the converse to be true. (R. Hall; 1967)

A more basic issue with respect to the structural component-size, is the conceptual difficulty experienced in determining who is defined as a member of the organization in the first place.

This problem was resolved in the following way. In the case of the PPP those considered to be members, and thus making up the composition of the association, will be those who actively participated in the associational activities on a regular basis (i.e. those who were instrumental in making decisions and carrying out policy on a weekly basis). Using such a conception of size the number of participants varied throughout the two years from as many as twenty to as few as two, with an average of approximately eight participants.

The size of an association is influenced by a number of variables. One of the most important variables is the basis for admission. In the PPP the membership was open to anyone and officially there were no prerequisites required for membership. This was largely due to the voluntary nature of the group's activities. Thus, one could generally conclude that the association is relatively small.

However, a more important consideration concerns the reasons for the variations in size and the effects of size on the other structural components which together influence the group's performance and degree of success in achieving

their goals.

The nature of the activity of the association is voluntary and, therefore, restricts the number of active participants to those who have an alternative source of income whereby they have a great deal of free time or subject to very few regulations concerning working hours.

In the case of the PPP the small number of active participants in the association was directly related to the informal *gemeinschaft* type of structure which evolved in the early stages of the development of the organization. Communication was face to face and personal relationships were largely based on previous friendship ties.

There also appears to be a correlation between the number of active participants and the net assets of the association, a finding which has been frequently supported in the research literature (e.g., Pugh et al found a correlation of 0.78). Within the association the greatest number of participants were present at a time when the net assets of the organization were the greatest.

However, the situation which existed in the case of the PPP appears to be contrary to the hypothesis expressed in the

literature which suggests that with an increase in the number of participants, there is a corresponding increase in production and, consequently, an increase in net assets.

Instead the PPP received an increase in funds as a result of an application for a federal grant. However, the nature of the grant is designed to provide employment for young persons. Consequently, the increase in the number of participants is a result of an increase in funds and not the converse. Size is also related to other important structural components such as complexity and formalization.

The PPP association is a small organization and tends to be less complex and formalized than are other larger voluntary associations including the Citizens' Rights Association. In addition, there is an absence of spatial dispersion of activities, a factor which can partially be attributed to the size of the association. The lack of formal hierarchical levels within the PPP association is also characteristic of many small organizations. (N. Johnson; 1970) An important related consideration concerns the nature of the participants. The PPP, especially in the initial stages of development, was largely composed of individuals with a high degree of professional training (e.g. architects, photographers, engineers, VTR Technicians). The personnel composition of the association plus its use of sophisticated technological equipment not only reduced the number of individuals required to perform the various tasks but also influenced the type of structure which evolved, especially, the complexity and formalization components.

According to studies performed on professionals, organizations with a high number of professionally trained individuals tend to have a low degree of formalization of structure. This is based on the notion that since professionals have independently internalized work norms and standards through their training, there appears to be less of a need for formalized rules and procedures in the work environment. (R. Hall; 1968) This proved to be the case with the PPP association.

Size and professionalization are also related to the degree of organizational complexity evident within an association. The findings of Blau and Associates state that professionalization is likely to be accompanied by an increase in the number of levels in the hierarchical structure. (P. Blau; 1968) However, in the case of the PPP this was not found to be true. In the first place, the association had no operationalized formal hierarchical structure and, secondly, the informal structure, which did exist was very non-complex in the sense that it was comprised solely of a leader and two nominal co-chairmen. This discrepancy in findings may be attributed to the following factors:

- (1) the small size of the association reduced the need for a complex hierarchical structure normally required to fulfill the communication needs generated by professionals, as revealed in research performed by Blau (1962) and his associates;
- (2) the concept of equality among professionals created little need for vertical differentiation;

- (3) the coordination required by the participants was adequately fulfilled by the leader;
- (4) the voluntary nature of the association reduced the anxiety based on aspirations for upward mobility, which influences the need for a greater number of supervisory levels

Size and Workflow - Administrative Component

The concept of workflow is based on the major activity of an organization. The major work activity of the PPP was the creation of a situation where people acquired a greater degree of participation in the planning of their environments. This included such activities as the collection and translation of planning information into the vernacular of the layman, the generation of public awareness with respect to important planning issues, plus providing local residents with assistance in the formulation of goals and the preparation of planning proposals.

At the same time most organizations perform activities which are not directly related to the major workflow activities. These various duties comprise what is commonly referred to as the administrative component of the organization. The administrative activities carried out during the first six months of operation were performed by the leader. However, due to the small size of the group, the lack of any significant amount of finances to administer, and the high degree of professionalism and technology present, the activities which

might be considered as part of the administrative component were minute.

It is interesting to note that the relative size of the administrative component of an association is often considered to be an indicator of the organization's efficiency. In other words the smaller the amount of resources spent on administration the greater amount left for major organizational activities. However, this does not imply that as the association grows in size so does the administrative component. In fact research performed by F. Terrence and C. Mills (1955) suggests that as organizations increase in size, the relative size of the administrative component increases disproportionately.

Taking into consideration the size of the administrative component and the small amount of financial resources directed toward this component, it is possible to conclude that the administrative component had little influence on the efficiency of the PPP association. However, I would suggest that the quality of administrative component (i.e. the knowledge and expertise employed in the administration of the association, rather than the size of the component) is a more valid indicator of an organization's rate of efficiency.

As a result of the previous discussion it is evident that the structural component size has a variable impact on the operation of the association vis a vis the other structural components (i.e. complexity and formalization). The relevance of this concept will become more evident in the following section.

Complexity and Formalization of the PPP Association

The structural components, complexity and formalization are analytical concepts which usually pertain to formal organizations and are rarely found in the literature concerning voluntary associations. However, this fact does not reduce the relevance of such concepts in explaining social behaviour related to voluntary organizations, especially since the attention is primarily focussed on the active participants of the groups under study and not to the general membership.

It is commonly believed that since voluntary organizations by their very nature rarely compel performance, it is usually felt that such components as complexity and formalization are seldom a relevant issue since these components are indicative of imperative coordination. However, I feel that research, in the past, on voluntary organizations has overlooked the socio-political developments of the past decade and their influence on the structure of voluntary organizations.

Many voluntary organizations, including the two under study, received financial assistance from government agencies. Consequently, the granting agency demands that the organization perform certain practices (e.g., financial reports and evaluations). This imposed accountability requires that an association become more complex and formalized.

In addition, I found in my research that many individuals actively participating in voluntary organizations appear to be used to working in positions within other highly complex and

formalized organizations (private or public) in which there is considerable compelling of performance. The relevance and utility of using such concepts is also revealed by the fact that the degree of effectiveness of a voluntary group in realizing its objectives is often directly related to the degree of formalization and complexity of the structure.

We will now examine the concept of complexity within the PPP. The concept of complexity usually refers to three major aspects of an organization: horizontal differentiation, vertical differentiation and spatial dispersion.

The complexity of an organization in terms of horizontal differentiation concerns the degree of specialization in an organization and according to J. Hage is measured by the number of occupational specialties and the length of training required by each. (J. Hage, 1965:294). This definition is very similar to one provided by J. Price which views complexity as the degree of knowledge required to produce the output of a system. This is measured by the degree of education of its members. The higher the education, the higher the complexity. (J. Price, 1968: 26) Although educational training is no doubt related to the various organizational specialties, I would prefer not to rely on degree of education as the only measure of complexity, especially in relation to voluntary organizations where an individual's education and training may not necessarily be utilized.

Therefore, I feel the following definition provided by Blau and Schoenherr to be more suitable in dealing with the two voluntary associations examined in this paper while at the same time keeping in mind the influence of the educational

training of the members:

Complexity in terms of horizontal differentiation refers to the number of different positions and different sub-units in the organization and the emphasis is on the formal structure as defined by the organization. An organization is more complex if it has more such positions and sub-units. (P. Blau and R. Schoenherr; 1971:16)

One important limitation of the above definition concerns the concept of formal structure. In many organizations, including the PPP association, a formal structure was not defined until the latter part of the association's history and then it was never operationalized. Therefore I will rely on the informal structure when necessary.

In essence the above definitions refer to the assignment of tasks and this may be accomplished in two basic ways:

- (1) to give highly trained specialists a comprehensive range of activities to perform;
- (2) to minutely divide the tasks among non-specialists so they can perform them.

In the case of the PPP association both forms of task assignment became evident as the association grew. In the early stages of development of the PPP, the tasks were divided among specialists who composed the majority of the members. This can be attributed to the highly technical knowledge required to realize the initial objective of the association (e.g. the analysis of planning documents, compilation and transformation of data into the layman's language and utilization of VTR equipment.)

However, since the association had a policy of open

membership the number of non-specialized, less highly trained individuals increased as a result of the association's acquisition of an Opportunities For Youth grant which was designed to provide jobs for unemployed youth. This created a conflict situation between the non-specialized participants who joined via the Opportunities For Youth grant and received a salary and those with highly specialized training who had previously joined the association without any financial remuneration. The non-specialists found the lack of a formal structure frustrating and became confused as to the nature of their role. While at the same time, the specialists who knew exactly what tasks had to be performed and were used to working in unstructured situations became upset by the fact that the new members did not appear to understand their role or the methods to employ in realizing it, while they were the only salaried members. This conflict situation can be attributed to the fact that the structure had not been altered to facilitate the performance of the non-specialists, which in turn was directly related to a temporary change in the leadership structure, which had occurred at the time of their entry.

The problem was resolved when the leader returned to the organization and provided the necessary coordination required to restructure the association to take into consideration the needs of the non-specialists. This involved the second method of task assignment in which the tasks were minutely divided among the participants in order that they could perform them.

Thus, the PPP association in the initial stages of development was a non-complex organization in terms of horizontal differentiation, but as the association grew in size and the nature of the participants changed, the degree of complexity increased significantly.

Vertical differentiation as an element of the structural component-complexity, refers to the hierarchical structure or number of supervisory positions between the chief executive position (e.g. president, coordination, leader) and the rank and file participants, or employees. It is important to point out that the underlying assumption of any hierarchical structure is that authority is distributed in accordance with the level in the hierarchy. In other words, the higher the level, the greater the amount of authority attached to that position.

According to the written constitution of the PPP association, there exists an executive body which is comprised of a chairman, co-chairman, secretary and treasurer. The distribution of authority is in accordance with the chronological order of the executive members (i.e., chairman has greatest amount of authority). However, as mentioned previously, the official composition of the association including the norms and regulations are not necessarily those with which the association operates. In the case of the PPP, the constitutional make-up of the organization was not applied to the actual operation of the organization.

The two originators of the association felt there was little need for a hierarchical structure since the majority of

participants were professionals, who had internalized through their training the appropriate norms of the working environment. These professionals required very little supervision. In addition, it was felt that the use of a hierarchical structure for communication and coordination of activities was not required because of the small number of participants.

There are two other important factors which partially explain the absence of a formal hierarchical structure. The first pertains to the voluntary nature of the association. This concerns the notion that since the association is dependent upon volunteers, one should refrain from imposing formal rules and regulations on the participants for fear of reducing the rate of participation. The second reason which is more likely to be true in the case of the PPP concerns the desire of the originator, who unofficially assumed the leadership role, to coordinate and formulate objectives and strategies without the restrictions of a formal hierarchical structure.

The informal structure which evolved within the association included three coordinating positions and on occasion, a secretary-treasurer (i.e., the position of secretary-treasurer was assigned to perform bookkeeping duties in such instances as the acquisition of a government grant which required auditing.) It was agreed upon by the participants that the authority for assigning tasks and making decisions would be equally distributed among the members of the triad. However, in actual operation this proved to be a false hierarchy in which the distribution of authority did not correspond to the hierarchical levels

informally defined by the members of the organization. It is important to note that this situation did not arise because of deliberate usurpation of power on the part of any individual. It can be attributed to the fact that two members of the triad did not have the knowledge or expertise in the field of community planning to realize such positions of authority. Consequently, one member of the triad assumed a leadership role and retained the position of authority and was largely responsible for initiating action and making the important decisions concerning goals, objectives and strategy.

The second hierarchical level included the positions of the other two members of the triad nominally referred to as coordinators, as was the leader of the association. These two individuals performed the tasks of orienting new members and informally fulfilled the role of executive assistants to the leader. However, the degree of authority attached to the position did not significantly differ from those of the rank and file.

The other structural element of the component of complexity is commonly referred to as spatial dispersion. This concerns the dispersion of activities in space according to either horizontal or vertical functions by the separation of power centres or tasks.

The activities of the PPP were not spatially dispersed, a factor which can be attributed to the small size of the association and the absence of financial resources required to perform similar activities in various geographical locations.

We may now conclude our examination of the concept of complexity within the PPP association.

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In the early stages of development the PPP exhibited characteristics of a relatively non-complex organization (i.e. relatively small number of occupational specialities requiring very little coordination or supervision). This can be attributed to the large percentage of highly trained specialists within the organization who had learned how to perform in an unstructured work environment. Consequently, there was little need for a large number of supervisory levels within the association. However, the degree of complexity increased as a result of the large number of non-specialists who joined the association.

This created the need for a greater number of occupational specialities and an increase in the amount of coordination, communication and supervision.

Formalization Within the PPP

The concept of formalization refers to the rules and regulations designed to handle contingencies faced by an organization.

Pugh, Hickson, et al. provides a more inclusive definition of the concept:

Formalization includes statements of procedures, rules, roles and operation of procedures which deal with: (a) decision-seeking (applications for capital, employment and so on); (b) conveying of decisions and instructions (plans, minutes, requisitions and so on); and (c) conveying of information, including feedback. (Pugh, Hickson et al.; 1963: 303-304)

In other words, formalization is an organizational technique

for prescribing how, when, and by whom tasks are to be performed. Prior to the analysis of formalization in the PPP, I feel that it is necessary to reveal the difference between the concepts of formalization and professionalization since many people fail to differentiate between the two concepts in organizational analysis. Formalization is a process in which the organization establishes the rules and procedures and the means of ensuring that they are followed, whereas professionalization is a nonorganizationally based means of doing the same thing. (R. Hall; 1972:190)

For the purposes of explanation, the degree of formalization within an association can be viewed as taking the form of a continuum. At one end there exists organizations which reveal a number of formal rules and procedures which are strictly enforced by those in positions of authority. Incidentally, the degree of variation in formalization does not necessarily correspond to the degree of professionalization of the organization's labor force. This is quite evident in health organizations and law firms where the professionals are subject to strict rules and regulations concerning their behavior. Examples of maximal formalization include clerical positions, assembly line production jobs and health professions, such as nursing. The extreme form being the computerized programming used for production and distribution of credit cards, service bills, and advertising, and other correspondence distributed via mail.

At the other end of the formalization continuum, one would

identify organizations in which there are very few rules and regulations pertaining to the performance of activities.

In such situations individuals must utilize their own discretion in determining the tasks to perform and the methods to employ.

However, over time these unique situations develop a degree of formalization as a result of repeating similar tasks and using similar methods. Organizations characteristic of low degree of formalization include research groups and academic associations. Non-formalized organizations are those dealing with new situations for which precedents do not exist.

As previously mentioned, the formalization of procedures may be formal or informal. The formal rules are often written in the constitution or some other official document. However, many organizations have unwritten norms and procedures which are just as binding as formal rules and procedures.

A method of determining the degree of formalization present within an organization is outlined by J. Hage:

... Formalization is measured by the proportion of codified jobs and the range of variation that is tolerated with the rules defining the jobs. The higher the proportion of codified jobs and the less the range of variation allowed, the more formalized the organization. (J. Hage; 1965:295)

During the first year of operation of the PPP there was an absence of codified jobs and formal rules and procedures defining the performance of activities. In fact the only rules which existed pertained to the desired social behaviour including such informal norms as courtesy, honesty and punctuality.

The low degree of formalization evident within the PPP can be attributed to a number of factors including the following:

- (1) the nature of the activity was voluntary and the originators of the association did not want to thwart participation by initially imposing strict rules and regulations upon the new participants;
- (2) to a large extent, the association was composed of highly trained individuals which reduced the need for a comprehensive list of rules and regulations concerning the work activities;
- (3) the presence of a leader who had a monopoly on information, knowledge and expertise in the field of community planning meant that the various specialists (e.g. architect, engineer, by necessity had to consult the leader for guidance, direction in a face to face manner thus reducing the need for formal rules and procedures);
- (4) the operations of the PPP in the early stages of development involved new situations for which there were no precedents;
- (5) the size of the group was small enough to allow for the creation of informal norms through primary relationships.

