PLANNED PARENTHOOD WATERLOO REGION:

ADAPTING FEMINIST ORGANIZATION THEORY TO DAILY PRACTICE

by

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ABSTRACT

As a volunteer with Planned Parenthood Waterloo Region (PPWR), I observed an organization that was providing services in a feminist context. PPWR is a feminist organization: a goal of the agency is to reduce gender power differences. Further, PPWR's participants work within an atmosphere of consensus and support. Because PPWR adheres to central feminist values and principles, some feminist organization theorists would argue that PPWR could, and should, follow the model of feminist consensual organizing. However, PPWR is also a service organization (like many bureaucratic organizations). The goals of the organization make structure and hierarchy necessary for goal achievement.

In this thesis, I examine how PPWR reconciles the need for structure and hierarchy with feminist values and principles. The goal of this research is to examine what is unique about PPWR's organizational structure. This was an exploratory case study. My position as an insider with the organization allowed for qualitative data collection through participant observation and semi-structured interviews.

Using organizational models found in traditional and feminist organization theory, I examine the organizational characteristics of PPWR. I explore the reasons why PPWR is hierarchically structured despite adherence to feminist principles. I also look at some of the dilemmas of consensual organizing practice which are particularly relevant to service organizations.

Although PPWR is becoming increasingly structured, I argue that the organization is not likely to experience goal displacement. I examine internal and external characteristics of

the organization which reinforce participants' commitment to organizational goals. The controversial nature of PPWR's services and the organization's social movement orientation counter-balance the problems which some feminists have attributed to the traditional bureaucracy.

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CHAPTER ONE:

THEORIES OF ORGANIZATION

1.1 Research Goal

Over the past two years I have worked as a volunteer with Planned Parenthood Waterloo

Region (PPWR) and have noticed that it is quite different from any other organization that I

have observed and/or worked in. Although there is a hierarchical structure and a division of

labour, the prevailing norms are consensus and democracy. In this thesis I look more closely

at PPWR to determine if and how it differs from traditionally organized units.

Frank E. Jones (1996: 4) defines an organization as "a conscious arrangement of

material and human resources required for the achievement of a defined objective or

objectives." Examples of organizations include schools, hospitals, government departments,

business firms and charitable agencies. In Jones' (1996: 3) words, "the fact that

organizations are prominent, often dominant, forces in our lives is a compelling reason for

trying to understand them."

In studying organizations, researchers are primarily interested in "the question of how

to organize in order to achieve specific goals and purposes" (Ianello, 1992:1), since goal

achievement is defined as the primary measure of organizational success. Goals, defined by

Lisa Price (1988: 39) as "general statements about what the group hopes to accomplish by

the strategy adopted," are directly related to the purpose of the organization. For example,

the goals of a business firm may include maximizing profit and developing and selling a

particular product. However, the goal of a hospital would be to provide successful health

care to patients. Goal achievement depends to a great extent on the way in which individuals decide to organize themselves.

Traditional organization theorists claim that all organizations need a hierarchy and a bureaucracy. In contrast, anarchists and some feminists have argued that organizations can function effectively, and successfully, as consensus-based groups. For this research, I examine two organizational models (traditional and feminist) and assess whether PPWR fits either of these models. In the process, I try to explore the factors which influence an organization's structure.

I have chosen to look at feminist organization theory, since my volunteer work with PPWR has led me to conclude that it is a feminist organization. I make this claim because PPWR is an organization which deals with a variety of feminist issues, including women's reproductive freedom and the unequal power relationships between the sexes. PPWR is not a "women's organization." In fact, the agency also supports men and deals with male sexuality issues (such as homosexuality). Rather, the organization is feminist because it is based on central feminist values and concerns. I detail these feminist principles in Chapter One, and provide evidence of PPWR's adherence to feminist values throughout the research.

The purpose of this research is not to measure the effectiveness of PPWR or to comment on how the organization can improve efficiency. Rather, I want to look at how a group of individuals have come together and organized to achieve a particular set of goals. The goal of this research is to examine PPWR's organizational structure. As previously explained, PPWR's adherence to feminist values and principles make it a feminist organization. Some feminist organization theorists would then argue that PPWR could, and

should, follow the model of the consensual organization. In addition, however, PPWR is a service organization (like most bureaucratic organizations). This feature distinguishes PPWR from feminist organizations whose goals may include lobbying governments and/or achieving wider social change through consciousness-raising techniques. In this research, I examine how PPWR reconciles the feminist values of non-hierarchy and empowerment with service organizations' need for structure.

The thesis begins with a review of opposing views of organization theories in order to familiarize the reader with traditional and feminist organization theory. I also demonstrate how an organization's structure is a factor of both the external environment and the values of the participants within the organization. In this section, I compare the different forms of feminist organizing, and explore the dilemmas identified with each of these organization styles. Then, in Chapter Two, I examine variations of organizational research and explain why the case study is the research design best suited to the goals of this research. In this section I also introduce the research methods used. Chapter Three includes a brief history of the organization and an examination of the goals and purposes of the organization. I paint a detailed picture of PPWR as it is today. I detail the roles of each of the PPWR participants, placing particular emphasis on the education and counselling services, which are the heart of the agency. In Chapter Four I engage in a systematic analysis of PPWR's organizational structure. Following the organizational models established in this chapter (see Appendix 1), I use the research material that I gathered through participant observation and interviews to look at each of the organizational characteristics of the group. Finally, in Chapter Five I explore some of the factors which would explain the structure of PPWR. That is, I look at

internal and external conditions which affect an organization's level of hierarchy and/or consensus. This research ends with a discussion of whether PPWR resembles other feminist organizations. I discuss the feminist idealization of consensus-based groups, and explore some of the strengths and weaknesses of PPWR's unique organizational structure.

In the following sections, I provide an overview of traditional organization theories in order to demonstrate that organizational structure is influenced by the organization's goals and values and the external environment in which the organization is formed. I then look at the possibility of creating alternative forms of organization which are based on feminist theory and practice, and I consider whether feminist values can be applied to create less hierarchical forms. This chapter ends with a review of some of the existing feminist organization theories. I then look at different types of feminist organizations and the possible constraints of collective/consensual organizations.

1.2 <u>Traditional Organization Theory</u>

The sociological study of organizations emerged in the 20th century as social theorists remarked that every aspect of society was becoming regulated by formal organizations.[1] Kathy Ferguson (1986: 7) explains that although large-scale bureaucracy was not invented this century, "modern mass society is unique in the extent to which it is penetrated by the

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[1]Abercrombie et al. (1988: 98) define formal organizations as "collectivities that have developed formal procedures for regulating relations between members and their activities".

bureaucracy."[2] Thus, as the bureaucracy came to be the dominant form of organization in Western society, it also became the focus of organization theory (Ianello, 1992).

Max Weber, one of the first social scientists to develop a theory of organizations, defined an organization as "a system of continuous purposive activity with specialization of function and an administrative staff" (Ianello, 1992:8). Weber (1946b: 205) explains that the predominance of this organizational structure is a direct consequence of the development of a monetary economy. Indeed, money was a necessary condition for the formation of a bureaucratic system which, according to Weber, requires "pecuniary compensation." He argued that the capitalist system, and the values derived from it, regulate the goals of the emerging organizations. According to Weber (1946b: 215), "it is primarily the capitalist market economy which demands that the official business of the administration be discharged precisely, unambiguously, continuously, and with as much speed as possible." Weber contends that bureaucracy meets these demands, and is therefore superior to all other forms of organizing.

Based on these arguments, Weber (1946b) constructed an "ideal type" of bureaucracy (see Appendix 1). He felt it was possible and useful to construct a model which incorporates all those necessary characteristics of a bureaucratic organization. This is not to say, however, that an organization which deviates from this ideal type is not a bureaucracy. But, Weber's model allows for the structuring, and perhaps the regulation, of the study of organizations by delineating the key concepts and characteristics. According to Weber

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[2]Ferguson (1984: 7) explains that examples of large bureaucracies are documented throughout history, such as in Ancient China or with the Russian Tsar regime.

(1946b: 197-204), the ideal type of the bureaucratic system includes the following traits: an hierarchical form of authority maintained by written rules and formal sanctions; a highly specialized division of labour; recruitment and advancement based on expertise and training; and impersonal social relations. Although there may be variations, these are essential conditions if an organization is to be both effective and efficient, and thus successful.

With the success of Weber's theory, "bureaucratic structure came to be equated with organizational structure" (Jones, 1996:introduction). Indeed, most, if not all, of the organizations which formed during the 20th century are characterized by bureaucratic structures or tendencies. Furthermore, as Jones (1996) remarks, all subsequent organization theories have been based upon Weber's work.[3] A brief overview of traditional organization theory will demonstrate that, whatever the theoretical orientation, theorists are preoccupied with measures of efficiency and effectiveness.[4]

The *systems perspective*, the dominant theory within organizational thinking, focuses on interchanges between an organization and its environment, as well as on the relationships between organizations (Brown, 1992:42). In his detailed analysis of organizational theory, Dean Champion (1975: 24) explains that models "function to provide the researcher with a way of looking at the organization *he* examines" (emphasis added).[5] The numerous models

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[3]Although in this thesis I argue that feminist organization theory represents the antithesis to Weber's work, it is nonetheless *based on* Weber's theory as it focuses on finding alternatives to bureaucracy.

[4]For a detailed analysis of organization theory, see Champion (1975); Morgan (1986) and Jones (1996).

[5]As I latter argue that organization theories are gender based, it is particularly relevant to note the male language used throughout Champion's text. Both the researcher and the

which emerged out of this perspective include *machine models* such as Taylor's Scientific Management and Weber's bureaucratic model. These models focus on the organization as an entity and are based on the premise that a division of labour and hierarchical authority relations will maximize production and effectiveness.

Within all of the systems models, it is assumed that all organizations are characterized by a division of labour. Hence, Robert Michels developed what he termed the *"Iron Law of Oligarchy"* (Ianello, 1992:4). Briefly, Michels' theory is that every organization *needs* a division of labour. Consequently, a ruling class emerges which controls the means of communication (based on expertise and a specialization of knowledge). Eventually this class becomes more preoccupied with maintaining its own position rather than achieving the organization's goals. Combined with the need to combat external pressures, this makes survival of the organization an end in itself.

In sum, systems theorists focus on the act of organizing and especially on maintaining the organization; the actual goals of the organization become a secondary priority. As Ferguson (1984: 9) concludes, "the function of the bureaucracy comes to be equated with its purpose." This brief review of traditional organization theory demonstrates the role of values and context in the creation, development and maintenance of organizations, as well as in the establishment of organizational goals. Though not overtly stated, the measure of organizational success is always profit and/or production. Ferguson (1984) argues that this is because traditional organization theory is located within patriarchal capitalist society. Therefore, the organizational models that emerge reflect the ideology of bureaucracy and

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organization members are *always* referred to as being male.

hierarchy. In fact, the majority of organizational researchers focus on analyzing the effectiveness and efficiency of various organizational models. Furthermore, Rothschild and Davies (1994) argue that since the majority of those working in and writing about these organizations are men, the values expressed within these and the theories developed about them reflect a male way of thinking. Concepts such as "power", "control" and "authority" are pervasive in organization writing (Rothschild and Davies, 1994:588).