As the PPP association developed, a number of programme changes were initiated and, consequently, the initial structure of the organization was significantly altered. The extremely low degree of formalization based on a small number of informal rules with a wide range of variation allowed, significantly changed with the formulation of the St. John's Centre/Planning 72 demonstration project funded by an Opportunities For Youth

grant. The result was not only an increase in the number of participants from approximately six to fifteen but the proportion of highly trained individuals became a minority whereas previously it had been the majority. Consequently, the need for a greater degree of formalization became more important.

However, in addition to the increase in the number of non-specialists there were also a number of other related factors which contributed to the more highly formalized structure which evolved. These include the following:

- (1) a majority of the new participants were paid a salary as a result of the Opportunities For Youth Grant. This led to a conflict situation between the salaried and non-salaried participants as to their roles and degree of input required by each group;
 - (2) attached to the Opportunities For Youth grant were a number of conditions which had to be fulfilled by the association. These included such requirements as: accurate records of spending, specification of hours worked by employees, auditing of books;
 - (3) the fact that the leader left the association for a six week period and delegated the responsibility of coordination to a participant who had less knowledge and expertise in the field of community planning increased the need for a greater degree of formalization;
- This change was initiated by the leader and involved the

creation of a number of informal rules. Specific deadlines were set down for the completion of various stages of the project; tasks were minutely divided among the participants according to their interest and ability. Through interaction with the participants the leader stressed the importance of each individual's contribution, while negative sanctions were employed by the leader in situations where participants failed to perform their tasks without legitimate reasons. The degree of formalization was greatly increased but largely unnoticeable because of the informal nature of the interaction upon which it was based.

After approximately one year of operation without any formal rules and regulations or officially defined objectives, and strategies, the executive triad decided that the association should become a legal company with a written constitution, specifying goals, objectives, strategies and rules and regulations for the performance of activities. The members of the triad expressed the following internal and external considerations for such a decision:

- (1) It was felt by the leader that the decisions of the association were being made in an ad hoc manner by the members of the triad. Consequently, there was little input by other members and the medium for such participation was lacking (i.e. a structure designed to increase participation in the decision-making process). This was largely based on the fact there was a great turnover of personnel with decreasing

rate of participation;

- (2) the members of the triad felt that since the amount of financial assets handled by the association was relatively large (i.e. \$20,000.00 in an eighteen month period) there should be a tighter control over the use of such funds. Furthermore, no single individual would be liable for the debts accumulated by the association;
- (3) it was also felt that by not having a written constitution the association was placing itself in a vulnerable position in which it could be severely criticized by its opponents for not being a democratically operated association. In other words, the absence of a written constitution might be used to smear the character of the association;
- (4) it was also suggested by the members of the triad that a written constitution would increase the rate of participation and provide for a greater degree of coordination and direction. It was also felt that the subsequent increase in the degree of formalization would remove the basis of role conflict and role ambiguity, which the association had experienced in the past.

As a result, the association became legally incorporated and prepared a written constitution outlining the objectives, hierarchical structure, and general rules and regulations for the operation of activities (see appendix). However, it is interesting to note that the association has never had a general meeting for the election of officers and the formal adoption of the constitution. In this sense, the process of

becoming incorporated only changed the legal status of the association and since the constitution has not been made operable the degree of formalization was not increased significantly, beyond the informal structure previously discussed.

Summary

As a result of the previous discussion of the structural components of the PPP it is not difficult to realize the importance structure has on the performance of the organization and its members. Although it is almost impossible to attribute causal primacy to structural factors considering the nature of methodology employed in this study, it is quite evident that such structural components are related to other important organizational features. These include: rates of participation, distribution of authority within the association, rates and types of change, internal relationships, and intraorganizational policies, all of which have an influence on the degree of effectiveness realized by the association.

The following section will focus on one important aspect of organization, which, in many cases is responsible for the type of structure created, as well as the goals, objectives, and strategy utilized by the group. This concerns the leadership role within an organization.

Leadership of the PPP

One of the most important factors contributing to the success or failure of citizen group processes is the interactional phenomenon known as leadership. The difficulty in analyzing such

a phenomenon arises when one takes into consideration the various conceptual approaches to examining leadership.

Leadership can be viewed as a personal attribute of an individual, as a role in a group and as function of the situation in which a group operates.

In order to adequately describe leadership as it exists in the groups under study, a synthesis of the three viewpoints will be utilized. A brief descriptive analysis of the three conceptions of leadership will be given prior to an analysis of the nature of leadership within the PPP.

Leadership as a Trait Within the Individual

This conception of leadership places an emphasis on the personal attributes of the individual which have been considered in the past to be a nature of inheritance. In other words, leaders were born not made. However, with the overthrow of the feudal nobility and the rise of equalitarian democracy, the emergence of a new leadership demonstrated that leaders are made, not born. (M. Ross and O. Hendry; 1957)

This eventually led to the "great man" theory of leadership which stated that it was men possessing unusual attributes who initiated events and coordinated group activities. Consequently, a number of survey studies have been performed concerning the identification of leadership traits in individuals (e.g., C. Bird; 1940 and R. Stodgill; 1948). However, these studies have been severely criticized by A. Gouldner (1965), and by C. Gibb (1954) who have pointed out a number of methodological and conceptual inadequacies of such an approach.

One of the most enlightening piece of research done in this area was performed by F. Redl, who has addressed his research in part to the criticisms levied by Gouldner and Gibb. Redl's work is particularly interesting in that it combines consideration of a group need with a situational emphasis. He describes personality attributes in terms of their functionality for the attainment of group integration. He suggests that:

it is not men with "strong" personalities who are the effective leaders, but rather, those with group psychological flexibility. Such flexibility enables a leader to issue integrating psychic stimuli in varying situations to a diversity of individuals. (F. Redl; 1942:573)

In doing so he replaces the term "leader" with "central" or "focal" person around whom group formative processes take place. As a result of his research Redl proposes the ten (10) types of central persons and group integrative situations:

- (1) The "Patriarchal Sovereign";
- (2) The "Leader";
- (3) The "Tyrant";
- (4) The "Love Object";
- (5) The "Object of Agression";
- (6) The "Organizer";
- (7) The "Seducer";
- (8) The "Hero";
- (9) The "Bad Influence";
- (10) The "Good Example".

In summary, the dominant tendency of trait theory is

to purport that leadership is something that belongs to the individual and performed with consistency regardless of the nature of the group. However, what is more crucial as Redl recognizes is the question concerning the compatibility of the leadership attributes of an individual with the goals and values of other members of the group, and whether the meshing of these produces the leadership energy required by a group. This leads to a discussion of another conception of leadership: leadership as a function of a group.

Leadership as a Function of a Group

This conception of leadership places an emphasis on the interaction between leaders and non-leaders of a group where leadership is defined more as a structure than as an attribute of an individual. The research in this area has concentrated on group functions and roles of leadership.

Hemphill, Halpin and Winer have postulated nine dimensions of leadership behaviour in relation to two basic group functions: goal achievement and group maintenance. These are the following: initiation, membership, representation, integration, organization, domination, communication, recognition, and production. (A. Halpin and B. Winer; 1952)

The research concerning leadership roles is also quite comprehensive with Krech and Crutchfield providing a list of thirteen possible roles: executive, planner, policy maker, expert, external group representative, controller of internal relationships, purveyor rewards and punishments, arbitrator and mediator, and exemplar; also symbol, surrogate, father

figure, and scapegoat. (D. Krech and S. Crutchfield; 1948).

However, this conception of leadership is most aptly described by Cartwright and Zander:

Research conducted within this orientation does not attempt to find certain invariant traits of leaders. Rather, it seeks to discover what actions are required by groups under various conditions if they are to achieve their objectives, and how different group members take part in these group actions. Leadership is viewed as the performance of those acts which help the group achieve its objective. Such acts may be termed group functions. . . . In principle, leadership may be performed by one or many members of the group. (Cartwright and Zander; 1953:538)

Leadership as a Function of the Situation

This approach places an emphasis on the effects of the situation in which the group members operate on the leadership structure which develops.

Those who take this approach to leadership purport that leadership traits exhibited by an individual are relative to the situation thus challenging the trait theorists who claim leadership qualities to be the same in all situations. W.

Jenkins states the case for the situational approach in this manner:

In practically every study reviewed, leaders showed some superiority over members of their group, in at least one of a variety of abilities. The only common factor appeared to be that leaders in a particular field tend to possess superior general or technical competence or knowledge in that area. (W. Jenkins; 1947:54)

Consequently, distinctive situations require specifically different skills and those individuals in particular situations who do not possess them are not as likely to be elected, appointed or assume leadership roles in the organization.

The particular difficulty with this approach to leadership concerns the problem of making generalizations about the effects of situations on the leadership qualities and structure of organizations. This can be attributed to the fact that no two scientists can study exactly the same situation and, consequently, the traits specific to a situation cannot be verified. This is further complicated by the fact that there is no adequate specification of the aspects of the situation eliciting specific leadership traits.

However, one can utilize this approach in studying specific groups in terms of its influence on the degree of success achieved by a group in realizing its goals. This will be done by examining the following elements of a situation which affects the leadership structure in a given group:

- (1) the structure of interpersonal relations with a group;
- (2) group characteristics (i.e. formation and maintenance);
- (3) the physical conditions and the task with which the group is confronted.

Taking into consideration the strengths and weaknesses of the three conceptions of leadership, the most valid and comprehensive method of investigation would appear to be based on a synthesis of these three conceptions.

In conclusion one can postulate that while there are a variety of leadership functions, the selection or election of a central person to perform some of these functions is dependent upon the nature of the tasks and goals of the group,

the structure of the group, the qualities of the members of the group and the relations among the group members. (M. Ross and C. Hendry; 1957)

The importance of leadership to the operation of a voluntary organization such as PPP is aptly stated by W. Glaser and D. Sills:

work will not be accomplished without initiative by the leader, but morale, personal relations and even work itself will be damaged by inept autocratic control. The problem for the leader of a voluntary association, like that of any leader is to achieve the combination of initiative and human consideration that is best for his circumstances. (W. Glaser and D. Sills; 1966:93)

The leader of the PPP was the key person in the creation and formation of the organization which took place in December, 1971. Mr. Orange was never elected or appointed as leader but rather assumed the role of leader because of the fact that he initiated the creation of the organization and formulated its goals and objectives.

The fact that none of the volunteers became leaders can be partially attributed to the fact that those individuals had little knowledge or experience in the community planning field.

Making use of the Redl classification of central persons and group integrative functions (which is subsumed under the trait theory or "individualist" approach to leadership) one can postulate that Mr. Orange be placed in the "leader" category. This proposes that the group is integrated because

the individuals want to be "like" the central person, rather than because they accept the values for which he stands. They accept his authority because he sympathizes with their urges, or possibly illicit goals. Wanting to be like him establishes a common bond among the members which furthers integration. (Redl; 1942)

It is important to note that this is a classificatory type and in actuality one could argue in the case of the PPP that the attraction to the leader by participating members is based on a reinforcement of similar values plus the recognition of the ability of the leader to initiate and formulate structure. These values concern the objectives and goals (i.e. participatory planning in the community) of the organization as established by the central person.

In discussing the leadership attributes of the individual in the PPP, I have relied upon the perceptions of those working in the organization. The following statements give an impression of the leadership attributes to Mr. Orange:

- (1) he is supportive, friendly and invites any individual to freely participate in the organization;
- (2) in the group discussions concerning project objectives and tasks, he welcomes ideas and suggestions that will facilitate the achievement of organizational goals;
- (3) he refrains from assigning specific roles and encourages individuals to do tasks which they feel most comfortable in performing. This usually resulted in people performing tasks closely related to their specific training

- (e.g., architect creating diagrams of the physical aspects of proposed planning schemes) or specific interests (e.g., interacting with local residents);
- (4) a number of unskilled residents of the local community were also attracted to work voluntarily with the PPP because of the friendly receptive manner in which Mr. Orange interacted with local residents who he met in the neighbourhoods and in the office of the PPP. In such instances (the personality characteristics exhibited by Mr. Orange) a greater emphasis was placed on the personality characteristics exhibited by Mr. Orange rather than his ideological sentiments or the objectives of the organization. Some of these individuals also felt that Mr. Orange may be able to assist them in obtaining employment in the future with the PPP or some other agency which would provide them with an income;
- (5) the central person also exhibited administrative qualities which enhanced the operation of the organization (e.g., coordination of intergroup activities) plus the ability to establish communication channels with a number of governmental and professional agencies doing work in community planning.

In addition, to describing the leadership qualities exhibited by a specific member of the PPP who can be considered as the central person, it is also necessary to examine leadership

in the PPP as a function of the structure of the organization and as a function of the situation in which the group operates.

In this context, one is examining the "group property" concept of leadership, which involves an investigation of the different functions and roles performed by members of the organization in relation to goal achievement and group maintenance. At the same time one must take into consideration the effect of the situation in which the group members operate on the performance of these roles and functions.

This will be done by examining the following aspects of the PPP:

- (1) roles and functions of group participants;
- (2) structure of interpersonal relations within the group;
- (3) the demands of the situation and the effects on leadership structure.

Roles and Functions of Group Participants

In actuality there is no formal assignment of roles and functions for the members of the PPP organizations other than those specified in the constitution which is not operative as revealed in the previous section. However, there does exist an informal structure which is for the most part based on primary relationships among the active participants. Thus, the roles and functions performed by these participants are based on the resources an individual can provide and his particular area of interest.

The following chart provides a brief description of the roles and functions performed by the most permanent participants:

<u>Individual</u>	<u>Role</u>	<u>Functions Performed</u>	<u>Resource Base</u>
Mr. Orange	Central Person or Leadership Role	Co-ordination supervision planning analyst external representative	knowledge and experience in community planning
Mr. Blue	Supportive Role	external representative liaison. public relations obtain and identify allies and public support collection and dissemination of information	historical knowledge of the community
Mr. Crimson	Supportive Role	external representative public relations interaction with unorganized client populations. (i.e. organizing public meetings identification of clients' needs)	experience in community organizing in other parts of Canada
The Technics	Supportive Role	technical services including photography, video-taping, architectural drafting	knowledge and training in technical fields
The Locales	Supportive Role	interaction with residents in their own local environments collection and dissemination of information, as well as discussion with local residents	unskilled local residents familiarity with residents and historical knowledge of specific areas

The participatory staff of the PPP is composed of one leadership role and five types of supportive roles, performing functions of goal attainment and group maintenance.

The primary role of the staff of the PPP association is that of leader. This role is played by Mr. Orange who was responsible for the creation of the organization. The functions he performs within the organization include the selection of tasks to be performed, the identification and critical analysis of the proposed planning schemes, development of strategies and objectives of the organization, external representative of the organization in discussions and debates with other agency members and opponents which require a detail knowledge of planning concepts. His participation and the resource he provided in the organization is based on his expert knowledge and experience in the field of community planning, plus the value he placed on participatory advocacy community planning.

The second important role is supportive in nature and was filled by Mr. Blue. This member, although nominally referred to as a co-ordinator, played a supportive role. The functions he performs include the collection and dissemination of pertinent data, the identification of resource personnel and sources of financial assets. The main function he performs involves the identification and interaction with influential members of the community with the purpose of gaining support, which can be utilized in terms of applying political pressure to the local decision-making body (i.e., city council). This function

also provides a degree of legitimacy to the PPP. The fact that he is a long term local resident with well-known family ties in the community allowed him to perform these functions.

The third position was also supportive and was held by Mr. Erinson.

This incumbent, also commonly referred to as a co-ordinator, played a supportive role and is responsible for carrying out the tasks of collection and dissemination of information with respect to the unorganized client population. This involves interaction with individual local residents with the purpose of identifying their interests and goals, and providing them with planning information which has a direct or could have a direct effect on their specific environments. His participation can be attributed to past experience in working with voluntary community organizations plus a similarity of values with the leader and agreement with the objectives of the organization.

The fourth position within the staff was also supportive and the incumbents of this role perform functions of a technical nature. This involves photography, architectural drafting, engineering designs and video-taping. Their participation can be attributed to a similarity of values with those of the leader and an interest in facilitating the achievement of the objectives of the PPP. It is interesting to note that all of these individuals had interacted on a personal level with the leader of the PPP prior to participating in the organization.

The remaining positions within the group are supportive in nature and the incumbents of these roles are the unskilled residents

of the local environments in which the PPP had an interest in doing participatory community planning. The clerical functions performed by these incumbents can be considered as merely providing tasks legitimating their participation. The point being made is that clerical tasks performed by these people could have been done by anyone. The functions performed by these incumbents which had a significant effect on the achievement of the group goals involved the introduction, and legitimization and acceptance of the PPP by the residents of specific districts and neighbourhoods within the city. Thus, the participation by these indigenous residents in the PPP allowed the organization to set up public meetings to discuss the needs and objectives of the residents while at the same time it provided the PPP with a degree of legitimacy as perceived by the general public.