Despite their prevalence, these traditional theories have not gone unchallenged. For example, proponents of the *interactionist approach* stress that any analytical approach must take into account the way actors interpret, create and respond to organizational settings That is, contrary to Weber's theory, behaviour is not *only* prescribed by organizational rules (Brown, 1992:44-45). Theorists who have been critical of this type of analysis have emphasized relationships and individual motivation. For example, the *human relations model* developed by Elton Mayo examines "the integration of people into the organization in addition to the factors which motivate them to work together cooperatively and productively" (Champion, 1975:46). However, as Ferguson (1984: 14) notes, the structure of the bureaucracy is such that the workers inevitably internalize the organizational values as their own, thus perpetuating capitalist values and justifying a hierarchical basis of authority. This interactionist focus on actors and interpretation may in fact prove more insightful when studying alternatives to bureaucracy.

The *Marxist approach* brings together aspects of the traditional and interactionist perspectives. Marxists cite the need to look at both micro *and* macro levels of analysis, as well as the possibility of incorporating both context and history into organizational analysis.

They argue that organizations are locations for the expression of class interest and therefore reflect inequalities of power (which are the defining characteristics of capitalist society). In their work, they note that capitalism explains why the bureaucracy, created in the context of capitalist, market economies, became the vehicle for profit and production (Brown, 1992: 45-46).

But *anarchists theorists* developed the critique which was most influential for the development of alternative forms of organizing (Ferguson, 1984:26). For they did not assume that organizing must take place within an hierarchical context (Ianello, 1992). In fact, anarchist theory and practice is aimed precisely at establishing non-bureaucratic forms of organization. Anarchists want to "avoid the kind of coercive power transmitted through hierarchical organization" (Ianello, 1992:41).

There is evidence of anarchist forms of organizing throughout history. For instance, Rothschild and Whitt (1986) explain that 18th and 19th century worker cooperatives espoused the values of non-hierarchy. These authors also make a connection between social movements and the emergence of alternative organizations. They contend that:

> The apparently sudden growth of collectivist organizations in the 1970s is understandable only if we recognize that one such organization spawns another, and that they are manifestations of a social movement. They derive from, and for the most part they continue to identify with, larger movements seeking societal change. (Rothschild and Whitt, 1986:11)

The purpose of this thesis is not to engage in a study of social movement organizations. However, it is important to note that social movements may provide a social context which is different from the capitalist context of the bureaucracy. Hence, a new set of values and beliefs may allow for the emergence of alternative organizational forms. For

example, women's groups as they emerged in the 1970s appeared to offer different organizing practices. Sandra Burt (1990:18) explains that any group which focuses on the status of women can be situated within the second wave Canadian women's movement. She argues that most of these groups, especially service organizations, present organizing practices which are different from traditional organizations. She further explains that this can be attributed to the gender basis of organizations. That is, "some women active in the movement argue that there is a gender difference in approaches to problem-solving and the use of power" (Burt, 1990:18). Ferguson (1984: 23) hypothesizes that this is because "in our society, women as a group tend to experience their social worlds differently than do men as a group."

1.3 Feminist Theory and Feminist Practice

In the preceding section I argued that social context affects organizational structure. Kathleen Ianello (1992) also argues that there is a relationship between ideology and the structure of organizations. She proposes that we need to consider "the environment as an entire *society* in which prevailing values, ideologies or political ideals have important and pervasive influences on organizations" (Ianello, 1992:10). If this reasoning is correct, a change in ideology should lead to new forms of organizations. Some observers argue that this is precisely what occurred at some stages in women's movements. Feminist activists have tried to change the ways women are perceived by society. That is, they recognized themselves as oppressed and tried to change their situation. This was the background for feminist theory and feminist practice.

Adamson et al. (1988) adamantly state that there is no one history to the Canadian Women's movement. It is composed of many groups, each politically, philosophically and strategically diverse and unique. However, they argue that there are commonalities in feminist theories and epistemologies. That is, at the core of all feminisms is a belief in equal rights and equal opportunities for women; a recognition that women are oppressed; and an agreement that feminists need to organize for change. Similarly, Stanley and Wise (1993: 61-65) contend that there are three main themes in feminist theory. First, women are oppressed; this is not acceptable and it has negative consequences for everyone in society. Second, the personal is political; this means that personal problems have social and political bases and solutions. And third, feminist theory is grounded in feminist consciousness; our experiences as women mean that we construct and interpret our world differently from men.

Further, Adamson et al. (1988: 7) argue that the two central barriers preventing women from becoming fully emancipated are "their economic dependence and their lack of reproductive rights." Lorraine Code (1993: 20) argues that the reason why women are oppressed is because in our patriarchal society, men hold more privilege and power. Thus, men shape and control many aspects of women's lives. The feminist ideology of "the personal is political" is directly related to the need for women's experiences to become validated. That is, all of the issues and questions which have been treated as "private" concerns (including sexuality, child care and pregnancy), must be brought onto the public agenda if women are to achieve change in their lives (Adamson et al. 1984:201).[6]

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[6]In the 1970s and 1980s, Canadian feminists focused on the issue of abortion to argue that the personal is political. By organizing country-wide protests and lobbying goverments, activists succeeded in changing abortion laws. For a concise discussion of

Feminist theories also emerged in part out of a critique of male-based theory and research. In the early 1970s, feminist social scientists argued that existing theories either misrepresented or altogether ignored women and their experiences. Joyce Nielsen (1990) therefore proposes that feminism is more than just a new way of seeing and interpreting things. It is seeing things for the first time. In her own words, "what was previously invisible has become visible" (Nielsen, 1990:20). To summarize, Lorraine Code (1993: 19) offers the following definition of feminism:

> Feminism is a theoretical project whose purposes are to understand the power structures, social practices and institutions that disadvantage and marginalize women, and to devise innovative strategies of social transformation that will promote women's emancipation.

There are, however, divisions among those who identify themselves as feminists. Although feminists agree that women are oppressed and this is not only undesirable but unacceptable, they disagree over the causes of solutions to this oppression. Code (1993) explains that the more conservative approach is known as *liberal feminism*, which claims that if women are granted equality of opportunity they will no longer be oppressed. On the other hand, socialist feminists and radical feminists argue that equal rights are not sufficient, and call for a profound restructuring of society. Whereas *socialist feminists* focus on the necessary social and economic changes (and especially the needed eradication of the nuclear family), *radical feminists* want to develop a separate and self-affirming women's culture.

These theoretical differences also lead to different forms of organizing, referred to as "feminist practice" and defined by Adamson et al. (1988: 165) as what "feminists actually do

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this abortion debate, see Susan McDaniel (1988).

in order to bring about change." Indeed, Adamson et al. (1988) explain that the

contemporary Canadian women's movement had two distinct origins: institutional feminism

and grassroots feminism. *Institutional feminists*, grounded in the theoretical precepts of

liberal feminism, work within existing institutions and seek to change the existing system

from within. Liberal feminists focus on theory and theory-construction in order to change

how we think about women, how we do research, and so forth. These feminists believe that

the only way to achieve change is to infiltrate existing institutions (such as the government),

or create institutions which will work in collaboration with other mainstream organizations.

In fact, Adamson et al. (1988) explain that for these feminists, the government is the vehicle

of social change. And so, it is only by working within the government, or in collaboration

with the government, that women will acquire the power to change legislation and policy.

An example of institutional feminist practice is the National Action Committee on the Status

of Women (NAC).[7] This umbrella organization, which formed in 1971, brings together

diverse groups of women from all over the country. Among other things, organizations

within NAC are committed to public education on women's issues, lobbying provincial and

federal governments, and advocating state intervention and protective legislation (Adamson

et al. 1988: 62). Vickers et al. (1993) argue that it is only through organizations such as NAC

that women can be in charge of changing the policy agenda and thus, effectively assure

social change.

Other feminists are critical of this approach, arguing that it can only perpetuate

inequalities. For instance, some feminists have argued that increasing the presence of women

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[7]For a detailed analysis of NAC's organizational structure, see Vickers et al. (1993).

in government is not successful. They maintain that government organizations created to deal with women's issues are fraught with failure. For example, in her discussion of the Department of Labour's Women's Bureau, Burt (1993) details some of the obstacles facing women in government. She explains:

> The voices of these officers have been muted by several factors. They lack financial resources, are constrained by their role as advisers to government, and are frequently invisible within large departments...There has been strong cabinet resistance to any change in women's status. (Burt, 1993:233)

Burt (1993) argues that in spite of increasing female representation, male legislators still dominate within government while women are reduced to occupying support positions. She concludes that "women still lack control over the decisions that so obvioulsy affect their daily lives" (Burt, 1993:235). Therefore, some feminists prefer to separate themselves from mainstream society and form independent organizations. Hence, *grassroots feminism*, based mainly on radical feminist theory, is composed of community-based organizations which focus on consciousness raising efforts. Unlike institutional feminists, they want to reach out directly to women and empower them to change their immediate situation.

In sum, feminists agree that women are oppressed and that they need to work together to change women's situations. Whatever the theoretical basis, feminists have organized to achieve social change. But the form of organizing does not depend solely on the theoretical stance. There are various constraints and conditions which affect feminist organizing. I examine these in the following discussion of feminist organization theory.

1.4 **Feminist Organization Theory**

As I demonstrated in the previous section, feminist activists agree that organizing is essential in order to further their cause. But many feminists associate traditional forms of organizations with capitalism and patriarchy and are therefore determined to avoid these bureaucratic structures at all costs. Though not always possible or successful, proposed new forms of organizing lead women to re-evaluate organization theory (Rothschild, 1984). In Helen Brown's (1992: 3) words:

> Arguments from a feminist perspective insist that until we look closely at how women contribute (or are prevented from contributing) to organization we will stop short of the radical reframing and restructuring of organizational life which is necessary both on the grounds of effectiveness and of equity.