Effects of Interpersonal Relations on the Leadership Structure

As revealed in the previous section, the structure of the PPP is mainly informal. It is my intention in this section to examine those aspects of the informal structure which have a significant effect on the leadership structure which has developed in the PPP.

In the PPP the majority of decisions and tasks are performed by three participants commonly referred to in the constitution as co-ordinators. However, in actuality, this triad is composed of a leader (Mr. Orange) and two lieutenants (Mr. Blue and Mr. Crimson). This nuclei of the association can be traced back to the friendship ties among these


individuals which were established prior to the creation of the association (i.e. these primary relationships developed within the university where all were students). The remaining active participants (8) although similar to Mr. Blue and Mr. Crimson in the sense that they all played supportive roles had less influence on the decision-making process of the association. However, they did have a significant effect on the leadership structure which has developed in the association. Thus, one can postulate that leadership does not reside exclusively in the individual but in his functional relationship with other members of the association operating in a specific situation. This is supported by the following observations of group behaviour within the organization:

- (1) One can partially attribute the status of "leader" acquired by Mr. Orange to the fact that he was responsible for the creation of the organization, which involved the formulation of the type of organization (i.e. community planning) and its goals and objectives; This initially qualified him for a leadership role since one prerequisite of a leader is to exhibit a skill in whatever pursuits are of particular interest to the group. To reinforce his position he naturally promoted activities in which he excelled (e.g., creation of alternative planning schemes) and discourage those in which he perceived himself as lacking skills. Therefore, his competency is a natural consequence of his position.

(2) However, the situation which allowed Mr. Orange to acquire the leadership role and exhibit a high degree of competency is also dependent upon his relationship with his two lieutenants and other members of the group. The two lieutenants support the leader and influence the rest of the group to follow the policy and decisions made by the triad. The encouragement and support of the leader by the two lieutenants and others can be attributed to a number of factors:

- i the friendship ties between lieutenants and leader facilitates the acquisition of leadership role by Mr. Orange;
- ii the lieutenants and others do not have the expertise and experience in the planning field that the leader holds and, consequently, the leader has a monopoly over the skills required to achieve the objectives of the group. This creates a situation in which the lieutenants along with most of the other members are dependent upon the leader for information required for them to perform their tasks;
- iii the lieutenants hold leadership roles in other agencies and have strong ties and obligations to interests outside the PPP. This is also true for the other members of the group. Their acceptance of the leader is expressed in such statements as: "let him lead; we like the way he does things". This is largely attributed to the manner in which

the leader related to the group and the channels of communication established. The leader encourages members to make suggestions and perform work related to their interests and training. He also refrains from developing specific positions and corresponding statuses among members other than the lieutenants, which in large part negates the perception of a hierarchiarcial structure and authority. After taking the role of leader, Mr. Orange quickly established a reputation outside the group (as a radically progressive planner by some and a "drifter and dreamer" by others) based on a great deal of visibility through the mass media. The publicity alone greatly reinforced the values of the participants and others who later came to be active participants. This fact significantly affected the degree of support and acceptance of Mr. Orange as leader within the group.

- (3) the channels of communication established for the initiation of action also significantly affected the leadership structure. The leader usually mobilized the group by dealing first with his lieutenants, which reinforced his position as leader and also allowed input by his lieutenants, which could improve the quality of the action initiated. Then, the leader would initiate action in a set event, whereas the
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followers of the association originate action in pair events with the leader or lieutenant but very seldom do they originate action in a set event which includes the leader. The leader is also viewed as performing the function of a bridge between the informal structure of the group and the formal external structures (i.e. governmental and non-governmental planning agencies)

- (4) there is considerable evidence to support the notion that the leadership role acquired by Mr. Orange was dependent upon the situation in which the organization was originated and the type of organization established. Although Mr. Orange exhibited qualities typical of leadership in general, it is difficult to isolate the effects of the situation on his ability to assume a leadership role in an association of a different type. However, considerable evidence has been provided which reveals that the leadership role assumed by Mr. Orange in the PPP can be attributed to his knowledge and abundance of skills in the field of community planning. Due to flexibility inherent in the informal structure of the PPP the leader can easily adjust the objectives and strategies of the association to new situations which arise in the community. Within the association the leader was very instrumental in terms of goal achievement and group maintenance. However, this was also perceived by many outside of the association who often referred to the PPP as Mr. Orange's association. This is largely attributed to the visibility

he had received which publicized his skills and knowledge of community planning;

- (5) one way to determine the importance and influence the leadership role and structure has in the operation of the association (i.e., group maintenance and goal achievement) is to remove the leader from the association and then observe the effects this has on the operation of the association. This is normally difficult to do in a non-experimental situation. However, this did occur and I am assuming that the leader did not leave with the intention of measuring his influence on the group's behaviour. This situation occurred in the summer of 1972. (eight months after the formation of the association). The PPP had completed a couple of major projects (Plan 91 and Mundy Pond Planning Scheme) in the winter and spring and had received notice from the Opportunities For Youth that they had been awarded \$11,000 to do a planning study of the centertown district of St. John's. The objectives of the project had been determined, the individual tasks outlined and the selection of staff and volunteers who would receive salaries for performing the tasks. The total number of individuals who contributed to their project was approximately twenty, while only eight received salaries. The project coordinator and leadership role was to be taken over by one of the lieutenants (Mr. Blue) in the absence of Mr. Orange. Mr. Orange left the association and

travelled to the mainland on approximately May 15, 1972, and returned to the city at the end of June 1972. The length of time to complete the project was approximately sixteen weeks and Mr. Orange was away for approximately six to eight weeks or close to half of the time period for the project. The absence of Mr. Orange and subsequent change in the leadership structure had a significant effect on the informal structure and functioning of the association in terms of goal achievement and group maintenance. The most significant consequences of the change can be attributed to the fact that the new temporary leader did not have the skills or expertise in community planning comparable to that of Mr. Orange and this was quickly recognized by the participants. Consequently, people were quick to criticize the decisions made by Mr. Blue. Furthermore, Mr. Blue had other commitments and interests outside of the PPP, which had greatly diminished his time for supervision and participation. The fact that the structure of the PPP was quite informal based on primary relationships with an absence of assigned roles, obligations and specific norms and written regulations made his task even more difficult. As a result the rate of participation by staff and volunteers (salaried and non-salaried) dropped significantly. At the same time participants playing supportive roles yet exhibiting a high degree of expertise in certain professions (i.e. architecture, engineering) began to influence the

group thus reducing group cohesiveness. Previous personality differences between Mr. Blue and certain participants came to the forefront while antagonisms grew between the salaried and non-salaried participants as to the obligations and degree of participation required and expected by each. Consequently, many tasks were carried out in an incompetent slipshod fashion. In general, the disintegration of the social cohesion, which had existed prior to Mr. Orange's departure resulted in significant reduction in the effort to achieve the objectives of the association. As soon as Mr. Orange returned from his trip, individual participants approached the leader and related their perception of what had happened to the functioning of the association while he was away, and in this way hoped to justify their behaviour. The leader listened to the opinions stated by all the participants and then proceeded to mobilize the group to achieve the objectives of the project. However, he was faced with one major difficulty: Who was to be the leader of the group? He had previously assigned the leadership role to Mr. Blue with the understanding that he would be responsible for the project from start to completion regardless of the return of Mr. Orange. Mr. Orange resolved this difficulty by working closely with Mr. Blue and tactfully assuming role of leadership in an unofficial manner. This was

facilitated by the fact that Mr. Blue had commitments with other agencies which required him to travel throughout the province. Consequently, Mr. Blue was absent from the association for short periods of time, which allowed Mr. Orange the time to re-establish his position and increase the degree of group cohesiveness required to achieve the objectives of the project.

It is interesting to note that for the first time since the formation of the group he had to formally structure the association. This involved the assignment of specific tasks and obligations and the setting of deadlines for work to be accomplished. The disruption of the organization can be attributed to a combination of factors:

- i the most significant factor being the change in the leadership structure resulting from the absence of Mr. Orange from the association;
- ii the number of active participants involved in this specific project was comparatively greater than at any other time since formalization of the association. The average number of active participants was approximately eight, whereas for this project approximately twenty people participated;
- iii this was the first time the association had salaried participants which affected the degree of participation and commitment to the association, which in turn had an influence on the social cohesiveness of the association.

In the preceding sections we have examined the general activities of the PPP association over a two year period plus an analysis of the structure of the organization including the interpersonal relations among its members. This investigation also described some of the internal and external problems facing participants of the PPP association and the significance of leadership vis a vis voluntary activity.

In the following chapter we will examine similar aspects of the Citizen Rights Association in its attempt to alleviate community problems on the behalf of the poor people of St. John's.

CHAPTER 4

CITIZENS' RIGHTS' ASSOCIATION

CITIZEN'S RIGHTS ASSOCIATION

General Overview of Activities of the Citizen Rights Association*

It is my intention in this section to describe the activities of the association from the time of its origination to the present. By describing the association in a holistic fashion the growth of the association including the various structural changes and activities performed by the group, can be placed in their proper chronological order. However, one should keep in mind that this will entail a cursory overview of the association's activities and will be followed by a more probing analysis of the various components in the following sections.

The CRA is a poor people's organization which dates back to the fall of 1970. The motivating force responsible for the creation of the association came from a middle aged couple from St. John's who were receiving social assistance from the government. (It was the female partner who was instrumental in setting up the association rather than her male counterpart). It is interesting to note that this couple had only recently joined the ranks of the poor, as a consequence of medical problems experienced by the male partner. The new experience of dealing with a large complex bureaucracy and the subsequent difficulties faced in attempting to obtain adequate social assistance provides a partial explanation for the couple's interest in organizing the poor.

Mr. and Mrs. Black and a small number of welfare

*Henceforth, the Citizen's Rights Association will be referred to as the CRA.

recipients approached the Citizenship Branch of the Secretary of State with their idea and were received favourably. The Secretary of State assisted them in arranging a public meeting to discuss the creation of an association. The reasons for creating an association as expressed by Mr. and Mrs. Black were outlined in the following public notice of the meeting:

N O T I C E

A public meeting will be held in ST. MARY'S HALL, Craigmillar Avenue on Monday, August 31, at 8:30 p.m.

PURPOSE: To give underprivileged people the opportunity to form a Citizen's Rights Association.

Some of the Problems Are:

- Inadequate Social Assistance and low incomes are causing severe hardships to families.
- Inconsistencies and variations in the administration of the Social Assistance Act.
- No impartial appeal board.
- Lack of information and involvement.
- Poor housing.
- A lack of job training and opportunity.
- Tenants' Rights.

It is not enough to proclaim equality; it is also necessary that each individual have a real opportunity to eliminate the obstacles which restrict the full development of his person.

A strong CRA will help us gain true equality of opportunity.

MR. AND MRS. BLACK
Committee for the Organization of a Citizens' Rights Association

As a result of the public meeting the association was created and became known as the CRA with Mrs. Black assuming the leadership role.

The general purpose of the association was two dimensional in the sense that it was directed toward two distinct segments of the population:

- (1) the association directed its activities toward the poor themselves with the aim of initiating programmes which would promote an understanding of welfare rights as well as a co-operative method of solving numerous problems common to all individuals living in poverty;
- (2) the association also focused attention on the various government agencies and institutions which were responsible for development of policy concerning the poor, as well as those responsible for delivery of services. The aim was to acquire institutional social change which would alleviate conditions of poverty (e.g., to encourage the creation of an impartial appeal board for the poor people of Newfoundland).

The association was composed of a small number of volunteers who were members of the poor population of St. John's. The group received a \$500 seed grant from the Citizenship Branch of the Secretary of State plus the permission to use the office and clerical facilities of the department.

For most of the first year the group worked out of their homes and the office of the Secretary of State devoting

most of their time and effort responding to complaints of the poor concerning their rights under the welfare act. Within the first year of operation the group realized that there was a significant need for an information referral service. This perceived need was based on the conclusion that many of the urban poor were found to be illiterate, apathetic and fearful of the bureaucracy and its members who were responsible for the distribution of services and assistance they received. In most instances they were not even aware of their rights according to the Welfare Act or the basic resources available in the community which could be used to assist them in solving their problems.

One major problem facing the association in the first year of operation was the absence of an accessible storefront location and office facilities. They felt that such facilities would encourage the urban poor to visit the association, participate in its operation and allow them to discuss their problems in private with individuals who knew what it meant to live in poverty. Thus, in the latter part of 1971 the association filed an application for a federal Local Initiatives Programme Grant. The Local Initiatives Programme is a federal programme aimed at providing employment to Canadians to perform suitable work programmes in the area of social and economic development.

It is important to note that the application for Local Initiatives Programme was prepared by the leader in conjunction with members of the Secretary of State. As a result, the

Local Initiatives Programme application was extremely significant in terms of the future orientation of the association. The importance attached to the process of applying for such a grant is based on the fact that the association members had to specify how it would operationalize its constitutional objectives which, up until this point, they had neglected to do. Furthermore, the members of the Secretary of State were advising the group as to what was required in order to receive the grant. Thus, in essence the conditions surrounding the Local Initiatives Programme application were partially responsible for determining the future operational structure -- the strategy to be employed to realize its objectives.

Therefore, I think it is crucial to include in this description an outline of the aims and objectives of the association as specified in the Local Initiatives grant application. (Due to its length the citation that follows is not indented.)

Purposes:

The purpose of this project is to support and develop this idea further by establishing a storefront location with telephone and meeting facilities as a base for the operation of a field staff. This will employ thirteen poor people (six full time and seven part-time) and one evaluator (part time). This social action project is designed primarily to help poor people in the identification of their problems, the participation by them in the planning and solution of their problems and in carrying out self help projects as

identified by them. This project could develop new leadership which will enable poor people concerned to strengthen their organization and participate more fully in the life of their community.

Specific Objectives

- (1) to set up an information, meeting place and referral centre (to available services and resources) in a storefront in the depressed area of St. John's which will serve all the poor people who wish to use its facilities (welfare recipients and working poor);
- (2) to carry out house visits and group meetings for the purpose of informing, befriending and counselling poor people concerning the community and other resources available to relieve their situation;
- (3) maintain contact with Manpower concerning employment opportunities and training;
- (4) work closely with the Tenants Union and maintain a housing opportunities list;
- (5) set up a legal aid committee with access to professional lawyers for consultation and advice;
- (6) help identify possible project areas which can be built and developed as the association increases its contact with people and its membership grows. Some of these possible additional project areas could be: emergency, babysitting service, homemaking service, debt counselling, nutritional and consumer information, home economics and household management, and furniture and appliance

repair service;

- (7) set up controls on the use of expenditures of funds including proper banking procedures and signing authorities. The service of an accountant will be obtained, if necessary.

Follow-Up and Evaluation

It is anticipated that the project will be successful in achieving a fair number of its objectives. Consequently, at the end of the project period permanent financial resources for the continuation of this work by the association will be sought. The project co-ordinator will be responsible for providing a report at the completion of the project. The project co-ordinator will have available professional resources for consultation. Provision has been made in the project budget for the appointment of a professional researcher who will be required to develop the evaluation component of the project and to assist in organizing and writing the final evaluation. (This ends the citation of the Secretary of State application)

Close to the end of the first year of operation, the association became incorporated under the Companies Act and formulated official goals, membership procedures and general structure. (See appendix 2)

In February 1972 the Local Initiatives Programme application was approved and the association received approximately \$29,000.00 for a period of four months ending in May. This

grant allowed the association to acquire a storefront location (Prescott Street) and hire thirteen workers (seven full time and six part time) all of whom were previously welfare recipients living in St. John's.

For the duration of the grant period the association workers responded to telephone calls pertaining to welfare legislation, deplorable living conditions, health problems and conflict situations between landlord and tenants. Upon receiving a call or visit to the office by an individual seeking assistance, the leader would assign two individuals to collect information and write up the details of the case. The workers in consultation with the leader would then decide upon the course of action to be taken with respect to each case. To a large extent the association was providing the poor with an information referral service. In addition, some of the house calls were followed up with an escort service to the welfare office or other appropriate agencies responsible for assisting the poor (e.g. Health Department; Canada Manpower Centre, Legal Aid Office). During this period the number of requests for information and guidance increased to a point where the CRA staff were working from 9 a.m. to 10 p.m. and responding to ninety calls a day from persons throughout the province in addition to those within the city.

An example of the associations' information referral programme and counselling service can be revealed by examining the method in which the group attacked one of the major problems facing the poor - the lack of adequate housing.

This involved three procedures:

- (1) the association members collected all available information concerning prospective housing facilities and then referred this information to those most in need of housing;
- (2) the CRA workers set up communication channels with other housing agencies and worked in cooperation with the then existing tenants' union;
- (3) the workers acted as counsellors and arbitrators in conflict situations between landlord and tenant in order to reduce the number of evictions.

In essence the CRA workers were assuming the role of legal-aid advisor in relation to the poor and the government agencies responsible for the policies concerning those living in poverty.

The second stage in the development of the CRA came about when the group received an extension of their Local Initiatives Programme grant. This involved an additional \$13,000.00 which perpetuated the existence of the association for another seven months (May - November 1972).

Prior to the annual meeting which was held in October 1972 the group also employed conventional methods of protest to pressure the government to increase the amount of social assistance. However, this did not involve a specific action oriented programme but involved press releases pertaining to ad hoc issues (like increasing assistance at Christmas time). The government responded negatively and based their argument on the fact that Newfoundland was a poor province and the group

should pressure the federal government for assistance. This view was expressed by the Minister of Social Services and Rehabilitation in an article in the Evening Telegram on 10 December 1971:

. . . Believe me, I couldn't agree more with you that the assistance is not enough but the money can't come from the taxpayers of this province; it has to come from Ottawa . . . this province is so poor that it can't live up to the spirit of the Canada Assistance Act. We have to match it dollar for dollar and the taxpayers of this province can't afford it.

Mr. Neary went on to say that the group should picket their federal members of parliament when they return for the holidays. (Evening Telegram, December 10, 1971).

However, in the initial two year period between 1970 and 1972 some of the association's recommendations for increased assistance were implemented. For example, an appeal board to review complaints from welfare recipients was established by the Department of Social Services & Rehabilitation, even though the degree of influence which the poor exhibited on this board was questionable considering its composition (i.e., two government officials and one welfare recipient).

The following changes (outlined in the following page) in the legislation pertaining to long term assistance were also implemented:¹ (Due to its length the citation that follows is not indented in the typical fashion.)

¹ It is difficult to ascertain the degree of impact the association had on initiating these changes since they occurred at a time when a new government had been recently elected to power.

Notice to Recipients of Long Term Assistance

In addition to the increase in fuel rates which came into effect on February 1, 1972, further increases will come into effect on April 1, 1972. These are as follows:

- (1) the maximum amount which may be granted for food for each additional adult in the family will be increased from its present rate of \$30.00 a month to \$35.00 a month;
- (2) the maximum amount which may be granted for clothing and personal care for single persons living alone or boarding, for the head of a family, or for persons living in institutions will be increased from its present rate of \$15.00 a month to \$20.00 a month;
- (3) contributions from single sons and daughters or other members of the family living away from home or from relatives or other persons will no longer result in a reduction in the allowance;
- (4) there will no longer be a reduction of \$25.00 a month in the allowance because of relatives of the applicant or spouse living in the home who receive Old Age Security, Blind Persons Allowance, Veterans Allowance, Workmen's Compensation, Unemployment Insurance Benefits and pensions from other sources;
- (5) no longer will a reduction of \$25.00 a month be made on account of relatives living in the home. The

present practice pertaining to single sons and daughters living in the home will remain unchanged.

- (6) the maximum amount of up to \$50.00 a month which may presently be paid towards the interest on mortgages will be increased to an amount of up to \$100.00 a month and will include the payment of interest and principal."

T.V. Hickey
Minister of Social Services
and Rehabilitation.

March 10, 1972

(End of citation)

In May 1972 the initial Local Initiatives Programme grant was terminated and the association faced the difficulty of acquiring finances to continue its operation. The group approached the provincial government for assistance but were refused on the basis that the provincial government did not have funds available for voluntary organizations. The group then decided to apply for an extension of the Local Initiatives Programme grant. Once again with the assistance of the field officer of the Secretary of State the association prepared another application. The request for additional funding was based on the need for CR associations throughout the province considering the fact that the association had received numerous calls and letters from disadvantaged people from various parts of the province. In addition, the following specific objectives were outlined in the grant application:

- (1) to establish a legal aid project whereby the urban poor would be provided with legal information and counselling;
- (2) to make available information pertaining to family planning, nutrition and consumer laws;
- (3) to create a furniture and appliance repair service plus courses in household management.

The CRA was successful in its bid for an extension of the Local Initiatives Program grant and received \$18,000.00 for a period of four months ending on September 30, 1972. Within four weeks after receiving the grant the association

moved to a new location (186 Water Street, St. John's) which was more central to the downtown population and provided the group with much more office space.

The first objective concerning the spatial dispersion of the association's activities was initiated by the leader. The first area selected for the creation of a new organization was Bishop Falls, Newfoundland. A woman who lived in the area and expressed an interest in setting up an association was identified and became a staff worker of the CRA with a corresponding salary. The woman continued to receive a salary until such time as the new association obtained adequate funding to operate on its own. A more indepth discussion of the spatial dispersion of the activities of the association will be provided in the next chapter pertaining to the structure of the association.

Prior to any further programme change, including the formulation of new objectives and strategies, the association held its annual meeting and general election of new officers.

As a result of the annual meeting a new executive was elected including a new leader who exhibited a different style of leadership, which led to a complete restructuring of the organization plus a number of programme changes, including the adoption of a new strategy.

The first change initiated by the new leader involved the restructuring of the association including a greater degree of role specification, decentralization of authority and formalization of rules and regulations pertaining to the work activities of the group. The details of this change will be

examined in the following chapter on structure and leadership.

During the time following the election of a new executive and leader, the association expanded its counselling service to include a greater number of working poor who encountered labor relation problems (e.g., the CRA acted on behalf of the workers at Hoyles Home in conjunction with their union). The association also began to distribute information to the poor in a written form pertaining to legislative changes and welfare rights (e.g., Social Assistance Handbook, Appeal Board Regulations, and increases in Social Assistance).

It is also interesting to note that members of the association began to place a greater emphasis on utilizing social action techniques (including conventional and non-conventional methods) to generate public awareness of the problems facing the poor with the intention of influencing the political process. This often involved public criticism of the various government authorities for not formulating policies to reduce the exploitation of the poor.

One example which clearly illustrates such a position concerned the exorbitant rents charged to the poor by slum landlords and the subsequent mass evictions resulting from a legislative decision to control the rates of rent. Prior to the enforcement of legislative change in the Landlord-Tenant Act, a number of slum landlords gave eviction notices to their tenants. The CRA association was instrumental in bringing this to the attention of the government, and via television, radio, and the press, publicly criticized the government for allowing

such a situation to arise. The government responded by threatening to publicly expose such landlords if they did not retract the eviction notices and conform to the revisions in the Landlord Tenant Act.

The CRA began to form coalitions with other voluntary organizations in order to organize mass protests against a number of major development projects which they considered not to be in the interest of the general public, especially the urban poor. As an example of the use of a social action strategy based on the coalition of various groups involved the proposed hotel complex to be known as Atlantic Place and the proposed CJON radio station to be constructed on Signal Hill. In large part, the organized protest coalition was initiated by the PPP association. However, the CRA encouraged representatives of the association to actively participate in the coordination of activities. In terms of the Atlantic Place development, one member of the CRA became the official spokesman of the group (commonly referred to as Concerned Citizens' Committee) and the offices of the CRA were used as the headquarters for the committee.

Although the CRA representatives lacked a knowledge of community planning concepts, they did manage to exploit the situation. This was done by levelling criticism against the development which coincided with the aims and objectives of the CRA. For example, the spokesman severely criticized the municipal and provincial governments for considering approval of developments which failed to consider the more crucial needs of the public (i.e. adequate housing facilities). In this way the coalition

was used to gain publicity for the CRA and increase the degree of public support for the goals and objectives of the association from those beyond the boundaries of their client constituency.

It is important to point out that the lack of knowledge of community planning plus the inexperience in dealing with the power structure in confrontation situations exhibited by the CRA representatives led to internal conflict within the committee. Consequently, the spokesman for the committee who happened to be a CRA representative was replaced. As a result of this experience the participants of the CRA learned a number of techniques to utilize in dealing with the power structure in a confrontation service. In addition, this experience generated an interest on the part of the CRA members to increase their knowledge of alternative strategies relating to community organizing. This awareness led to the participation of the CRA in a number of projects based on the consolidation of various groups. These included education campaigns, protest programmes and human relations training sessions (e.g., Conference on the City, Signal Hill-CJON issue, housing seminars).

As of June 1973 the CRA functions as an active voluntary association and has been responsible for the creation of similar associations in various parts of Newfoundland. Although the association's main strategy is one of information referral, it has in recent months tended to exhibit characteristics of a social action pressure group.

Although there are a number of other activities which the association has performed, I hope that the previous brief

description has provided the reader with a general scope of agencies' activities and an illustration of the goals, objectives and strategies employed.

In the following sections attention will be paid to the specific features of the association which are necessary elements of all organizations and yet partially explain the reasons for the degree of effectiveness achieved by associations in realizing their goals. This will include an examination of the various structural components of the CRA, such as size, complexity, formalization and leadership structure.

Classificatory Characteristics of the CRA

As in the case of the PPP association, the most differentiating characteristic of the CRA concerns the nature of the activity. The CRA is a voluntary association based on non-profit activity aimed at increasing the degree of awareness by poor people of their rights with respect to the existing welfare legislation, and assisting them in applying public pressure to government institutions and agencies in an attempt to acquire a better standard of living.

A description of the characteristics of the organization will be used to determine its type or classification, a process which is necessary prior to a detailed analysis of the association. This classificatory process will involve the use of the practice variables developed by J. Rothman (1968) in relation to research in the field of social work.

Since the same methodology is being employed to describe

the CRA as was used for the PPP association, I will refrain from redefining the various concepts pertaining to the practice variables selected for classification but merely list them as the following: organizational goals, the community structure, the basic change strategy and tactics, the salient practitioner roles, value orientations, boundary of the constituency and the conception of the client system, orientation to the power structure and the financial resources of the organization.

Official Goals

The general purpose or official goal of the CRA as expressed by the executive and revealed in the official documents is to alleviate conditions of poverty by making the poor people of the city more aware of their rights and assisting them in the realization of these rights, (as specified in the constitution- see appendix 3) in accordance with existing welfare legislation.

Operational Goals

The operational goals of an organization concern the specific objectives of the association which explain how the official goals will be realized. However, it is important to point out that although the operational goals reveal what the association is attempting to do, they may or may not conform to the general purpose or official goals of the organization.

The operational goals are comprised of the following objectives:

- (1) an information referral programme was designed to provide the urban poor with resource information, concerning the daily problems faced by this segment of the population (e.g. housing, legal aid, employment and welfare assistance).
- (2) to carry out house visits and group meetings for the purpose of informing, befriending, and counselling the poor with problems in relating to landlords, employers, government officials, and other related personnel.
- (3) to assist the poor through the initiation of self-help programmes and acting on their behalf by preparing recommendations for legislative change in the policies of those social institutions and agencies responsible for their livelihood (e.g., welfare agencies, employment centres, legal aid agencies).

Maintenance Goals

Maintenance goals or process goals refer to the objectives of an organization which are directed to system maintenance, or the gross capacity of the organizational system to function over time. The maintenance goals of the CRA include a process which involves the generation of awareness in the minds of the poor of the existing welfare rights to which they are entitled. This theoretically leads to stimulation of interest and motivation to participate in the activities of the association which increases the power base of this specific sector of the population. This

in turn improves their chances of initiating institutional change through public pressure.

The CRA is similar to the PPP association in that it places an emphasis on both operational and maintenance goals. This particular characteristic is typical of most grass roots citizen organizations and can partially be attributed to the following factors:

- (1) due to the voluntary nature of the group's activity, there is a tremendous need for participation in order to commence operation and generate further interest and participation;
- (2) the premise that in order for people to be able to change the existing social system and structure, people must be organized into groups;
- (3) the need for legitimization for the creation of an organization in terms of its representativeness and purpose.

Assumptions Concerning Community Structure and Problem Conditions

The CRA views the community structure as composed of segments of the population which are suffering from conditions of abject poverty. This is attributed to a lack of awareness of the cause of such problems and a lack of skills and resources which act as a barrier to active participation in alleviating such problems. However, the association also tends to hold the view that the situation of the poor is largely a result of exploitation by business and landowners, as well as apathy and ignorance on the part of municipal and provincial governments.

Basic Change Strategy

The basic change strategy employed by the CRA may be characterized as an educational campaign to motivate and assist poor people in applying public pressure to social institutions to change their policies in order to alleviate the problems facing the poor. This conceptualization of the change strategy was implemented through the development of an information referral service, counselling service and social action activities.

Characteristic Change Tactics and Techniques

The change tactics and techniques are based on two primary objectives of the CRA. The first objective was to generate an awareness, on the part of the poor, of their legal rights under the existing social system (e.g. welfare rights).

The second objective concerned the utilization of this awareness to ensure that their rights were upheld, and at the same time to provide the poor with a medium for communication with the government administrators. In certain instances this also included the means to apply public pressure to the various social institutions with the aim of acquiring legislative changes which would reduce the problems facing the poor.

Taking into consideration these two objectives, the change tactics were directed to two different sectors of the social structure of the community:

- (1) to the poor themselves, whom the association considered to be ignorant, often illiterate and without adequate resources to obtain their legal rights and challenge

- the exploitation to which they are subjected;
- (2) to those in positions of power who are responsible for the distribution of services to the poor and making decisions which affect the poor population.

During the first year of operation the association's emphasis was placed on providing the poor with an understanding of the procedures and policy of the various agencies and institutions which serve the poor (e.g. welfare agency, Canada Manpower Centre) while at the same time generating among the poor an awareness and knowledge of their rights as they exist in accordance with the various acts and policies of the social institutions.

This was made operational by establishing an information referral service which provided the poor with answers to many of their questions and general information concerning landlord-tenant relationships, housing stocks, employment opportunities, and welfare legislation. In addition, the members of the CRA also utilized tactics based on discussion and consensus bargaining. This took the form of counselling the poor and representing the poor as mediators in conflict situations between the poor and landlords, employers, and various government officials.

Two examples clearly illustrate this technique:

- (1) the association would often receive calls for assistance from welfare recipients and working poor who had become engaged in a conflict with their landlord and feared they would be evicted. The association member would travel to the individual's residence and determine the

nature of the disagreement through discussion with the landlord and tenant with the aim of arriving at an acceptable compromise which would reduce the possibility of eviction;

- (2) the association often found that in situations where the poor had to interact with members of a government agency, they experienced difficulty in approaching the agency, difficulty in understanding the response of the government officials and generally felt that they had been mistreated. They were considered to be timid, inarticulate, ignorant of their rights and unfamiliar with the norms of such large bureaucratic institutions. Consequently, many did not go to the agency with their problems and those who did seldom returned a second time. In such situations the members of the CRA would accompany the poor to the agency and assist them in presenting their case and ensuring that they were not mistreated by the various officials. In addition, they often referred individuals with serious problems to social workers for counselling.

The second change tactic was directed toward the various social institutions and agencies which were responsible for providing the poor with the basic amenities. The association received pertinent information from the agencies, discussed their problems facing the poor and prepared briefs and recommendations for improving the situation. However, the association also made use of social action techniques, especially during the most recent

years, to persuade (through public pressure) the various governmental agencies to change the laws concerning the poor and implement new policies and programmes which would reduce the effects of poverty. These involved the use of conventional techniques (e.g., public criticism via radio, television, and the press) and also the use of non-conventional pressure tactics including demonstrations, petitions and sit-ins.

Salient Practitioner Roles

The salient practitioner roles characteristic of the CRA tend to be varied rather than discrete as revealed in the PPP association. An emphasis was placed on the "enabler role" whereas the PPP stressed the "technical expert" role.

(1) Enabler Role

In general, this role is one of facilitating a process of problem-solving and includes self-help projects, organizing people according to common objectives and the general promotion of initiative through education campaigns. It is usually not particularistic as revealed in the PPP which restricted its efforts to problems of planning, but rather universalistic in the sense that any problem may be examined and tackled and it may apply to any group. This role resembles that of Selznick's "institutional leader":

one who is primarily an expert in the promotion and protection of values and whose task is to smooth the path of human interaction, ease communication. (P.Selznick; 1957:27)

The realization of this role within the CRA included such activities as the generation of an awareness of human rights on the part of the poor through the dissemination of information

pertaining to problems facing the poor (e.g., welfare legislation). The participants were also active in counselling the poor and acting as liaison officers between the poor and the corresponding service institutions and agencies. In this respect, the CRA members were playing an advocacy role in which they utilized their expertise to serve their clients' interests.

The CRA participants were also incumbents of another role which could be considered as secondary to the enabler role but instrumental to the achievement of their objectives. This is commonly referred to as an "activist role".

(2) Activist Role

The association assumed the activist role as a result of the perception that the various government institutions and agencies were inadequately responding to the needs of the poor. In other words, the CRA members felt that the enabler role based on an information-consensus approach was necessary but insufficient for the realization of their long range objectives and, therefore, they decided to utilize methods characteristic of an activist role. The activities included conventional and non-conventional techniques of applying public pressure to the various government agencies to change their policies or introduce new ones to improve the living conditions of the poor.