Feminist theory first became grounds for examining the sexist structure of organizations as well as of the theories used to explain them. Feminist theorists argue that traditional organizational goals and theoretical concepts are derived from a male form of knowledge, and therefore cannot be used to look at women. Indeed, Rothschild and Davies (1994: 583) claim that "the assumption of gender neutrality may be one of the great blind spots, and errors, of twentieth century organizational theory." Feminists therefore began to look at women in traditional bureaucratic organizations in order to demonstrate the inapplicability of theory.[8] For example, Rosabeth Kanter (1984) was one of the first women to study the lack of female representation in American business organizations. She demonstrated that although women were becoming more numerous in the business world, men still held the powerful and prestigious positions. She further demonstrated that there are

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[8]See one of the founding works of feminist organization theory, Kathy Ferguson's *The Feminist Case Against the Bureaucracy* (1984).

patterned relationships in these organizations which are based on sex and serve to perpetuate women's powerlessness. Studies such as this, combined with recognition of the growing number of all-women groups, led to a more general feminist critique of organizational theory in the 1980s.

It is important to note, however, that it is not solely the presence of women that makes an organization *feminist*. Even though, as Rothschild and Davies (1994: 583) state, "gender influences the structures and processes of organizational life", it is the *values* of the women's movements which became the founding basis of feminist organizations. Indeed, as Brown (1992: 167) explains, "what distinguished organizing within the women's movement is the clearly articulated and widely accepted system of values which informs the *way* in which fundamental organizing activities are carried out." Both Brown (1992) and Ianello (1992) argue that an organization is feminist if it is committed to equalizing power relationships between the sexes. That is, feminists recognize that there is a connection between patriarchy and power, and that as a consequence women lack the power to control their own lives. Further, Adamson et al. (1988) argue that an organization is feminist only if it identifies itself as being part of the larger women's movement. In sum, feminist organizations are committed to women's issues and view themselves as being part of a wider social movement.

The critical perspective offers a definition of organizations which is most useful for feminist organization theory (Ianello, 1992). In that it allows for the study of the impact of societal values on organizational structure, this approach moves away from a universalistic approach toward one that emphasizes uniqueness. Furthermore, the critical perspective

demonstrates that alternative forms of organizing are possible if we look at values and norms. Based on this, Ianello (1992:12) defines alternative organizations as "systems of continuous, purposive, goal-oriented activity, involving two or more people, which exist within, and to some extent are affected by, a value system provided by the larger societal environment". But the feminist critique goes beyond other critiques in that it looks at women's shared experiences and constructs alternatives out of these (Ferguson, 1984:27).

As I mentioned in the previous section, not all feminists value this consensual form of organization. Although second wave feminist activists agree that it is essential to remove the oppressing relations of power characterized by traditional organizations, they are divided between those who value the benefits of formalized organization for achieving their goals of political change, and those who feel that women needed to move away from the constraints of the bureaucratic form (Mansbridge, 1984:547). Anarchist feminists are especially interested in organizational structure and are concerned with avoiding the "coercive power transmitted through hierarchical organization" (Brown, 1992:9). In fact, feminists have replaced the term "power" with the concept of "empowerment." As Ianello (1992: 44) explains, "*power* is associated with the notion of controlling others, while empowerment is associated with the notion of controlling oneself". *Empowerment*, described by Claire Reinelt (1994: 688) as "a process through which those who have been oppressed learn to know their strength and recognize themselves as experts about their own lives", has become the common goal of feminist organizations. Thus, some feminists call for alternative organizations which should be characterized by the elimination of hierarchical leadership and where positions are rotated and responsibility is shared. Derived from the ideology that

the personal is political, this form of organizing stresses the need for small, egalitarian and consensual collectives where women respect each other, resist domination and provide each other with intimacy and support (Mansbridge, 1984:546).

This was the background in the 1970s for the formation of numerous grassroots organizations, also called "collectives" or "consensual organizations". Rothschild (1984) explains that these new forms do not fit Weber's typology of authority. Rather, they follow Weber's fourth basis of legitimate authority: *value rationality*. Here, authority is based on personal bonds, and utiltarian and social ethical principles:

> If (...) an 'ethos' - not to speak of instincts - takes hold of the masses on some individual question, it postulates substantive justice oriented toward some concrete instance and person; and such an 'ethos' will unavoidably collide with the formalism and the rule-bound and cool 'matter-of-factness' of bureaucratic administration. (Weber, 1946a:220)

Therefore, reaching organizational goals becomes more important than maintaining the organization for its own sake. This is reflective of what has been termed the "female ethic of care," defined by Ferguson (1984: 24) as "women's responsibility in anticipating, interpreting, and responding to the needs of others both encourage and require a sensitivity and empathy toward them, an attitude of nurturance and cooperation."

Unlike bureaucratic organizations, the focus in creating these new organizations is more on *process* than on outcome (Leidner, 1991: 283). That is, although these feminists are obviously concerned with achieving their goals, they view the way in which they are organized as more than just the means to an end. For grassroots feminists, the process through which they organize is what Adamson et al. (1988: 177) identify as a "politic of disengagement":

> [Disengagement] operates out of this critique (of existing social and political structure), and out of a desire to replace social institutions and practices with alternative modes of functioning...As a politic, disengagement takes feminists outside the structures and views accepted by the majority of people.

Thus, some feminists feel that separation is the only way to both achieve their goals while staying committed to a feminist process. That is, they feel that women's organizations should not depend on or interact with larger organizations such as the government, organizations which have been proven to oppress women.

In response to Weber's description of the bureaucracy, Rothschild and Whitt (1986) constructed an ideal type of the collective organization (see Appendix 1). As Weber's model was the starting point for the study of organizations within traditional theory, Rothschild and Whitt hoped that their ideal type would have the same role within feminist organization theory. They therefore compare the following characteristics of the two ideal types of organizations: authority, rules, social control, social relations, recruitment and advancement, incentive structure, social stratification and differentiation. For example, where in the bureaucratic structure *authority* rests within the individual based on rank, in consensual organizations authority is shared by the collective. This does not mean that there is always unanimity in decision making, but rather that decisions are reached through open and fair negotiation. Each participant must feel at the very least comfortable with the decision and agree that his/her opinion was taken into consideration. With respect to *social control*, in hierarchical structures it is based on rules and sanctions. However, the homogeneity and "conscious aspect of membership selection" in collectives means that social control is rarely an issue (Ianello, 1992:28). Also, in traditional organizations hierarchy is maintained through

the ownership of knowledge and expertise, whereas in collectives both knowledge and roles are shared equally by all members. These are but a few of the characteristics of the ideal type of consensual organization. Ianello (1992: 29) explains that these descriptions are *ideal types* in that "no one organization is likely to fit all or even most of the components of either type...each ideal type defines one end of a continuum of organization structure." Indeed, just like few traditional organizations represent Weber's ideal type, few alternative organizations will reflect Rothschild and Whitt's ideal type. However, in detailing the alternative to bureaucracy, they provide us with an other end of an organizational structure continuum.

Indeed, a review of the feminist organization literature demonstrates that few feminist organizations fit the ideal type of collective. In fact, many feminists believe that the collective model is neither possible nor desirable for the feminist goal of change. For instance, there are several documented problems with this new consensual model. Among them, the issue of *time* is probably the most problematic. Indeed, the decision making patterns of these organizations take time and can prove to be quite distracting from the organization's goals, especially when those goals are to provide a service (Rothschild and Whitt, 1986:462). In her study of a Women's Health Collective, Ianello (1992) details how an organization which was born out of the 1970s consciousness-raising period evolved from a consensual organization to what she calls a "modified collective." She examines a variety of internal and external constraints to consensual organizations and explains that consensual decision-making patterns were tiresome and lengthy and prevented the organization from providing successful health care services to women.

Carmen Sirianni (1984) also criticizes these consensual organizational forms. She

explains that this "radically participatory and egalitarian ethos entailed profound ambivalence about leadership" (Sirianni, 1984:560). That is, with no clear leader or division of tasks, the group could suffer not only from disorganization but from various power struggles. Thus, in the attempt to represent a purely democratic organization, the organization could actually fall victim to Michels' Iron Law of Oligarchy, as one or several individuals take over and assume leadership. These individuals would then become more preoccupied with maintaining leadership and the group itself rather than achieving the organizational goals. Moreover, Vickers et al. (1993:171) argue that feminists in collective organizations have been rejecting leadership altogether rather than rejecting a *male style* of leadership. They argue that women's groups do need leadership and that goals can only be achieved with a formal structure. This does not mean, however, that women must follow the traditional, male-based leadership techniques. In fact, Brown (1992) distinguishes between the concept of "leader," which is synonymous with power, and the notion of "leadership behaviour," which characterizes many women's groups. She relates the history of a Women's Center and focuses on how these women consciously organized themselves to provide services which they felt were not being offered in their community. Some of the goals of this organization include providing women with a supportive meeting place; offering information and referrals on issues of particular relevance to women (such as pregnancy counselling); and offering the co-ordination of various activities and discussion groups aimed at women in the community. She explains that although the group was committed to feminist principles of empowerment and equality, leadership was needed for the Center to strive and provide women with the services they needed. In discussing the

need for leadership, she wrote:

> In the course of constructing social organization, participants negotiate over the conditions of influence and their acceptance. This is particularly true where participants share a value for equality since, as the examples have shown, equality cannot be imposed by fiat, but must be negotiated over time. The intention is to create a social order which permits organizational tasks to be accomplished but which does not create a hierarchical system. Thus leadership acts must be accomplished in a manner which constitutes acceptable influence. (Brown, 1992: 164-165)

What constitutes acceptable influence varies from organization to organization, of course. The point is simply that leadership should not be avoided *de facto*. Rather, feminist organizations should find a style of leadership which is best suited to their goals.

But perhaps the largest obstacles for consensual organizations are environmental/situational constraints. Indeed, in reality most feminist organizations cannot completely avoid any interaction with the state and its institutions (Price, 1988). The central explanation for this is that these groups often run counter to mainstream social values.[9] As a result, they not only have to attain legitimacy, but they often must also conform to traditional organization models in order to obtain support (Ianello, 1992:30). Ferguson (1984: 73) explains that:

> Since the bureaucratic world controls the distribution of crucial resources (grants, loans, "contracts"), alternative organizations, if they are not self-supportive, frequently must seek entry into discursive relations with bureaucracies in order to survive.

As well, Price (1988: 8) explains that "as feminists we have no choice but to work with the state and to try to influence how state power is exercised." Thus, many believe that

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[9]As noted earlier, feminist organizations are based on a female ethic of care and on the principle of substantive rationality.

institutionalization is the only way in which feminists can ensure the reformation of society and the end of women's oppressive conditions.

In fact, some feminists believe that institutionalization, defined by Adamson et al. (1988: 181) as "the way in which feminist demands for change are reconstructed and couched in terms of the existing institutions and ideologies," is a better way to achieve feminist goals. Institutional feminists are criticized by some feminists for working with the enemy (the state) and perpetuating the power inequalities. But feminists practicing what Adamson et al. (1988: 177) call a "politic of mainstreaming" believe that feminists need to focus on "dealing with what is, rather than what should be." As mentioned previously, these women believe that the only way to create change is to identify a specific problem and work with other institutions in creating change. The structure of these organizations is therefore somewhat different from the consensual organization and, for many, offers the solution to the problems identified with collectives.

To summarize, institutionalized organizations have a formal structure with a division of labour (though not of knowledge) and a leader or several leaders who represent or guide the group without controlling it. Sirianni (1984: 564) argues that his doesn't mean that the goals of the organization are modified, but rather that the goals are *expanded* since the organization will benefit from enhanced internal democracy and a stronger sense of community. Further, Price (1988) does not view this relationship with the state as betrayal. Rather, she explains that the nature of feminist organizations forces them to work within the bureaucratic system. The first reason is that these organizations which adhere to a female ethic of care run contrary to the dominant ideology. Therefore, if they are to survive, they

must achieve a level of legitimacy. This can only be accomplished if they maintain relationships with external organizations. As well, since most of these feminist organizations depend to a great extent on the state and/or bureaucratic organizations for funding, separating themselves will most likely result in the loss of resources necessary to achieve their goals.

Sirianni (1984:565) therefore proposes a model of "modified collectives" which incorporates advantages of both institutionalized and grassroots forms of organization . It would "reap the benefits of more formalized structure while still broadly sharing information and decision making and remaining committed to the feminist goals of empowering women" (Sirianni, 1984:565). According Sirianni (1984: 558), this form of "participatory pluralism" is the answer to the problem defined by Jo Freeman as the "tyranny of structurelessness" of radical feminist organizing. She therefore concludes that this form of organizing is more likely to maintain itself as well as bring about important policy changes. Further, Adamson et al. (1988) call for a form of organizing which is neither fully institutionalized nor fully consensual. That is, after reviewing the constraints and obstacles of each organizing strategy, they call for women's groups to use a combination of the politic of disengagement and the politic of mainstreaming. They reflect the feminist concern for process in that they call for women's groups to use that method of organizing which proves most effective for the particular goals of the group. Adamson et al. (1988: 244) explain that "the processes most appropriate to a particular organization can be decided only by examining those issues in light of each other and of the group's political analysis, goals, and strategies". In sum, these theorists call for a revionist model of feminist organizations. That

is, there are circumstances wherein the ends justify the means. Most feminist organizations, and particularly service organizations such as PPWR, can adhere to central feminist principles while still benefitting from a formal structure. In order to achieve their goals, these organizations need to find the middle-ground between the traditional bureaucracy and the ideal consensual organization.

1.5 Conclusion

In conclusion, the structure of an organization, be it feminist or otherwise, depends to a large extent on the goals of this organization. These goals are determined by the values of the individuals in the organization *and* the social and cultural context in which the organization is formed.

Feminist organizations, whether women choose a grassroots, institutional or any other form of organizing, are all characterized by a concern for female values. In sum, Sandra Morgen (1994: 666-671) identifies the main goals of feminist organizations as follows: a commitment to social change and providing services; encouragement of workers and participants to express needs, values and ideas; bringing private issues into the public eye; a commitment to empowering women; and finally, involvement which is meaningful and fulfilling.

And so, in studying PPWR, I seek to answer the following question: if feminist organizations are built around women's experiences and female values, can we therefore create a model of organization based on the values and ideologies of feminist theory? Or, as Rothschild and Davies (1994: 586) frame the question: " Can organizations which have been

inspired by feminist principles replace the hierarchy and impersonality of bureaucracy?" To answer these questions, I study the organizational structure of PPWR based on the ideal types detailed in Table 1 (see Appendix 1).

CHAPTER TWO:

METHODOLOGY: A FEMINIST CASE STUDY

Here, I argue that appropriate research designs and methods depend equally on the researcher's theoretical perspective, and on the focus of the research. As I am using both organization theory and feminist theory to guide my research, it is only fitting that I use a research design which has proven most successful in those areas. I have also used those research methods best suited for answering the research questions identified in Chapter One, and for describing the day-to-day operations of PPWR.

2.1 The Research Design

This research evolved out of my interest in one particular organization, PPWR. In Chapter One I explain that as a volunteer with the organization, I developed an interest in PPWR's organizational structure. I also state that the primary goal of this research is to know more about this organization and the way it functions. My interest in the organization led me to question the validity of existing organization theories as applies to this particular organization. The goal of this research is not to *test* any particular theory but to examine the usefulness and validity of the theoretical models detailed in Table 1 (Appendix 1). In essence, I want to answer the question: what can PPWR tell us about organization theory?

Further, my role as a volunteer with PPWR allowed me to develop research questions and strategies based on my personal experience. According to Lofland and Lofland (1984), this is the basis of qualitative research. They argue that the first step to doing qualitative

research is to "start where you are" because there are "meaningful linkages between the personal and emotional and the stringent intellectual"(Lofland and Lofland, 1984:2-10).

For these reasons, I chose to engage in an ethnographic study of PPWR. Atkinson and Hammersley (1994 :246) summarize the central features of ethnography as follows: 1) an emphasis on exploring the nature of a particular social phenomena; 2) the detailed investigation of one or a few cases; 3) a tendency to use unstructured data; 4) data analysis based on verbal descriptions and explanations (rather than statistical tools). They further explain that the ethnographer needs to be involved in the research setting in order to maximize the quantity and quality of information gathered:

> The ethnographer participates, overtly or covertly, in people's daily lives for an extended period of time, watching what happens, listening to what is said, asking questions; in fact collecting whatever data is available to throw light on the issues with which he or she is concerned. (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1983: 2)

Ethnography is an emerging style of research in organization studies. It has been particularly favoured by feminist researchers studying alternative forms of organization. In the following sections I provide an overview of organization research and explain the research methods used for this study of PPWR.

Organization Research

Traditional organization research focuses primarily on analyzing organizational structure in an effort to improve organizational effectiveness. Most organization research designs use quantitative methods which derive a hypothesis from a theory and then proceed to testing

this said hypothesis.[10] Concepts are then operationalized, variables are measured, and the

data either support or do not support the hypothesis. In an attempt to better represent

organizational life, some researchers have turned to qualitative methods.[11] The focus here is

on the perspective of the individual and her or his interpretations of organizational life.

Bryman (1989) explains that the research is guided by knowledge derived from a review of

the literature on the issues. Hence, theory emerges during or after data collection:

> Qualitative research tends to be unstructured in order to capture people's perspectives
> and interpretations. Consequently, theoretical reflections tend to occur during or
> toward the end of the data collection process rather than at the outset.
> (Bryman, 1989: 25)

As the focus is on detailing the essence of organizational life, qualitative researchers

have favoured the case study design. Case studies are also used for quantitative organization

research but the key differences are the methods used and the research goal. That is,

quantitative researchers use case studies to test a particular theory whereas qualitative

researchers use case studies to *generate* theory. Robert Stake (1994) explains that this design

is useful when one is interested in discovering what can be learned from a particular case.

This research design is therefore best suited for my research purposes as I want to explore

what PPWR can tell us about organization structure and feminist organizing.

Bryman (1989: 177) explains that engaging in case study research requires prolonged

involvement with the organization in question:

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[10]For example, one may hypothesize that worker motivation would increase if material
rewards were increased.

[11]Qualitative research is new to organization research, but *not* to the discipline of
Sociology.

Case studies are often more useful for providing an understanding of areas of organizational functioning that are not well documented and which are not amenable to investigation through fleeting contact with the organization.

The researcher must therefore be an *insider*, which Bryman (1989:137) explains can often be the largest obstacle.[12] However, this requirement of an insider researcher is precisely what makes qualitative organization research appealing to feminists. In fact, this broader, more inclusive form of research is more appealing to feminists as it reflects their own research values.

Feminist Research

In this work, I follow some of the central precepts of feminist methodologies.[13] These include, but are not limited to, the following aspects: 1) feminist research generates problems from women's experiences: it is research *for* women rather than *about* women and it is grounded in feminist consciousness (Nielsen, 1990:30); 2) the feminist researcher takes herself into account: she acknowledges that she is not separate from the research (Archibald and Crnkovich, 1993:114); 3) a flexible research process: the outcome of the research will be determined by the information gathered throughout the research process (Reinharz, 1992); and 4) research is tied to political action and change (Archibald and Crnkovich, 1993:118).

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[12]Bureaucratic organizations are often wary of the intentions of the researchers, and worried about the intrusive effect the research may have on the workers.(Bryman, 1989)

[13]There is an on-going debate among feminists as to whether there is, or can be, one prescribed feminist method. Shulamit Reinharz (1992), Lorraine Code (1995) and Sandra Harding (1987) all argue that feminists should use those methods that are best suited to examining the issues and questions they are researching. However, they also recognize that there are central features to feminist methodology.

In her discussion of feminist research methodology, Reinharz (1992: 3) claims that "feminist research is absolutely and centrally research *by* women." But in addition, this research is also feminist in that it developed from my involvement with PPWR. As previously stated, it was my experience as a volunteer with PPWR which led me to study this organization. As well, my interpretations are influenced by my insider perspective (Brown, 1992). In her discussion of the role of personal experience in research, Reinharz (1992: 259) explains that "it defines our research questions, leads us to sources of useful data, gains the trust of others in doing the research, and enables us to partially test our findings". The outcome of this research would certainly be different if it was carried out by someone who is not familiar with PPWR. In her important discussion on feminist interviewing, Ann Oakley (1981: 58) claims that "the condition of personal involvement is more than dangerous bias-it is the condition under which people come to know each other and to admit others into their lives." In doing this research I have developed stronger relationships with the members of PPWR, on both a professional and personal level. As well, I have become more aware of, and sensitive to, the struggles involved in running a non-profit organization.

Many feminists also believe that it is the researcher's responsibility to make sure that the information gathered is distributed in "optimally helpful ways" (Reinharz, 1992:179). In fact, research is no longer an end in itself, as it can contribute to social change. In her discussion of the role of the feminist researcher, Reinharz (1992: 79) recalls Toby Jayaratn's observation that "the better quality research that we do, the more likely that the research will influence others and ultimately help in achieving their goals." Indeed, this research already has affected the participants of PPWR. As I conducted the interviews, participants would

often tell me that they had not given much thought to a particular issue and that I was asking interesting questions. In fact, following an interview with the Counselling Co-ordinator, she told me that she had reflected a great deal on one of my questions and as a result decided to ask the volunteers to evaluate the program and express their concerns.