The CRA's Orientation Toward the Power Structure

The general format used to describe the orientation toward the power structure exhibited by the PPP will also be used for the corresponding section on the CRA. Therefore, I

will refrain from redefining the various concepts in detail.

The community power structure as perceived by the CRA is composed of municipal government, various social and economic institutions under the aegis of the provincial government, and divisions of national granting agencies (e.g., Secretary of State).

Since the association's orientation toward the power structure is largely based on its conception of the public interest, a discussion of this conception is of initial importance. This will be done using the analytical categories developed by Shubert (1960), Myerson (1955) and Banfield (1955) which includes:

- (1) the rationalist view;
- (2) idealist view;
- (3) realist position;
- (4) unitary conception;
- (5) individualist conception. - (See corresponding section on PPP association)

In terms of above categories, the CRA tends to exhibit to a large degree, a rationalist-unitary conception of the public interest based on a cooperative decision-making process.

The Biddles aptly express the nature of such a conception:

... when the people are free of coercive pressures and can then examine a wide range of alternatives, they tend to choose the ethically better and intelligently wiser course of action. A concept of the common good can grow out of group experience that serves the welfare of all in some local area. (W. and J. Biddle; 1965:58)

The unitary conception of the public interest as exhibited

by the CRA is based on the assumption that the poor were ignorant of their rights, as well as the proper procedures to follow in acquiring the basic amenities. The conception also implies that the legislators and the administrators have the knowledge and resources to assert the unitary interest of the whole including the poor population over the competing lesser interests.

However, the CRA also revealed characteristics of a realist-individualist conception of the public interest. Such a conception evolved as a result of the perceived ineffectiveness of utilizing a rationalist-unitary conception with respect to certain problems the poor encountered. Consequently, the CRA began to view the community as composed of a number of conflicting interest groups contending with one another for the power and influence required to realize their objectives. They expressed the view that this conception was not the most desirable but felt it to be the most realistic in certain situations. Taking into consideration the conception of the public interest expressed by the CRA, their orientation toward the power structure is more easily explained.

It is interesting to note that the CRA's orientation toward the power structure varies according to the specific component of the power structure with which the association happens to interact at any given time. Thus, a description of the various components of the power structure is initially required.

(1) Funding Agency (Citizenship Branch of the Secretary of State)

The participants of the CRA considered the members of this component of the power structure to be collaborators in a common venture. The members of the local division of this national funding agency were extremely instrumental in providing the association with the funds required for its creation and also exerted a considerable influence in the formulation of the goals, objectives and strategy of the association. Since the distribution of funds depends upon the nature of an association's goals, objectives and strategy, the members of the Secretary of State were quite helpful in providing the association members with the information required to receive a grant.

(2) Service Agencies and Institutions

This component of the power structure, as perceived by the CRA, concerns the social and economic agencies and institutions which are responsible for serving the poor. These include the various departments and institutions of government plus the church and other non-governmental agencies.

In the initial stages of development, the CRA viewed the members of this component of the power structure as collaborators in a common venture (i.e., improving the living conditions of the urban poor). However, the association's participants became disillusioned with the performance of the members of the power structure and began to perceive them as decision-makers, who responded to those of competing interests, who could most successfully influence the political process to work on their

behalf. Consequently, the association members began to assume the role of a lesser competing interest and began applying public pressure to the members of the power structure rather than relying upon a consensus-bargaining approach.

(3) Large Economic Corporations

It is important to point out that the activity of the association pertaining to this component of the power structure was a digression from the direct pursuit of their major goals, (i.e., improving the social conditions of the poor). However, this secondary activity did influence the structure and operation of the association (i.e., the experience of relating to large corporations in conjunction with other voluntary associations was partly responsible for the change in attitude from one of using a consensus-bargaining approach to using a confrontation approach in dealing with government agencies responsible for serving the poor).

A few members of the association joined with representatives of other voluntary organizations such as PPP and YWCA to challenge the actions of the large corporations and the municipal and provincial governments for their behaviour concerning local proposed developments. These included Atlantic Place, CJON radio station and Harbour Arterial, which the committee considered to be detrimental to the functioning of the city. The CRA representatives criticized the corporations and the governments for using public monies for the construction of hotels, radio stations and highways instead of directing such funds to the problems of housing facing local residents, especially the poor.

Thus, the CRA's orientation toward the power structure varied according to the influence the various components had on the continued existence of the association and the achievement of its objectives.

Boundary Definition of Community Client System or Constituency

The boundary definition of the community client system of the CRA was considered to be a segment of the community population which was disadvantaged and needed assistance. The constituency was defined as the poor including welfare recipients and working poor located within the boundary of the city and province. However, due to a lack of resources the major focus of activity was restricted to those living within the boundary of the city of St. John's.

Assumptions Regarding the Interests of the Community Subparts

The CRA in its initial stages of development considered the interests of the various groups to be reconcilable and responsive to the needs of the poor as a result of communication based on consensus-bargaining. This position corresponds to the association's unitary conception of the public interest in which the interests of the whole is upheld over the competing lesser interests.

However, during the second year of operation the association began to alter its position with respect to the interests of the community subparts. The association expressed the view that such interests were at variance with each other and in certain situations were only reconcilable through the

use of confrontation tactics including conventional and non-conventional techniques. The members began to express views which were characteristic of such statements made by S. Alinsky in the following:

All major controlling interests make a virtue of acceptance of the ruling group's policies and decisions. Any movement of organization arising in disagreement, or seeking independent changes are defined by the predominating powers as a threat, is promptly subjugated to castigation, public and private smears, and attacks on its very existence. (S. Alinsky; 1969 :6)

Conception of the Client Population or Constituency

The CRA conceive its constituency as composed of recipients of services who suffer from abject conditions of poverty and are considered to be in such a dire state for reasons over which they have no control. At the same time, they feel that the poor are ignored by government and exploited by employers, businessmen, professionals and landlords. In addition, the CRA members consider the role of their clients to be one of active participants in the operation of an organization with the aim of improving the living conditions of the poor.

Financial Resources of the CRA

The CRA is a non-profit association and, therefore, is very limited in its ability to generate capital for its operation. Considering this limitation the association had to rely upon government grants and membership fees.

The financing required for the origination of the association was provided by the Citizenship Branch of the

Secretary of State, a federal government agency. In addition, to providing the small number of volunteers with a \$500.00 seed grant, the members of the Citizenship Branch also allowed the group to use its office facilities. Then in February 1972 the group made an application for a Local Initiatives Programme grant from the federal government and received approximately \$42,000.00 including an extension of the grant. This sum was for the period between February and November 1972, and allowed the group to acquire a storefront location with office facilities.

In December 1972 the association approached the provincial government for funding but was unsuccessful. As a result they decided to make another Local Initiatives Programme application to the federal government and were successful in receiving \$45,000.00 for a six month period ending in May 1973. This grant was later extended until November 1973 with an additional \$45,000.00 being provided. In total the association received approximately \$132,000.00 from the federal government in the form of Local Initiative Programme grants. In addition, the association received \$250.00 through the collection of membership fees at 50¢ a member.

A more detailed examination of the implications and influence of the source of funding on the association's objectives, structure and operational effectiveness will be performed in a later section.

It was my intention in this section to provide the reader with a brief description of the nature of the association that

is the focus of this study. This was done by using a number of practice variables which are characteristic of every association whether voluntary or not and, therefore, are more methodologically suitable than using an "ideal type" or model approach to classifying an organization. The assumptions underlying these variables are closely related to the type of structure created within the organization and the degree of success achieved by the association in realizing its goals.

Structure of the CRA

In this section I will examine the particular components of CRA which comprise its form of structure. The structural components selected for analysis include: size, complexity and formalization. It is important to note that since these components change over time and affect change in other areas, a number of related structural factors will be subsumed under the three major categories of structural components.

Size as a Structural Condition

In order to overcome the conceptual problem relating to size (i.e. determination of the guidelines for defining the composition of the association) the criterion used for determining the size of the association will be the number of individuals, who actively participate in performing activities of the association on a weekly basis. This will include salaried and non-salaried participants.

In terms of the constitutional definition of the size of the association (i.e. includes any individual who pays 50¢

membership fee) the number approximates 400 as of May 1973.

However, in terms of the aforementioned non-official definition which will be used as a basis for analysis, the size of the association since its origination has been approximately fifteen.

A more important consideration than the number of individuals is the influence size has on the other structural components which in turn affect the degree of effectiveness achieved by the association in changing the social conditions of the poor. The small number of individuals actively participating in the association can be attributed to a number of reasons, two of which include ideological differences and practical factors. The most important reason aside from the ideological arguments is the voluntary nature of the association which in itself limits the number of participants to those who receive a salary from the association and to those who have an alternative source of income with excess free time.

Effect on Size on Other Structural Components

As revealed in the corresponding section on the structure of the PPP association, there is considerable evidence which reveals the influence of size on other structural components (e.g., organizational hierarchies, formalization).

In the case of the CRA the small number of participants was in part related to the informal structure which was initiated by the leader. There appeared to be no need for highly complex and formalized structure with assigned roles, statuses and regulations. The interaction among the participants was largely based on previous friendship ties

and a common interest in helping the poor improve their situation.

The research literature also suggests that there exists a high correlation between the number of participants and the net assets of an association. However, such research as that done by Pugh et al. pertains to economically profitable organizations rather than voluntary associations. In the case of the two voluntary associations under study (i.e. PPP and CRA) there is little evidence to support such a hypothesis. If the method of accumulating funds as opposed to net assets was based on fund raising campaigns then the potential for such a correlation may exist.

However, the CRA and the PPP relied solely upon government grants and small donations for their operations and thus a converse correlation would be more likely to occur. In other words, the number of participants was dependent upon the amount of funding received from the government. This is based on the fact that the specific grants received by the associations were essentially devised by the federal government as employment programmes.

Size as a structural component is also frequently related to the degree of complexity and formalization achieved by the organization (R. Hall, 1968). As was noted in the PPP association, the small size of the group reduced the need for formal rules and regulations concerning the division of labor and hierarchical structures.

In the PPP this informal structure existed for the duration of the association's operation with exception of a few weeks while the leader was absent. However, it is important to

note that the leadership structure and degree of professionalism was largely responsible for the type of structure which evolved while the size of the group merely facilitated the development of that structure.

In the initial stages of the CRA there was also an absence of official regulations and highly formalized structure leading to a situation of confusion and conflict among the participants of the association. The disruption which evolved can largely be attributed to the leadership structure and the absence of professionally trained participants. As a result the workers were not aware of their specific roles, job descriptions or responsibilities and required guidance and supervision in a structured fashion. Thus, within the CRA the small size of the association had an negligible affect on the degree of formalization and complexity realized by the organization. This is substantiated by the fact that the size of the association has changed very little over the three years while the degree of complexity and formalization has increased significantly.

The other important aspect of the structural component, size, concerns its effect on the workflow and administrative component of the association. The workflow of an association pertains to the major activity of the group, which in relation to the CRA, included information referral and counselling of the poor with the purpose of alleviating the deplorable living conditions of the urban poor. In addition to the workflow, there exists in every organization a number of tasks which are not directly related to the major activity of the group. This

activity is commonly referred to as the administrative component. In the CRA, the administrative tasks included bookkeeping, typing, and general clerical work. The administrative component of an organization is often used as an indicator of organizational efficiency. In other words, one measure of an efficient organization is the amount of resources spent on administration versus the workflow activities. The smaller the amount of resources spent on administration, the greater the amount left for the workflow activities. In the CRA the amount of resources spent on administration was considerably greater than that of the PPP association. This can be ascribed not to the size of the association but to:

- (1) the greater amount of money received in the form of grants which requires accurate accounting procedures and;
- (2) the lack of professionally trained participants required to perform such administrative activities.

Thus, one could deduce from the above that the CRA in its early stages of development, was operated in an inefficient manner.

In summary, the evidence suggests that size as a structural component of the CRA has had very little impact on the other structural components of the association. However, in conjunction with the degree of professionalization of the participants and the quality of the leadership structure, size has had a variant impact on the other structural components including formalization and complexity.

Complexity of the CRA

This leads us into a discussion of the next important

structural component, complexity.

In terms of the three major aspects of complexity (i.e. horizontal differentiation, vertical differentiation, and spatial dispersion) the CRA exhibits a higher degree of complexity than that revealed in the PPP association.

In examining horizontal differentiation within the PPP, it was noted that the highly trained professionals (the majority of the participants) were given a comprehensive range of activities to perform with the assignment of tasks based on each individual's training. This was partially due to the nature of the association (i.e. community planning).

In the CRA the tasks were minutely divided among the workers using a case work method. Since most of the tasks were of a similar nature there was no difficulty in their assignment. It is interesting to note that the division of labor according to sex revealed that the men assumed an inferior position within the organization and performed the more menial tasks, such as driving and maintenance.

Due to the lack of professional training of the participants and the relatively small number of different tasks to be performed, the CRA in the early stages of its development can be considered as a relatively non-complex association in terms of horizontal differentiation. However, it is important to note that as a result of changes in the leadership structure during the third year of operation, the number of occupational specialities increased. These included such categories as housing, legal aid and employment. However, due to the lack of

any significant increase in the degree of professional training of the participants, the impact of the increased diversification of activities on vertical integration and formalization was slight.

Vertical differentiation within an association refers to the hierarchical structure or the number of supervisory levels. The underlying assumption of vertical differentiation stipulates that the degree of authority corresponds to the vertical level achieved within the association. In other words, the president of the association supposedly has more authority than the secretary or treasurer. In determining the hierarchical structure of an association, the most appropriate reference is the constitution. However, as I have reiterated throughout the paper, the official statement of the association's objectives, norms, and structure are not always operable. This was quite evident in the analysis of the structure of the PPP association, where there existed an official constitutional hierarchical structure which was never operationalized.

In the CRA the hierarchical structure, as defined by the constitution, includes a chairman, co-chairman, secretary and treasurer. Contrary to the situation which occurred in the PPP association, the hierarchical structure of the CRA, as defined in the constitution, was closely adhered to in the actual operation of the group's activities.

Although the distribution of authority corresponded to the various hierarchical levels, there existed a considerable

degree of conflict between those occupying positions of authority and those of the rank and file.

The difference between the two associations in terms of vertical differentiation can partially be attributed to the qualifications of the participants and the leadership structure. A majority of the workers of the CRA were former welfare recipients with few organizational skills and little formal education (i.e., less than high school) and, consequently, required more direct supervision and direction from those in higher positions within the organization. Furthermore, there appeared to be less delegation of authority and responsibility in the initial stages of the CRA than in the PPP association. Thus, in the early stages of development of the CRA, the hierarchical structure was rather shallow with wide spans of control over the members.

One important occurrence which significantly altered the initial structure of the association, including the system of vertical differentiation and its impact on the organizational effectiveness, was a change in the leadership structure. As a result of this change the workers received more responsibility and authority in relation to their occupational areas within the association and, consequently, the amount of internal conflict was reduced significantly. A discussion of the leadership structure and its impact on other structural variables will be examined in greater detail in the next section on leadership structure within the CRA.

Spatial dispersion refers to the expansion of the groups

activities into various geographical locations.

For the first two years of operation the association remained to be an organization restricted to assisting the urban poor in St. John's. However, during the second year the association responded to calls and letters from individuals throughout the province but were unable to provide these people with direct assistance (e.g., counselling escort service).

As a result of a substantial increase in funding from the federal government during the third year of operation, the association decided to expand its activities into various outlying districts which had expressed a need for the services of an organization like the CRA. This was done through the creation of CR associations in the designated areas.

Unlike many national organizations which create various locals throughout the country over which they exert considerable power and influence, the CRA was only interested in the creation of similar self-help organizations and not the operation of such associations. In most instances, a replacement procedure was utilized whereby the association would send one of its workers out to the area to identify indigenous leaders who would be interested in co-ordinating activities involved in setting up such an organization. This individual had the following activities to perform:

- (1) to visit communities across the province. Talk to the people, get to know them and their cultural differences (e.g.) Whether the family unit is strong, weak, or indifferent, and use plain common sense in their approach

and offer of aid;

- (2) the organizer will move with the people, become part of each community (through availability) without becoming immersed personally in local problems or issues;

- (3) The organizer will generate trust by identification with the people:

- i the organizer will most important: be a person who has been born and raised in a rural area of the province;
- ii who is genuinely interested in the social progress of the rural areas of the province;
- iii be dedicated, and have some training in public relations;

- (4) to seek out potential leaders among the low-income families of each community and arrange some training in leadership for these people;

- (5) to carry, mail, phone all information to each group, and to be available at all times to help carry each committee over rough periods of organization;

- (6) to keep contact with all organized active groups for information, and to be willing to act as liaison between groups when required.