Feminist Organization Research

Feminist organization research represents the merging of feminist epistemology and ontology with the study of alternative forms of organizing. As with qualitative research, feminist researchers value participants' observations and interpretations. They bring a critical perspective and stress the need to consider the impact of environmental effects on policy. Indeed, most feminist organizations are formed in response to various societal needs and they usually run contrary to the dominant ideology and values. Feminist organization research includes case studies of battered women's shelters, rape crisis centers and abortion clinics.[14] For instance, in her research on the feminist struggle for non-hierarchy, Ianello (1992) provides case studies of three feminist organizations: a feminist peace group (whose goal is to promote issues such as the self-determination of the Third World and environmental issues); a women's health collective (which provides women with health care services, including abortion services); and a business women's group (which supports women's rights and goals within the workplace). What all of these organizations, and PPWR, have in common is that they emerged out of the recognition of a social problem (usually affecting women). Feminist activists feel that there are no effective policies in place to deal

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[14]See Price (1988); Ianello (1992); Brown (1992); and Rothschild and Whitt (1986).

with these problems. It has therefore been up to a small group of individuals to provide what it feels are essential services. In researching these organizations, feminists have focused on how groups of women have come together to achieve a particular goal. For this purpose, feminist organizational research has favoured the case study.

Reinharz (1992: 167) believes that the benefits of case study research are "to illustrate an idea, to explain the process of development over time, to show the limits of generalizations, to explore uncharted issues by starting with a limited case, and to pose provocative questions." In fact, Brown (1992: 78) argues that "the requirement for holistic analysis makes case study research the only valid methodology."

In their case studies of feminist organizations, Brown (1992), Ianello (1992), and Price (1988) were all driven by the same question: what is special about women organizing? Each of these case studies placed particular emphasis on identifying the values of the organizations while relating how the organizations were formed and how the organizational structures have evolved over time. Each of the authors provides a rich description of the organization, and supports her observations with examples and citations from the field research. These case studies contribute to the visibility of women, and might form the groundwork for a new sociology of organizational structure.

I have therefore chosen to do a case study of PPWR. The purpose of this research is primarily explorative and descriptive. To my knowledge, there has never been any research done on PPWR. Lofland and Lofland (1984: 120) explain that it is usually the case that the participants themselves are so busy doing their work that they cannot as well provide

research on it.[15] Thus, the goals of this research are to describe the structure and nature of

the organization and give insight into the way that the agency functions. Most of the data

were collected in the span of approximately four months (interviews and participant

observation). I do, however, include some information on the history, and the future, of the

organization in order to place the research in context and provide a more holistic study. To

summarize, except for any information used to locate the research or explain the values of

the organization, this study focuses on the *current* structure of PPWR.

2.2 The Research Methods

As I was already a participant of PPWR, it seemed only logical to take advantage of my role

within the organization. But I also supplemented the information gathered through

participant observation with interviews and some written documentation. In other case

studies (e.g Brown, 1992; Ianello,1992) the researchers often supplement participant

observation with interviews. Participant observation is a favoured method of feminist

organization researchers, since certain data are only available if the researcher becomes a

part of the organization (Brown, 1992). Further, immersion in the setting allows the

researcher to identify important research questions which may otherwise be overlooked. In

combining this method with interviews (either semi-structured or unstructured), the

researcher can explore a number of topics while allowing the participant to reflect on a

stream of events and offer their own interpretations and definitions (Brown, 1992). This idea

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[15]Lofland and Lofland (1984: 120) explain that "immersed in acting, they have little time, training, or disposition for collecting information on the multiple facets of their situation".

that the *informant* makes the decisions about what is considered important knowledge is crucial to feminist research (Oakley, 1981).[16] In the following section, I describe the research methods used for this case study of PPWR.

Gaining Access

When engaging in ethnographic research, entering the research setting is the first and most crucial step (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1983). Gaining access to PPWR was not problematic as I was already involved with the organization. In fact, because I had been a volunteer at PPWR for over a year when I began this research, I considered myself an "insider". My position within the agency allowed me to establish rapport and gave me a level of respectability with the staff and volunteers. Nonetheless, I did have to gain the trust of these participants for the research; this was done progressively.

When I first started to consider doing research on PPWR, I discussed my interest with the Executive Director and the Counselling Co-ordinator. In exchange for their time and co-operation, I agreed to give PPWR a copy of the thesis. I also made it clear that the participants would be involved in the data collection process. Indeed, before finalizing the thesis project, I allowed the research participants to review the material. Once I had obtained "official" approval, I informed PPWR members of my research intentions by distributing

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[16]Allowing informants to speak for themselves and taking their statements at face value are widely held assumptions of many forms of qualitative research, not *only* of feminist research.

letters to the staff and volunteers.[17] I also gave a copy of my research proposal to the Counselling Co-ordinator and encouraged participants to read it and provide me with their feedback.

When I first started my research, I had only some vaguely formulated research questions in mind. I knew what sorts of things I was looking for but I did not yet know the exact shape the research would take. Ted Palys (1992: 212) explains that this is typical of the preliminary phase of research which is "a time to sharpen research questions, and to decide what particular types of data will be used as indicators for the key concepts of interest." And so, I began the research process with extensive field research.

Participant Observation

Participant observation is defined by Bryman (1989: 142) as "the fairly prolonged immersion of the researcher in the context that is being studied with the purpose of gaining first-hand knowledge of that context, primarily through observation of individuals as they go about their normal work activities." During the course of three months, I went into PPWR for approximately six hours a week and observed the staff and volunteers in their day-to-day activities.[18]

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[17]By "official approval" I mean the approval of the Executive Director, the Counselling Co-ordinator, and the University Ethics Committee.

[18]The actual amount of time spent varied from week to week, depending on whether I participated in any education or fund-raising activities. I should also note that I took this research opportunity to become more involved in these activities. I felt that this would not only allow me to gather more research material, but that it would give me increased credibility.

There are many roles that a researcher may take when engaging in participant observation. Since I was a participant of PPWR previous to starting this project, this research is what Bryman (1989:153) has termed a "total participant study":

> The researcher is likely to be a participant observer who is a member of the organization, as either a covert or full observer. Additional data are often collected through interviews and the examination of documents, but the bulk of the evidence tends to derive from participant observation.

Though most of the time I took notes *during* my time at PPWR, I would use whatever research strategy I felt was most appropriate. At times I would take notes while in the presence of others (though usually at somewhat of a distance, so as to not be too conspicuous), and at times I would wait until the individuals had left or stopped talking to write down what they had said. But often my own duties as a volunteer meant that I could not take extensive notes immediately. Instead, I would jot down "memory sparking" notes (such as key words and names) and write up detailed notes as soon as I got home. Also, though most of the notes that I took were as a "participant as observer", I also took the role of the "observer as participant" (Lofland and Lofland, 1984). That is, I would go into PPWR on a day where I did not have to volunteer, sit at an empty desk, and take notes. So as to appear the least intrusive, I would avoid looking directly at participants as I recorded my observations.

Although everyone was aware of my research intentions and would sometimes comment on it or make jokes about it (such as "Sherlock's at it again!"), to my knowledge my researcher role did not disrupt or disturb any activities at PPWR. In fact, everybody

seemed more than eager to participate.[19] Though I had no way of telling if people refrained from saying things because of my research intentions, there were times when participants would say things specifically with my research in mind.[20]

During the initial weeks, my field notes included every detail about the setting. I documented every event in chronological order, including what each person was doing, what people talked about, who they talked to, what tone of voice I felt that they had, whether I thought they looked happy or sad, tired or energetic, and so forth.[21] Whenever possible, I recorded exact quotations. As I typed up the notes for the day, I also included my own personal impressions and any information which I recalled from previous days. Also during this time, I wrote down every event and detail that I could remember from the previous year I had spent as a volunteer.

I then went through these notes and sorted them into themes and categories. These general themes included 1) PPWR's programs and activities: counselling, education and fund-raising; 2) the themes identified in Table 1 (see Appendix 1): social stratification, social relations, differentiation, etc.; and 3) various other important themes, such as relations with the community and the nature of opposition. I was then able to determine what

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[19]One participant was somewhat nervous about having her words recorded, but she was nonetheless very supportive and willing to participate.

[20]One day when the photocopier was not functioning properly, a staff member looked at me as she ripped up a sheet of paper and said "Look, this is how we at PPWR express our frustration!"

[21]My interpretation of participants' moods and/or tone of voice was used only to generate research ideas and interview questions. I never assumed that my interpretations were correct.

information was missing. Indeed, as a volunteer I do not have access to all aspects of the

organization and there were a lot of questions which could not be answered through

observation alone. I therefore decided that I needed to interview other participants.

Interviewing

I interviewed participants to gather information to which I did not have immediate access.

But in addition, I wanted to give participants a chance to express their own experiences and

interpretations of events. Being a member of PPWR had many advantages but I was also

aware that it could have disadvantages. For example, my role as a volunteer affected my

interpretation of words and actions. Though most of the time I felt that this provided me

with a deeper understanding of the setting, it could also be the case that I might overlook

certain things, or that other individuals may interpret them differently. Therefore, interviews

would allow me to cross-check my observation notes for reliability.

Hammersley and Atkinson (1983: 46-48) argue that sampling is an important feature

of ethnographic research and the interview process. They recognize that time constraints may

limit the number of individuals a researcher can interview. Thus, they suggest that the

ethnographer identify those individuals who are most representative of the population being

studied. The individuals whom I felt would provide the most information were those who

have the more significant roles in the organization and are immersed in the daily aspects of

the agency. I interviewed the Executive Director, the Counselling Co-ordinator, the Fund-

raising Co-ordinator, the Education Co-ordinator and the Administrative Assistant. Because

they are staff members, their experiences in the agency are different from those of the

volunteers. They are there for more time during the week and are more involved with the day-to-day activities. As well, their status as staff members means that they may experience the organization, their work, and their relations with other members in a different light.

Although I felt that I had a fairly good sense of the volunteer role from both my own experience and my observations, I also wanted to capture the experiences of other volunteers in their own words. Due to time constraints, I could not interview all of the PPWR volunteers. I therefore selected individuals whom I felt were representative of the volunteer population. Thus, I interviewed three "veteran" volunteers who have been actively involved with PPWR for at least 18 months. One of these volunteers is primarily involved with the counselling program. Another is active in both the counselling and education programs. A third does mostly education work, but also helps out with fund-raising and was a Board member for several years.[22] I also interviewed a newly trained volunteer who is active in both the education and counselling programs.[23]

These interviews were semi-structured and averaged forty-five minutes in length.[24] They were centered around the themes which I had drawn out of the field research. Most of the interviews followed a similar pattern of alternating between close-ended questions (such

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[22]Two of the staff members have also been on the Board.

[23]I chose to interview only one of the new volunteers as I felt that their limited amount of time involved with the organization would limit the amount of information that they could contribute to this particular research.

[24]The length of the interview depended to a great extent on how much the interviewee wanted to talk. As well, those who have been involved with the organization for quite a while had more information to offer. For example, the interview with the Executive Director lasted almost 2 hours.

as "Have you ever been evaluated?") and open-ended questions (such as "Can you tell me

about your role at PPWR?"). The close-ended questions focused on the organizational

characteristics identified in Table 1. The only question which was problematic was one

where I asked participants if they had ever experienced any tension or difficulties with other

PPWR members. One person, for example, asked me to stop the tape recorder. Although all

staff members discussed some issues, none of them went into great detail. I am not certain

whether this was because of my role as a volunteer with the organization, or because they did

not want the problems to be described in the research. In any case, I never pressed for details,

I simply asked about their experience of the situation.

2.3 Writing the Research

The writing of the research results was an on-going process since it was only through writing

up the research that I could identify gaps in the data collection. This was also one of the

reasons why I distributed the interview process over the course of a month and conducted the

last interview as I was completing the final chapters. I would often go back to the

interviewees for more information or details. Thus, this was very much a flexible research

process. As well, I supplemented the information gathered through observation and

interviews with a variety of written documentation. Hammersley and Atkinson (1983: 142)

explain that documents can provide the ethnographer with a rich source of data, depending

on the goal of the research. Written information can be used to verify field observations or to

provide additional information which is not accessible by other means. For this research, the

study of written documentation was especially pertinent. Indeed, the use of written rules is a

key feature of the bureaucratic organization (see Appendix 1). In my analysis I therefore study the existence of such rules within PPWR. And in Chapter Three, I use information such as client statistics and financial figures to provide a more complete picture of the organization

Unfortunately, I cannot incorporate all of the information which I gathered in this research in this report. I have had to select those examples and observations which are most representative of the patterns which I observed. I have also made an effort to alternate between my own observations and those of the interviewees. However, there were topics on which my observations were not rich enough to provide the reader with sufficient detail. Thus, some chapters rely more on interview material.

Although this research is focused on the organizational structure of PPWR, I have attempted to present the research material in a manner which would interest those not familiar with organization theory. In sum, the first and foremost goal of this research is to present the reader with a detailed portrait of PPWR.

CHAPTER THREE:

PORTRAIT OF PLANNED PARENTHOOD WATERLOO REGION (PPWR)

The purpose of a case study is to provide the reader with a detailed portrait of the organization in question. In this section, I provide an overview of the history of Planned Parenthood; state the goal and purpose of PPWR; describe the programs and services; and explain the roles of the many individuals involved with PPWR.

3.1 What is PPWR?

History of Planned Parenthood

In 1970, a year after birth control became legal in Canada, the national Department of Health and Welfare set up a Family Planning Division which helped fund family planning programs at both the national and local levels.[25] At the national level, the only family planning association is the Planned Parenthood Federation of Canada (PPFC), which acts as an umbrella organization for regional and local Planned Parenthood associations. The Federation grew out of the Family Planning Federation of Canada, formed in 1966, and became a member of the International Planned Parenthood Federation (IPPF) in 1974. The International Planned Parenthood Federation supports family planning associations in over 130 developed and developing countries and "fosters programs in which family planning

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[25]Some of the most significant breakthroughs with regards to legalizing birth control in Canada took place in Kitchener, where in 1929 a prominent manufacturer, A.R.Kaufman, sent visiting nurses to distribute birth control to company employees. For a detailed account of the history of family planning in Canada, see Schlesinger (1974).

information and services are self-directed and community-based" (PPFC, no date). The Federation's mandate is to promote awareness of issues such as fertility, population growth, teenage pregnancy, sexual attitudes and sexual violence, as well as to improve access to services both world-wide and in Canada. Further, PPFC's goal is to "ensure that all Canadians have access to universal, reliable information and services in order to make informed decisions related to their sexual and reproductive health and behaviour" (PPFC, no date). Although most of PPFC's activities are focused on the developing world, there are currently eight regional Planned Parenthood associations and forty-one local affiliates, including Planned Parenthood Waterloo Region .[26]

PPWR first opened its doors in 1971 under the name Kitchener-Waterloo Planned Parenthood. Although PPWR has many of the same goals as PPFC (except for the latter's international scope), the Waterloo agency is independently run and operated. The Federation represents the affiliates and works to raise consciousness around sexuality issues and lobby governments for support. However, PPFC does not provide any financial support to its affiliates.[27] In accordance with the belief statements espoused by all Planned Parenthood associations (see Appendix 2), PPWR provides the residents of Waterloo Region with supportive and non-judgmental family planning services and education.

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[26]However, many affiliates are threatened with the possibility of having to close their doors. This is because the provincial downloading of health care services means that many regions who do not consider family planning an essential service will no longer want to fund their local Planned Parenthood branch (according to the Executive Director of Planned Parenthood Ontario).

[27]In 1981, PPFC's funding from the federal government was significantly reduced. As a consequence, PPFC can no longer provide financial aid to local Planned Parenthoods.

PPWR's Goals and Services

PPWR's goal is to "promote responsible and healthy sexuality throughout the human life cycle and to promote birth planning by assuring education for residents of Waterloo region" (see Appendix 3). To achieve this goal, the organization relies on two separate yet interrelated programs which help individuals make informed decisions about their sexual health. PPWR's services consist of an in-house counselling program and an outreach education program.

The counselling program could be described as the heart of PPWR. This service has been available from the first day of operation and continues to thrive despite budget restrictions and cutbacks. Indeed, in 1996-1997 the number of clients seeking counselling increased by 17% over the previous fiscal year (see Appendix 4).This service is the primary reason why people contact PPWR and this is also where the majority of volunteers contribute their time.

Through a pro-choice counselling service, PPWR provides clients with information on all unplanned pregnancy and birth control options. In her annual report, the Counselling Co-ordinator explained that "in an atmosphere that is warm and caring, trained volunteer counsellors provide non-judgmental and supportive counselling" (PPWR Annual General Meeting Report, 1997). Clients are therefore offered information on all three unplanned pregnancy options: parenting, adoption and abortion. Clients may also receive counselling on other sexuality issues including birth control options, sexually transmitted infections (STIs), relationships and sexual identity. Counselling may focus on coping with an immediate crisis situation (such as an unplanned pregnancy) or it may be geared toward education and

prevention (such as birth control methods and prevention of STIs). In addition, and in conjunction with the counselling service, PPWR also provides education workshops.

The education outreach service became more widely known throughout the local community in 1992 when "PPWR received a Trillium Foundation grant through Planned Parenthood Ontario (PPO) to hire an education co-ordinator to establish a program entitled *Parents Healthy Sexuality"* (PPWR, 1994). Over the years, PPWR has expanded its education services, and it now provides sexuality information to a variety of groups in the community of Waterloo Region. The prevailing philosophy behind this program is the belief in the importance of self-esteem and the need for people to feel good about themselves and feel confident in making healthy sexual lifestyle decisions for themselves (Executive Director, letter to donors).

This education program is currently offered at places such as ROOF (Reaching Our Outdoor Friends, a drop-in center for street youth), St. Monica House (a home for single teenage mothers) and Cradlelink (a support group for mothers of newborns), as well as a variety of other youth groups. As well, PPWR is often invited to make presentations or set up displays at various events, such as the 1996 Montreal Massacre Memorial Service and the Annual Youth Sexuality Conference.

In order to provide these services, PPWR relies on a few staff members and a large pool of volunteers. The *current* organizational structure of the agency consists of a volunteer Executive Board; an Executive Director; a Counselling Co-ordinator; a Fund-raising Co-ordinator; an Administrative Assistant; and counselling, education and fund-raising volunteers (see Appendix 5). Depending on PPWR's available funds, there may also be an

Education Co-ordinator.[28] In the next section, I provide a profile of these individuals and describe their roles in greater detail.

3.2 The Counselling and Education Programs

The Counselling Volunteer

The majority of counselling volunteers are university students between the ages of 19 and 24, enrolled in various social science and health programs.[29] At the time of writing, there are twenty counselling volunteers, nineteen of whom are women and three of whom are men. Seven of these counsellors have been at PPWR since September 1996, but the remaining volunteers were only recently trained. As well, six of these counsellors also volunteer their time with the education program and many of the volunteers assist with fund-raising activities on occasion.

Counselling volunteers undergo a six week training program which includes discussions on sexuality, birth control methods, pregnancy options, relationships, sexual abuse, and counselling skills. This training also includes a "values clarification workshop," where volunteers are encouraged to explore their values and beliefs.[30] After completing the training, counsellors learn through on-the-job training how to answer the phones and conduct counselling sessions, as these are the primary job requirements.

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[28]The precarious nature of this position is discussed further on.

[29]There are a few exceptions, such as a high school student, and a mother of a teenager.

[30]For further detail, see Social Control section of Chapter Four.

The counselling volunteer usually comes in once a week for a two hour shift.[31] What a counsellor does during the course of a shift can vary from day to day. In the Volunteer Policies and Procedures Manual, the counselling volunteer tasks are divided into 1) counselling tasks, and 2) office tasks. Counselling tasks primarily include answering the telephone, making referrals, and counselling clients.

Telephone Counselling and Referral Service

PPWR offers telephone counselling and a referral service (see Appendix 4). The majority (45%) of people calling PPWR's counselling line request information on abortion and/or make arrangements for the procedure without coming in.[32] Approximately 17% of the calls are from individuals who want information on birth control or sexuality. If the volunteer cannot answer a question, the person is referred to the Sexual Health Unit. Counsellors often give referrals to persons looking for a particular resource in the community. Some of the more frequent referrals include ultrasound and/or urgent care clinics; the Toronto abortion clinics; homes for pregnant teenagers and single mothers, and various support groups (such as the Herpes Support Group). And almost half (40%) of those who call make an appointment with a counsellor. In this case, the volunteer will fill out the Client Information Sheet (CIS). The counsellor will ask for the client's full name and a contact phone number, and check if it is acceptable to leave a message. In addition to providing counsellors with

[31]However, some volunteers come in twice a week for one hour, and a few come in for three or even four hours.

[32]The counsellors usually don't allow this unless the client has had an abortion before and appears to be very comfortable with the decision.

some preliminary information on the client's particular situation, these forms facilitate communication within the counselling program and assure that the client receives the best possible service.

Pregnancy Testing Service

PPWR also offers pregnancy testing, either by appointment or on a walk-in basis. Usually the counsellor will speak to the woman beforehand, to get a sense of her personal situation and her reasons for thinking she may be pregnant. The counsellor will then perform a pregnancy test. If the test result is positive, the volunteer will discuss the client's options with her. If the test is negative, the counsellor will explain the possibility of a "false negative" (that is, the woman is pregnant but the test result is negative), and ask the client if she wishes to discuss birth control methods. Counsellors can also make a pregnancy ultrasound appointment for a client to determine the exact length of gestation. If the woman needs an ultrasound, the counsellor will make the appointment for her and follow-up with the results.

Abortion Counselling

As noted above, the primary role of the counselling volunteer is to counsel clients. In the 1996-1997 year, PPWR saw 576 clients (an average of three clients per day). Of these, 543 clients sought counselling around pregnancy and birth control, simultaneously (see Appendix 4).