The basis for the selection of the area was the expressed need for the people in any given area as related to the CRA via telephone or letter. The first area selected was Bishop Falls.

The indigenous leader identified by the CRA worker, automatically

became a member of the CRA in St. John's and was paid a salary equivalent to a worker in the CRA. In addition, the CRA provided the worker with a brief orientation of the activities of the association in St. John's. The salary was paid until such time as the association received adequate financial assistance to operate on its own. This was the only tie the CRA had with the various organizations which were created throughout the province.

The CRA was also responsible for the creation of similar associations in Placentia Bay district, Burin Peninsula and Bonavista Bay. However, due to the lack of financial resources, the CRA could only afford to pay a worker for the Placentia Bay district. In the other areas the same procedure was followed, minus the provision of a salary for the co-ordinator. The role of the CRA in relation to these other associations was one of providing them with pertinent information and guidance but refrained from exerting any direct influence or control over the decision-making processes within the associations.

The influence of spatial dispersion on the structure of the association was limited to an indirect affect on the distribution of resources available to the association. The implications of the choice to expand its activities into various locations throughout the province instead of enlarging its operation within the city will be discussed in a later section.

Formalization

One of the most important structural components of an organization concerns the degree of formalization and standardization of rules, regulations and procedures to be followed by the

association members. Since the nature of formalization has been conceptually defined in the corresponding section of analysis of the PPP association, I will refrain from repeating the process for this section.

The degree of formalization in an organization may vary from the creation of stringent regulations for behaviour as revealed in an assembly line operation or medical association to an absence of strict regulations concerning working hours typical of research and academic groups. It is also important to note that there often exists informal rules and regulations which are just as imperative as official written regulations as revealed in a constitution, while at the same time taking into consideration the fact that a constitution may be inoperable.

In the early stages of development the CRA was similar to the PPP association in that it tended to place an emphasis on informal rules and regulations as opposed to official regulations often characteristic of most economically profitable organizations. However, the difference between the two voluntary associations concerned the enforcement of the regulations. The range of variation that was tolerated within the rules defining performed tasks was much greater in the PPP than in the CRA.

The higher degree of role specification evident within the CRA can partially be attributed to:

- (1) the lack of professional training exhibited by the CRA members. The participants of the CRA were former welfare recipients with little training in any specific field and not familiar or trained to work without close

supervision and designation of specific tasks to perform.

- (2) the association members, including the leader, were inexperienced in the field of community organizing, information referral and counselling of the poor and also lacked the knowledge and experience of operating an organization. It was a new experience for all and, consequently, the co-ordinators had to rely on informal rules and regulations open to modification as new situations were faced.

Thus, in the early stages of development of the association there existed a low degree of formalization and standardization (the extent to which there are rules and definitions that purport to cover all circumstances and that apply invariably) (R. Hall:1972)

Impact of the Degree of Formalization

In the case of the CRA, the low degree of formalization of rules and procedures was directly related to the degree of internal conflict manifested with respect to the distribution of authority and power. It is important to note that in a discussion of the impact of this structural component, one should keep in mind that the structure is based on other important factors, such as the leadership role, nature of the participants and the interpersonal relations among the participants. In any case the degree of formalization led to organizational dysfunctions including role conflict and role ambiguity.

For example, one instance involved the workers who were not receiving sufficient information as to the task-oriented

roles and methods they were to employ. In many cases the workers received calls for assistance, referred them to the executive and then waited to be assigned the specific tasks pertaining to the case. The co-ordinator, also an untrained individual, would hesitate to refer the case to a worker because she was uncertain as to the method to employ in handling the case. Consequently, the workers at one point in time spent many days in the office becoming frustrated over the fact that they did not know what to do.

At other times role conflict appeared to dominate the scene with individuals receiving inconsistent and incompatible expectations. In certain instances individuals would be responding to situations according to their job descriptions, while at the same time they were attempting to fulfill the expectations of those within the executive who would communicate needs through interpersonal means. The demands made by the executive were often inconsistent and incompatible with the informal norms of the association.

Since rules prescribe the kinds of decisions to be made, those in decision-making positions tend to create more rules when situations arise for which there are no precedents. (R. Hall: 1972) This process is sometimes slightly corrupted by the fact that in certain instances it is used as a rationale for making decisions which legitimize the decision-maker's personal view.

This internal conflict led to the dismissal of the co-chairman and one of the workers and was only completely resolved with the change in the executive which occurred at the annual

general meeting in October 1972. The new co-ordinator and executive immediately began to restructure the organization with the intent of increasing the degree of formalization of rules and procedures and also developing in the staff more professional qualities. These two changes were felt to be necessary in order to reduce the internal conflict which prevailed within the association.

These objectives were realized through the following changes:

- (1) an official list of office regulations and procedures for handling the cases were created as a result of discussions with the workers;
- (2) the degree of role specification was increased by assigning the responsibility for specific problem areas to individual workers (e.g., housing, legal aid, employment, spatial dispersion);
- (3) the leader initiated a number of changes with respect to social space within which the workers performed their office duties. Each worker was provided with an office (or equivalent space) desk and telephone. In addition, a woman was hired to perform clerical tasks for the workers;
- (4) the leader in conjunction with the workers set up a training programme to increase the workers knowledge and ability to work with the poor and members of the power structure. This involved a number of workshops utilizing resource personnel and audio visual aids.

The internal restructuring of the association also included changes which were designed to decentralize authority and increase the degree of participation by the workers in the decision-making process. A weekly discussion period was initiated which took the form of a sensitivity training session. This allowed the staff to discuss the difficulties they experienced in dealing with the problems of the poor. This was complimented by the submission of weekly reports containing a summary of the tasks performed by each worker during the week plus their criticisms and recommendations for improving the effectiveness and efficiency of the operation of the association.

There were a number of other programme changes which were initiated by the leader but the above changes pertain directly to the structure of the association. As a result of these changes, the degree of formalization and complexity increased significantly.

One cannot attribute causal primacy to any of the structural components previously discussed but it is evident from the analysis of the structure that it is related to other characteristics of the organization, such as decision-making processes, and distribution of authority. These together have an influence on the degree of effectiveness achieved by the group in realizing its goals.

Leadership Within the CRA

One important feature of any association or group concerns the leadership structure. In this section I will examine the role and interaction of the leader in relation to the decision-making processes, group consensus, solidarity and the influence leadership

has on the degree of effectiveness achieved by the association in realizing its objectives.

According to A. Gouldner:

a leader is any individual whose behaviour stimulates patterning of the behaviour in some group. (Gouldner; 1950:17)

It is this individual and his influence and interaction with other members of the group which is of particular interest in this section.

It is important to make clear in the beginning that leadership is more than mere power of the position or the requirements of that position but rather as R. Hall states:

It is persuasion of individuals and innovativeness of ideas and decision-making that differentiates leadership from sheer position of power. (R. Hall; 1972:146)

The CRA was founded in 1969 by a group of female residents of St. John's led by Mrs. Black. It is interesting to note that Mrs. Black was never elected or appointed as leader but assumed such a position since she represented the motivating force behind the creation of the association, a situation which occurred within the PPP association. The acceptance of this process of acquiring a leadership role by the other members of the group is often based on the assumption that the individual responsible for the origination of the association obviously has revealed the crucial characteristics of a suitable leader, including the commitment, motivation and expertise required for the origination of an organization. (i.e. formulation of goals and means)

However, in many cases the individual who was responsible

for the creation of the organization does not necessarily prove to be the appropriate leader for the group given the situation, the specific attributes of the individual and the nature of the other members of the association. This was found to be true in the case of Mrs. Black of the CRA.

The CRA is a lower class organization composed of former welfare recipients who were interested in alleviating the conditions of poverty within the city of St. John's. The leader, and her followers, had little formal education and had no previous experience in organizational activities. The leader explicitly defined the role of the association to be one of ensuring that the rights of the urban poor were attained. These included adequate housing, food, clothing, health care, education and opportunities for employment. The basic strategy designed by Mrs. Black for the realization of this goal was based on an advocate position.

The specific programme involved:

- (1) Information referral, whereby the association would inform the poor of their legal rights under the existing welfare legislation;
- (2) counselling the poor with their problems;
- (3) acting on behalf of the poor in dealing with members of the power structure (e.g., staff of the community welfare agencies).

In addition to lacking organizational skills, the group was also confronted with the problem of operating with a limited amount of resources (financial and human resources).

It is within this situational context that Mrs. Black

initiated her activities as leader.

Initially, the leader designed a programme whereby the workers would investigate problems of the poor largely in response to phone calls for assistance. The workers would discuss the problem with the client, write up the case and then decide upon the appropriate action to be taken in conjunction with the leader. This usually involved the distribution of information, counselling, arbitration between client and other persons (e.g. landlord, social worker) and escort service and representation of the client's position vis a vis members of the power structure (e.g., welfare agency).

In the initial stages of development of the association, the leader exhibited a supportive leadership style. She was considerate of the workers' needs, treated them with dignity and kindness and consulted them when making decisions. She also supervised the activities in a general manner rather than imposing tight controls and close supervision.

However, this form of leadership style was complicated by the appointment of a co-chairman who happened to be a non-resident and an unfamiliar figure to the workers and leader. He was hired because of his expressed image as an expert resource person with considerable experience in the area of poor people's organizations in the U.S.A. The workers soon began to recognize a definite change in the communication system and decision-making processes. Decisions concerning the association's activities began to be made in an arbitrary fashion by the leader and co-chairmen without consulting the workers. In addition, the information flow between the leader and workers decreased and the amount of role ambiguity

and role conflict increased among the workers.

This centralization of authority was also manifested in the subsequent changes that were made in the physical layout of the office. A small room which had formerly been used as a place for having coffee breaks and storing utilities became the private office of the chairman and co-chairman.

As a result of this change in the leadership structure, the supportive style of interaction exhibited by the leader was significantly reduced and the workers participated less in the decision-making process of the association and received less direction and supervision.

In order to examine the impact of the leadership structure (on the operation of the association) including traits and style, one must take into consideration the perception of the situation from the workers' point of view.

The group was composed of former welfare recipients who had experienced conditions of poverty themselves and like the leader agreed that the abject social conditions of a relatively large sector of the population needed to be alleviated. They openly accepted the self-appointment of Mrs. Black to the position of leader, as well as her definition of the role of the organization and corresponding objectives and strategies.

Except for two males the group was composed wholly of women who had little formal education and virtually no experience in organizational activities. The expectation of the workers with respect to leadership roles corresponded to a need for direction, supervision and encouragement. Most of the participants had

never worked in a situation which was not formally structured with close supervision. Consequently, the low degree of formalization of rules, regulations and job descriptions initiated by the leader was responsible for a great deal of frustration experienced by the workers (i.e. role ambiguity and role conflict). However, this problem was partially resolved by the creation of informal rules and routinization of activities resulting from the establishment of a case work approach.

As previously mentioned, this informal unstable structure began to be dissolved as a result of the changes initiated by the newly appointed co-chairman. The underlying discontent of the workers finally erupted with the hiring of a female worker who would not tolerate the situation and organized the workers to challenge the power of the leader and co-chairman. The discontent was openly directed toward the leader and co-chairman and resulted in the dismissal of the co-chairman and the female worker who had been responsible for organizing the participants to voice their discontent.

The informal structure was resumed for the remaining period prior to the annual election in October 1972. At the annual meeting the members demanded that the constitutional regulation be enforced stating that no individual could retain an official position for more than one year. In other words, the participants made use of the constitution in order to have the leader deposed.

The only major change in the executive was the election of a new leader who had previously occupied a non-executive

position as a worker. The selection of Mrs. White for the leadership position can be attributed to the following factors:

- (1) she had worked within the organization and had strongly opposed the behaviour of the previous leader;
- (2) she had proposed a number of structural changes which she felt would improve the effectiveness of the group in realizing its objectives;
- (3) she proposed a number of structural changes which were designed to make the association more structured with the aim of reducing role conflict and ambiguity.

Initially, the new chairman implemented a programme of action which would restructure the association with the aim of reducing the basis for internal conflict. This involved the following changes:

- (1) the formulation of official rules and regulations pertaining to work activities of the participants;
- (2) a training programme designed to increase the worker's knowledge and understanding of different methods of approaching problems of the poor;
- (3) creation of a new programme with features designed to increase the degree of participation by workers in the decision-making process (e.g., weekly evaluative reports and meetings to voice grievances);
- (4) an increase in the degree of role specification and delegation of authority was achieved through the designation of responsibility for specific problems to individual workers (e.g., housing, employment).

The increase in the degree of formalization of regulations, plus a more structured division of labour and decentralization of authority, reduced the degree of internal conflict based on role ambiguity and role conflict.

The new leader also recognized the need for a change in the strategy employed to realize the groups' objectives. Prior to the annual election a current of discontent was expressed in relation to the effectiveness of the information referral programme and the consensus-bargaining approach utilized in dealing with the members of the power structure. This dissatisfaction was openly manifested in the weekly reports (a new feature introduced by Mrs. White) submitted by the workers and became the focus of discussion of poor peoples' conferences (e.g., Provincial Conference on Citizens' Rights and Freedom).

Three observations were made concerning the strategies utilized by the association:

- (1) many members held the opinion that the various government departments which were instrumental in establishing policies concerning the poor, often withheld from the public, pertinent information regarding the rights of the poor. For example, there existed a welfare act which was available to the public but there was also a policy manual which contained specific regulations, which could significantly alter an interpretation of the Act. This policy manual was not available to the public.

Also within the context of information referral, the CRA members criticized the government for not allowing them to disseminate information within the welfare agency building, where most recipients had to go to collect their cheques;

- (2) providing the poor with information as to their rights was not in itself a sufficient condition for alleviating the abject social conditions facing the poor;
- (3) the existing method of consensus bargaining with members of the power structure was considered to be ineffective. The association members had discussed the problems of the poor with the poor people, provided them with information pertaining to their rights, escorted them to the various government offices, discussed their problems with government officials and written briefs. The association members felt that these methods were inadequate to obtain from the government specific legislative changes pertaining to the poor.

One association worker expressed the view in this way:


We should become extremely vocal and outspoken. We should not be concerned about having a nice reputation. Nice people are easily placated and are used to the advantage of others. We should be using others to our advantage
(CRA weekly reports)

As a result of the internal evaluation programme established by the new leader, the association began to utilize social action techniques in addition to their information referral and consensus bargaining approach. As a result the association

received a great deal of publicity for its verbal attacks on government, public demonstrations and petitions all aimed at improving the social conditions of the poor.

• It is quite evident from the previous discussion that the type of leadership structure of an association is extremely influential in terms of the structure which evolves, including programme changes, internal consensus and effectiveness of the association in achieving its objectives.

In the previous two chapters we have examined two voluntary citizen groups, their internal and external relations and some of the problems they faced in attempting to realize their objectives. We are now in a position to make some general observations and produce a limited number of propositions and conclusions. I think it is important to note that these observations are primarily designed for those who are interested in creating or participating in similar action groups.



CHAPTER 5

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

In the preceding chapters we have examined the activities of two voluntary associations including their goals, strategies, structural development and some of the problems their members faced in attempting to realize their objectives.

As was mentioned earlier, this study was designed not only to advance the social scientist's knowledge of organizational behaviour but also to provide those interested in participating in voluntary organizations with some of the more practical interpretations of the research. This will involve a discussion of some of the more general problems which I feel are not unique to the PPP or CRA but are faced by most voluntary associations.

Organizational Goals

As we have observed in the study of the PPP and the CRA, organizational goals are an integral part of the creation and operation of a voluntary association whether they are agreed upon and stated officially (i.e., constitution) or unofficially. However, these goals often represent the general aims and objectives of the organization but do not specify the operative goals which are required for any programme of action to be initiated. Therefore, it is extremely important that all members of the group know exactly what are the goals in terms of the system of operation. Knowledge of the operative goals of an association is imperative for the effective implementation of one's own ideas. This problem was faced by the members of the CRA and their initial failure to recognize and respond to it led to considerable confusion and role conflict.

Changes in Organizational Goals

The other important factor concerns the fact that organizations are subject to change, and, therefore, it may be necessary and favourable to change the goals of an organization. There are three major factors which are instrumental in affecting a change in organizational goals. These include external pressures, internal developments and environmental and technological demands.

The impact of external pressure on changing organizational goals was quite evident in the PPP and the CRA in their relationship with the Citizenship Branch of the Secretary of State. This federal government agency is responsible for a large portion of the financial assistance granted to voluntary associations within the province.

Several members of the government agency were instrumental in assisting the members of the CRA in applying for financial assistance and this process included the defining of the organization's goals. Thus, the goals developed by the CRA were in accordance with the wishes of the Secretary of State, and, consequently, they received considerable financial assistance (i.e. approximately \$140,000).

In the PPP association a converse situation evolved. The members of the PPP also applied to the Secretary of State for financial assistance and since the members of the government agency agreed with the general aims and goals of the PPP, they received a \$10,000 grant. However, the members of the government agency did not agree with the operative goals or methods used by the

association, and refused to provide them with any grants in the future. This was substantiated by the fact that they turned down an application made by the PPP a year later.

Most voluntary organizations require financing from external sources, and, therefore, the members must make decisions concerning the influence of external relationships on the goals and methods of operating their associations.

The internal influence as a factor affecting a change in organizational goals concerns what Etzioni refers to as the phenomenon of goal displacement (Etzioni, 1974). This involves the alteration of a set of goals as a result of drastic changes in the power system of the organization such as the introduction of new personnel, a change in positions of power, and the development of new standards that supersede those of the past.

Such a case existed within the CRA when a new member assumed a position of power within the organization which led to conflict within the association and eventually to the restructuring of the organization with definite changes in the operative goals.

The third factor affecting a change in organizational goals concerns the more general environmental pressures, such as technological developments, cultural changes and fluctuating economic and political changes. This source of goal change can best be explained by examining its affect on the PPP association.

The first programme initiated by the PPP association had as its operative goal the augmentation of the degree of public awareness and participation by local residents in community planning issues more specifically, Plan 91. The association held

public meetings where they explained the plan in the vernacular of the local residents and applied pressure to the Mayor and city councillors to hold public meetings. The mayor granted the public hearings and many residents attended and presented a number of briefs expressing their views regarding Plan 91. However, the residents and the PPP were unable to measure the degree of influence they exerted concerning developments of the plan because no final decision was made by the council, pertaining to the nature of the plan or its implementation. This situation may be attributed to a number of factors including the inflationary trend in the Canadian economy resulting in a shortage of funds for the implementation of such a plan; the influence exerted by federal and provincial politicians or a deliberate non-action strategy on the part of the city council.

Regardless of the reason this situation forced the PPP association to alter its operative goals in order to survive as an organization. Thus, members of voluntary organizations should recognize the importance of goals and be sensitive to the various pressures which can change the organization quite drastically from its original purposes. One should also note that changes in goals can lead to the disintegration of an organization if the new operative goals do not allow the members to produce sufficient resources to ensure its survival.

Organizational Strategies

In general organizational strategies vary according to a large number of variables including the group goals, resources,

constituency and the type of power structure with which it must deal.

The two most common strategies utilized by most voluntary organizations are the consensus-bargaining approach and the social action confrontation approach. The two voluntary groups under study made use of both of these approaches in varying degrees of intensity (i.e. the use of conventional and non-conventional tactics).

Regardless of which strategy is used by a group, there are a number of general rules which should be followed:

- (1) the members of an organization should know what resources they have, what resources are available and how to utilize them. Unfortunately, many groups think of resources in terms of dollars and cents only and ignore such important resources as experience, expertise and knowledge exhibited by their own members and those of the public.

Members of the CRA had sufficient finances for their proposed information-referral programme but lacked the knowledge and expertise in the gathering of and effective dissemination of information. Similarly, members of the PPP association had considerable experience, knowledge and expertise in terms of their programmes of action but lacked the ability to acquire sufficient funds to sustain their efforts over time;

- (2) voluntary groups should recognize the need for public

support of their programmes. Sheer numbers can make a difference in terms of the influence exerted by the group upon the appropriate decision-makers.

A closely related factor concerns the coalition of groups in situations where there is a general agreement concerning the operative goals of a specific programme. This strategy requires careful implementation but it can be very effective in terms of increasing resources and applying pressure to those opposing your programme. The usefulness of such a strategy was revealed by the coalition of the PPP, CRA and other voluntary groups in confronting those responsible for the proposed C30N and Atlantic Place development schemes;

- (3) Perhaps the most important aspect of any organizational strategy is communication. Communication with others takes place when they understand what you are trying to get across to them. If they do not understand then you are not communicating regardless of the words or pictures. The PPP association leveled criticism at the architectural consulting firms and the city council for the manner in which they communicated to the public the proposed community plan. People only understand things in terms of their experience which means that you must get within their experience. If you go outside of the experience of those to whom you are communicating, the result will be confusion, and apathy.

Communication is a two way process. If you try to get your ideas across to others without paying attention to what they have to say, you can forget about achieving any degree of success.

In such instances where groups choose to utilize a social action approach based on confrontation tactics there are a number of additional factors to keep in mind. These include the following:

- (1) a good tactic is one that is enjoyed by members of the group. If the people are not having fun doing it, there is something wrong with the tactic;
- (2) a tactic that drags on too long, will cause the members to become apathetic and also provide the opposition with the time to develop a suitable counter strategy. A major premise for the creation of an effective strategy is the development of operations utilizing various tactics and actions that will maintain a constant pressure upon the opposition;
- (3) the group should ensure that the members of the opposition are aware of their responsibility to the people and the regulations concerning their positions. At the same time, in the initial stages of their program, the group should also recognize the importance of voicing their discontent according to the norms of the opposition. This tactic was utilized by the PPP association in dealing with the city council. The group submitted briefs in the prescribed

manner and thus placed the onus on the opposition to respond to content of the brief and not to the manner in which their views were expressed;

- (4) The price of a successful strategy is a constructive alternative. A group may develop a very effective strategy and then be trapped by the opposition in his sudden agreement with your criticism and saying "you're right - we don't know what to do about this issue. Now you tell us;"

- (5) In utilizing a confrontation approach there is one problem which almost always faces the members of voluntary organizations. This concerns the identification of the opposition. There is constant and somewhat legitimate avoidance of total responsibility. This can partially be attributed to the fact that members of our society are required to deal with a highly complex system of political relationships involving federal, provincial and municipal governments and their bureaucracies plus the private enterprise sector. This problem often appears to be insolvable. However, there are a certain number of actions a group may make to alleviate this problem. S. Alinsky refers to such solutions in this manner, "pick the target, freeze it, personalize it, and polarize it". (S. Alinsky; 1972). There are a number of points to be made in explaining Alinsky's statement.

Many persons are aware of the problem situation with which they are faced but are unaware of those responsible or how to operationalize their discontent. Initially, it is important that the members of a group single out one person who they consider carries a large degree of responsibility for the problem and who is extremely vulnerable. There are no doubt many individuals who are responsible for the problem but one and only one person can be selected. If the group permits responsibility to be diffused and distributed in a number of areas, attack becomes virtually impossible and ineffective.

It is also important to note that the target be a personification and not something abstract and inanimate such as city hall or government departments. You often hear people saying that you can't fight city hall. Of course not, but you can confront the mayor. The PPP association recognized this fact and applied pressure to the mayor whereas the CRA centered their attack against the Department of Social Services and Rehabilitation.

The other important point concerns the polarization of the target. By taking into consideration the above procedures, polarization of the target results. One classic statements which reflect the meaning of polarization came from Christ and that is as follows:

He that is not with me is against me. (St. Luke, 11:23)

By using this approach the group can then focus on the

other persons in positions of responsibility and place them in a position of having to publicly support or oppose your programme.

There are many other points to take into consideration concerning organizational strategy, although many of them vary according to the situation. However, those outlined above are basic to all organizations which are similar in nature to those of the PPF association and the CRA.

Organizational Structure

In the previous chapters the various structural components of the PPF and CRA have been examined in detail. In this section I would like to make some general observations concerning these structural components and their implications for those initiating voluntary organizations.

Initially, it is important to note that every organization has a structure of some type whether it evolves informally or is officially planned. Furthermore, it is unreasonable to conclusively define one as being superior to the other. The type of structure which is appropriate to a group is the one that facilitates the realization of its objectives.

Perhaps the most common misconception regarding organizational structure concerns the notion that the size of a group is the major factor in determining the degree of complexity and formalization of structure. However, the research performed on the PPF association and the CRA revealed that even though the two associations were small in number, they each had a distinctively different type of structure.

In other words, there are a number of more significant factors than size alone which influence the type of structure which a group develops. There are a number of general rules concerning structure that a group initiating voluntary organizations should take into consideration:

- (1) since it is the members of an association that are responsible for its effective functioning, close attention should be paid to the individual attributes of the members, their educational training and work experience;

There is a tendency for individuals with little formal education or professional training to prefer to work in a highly structured situation with which they are familiar. Such a situation usually involves the process of minutely dividing tasks among the members and providing a certain degree of close supervision. These characteristics were exhibited by members of the CRA whereas the converse was found to exist in the PPP association where the members in large part were highly educated;

- (2) the structure of an organization must be flexible enough to cope with new action strategies or events, such as an increase in the membership, additional funding, or leadership changes;

- (3) in the past decade there has been a change in the nature of voluntary associations as a result of being funded by governmental agencies. This has led to a significant increase in the number of voluntary organizations in which

a given number of individuals received a salary. This change has not only resulted in many people joining or creating a voluntary organization primarily for employment reasons but has also increased the degree of accountability to government agencies. In some extreme cases, governmental influence has been so great as to define the goals, strategies and structure of a voluntary organization (e.g., CRA). Thus, there is a greater need for a substantial administrative component to distribute funds and prepare reports evaluations;

- (4) the structure that is devised by a group should allow members to fully participate in the decision-making processes. This may appear to be elementary but there are associations in which regular meetings of the staff or membership are not held;

Leadership

One of the most crucial aspects of the structure of a voluntary organization (which is indirectly related to the previous factors) concerns the role of leader. The individual occupying this position is largely responsible for the co-ordination of activities. However, in certain instances this individual was found to be the originator of the organization including its structure (e.g. the CRA).

The type of leader selected and the structure developed are very closely related and often voluntary associations dissolve because of leader-structure problems. Therefore, it is important to recognize certain aspects of leadership in voluntary associations.

In many organizations the person who occupies the role of leader was not elected but rather assumed the position since he initiated the formation of the organization. In such situations the person may possess a legitimate claim of being a native to the community or specific sector of the population but this does not necessarily make his claim to be a leader valid.

In both the PPP association and the CRA, the leaders assumed their positions and as a result they were burdened with a number of problems concerning co-ordination of activities and group cooperation and cohesion. In order to avoid such problems a leader should be selected according to a number of criteria which are based upon the needs and objectives of the group. Instead of listing the various personality traits or specific situations in which a leader performs, I will make some general suggestions concerning leadership selection based on the necessary tasks to be performed by any leader of any group.

A leader of a group should coordinate activities and initiate action based on human consideration of those with whom he is working. This involves the delegation of authority and tasks according to the resources of the group and the interests of the members. He should emphasize participation and responsibility on the part of the participants.

A leader should demonstrate broad abilities and capabilities in order to administer a variety of tasks and problems. He should avoid developing a monopolistic attitude concerning information and skills required for the proper functioning of the group. Such an attitude may reinforce his position but jeopardize the success of

the group. It is the indispensability of the position, not the person, which is of importance. Consequently, a leader should stress a low profile flexibility of the organization thus allowing for role change and selection.

One important task of a leader is the stimulation of an optimistic and enthusiastic outlook in the minds of the members. This is extremely important in the early stages of the organization's activity. One method by which this can be achieved is the initiation of a programme with realistic objectives and a high degree of likelihood for success. A successful beginning promotes greater interest and participation whereas an initial failure often causes the members to become disillusioned, apathetic and can lead to a rapid dissolution of the organization.

Earlier in this study it was noted that there was no elaborate theory of organizations, but rather two basic approaches to viewing formal organizations (closed and open approach). In terms of voluntary organizations there was not even a sophisticated set of conceptualizations.

Given this situation, I devised an exploratory study to perform research in a real-life setting with the academic objective of making some relevant observations concerning the functioning of voluntary organizations and generating some specific hypotheses. It is hoped that the hypotheses that follow will contribute to the formulation of theory concerning voluntary organizations.

The following hypotheses are:

- (1) In small voluntary organizations with participants revealing gemeinschaft-type relationships there tends to develop a structure with a low degree of formalization.

- (2) Those small voluntary organizations with participants exhibiting a high degree of professional training tend to develop a structure with a low degree of formalization.
- (3) The degree of structural formalization within a small voluntary organization is related to the degree of internal conflict manifested with respect to the distribution of authority and power.
- (4) The degree of organizational dysfunctioning tends to increase in small voluntary organizations when the following situations exist:
 - (i) the participants exhibit a small amount of formal education;
 - (ii) the participants reveal characteristics indicative of inexperience in organizational activities;
 - (iii) a structure revealing a low degree of formalization.
- (5) The amount of profession training of the participants of small voluntary organizations is directly related to the degree of horizontal and vertical differentiation of structure.
- (6) The degree of effectiveness of a small voluntary organization in realizing its objectives is related to the degree of formalization and complexity of structure.
- (7) The leadership role within a small voluntary organization does not reside exclusively in the individual but in his functional relationship with other participants operating in a specific situation.
- (8) The participant of the small voluntary organization initially responsible for its creation tends to be elected or assume the initial leadership role within the organization.
- (9) The survival of a small voluntary organization is related to the degree to which the goals and strategies of the organization conform to the objectives of the agencies providing financial support.

(10) The survival of a small voluntary organization is related to the degree to which the operative goals provide the participants the opportunity to produce adequate resources.

Conclusion

In the preceding chapters I have tried to outline some of the major internal aspects of two voluntary organizations and the manner in which they were initiated and coordinated over a two year period. I have not attempted to measure the degree of effectiveness of each organization in realizing its objectives but rather to reveal the importance and relevance of such concepts as organizational goals, strategy, structure and leadership to the general success of developing and operating a voluntary organization.

I contend that most difficulties faced by participants of voluntary organizations can largely be attributed to internal operational problems and not exclusively to the fact that they are being challenged for initiating social change.


The importance of selecting appropriate operable goals and strategies and developing a structure which takes into consideration the attributes and desires of the members is often overlooked by the decision-makers within voluntary associations. In addition, the characteristics of effective leadership and the degree of structural flexibility which are required to handle internal and external pressures are seldom recognized or developed.

With the advance of governmental initiation and involvement in voluntary organizations, I feel there is a great need for further research to be performed in this area. However, with the exception of such persons as S. Alinsky (1969; 1972) and A. Gouldner (1965) there are very few sociologists performing

evaluative research and general applied sociology in the area of voluntary organizations.

The two objectives of this study have been the desire to generate a degree of academic relevance concerning citizen action groups and stimulate further research in the area, and secondly, to provide those interested in the creation and participation in such voluntary organizations with information regarding potential problems faced by members of most voluntary organizations.

I hope that I have achieved a significant degree of success in attempting to realize my objectives.



APPENDIX

a) Constitution of People's Planning Program Association of St. John's

b) Constitution of Citizens Rights' Association of St. John's.

CONSTITUTION

OF

PEOPLE'S PLANNING PROGRAM ASSOCIATION OF ST. JOHN'S

1. The People's Planning Program Association of St. John's is established for the purpose set out in the Memorandum of Association.
2. These Articles shall be construed with reference to the provisions of the Companies' Act, Chapter 168, of The Revised Statutes of Newfoundland, 1952, and amendments thereto and unless the context otherwise requires, words or expressions in these Articles shall bear the same meaning as in that Act or any statutory modifications thereof in force at the date at which these Articles become binding on the People's Planning Program Association of St. John's which shall hereinafter be called "the Association".

INTRODUCTION & OBJECTIVES

3. a. To create a circumstance whereby people plan their own physical and social environment.
- b. To encourage the realization of a need to plan their own physical and social environment.
- c. To provide a means whereby technical planning material and information is translated and communicated to the citizens of that community.
- d. To develop techniques for the above.
- e. To develop methods of communicating technical planning materials to the citizens of the community.
- f. To be available to help each other in seeking help from available resources and solving our problems through individual and collective action.
- g. To work for changes in existing housing laws and regulations.

- h To seek to co-operate and work with Government (city, provincial, federal) agencies where it is in our interest to do so in order to ensure true participation in the decisions which affect our community.
- i To improve communication between voluntary and government agencies.
- j To ensure our organization remains non partisan political.
- k To co-operate with other voluntary groups and organizations concerned with human rights, civil liberties, tenants rights or any other self-help groups in the field of social development.
- l To work with government and other voluntary agencies to demand: (1) immediate action to meet the emergency situation of slum and substandard housing conditions; (2) the immediate building of more houses and apartments to meet the critical housing needs.
- m Take such steps by personal or written appeals, public meeting, or otherwise, as may from time to time be deemed expedient for the purpose of procuring contributions to the funds of the Association in the shape of donations, annual subscriptions, or otherwise.
- n Print and publish any newspapers, periodicals, books or leaflets that the association may think desirable for the promotion of its objects.
- o Draw, make, issue, endorse, discount, accept and negotiate bills of exchange, promissory notes and other negotiable instruments.
- p Borrow and raise money in such manner, including public appeals, and upon such security as the Association thinks fit.
- q Invest or otherwise deal with any monies of the Association not immediately required for any of its objects in such manner and upon such security as may from time to time be determined.
- r Subscribe to or otherwise aid any local or other charities, and grant donations to any public purpose.
- s Establish, support and aid in the establishment and support of any other associations formed for all or any of the objects of this Association.