The most common scenario is one in which a woman is faced with an unplanned

pregnancy and has decided to have an abortion.[33] In most cases she has reached this decision

prior to coming in to PPWR. This woman seeks counselling to answer any questions she may

have, and to make arrangements for the procedure. Whenever a woman is seeking an

abortion, the first thing that the counsellor will do is establish that this is her decision and

that she is not being forced or coerced by anyone. Sometimes the woman will want to

discuss her situation. Here, the counsellor will help her explore her feelings and emotions.

Other times the woman feels she has done enough talking and thinking already, and just

wants to set up the appointment. Counsellors will either book an appointment at the local

hospital, or will give the woman the information she needs to make an out-of-town

appointment.[34] There have been cases where women were past the gestational limits for the

local clinics and have had to make arrangements to have the procedure done in other

provinces or in the United States. PPWR can help these women make arrangements and may

also help them get financial support if necessary.

Parenting Counselling

Other counselling scenarios, though not as frequent, include women who have decided to

parent but for any number of reasons need support in their decision. Some may want to know

where they can get financial assistance and second-hand clothing and furniture. Some

women may need to discuss their relationship with their partner and/or family and find ways

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[33]PPWR does not gather statistics on the outcome of counselling sessions. The following descriptions are based on field research and/or interview material.

[34]Very often, the waiting period for the local hospital is too long and women will decide to go to Toronto, or sometimes Hamilton or London.

to resolve personal conflicts. For example, a woman may want to parent but she does not have much money and she is worried that her partner will not support the child.

Adoption Counselling

On occasion, a woman may decide to place a child for adoption. However, PPWR rarely sees women who have definitely reached this decision. Most are still contemplating it when they leave. If a woman is considering adoption, PPWR will give them some information on open adoption and refer them to a private adoption agent in the area for further information.[35]

Decision-Making Counselling

Not all women who use the counselling service have reached a definite decision by the time they leave. Women who are struggling with their decision most often consider parenting and abortion only. Women who are strongly opposed to abortion may choose to decide between parenting and adoption.[36] In these cases, the counsellor will help the woman express her feelings and emotions around each option she is considering. The counsellor will also help her examine her present situation. The client is encouraged to identify her beliefs, values, goals and aspirations, as well as assess her current financial and domestic situation. Women

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[35]Counsellors make sure to let women know about the benefits of open adoption, as opposed to closed adoption which most women say they "could never do." With open adoption, birth parents may select adoptive parents and may decide how much contact they wish to have with the adoptive family.

[36]PPWR does, however, see many women who say they are opposed to abortion, or thought they would never have one, but who believe they have no choice but to terminate the pregnancy considering their current circumstances.

are never pressured to make a decision immediately, although if they are considering abortion they are made aware of the time limits. Clients are given a lot of information to take home and are also given suggestions of things to do which may help them reach a decision, such as writing exercises and questions to ask themselves. Clients are always told that they can come back as often as they want, whether they need more help in reaching a decision or whether they need help in implementing the decision they have reached. However, most clients who seek counselling do so on a one time only basis.[37]

Birth Control Counselling

Though the majority of people who seek counselling do so because of an unplanned pregnancy, there are also other reasons why people come to PPWR. Sometimes clients will want to discuss their birth control options. In 1996-1997, 21 people sought counselling for birth control exclusively. In this case, the counsellor will help the person identify the advantages and disadvantages of each option, as well as give her or him detailed instructions for each method (which may also include a demonstration). Women are encouraged to consider their needs and choose a method with which they are comfortable. Depending on the woman's choice, she may be instructed to visit her physician or the Sexual Health Unit, as PPWR does not have a doctor or nurse on staff. The counsellor can, however, give out samples of methods which do not require a physician's approval, such as condoms and contraceptive foam.

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[37]Again, PPWR does not gather statistics on the number of clients who request more than one counselling session. However, counselling volunteers confirm that these are rare occurences.

Support Persons

Women are encouraged to bring with them any support person they choose to have present, whether it is a family member, a partner or a friend. These people can be present throughout the entire counselling session, or may choose to leave at any time. As well, if the person is directly involved in the decision (for example a partner or a parent), this person may also speak to the counsellor separately. Though it is a rare occurrence, there are times when a man will seek counselling on his own. This may be because his partner did not want to come in, or because he wants to discuss his situation alone.

Other Duties

Other than these counselling duties, volunteers are also responsible for a variety of office tasks. The most common of these chores include restocking the counselling filing cabinet with resource materials.[38] Volunteers also know that they are responsible for keeping the pamphlets and Resource Centre tidy. This is usually done during quiet times, as it may not be seen as a priority by volunteers. As well, counsellors may also be asked to help the Fund-raising Co-ordinator with mailings. When they are not busy with counselling duties, volunteers stuff and seal envelopes, or may sign letters on behalf of the PPWR President.

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[38]This filing cabinet contains all of the resources that a counsellor may give to a client (such as information on how to make a decision, the list of Toronto abortion clinics, a summary sheet of birth control methods, etc.).

The Counselling Co-ordinator

A permanent part-time co-ordinator keeps this counselling service in operation. She is always present during the counselling hours and also comes in at other times to handle various administrative tasks. In an interview, she described her position as follows:

> [I handle] the co-ordination of the counselling program, and that entails not only the counselling aspect of it but the volunteer aspect of it also. For the counselling aspect, my position is really the supervisor, to overlook counselling volunteers. [I also handle] the recruiting, training, supervision and evaluation [of volunteers]. And that's on an on-going basis. Most of my time is spent supporting counsellors and seeing how they are doing, debriefing after sessions, providing information, and filing the gaps that can happen when people are not here everyday.

Although the co-ordinator is technically the supervisor to the counselling volunteers, she acts more as a support person than as a supervisor. She is always available for the volunteers if they need to discuss a situation or de-brief after a difficult session. She will often ask how a counselling session proceeded, and how the counsellor is feeling. After a particulary difficult counselling session, I remarked that "[the Counselling Co-ordinator] said that I had done everything that I could, and more. She then asked if *I* was OK."

In addition to recruiting, selecting and training the volunteers, the co-ordinator will also provide counsellors with regular updates on anything from new birth control methods and new hospital procedures, to any information which would help the counsellors perform their job. In fact, the co-ordinator is responsible for ensuring that the lines of communication stay open, not only between counsellors and clients but also among volunteers. She explained:

> The other side of the job is more in terms of the counselling aspect, to ensure that all of the information has been placed, that all the CISs have been put together, that they are followed, and that each client is receiving the best service they can. We find it

very hard to communicate to each other and it doesn't always happen. You need that one consistent person in the office...to be able to follow each case through.

The Co-ordinator will also conduct counselling sessions, either if there are not enough volunteers or if a session is reserved for her. That is, when there is a particularly delicate session (such as young teenager who wants to parent but whose family wants her to have an abortion), counsellors have the right to pass the session on to someone else, usually the co-ordinator. There may also be times where the co-ordinator's personal experiences, such as being a mother, make her better suited to handle a given situation.[39]

The Education Volunteer

The education program would not function were it not for the strong volunteer participation. The Education Committee consists of sixteen volunteers, though this tends to fluctuate from month to month. Again, most of the volunteers are young university students. However, there are also a few older people, some of whom have been involved with the agency for several years (and four of whom are parents). And there are only four men involved in education (two of whom are also counselling volunteers). But unlike counselling volunteers, education volunteers are not necessarily trained, at least not at first. In fact, many volunteers join the Education Committee while they wait to go through the counselling training. They will usually begin by accompanying other volunteers on talks just to watch how education work is done. It is expected though that all education volunteers will eventually be formally

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[39]As a reminder to the reader, most counselling volunteers are young and do not have children. There are times when a client requests to speak to someone who has experienced pregnancy and parenting. On the other hand, there are also times when a client (usually a teenager) is more comfortable speaking to someone younger.

trained.

According to the PPWR Policies and Procedures Manual (1994: Appendix B), "education volunteers can serve the agency as *planners* as Education Committee members at monthly meetings, or as *supporters* who are willing to help out with specific projects or at special events. Many volunteers serve as both planners and supporters". Education volunteers do not have regular hours or shifts, other than attending the monthly Education Committee meeting. At this meeting, the committee discusses upcoming events and volunteers decide which events they want to participate in. Sometimes volunteers talk about an event they participated in the previous month and make suggestions about what to do next time. The meeting may end with a general discussion about a particular theme. For example, one education meeting ended with a discussion on the demography of high risk groups and the need to target the older, more educated population.

The Education Committee also discusses which groups PPWR should reach. The former Education Co-ordinator explained that the decision to target various groups depends not only on what various research may show, but on the reality of sexuality education in the community:

> Early on it was just responding to requests. Based on those groups from which I got requests, I started to figure out which groups were the most in need and I started targeting those groups. It was the groups that dealt with marginalized youth in this community that really needed some sexuality education, because many of those youth weren't in school. And then from dealing with Public Health and being on a committee which I am still on, the Sexual Health Advisory for the region, I became very much aware that although our school system has a curriculum set aside, it often isn't followed. So I really wanted to get into the schools.

> Getting into schools, however, has proven to be most problematic for PPWR. A

recent development at PPWR, receiving a grant from the Kaufman Foundation, is making

that more possible.[40] Previously, PPWR used what the former Co-ordinator termed "the

underground railroad." This meant that PPWR would try to reach individual students and

teachers, rather than fight with school boards to get school-wide access. Currently, PPWR is

in the process of setting up a program which would allow the agency to reach all schools in

the area. The Executive Director explained that the decision to start a Theater Troop in

schools:

> We wanted to look at some peer education work. That's so effective, and the only
> extent to which we'd done it was to try to recruit high school volunteers for the
> education program, but we didn't have a program set up.

And so, PPWR plans to have a very active education program shortly. With the new

Kaufman Project Co-ordinator and soon an Outreach Education Co-ordinator, PPWR's

education programs will probably be more far-reaching than ever before.[41] The main target

for these programs though, are the youth. The Kaufman Project Co-ordinator explained that:

> Our mandate is still officially sexuality through the full life cycle, but from a pro-
> active point of view we still need to target areas of need. We're seeing a real increase
> in youth at risk, so we need to put our attentions where we feel the greatest need is.

As supporters, education volunteers may choose to participate in as many or as few

events as they want. Usually, volunteers will try to participate in similar events so that they

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[40]As noted earlier, A.R. Kaufman was a pioneer in family planning (McLaren and
McLaren, 1984). Today, the Kaufman Foundation strongly supports sexuality education.

[41]The Kaufman Project Co-ordinator position is not separate in the organization chart in
Appendix 5 because this position is occupied by the individual who was the Education
Co-ordinator in the Fall of 1997 and who will resume this role in the Spring 1998. Thus,
although these are two separate roles funded by different sources, the Kaufman Project
Co-ordinator and the Education Co-ordinator are the same person.

are not only familiar with that particular group but so that they can establish rapport with the group. For example, there is a "ROOF team" that does the ROOF discussion groups once a month. But there are also one-time only or yearly events (such as a birth control information booth at a local drugstore). Although an effort is made to give everyone a chance to participate, it is usually the case that some people are more active than others.