- t. Amalgamate with any companies, institutions, societies or association having objects altogether or in part similar to those of this Association.
- u. Purchase or otherwise acquire and undertake all or any part of the property, assets, liabilities, and engagements of any one or more of the companies, institutions, societies, or associations with which this Association is authorized to amalgamate.
- v. Transfer all or any part of the property, assets, liabilities and engagements of this Association to any one or more of the companies, institutions, societies or associations with which this Association is authorized to amalgamate.
- w. Pay all costs, charges, expenses of the promotion and establishment of the Association.
- x. Do all such other lawful things as are incidental or conducive to the attainment of the above objects or any of them.

QUALIFICATION AND PROCEDURE FOR ADMISSION OF MEMBERS

- 4. Membership is open to any person.
- 5. The Association may confer honorary membership on any person.

Fees

- 6. Members shall pay an initial membership fee in the amount of 50¢ together with any fees levied by the Association throughout the course of the fiscal year; these fees are to be paid within one month of a person having become accepted to membership. Annual membership fees may be set by a majority of the members present at a general meeting of the Association called for that purpose.
- 7. All membership shall be renewed on an annual basis.

General Meetings

- 8. The Association shall in each year hold a General Meeting as its Annual General Meeting, in addition to any other meetings in that year, and shall specify the meeting

as such in the notices calling it, and not more than fifteen months shall lapse between the date of one Annual Meeting of the Association and the next. Provided that so long as the Association holds its first Annual General Meeting within eighteen months from its incorporation, it need not hold it in the year of incorporation or in the following year.

9. All General Meetings other than the Annual General Meeting shall be called Extraordinary General Meetings.
10. An Extraordinary General Meeting shall be held at least once every three months.
11. The executive may whenever they think fit and they shall upon requisition made in writing by ten percent (10%) of members, convene an Extraordinary General Meeting, or in default such a meeting may be convened upon the requisitionists.
12. At least ten days before every General Meeting, notice thereof specifying the place, the day and the hour of the meeting and in the case of special business, the general nature of such business shall be given in such manner as may be prescribed by the Association in the General Meetings; but the accidental omission to give such notice to any member or the non-receipt of such notice by any member shall not invalidate the proceedings of the General Meeting.

Proceedings at General Meetings

13. All business shall be deemed special that is transacted at an Extraordinary General Meeting, and also all that is transacted at an Annual General Meeting, with the exception of consideration of accounts, balance sheets, and the reports of the Officers and Auditors, the election of Officers and the appointment of, and the fixing of remuneration, of the Auditors.
14. No business shall be transacted at any General Meeting unless a quorum of not less than ten (10) members are present at the commencement of such business.
15. The chairman or in his absence the co-chairman shall preside at every General Meeting of the Association, and if neither the chairman nor the co-chairman is present at the time of holding a meeting, the members shall choose someone of their number to be a chairman.

16. Unless otherwise disqualified, the chairman shall be entitled to vote.
17. The chairman may with the consent of the meeting adjourn any meeting from time to time and from place to place, but no business shall be transacted at any adjourned meeting other than business left unfinished at the meeting from which the adjournment took place.
18. At any General Meeting unless a poll is demanded by at least two members, a declaration by the chairman that a resolution has been carried or lost, and an entry to that effect in the books of the Association shall be conclusive evidence of that fact.
19. If a poll is demanded it shall be taken in such manner and at such time as the chairman directs and the result of such poll shall be deemed to be the resolution of the Association in General Meeting.
20. Every member shall have one vote. All votes shall be given personally or by proxy. In the case of an equality of votes made on a show of hands or on a poll, the chairman of the meeting at which the poll is demanded or the show of hands takes place shall be entitled to a second or casting vote.
21. On a poll, votes may be given either personally or by proxy.
22. The instrument appointing a proxy shall be in writing under the hand of the appointer, or of his Attorney, duly authorized in writing, or, if the appointer is a corporation, either under seal or under the hand of an Officer or Attorney duly authorized.
23. The instrument appointing a proxy and Power of Attorney, or other authority if any, under which it is signed, or in notariably a certified copy of the power of Attorney or authority shall be deposited with the Registered Office of the Association not less than forty-eight hours before the holding of the meeting, and in default the instrument of proxy shall not be treated as valid.
24. The proxy must be a member of the Association.
25. The instrument appointing a proxy shall be in the following form:

The People's Planning Program Association of St. John's

I (We)

Being a member or members of the above Association, hereby

appoint
as my (our) proxy to vote for me (us) on my (our) behalf at
the Annual (Extraordinary) General Meeting of the Association,
to be held at on the day of
A.D. 19 and at any adjournment thereof.

SIGNED this day of A.D., 19

Officers

26. The officers of the Association shall be chairman, co-chairmen, secretary and treasurer.
27. The term of the officers shall normally be one year.
28. Members of the executive shall normally be eligible for re-election for three (3) terms only.
29. The quorum necessary for the transaction of the business of the officers may be fixed by the officers, and unless so fixed shall be three.
30. A resolution in writing, signed by all of the officers for the time being entitled to receive notice of a meeting of the officers, shall be as valid and effectual as if it had been passed at a meeting of the officers duly convened and held.
31. The officers shall cause proper books of account to be kept with respect to:
 - (a) All sums of money received and expended by the Association and the matters in respect of which the receipt and expenditure takes place.
 - (b) The assets and liabilities of the Association.
32. Proper books shall not be deemed to be kept if there are not kept such books of account as are necessary to give a true and fair view of the state of the Association's affairs and to explain its transactions.
33. The books of account shall be kept at the Registered Office of the Association or at such other place or places as the officers think fit, and shall always be open to the inspection of the officers.

34. The accounts of the Association shall be laid before the Association in General Meeting.

Auditors

35. The officers shall appoint an Auditor of the Association for each year. These Auditors shall not be members of the Association nor persons in the employment of a member of the Association. However, any casual vacancy in the office of Auditor may be filled by the officers, but while any such vacancy continues, any continuing Auditor or Auditors may act. The remuneration to be paid to the Auditor or Auditors shall be fixed by the officers.

Amendments and Change of or in the Executive

36. The Constitution shall be amended by: (a) two weeks notice being given in writing to members (b) the receiving of a majority vote at a General Meeting.
37. The executive shall fill casual vacancies that occur during the year under the procedure in
38. A change in executive shall be carried out at any time by a majority vote of a special general meeting called for this purpose under the procedure in
39. The fiscal year of the Association shall be from November 1 to October 31.

The Seal

40. The officers shall provide for the safe custody of the Seal, which shall only be used by the authority of the officers or of a committee of the officers authorized by the Officers in that behalf, and every instrument to which the Seal shall be affixed shall be signed by an officer and shall be countersigned by the secretary or by a second officer or by some other person appointed by the officers for that purpose.

Winding-Up

41. The association shall be wound up voluntarily whenever a Special resolution is passed requiring the Association to be so wound up.

WE, the several persons whose names and addresses are subscribed, hereunder, are desirous of being formed into an association in pursuance of these Articles of Association.

NAMES, ADDRESSES AND DESCRIPTION OF SUBSCRIBERS

CONSTITUTION
OF
CITIZENS RIGHTS ASSOCIATION OF ST. JOHN'S

1. The Citizens Rights Association of St. John's is established for the purposes set out in the Memorandum of Association.
2. These Articles shall be construed with reference to the provisions of The Companies' Act, Chapter 168 of The Revised Statutes of Newfoundland 1952, and amendments thereto and unless the context otherwise requires, words or expressions in these Articles shall bear the same meaning as in that Act or any statutory modification thereof in force at the date at which these Articles become binding on the Citizens Rights Association of St. John's which shall hereinafter be called "the Association".

Introduction & Objectives

3. Extracts from the Universal Declaration of Human Rights:

Article 19. Everyone has the right to freedom of opinions and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media.

Article 20. (1) Everyone has the right to freedom of peaceful assembly and association. (2) No one may be compelled to belong to an association.

Article 22. Everyone, as a member of society, has the right to social security and is entitled to realization, through national effort and international co-operation and in accordance with the organization and resources of each State, of the economic, social and cultural rights indispensable for his dignity and the free development of his personality.

Article 23. (1) Everyone has the right to work, to free choice of employment, to just and favourable conditions of work and to protection against unemployment. (2) Everyone who works has the right to just and favourable remuneration ensuring for himself and his family an existence worthy of

Human dignity, and supplemented, if necessary, by other means of social protection. (3) Everyone has the right to form and to join trade unions for the protection of his interests.

Article 25. (1) Everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and of his family, including food, clothing, housing, and medical care and necessary social services, and the right to security in the event of unemployment, sickness, disability, widowhood, old age or other lack of livelihood as a result of circumstances beyond his control.

Article 29. (1) Everyone has duties to the community in which alone the free and full development of his personality is possible. (2) In the exercise of his rights and freedoms, everyone shall be subject to such limitations as are determined by law solely for the purpose of securing due recognition and respect for the rights and freedoms of others and of meeting the just requirements of morality, public order and the general welfare in a democratic society.

Many of these basic citizens' rights are not available to poor people in Newfoundland, and Labrador.

We are concerned and will seek through self-help and group action to improve the standard of living of our members.

We believe:

- (1) Each person is valuable, unique and capable of growth towards greater social sensibility and responsibility.
- (2) These abilities emerge and grow strong when people work together in groups to serve the community good.
- (3) There will always be conflicts between persons and factions. These conflicts can be creative.
- (4) There can be no rights without duties. Therefore, every person, if he wants to be entitled to his rights has duties towards his government, community and towards his fellowman.

- (5) People will respond to an appeal for group social action as well as to the appeal to selfishness.
- (6) It is only when people have a standard of living adequate for their health and well being and are protected against sickness, disability, old age, and loss of employment that they can participate as responsible members of a democratic society.

Qualification and Procedure for Admission of Members

- 4. Membership is open to any person on social assistance or receiving a low income below the poverty line. The poverty line being defined as the level or condition as a result of which a person or family must spend 70% of income or more to provide basic needs.
- 5. The Association may confer honorary membership on any person.

Fees

- 6. Members shall pay an initial membership fee in the amount of 50 cents together with any fees levied by the Association throughout the course of the fiscal year; these fees are to be paid within one month of a person having become accepted to membership. Annual membership fees may be set by a majority of the members present at a general meeting of the Association called for that purpose.
- 7. All membership shall be renewed on an annual basis.

General Meetings

- 8. The Association shall in each year hold a General Meeting as its Annual General Meeting, in addition to any other meetings in that year, and shall specify the meeting as such in the notices calling it, and not more than fifteen months shall lapse between the date of one Annual General Meeting of the Association and the next. Provided that so long as the Association holds its first Annual General Meeting within eighteen months after its incorporation, it need not hold it in the year of incorporation or in the following year.

9. All General Meetings other than the Annual General Meeting shall be called Extraordinary General Meetings.
10. An Extraordinary General Meeting shall be held at least once a month.
11. The executive may whenever they think fit and they shall upon requisition made in writing by ten percent (10%) of members, convene an Extraordinary General Meeting, or in default such a meeting may be convened upon the requisitionists.
12. At least ten days before every General Meeting, notice thereof specifying the place, the day and the hour of the meeting and in the case of special business, the general nature of such business shall be given in such manner as may be prescribed by the Association in General Meetings; but the accidental omission to give such notice to any member or the non-receipt of such notice by any member shall not invalidate the proceedings of the General Meeting.

Proceedings at General Meetings

13. All business shall be deemed special that is transacted at an Extraordinary General Meeting, and also all that is transacted at an Annual General Meeting, with the exception of consideration of accounts, balance sheets, and the reports of the Officers and Auditors, the election of Officers and the appointment of, and the fixing of remunerations, of the Auditors.
14. No business shall be transacted at any General Meeting unless a quorum of not less than ten (10) members are present at the commencement of such business.
15. The chairman or in his absence the co-chairman shall preside at every General Meeting of the Association, and if neither the chairman nor the co-chairman is present at the time of holding a meeting, the members shall choose someone of their number to be a chairman.
16. Unless otherwise disqualified, the chairman shall be entitled to vote.

17. The chairman may with the consent of the meeting adjourn any meeting from time to time and from place to place, but no business shall be transacted at any adjourned meeting other than the business left unfinished at the meeting from which the adjournment took place.
18. At any General Meeting unless a poll is demanded by at least two members, a declaration by the chairman that a resolution has been carried or lost, and an entry to that effect in the books of the Association shall be conclusive evidence of the fact.
19. If a poll is demanded it shall be taken in such manner and at such time as the chairman directs and the result of such poll shall be deemed to be the resolution of the Association in General Meeting.
20. Every member shall have one vote. All votes shall be given personally or by proxy. In the case of an equality of votes made on a show of hands or on a poll, the chairman of the meeting at which the show of hands takes place or at which the poll is demanded shall be entitled to a second or casting vote.
21. On a poll, votes may be given either personally or by proxy.
22. The instrument appointing a proxy shall be in writing under the hand of the appointer, or of his Attorney, duly authorized in writing, or, if the appointer is a corporation, either under seal or under the hand of an officer or Attorney duly authorized.
23. The instrument appointing a proxy and Power of Attorney or other authority, if any, under which it is signed, or in notarially a certified copy of the Power of Attorney or authority, shall be deposited with the Registered Office of the Association not less than forty-eight hours before the holding of the meeting, and in default the instrument of proxy shall not be treated as valid.
24. The proxy must be a member of the Association.
25. The instrument appointing a proxy shall be in the following.

form:

The Citizens Rights Association of St. John's:

I (We)

being a member or members of the above Association, hereby appoint

as my (our) proxy to vote for me (us) on my (our) behalf at the Annual (Extraordinary) General Meeting of the Association, to be held at _____ on the _____ day of A.D., 19____ and at any adjournment thereof.

SIGNED

this _____ day of _____

A.D., 19____

Officers

26. The officers of the Association shall be chairman, co-chairman, secretary and treasurer.
27. The term of the officers of the Association shall normally be one year.
28. Members of the executive shall normally be eligible for re-election for one term only.
29. The quorum necessary for the transaction of the business of the officers may be fixed by the officers, and unless so fixed shall be three.
30. A resolution in writing, signed by all the officers for the time being entitled to receive notice of a meeting of the officers, shall be as valid and effectual as if it had been passed at a meeting of the officers duly convened and held.
31. The officers shall cause proper books of account to be kept with respect to:
 - (a) All sums of money received and expended by the Association and the matters in respect of which the receipt and expenditure takes place.
 - (b) The assets and liabilities of the Association.

32. Proper books shall not be deemed to be kept if there are not kept such books of account as are necessary to give a true and fair view of the state of the Association's affairs and to explain its transactions.
33. The books of account shall be kept at the Registered Office of the Association or at such other place or places as the officers think fit, and shall always be open to the inspection of the officers.
34. The accounts of the Association shall be laid before the Association in General Meeting.

Auditors

35. The officers shall appoint an Auditor of the Association for each year. These Auditors shall not be members of the Association nor persons in the employment of a member of the Association. However, any casual vacancy in the office of Auditor may be filled by the officers, but while any such vacancy continues, any continuing Auditor or Auditors may act. The remuneration to be paid to the Auditor or Auditors shall be fixed by the officers.

Amendments and Change of or in the Executive

36. The Constitution shall be amended by: (a) two weeks notice being given in writing to members (b) the receiving of a majority vote at a General Meeting.
37. The executive shall fill casual vacancies that occur during the year under the procedure in
38. A change in executive shall be carried out at any time by a majority vote of a special general meeting called for this purpose under the procedure in
39. The fiscal year of the Association shall be from November 1 to October 1.

The Seal

40. The officers shall provide for the safe custody of the Seal, which shall only be used by the authority of the officers or

of a committee of the officers authorized by the officers in that behalf, and every instrument to which the seal shall be affixed shall be signed by an officer and shall be countersigned by the secretary or by a second officer or by some other person appointed by the officers for that purpose.

Winding-Up

41. The Association shall be wound up voluntarily whenever a Special resolution is passed requiring the Association to be so wound up.

WE, the several persons whose names and addresses are subscribed hereunder, are desirous of being formed into an association in pursuance of these Articles of Association.

NAMES, ADDRESSES AND DESCRIPTIONS OF SUBSCRIBERS

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