In workshops, the education volunteer's role depends on the needs expressed by the group. Sometimes PPWR is asked to talk only about birth control options. Such is the case with Cradlelink. Here, volunteers usually start with introductions or an icebreaker to familiarize themselves with the group. They then start by asking the group if anyone has any questions regarding birth control. Usually someone does, and this will start a discussion. For example, during one Craddlelink talk, a young woman asked if the things she had heard about the IUD (Intrauterine Device) were true (such as, that it would cause deformed pregnancies). Then the volunteers will take out PPWR's birth control kit and go over each method, being sure to discuss the effectiveness rates and possible side effects. The volunteers may even give a demonstration. For example, they may demonstrate how to put a condom on a wooden penis. Education volunteers always stress that there are choices and that it is important for everyone to feel comfortable with their method of birth control. As individuals may only be concerned with preventing pregnancy, volunteers stress the risk of STIs. In fact, volunteers often hear comments such as "I don't need to worry about that, I've been with the same person for a year." But, as the former Education Co-ordinator has said, "unfortunately, many of them are getting the surprise of their life [when they discover that their partner was not faithful]."

In other groups, all sexuality issues are a possible discussion topic. Such is the case with the ROOF groups. Here volunteers start with introductions and ask the group if there is anything they would like to discuss. Occasionally one person has a question (such as how would one know if they were pregnant), and this will initiate a discussion. There are times, however, when the volunteers have to probe. They may, for example, ask if anyone is in a relationship or if they are using contraception. They may then proceed to playing a game such as Sexual Jeopardy or Sexual Trivia.[42] If there is enough time, they may watch a movie.[43] Again, the group is always given choices, and the volunteers respond to the needs presented by the group. For example, in one ROOF group all participants were very young, and none was sexually active. They didn't want to discuss sexuality but it was immediately evident that they had many family problems and had lost trust in adults. Volunteers asked the youth to talk about their situations and this led to a discussion on relationships and trust. Though it appears that this has nothing to do with sexuality, PPWR volunteers felt that it was important for the youth to regain their trust in adults so that they could feel there are people that they can talk to (once they start to think about becoming sexually active), and so that they can develop healthy relationships.

After education sessions, volunteers will discuss the session among themselves and decide whether they should make any changes for the following time. Though they are not

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[42]These are games where individual players or teams are asked questions which deal with a variety of sexuality issues, from birth control and STIs to romantic relationships.

[43]PPWR has an extensive educational video library which includes movies on the history of abortion, homosexuality, safe sex and "discovering our bodies."

obligated to report to anyone, they often discuss the event with the Education Co-ordinator

(when there is one) and the Education Committee.

The Education Co-ordinator

In an interview, the Executive Director explained that the Education Co-ordinator role

depends very much on the availability of funding. Although it used to be that the Executive

Director was also in charge of the Education Program, the current Executive Director said "it

became really obvious that the agency had progressed to a stage where it was tough to do

those two things together, and do either one of them at all well." Also, at the end of 1997,

PPWR was forced to discontinue the education programs due to a lack of funds.[44] Though

PPWR will hire a part-time co-ordinator in the Spring of 1998, at the time of writing there is

no Education Co-ordinator.[45]

When there is a co-ordinator, this person's primary responsibility is organizing the

various outreach programs. When the position was first established, much of the work

involved research. The former Education Co-ordinator explained how the work evolved:

> In the early stage of developing the Parent's Program, a lot of it was research. Once I started offering the Parent's Program, it became known in the community. I did a lot of [public relations] work as well, and when people learned that we had a full-time Education Co-ordinator and I started getting more requests for programs, then a typical day changed in that I might have, on occasion, three programs in one day.

As PPWR became involved in more programs, the co-ordinator position became

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[44]See following section on fund-raising.

[45]I nonetheless discuss this position because there was an Education Co-ordinator during my initial research phase, and because this is an important position within the agency.

more focused on administrative tasks such as organizing events and keeping the volunteers motivated. The latest Education Co-ordinator explained that there really isn't a typical day at work:

> It can be extremely varied. It can run from strictly administrative type duties, like making sure there's enough photocopies for people to go out; typing up minutes from meetings; and calling people up and trying to book programs in the community where we feel outreach is needed. Also, [it involves] the maintenance of existing programs; trying to keep volunteers interested and keeping up with them, and again, lots of phone calls as to who can be available to assist me in going out and doing outreach; and being actively involved in going out and doing the outreach education myself.

The former Co-ordinator has explained that although in the past the co-ordinator has been actively involved in participating in the education work, PPWR's monies will no longer allow for that. With both the future Education Co-ordinator position and the Kaufman Project Co-ordinator position being part-time jobs, the focus will be on organizing and administration only. It is PPWR's hope that volunteer participation will be strong enough to run the programs.

3.3 Fund-raising and Administration

In recent years, PPWR has seen the demand for its services increase greatly. In fact, the number of clients coming in for counselling has doubled in only six years. PPWR saw 100 more clients in 1996 than in the previous year (see Appendix 4). According to the Executive Director, one of the reasons for this increase is that the local Sexual Health Unit can no longer meet the demand for their clinical services and has been forced to stop their own education programs. Unfortunately, this increase in demand has been accompanied by a

decrease in financial resources.

In 1976, PPWR was ousted from the local Federated Appeal, due to its pro-choice position as well as its abortion referral service. Local Catholic charities threatened to pull out of the Appeal if PPWR remained involved. As a result, PPWR no longer receives monies from the United Way.[46] As noted above, PPWR also does not receive any financing from PPFC, since the Federation has few funds. As well, in 1995, PPWR lost an annual grant from the Ontario Ministry of Health. This grant, channeled through the local Public Health Unit, had grown to approximately $30 000 per year. The cancellation of this grant is again attributed to PPWR's stand on abortion and the controversial nature of the agency's services. In February 1998 the grant was re-allocated, but reduced to $20 000. In 1998, PPWR is still recovering from two years without any public support. In the absence of public funding, PPWR has come to rely primarily on private, and the occasional corporate, donors.

When the former Executive Director was appointed, she noticed that despite PPWR's small size, the agency had a large pool of donors. According to the current Executive Director, "when she was reading through our documentation, she felt like she had died and gone to heaven because this was an agency that was poised for incredible success in fund-raising." This is because many of the donors are not only financially well-off, but a lot of them are older doctors who have seen the devastating effects of "botched abortions". PPWR's supporters tend to be committed to family planning and women's reproductive freedom. Indeed, it has been subsequently demonstrated that the former Executive Director was correct in her predictions.

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[46]For further detail, see *PPWR: History of Funding Struggles* (PPWR: 1997).

Prior to the 1990s, agency workers were relunctant to ask for money from individual donors. One long standing volunteer explained that "it's hard enough when you're asking for money -you hit people's second distress - and when you ask for money around *sexuality* you hit their first one!" The Executive Director explained that PPWR members are no longer relunctant to ask individual donors for financial support:

> We learned that it wasn't a bad thing to ask for money, and we've actually learned that people are quite flattered when we ask for more money, most people (laughter). Because if you pick certain people out of your donor base it says to them 'Wow, I must appear to be really dedicated and have the financial backing to do this". And that makes people feel good.

And so, according to the Executive Director, PPWR has gone from raising approximately $30 000 a year through donations to raising over $160 000 a year. Of course, the agency needed to hire a fund-raising co-ordinator to generate this income.

The Fund-raising Co-ordinator

Although PPWR did not have the money to hire another staff member in 1994, the assumption was that a Fund-raising Co-ordinator would earn her own salary, which she has. Like with all other positions at PPWR, there are no "typical days" for the Fund-raising Co-ordinator. Her busiest time of the year is when PPWR is sending out its annual fund-raising letter. She described the tasks involved:

> I write a letter that goes through several drafts and then you have to match it up with the database. We tailor our letters to different categories. A volunteer would get a different letter than an inactive donor or a potential donor, for example. It all sounds very simple when you say it, but it's not.

> The Fund-raising Co-ordinator's job does not end there however. She also writes

corporate letters and foundation proposals, such as the Kaufman Project proposal, which she says took about a year and a half of work. In addition to the annual mailings, PPWR also does cold mailings with lists of donors obtained from other agencies, such as the YWCA (Young Women's Christian Association). The Co-ordinator explained that "*that*, in a nutshell, is what fund-raising is all about. It's marketing your organization to the people in the community."

In order to learn new techniques and network with other fund-raising professionals, the co-ordinator belongs to a few fund-raising organizations and attends various workshops. The co-ordinator also works with the Executive Board in fund-raising development. That is, she trains Board members to go out into the community and do personal solicitations on behalf of Planned Parenthood. She is also responsible for training and supervising those volunteers that assist with fund-raising. And finally, the co-ordinator assumes most of the responsibility for the Administrative Assistant. This is because the Administrative Assistant handles most of the financial aspects and fund-raising paperwork, and has, for the most part, taken over duties that were once the responsibility of the Fund-raising Co-ordinator.

The Administrative Assistant

The Administrative Assistant, who works part-time, has a wide variety of duties at PPWR. She is responsible for anything from the day-to-day office management, to secretarial work and bookkeeping. The current Administrative Assistant offered the following description of her role:

I handle the database, the record keeping of all the donations, the issuing of receipts,

putting Thank You letters together. [The Fund-raising Co-ordinator] actually composes the letters, I just print them out. And then there's the day-to-day stuff that comes in, the phone calls, the reception, the bank deposits, the petty cash. I look after the Bingos in terms of chasing everybody to volunteer, as well as getting the money into the banks and filling out the Bingo reports to the City.

The Administrative Assistant is officially there to help out the entire staff, but she has reported that, for the most part, staff members do their administrative work on their own. Although she has handled a few projects for the Executive Director (such as create a permanent computer file for the annual grant request), the Counselling Co-ordinator and the Education Co-ordinator do not give her much work.

The Executive Director

The person who technically supervises all of these staff members and volunteers is the Executive Director.[47] In the Policies and Procedures Manual, the list of duties is long and far-reaching. That is, the Executive Director is responsible for the office management (such as monitoring general correspondence); overall financial matters (including working with the Fund-raising Co-ordinator); personnel tasks (hiring new staff, supervising and evaluating staff, and holding staff meetings); acting as the liaison between the staff and the Board and submitting reports to the Board; and finally, acting as the spokesperson for PPWR and maintaining links with other organizations, as well as being familiar with local politics. In fact, the Executive Director's role often takes her outside of the agency. In her own words,

> I need to have a broader focus, trying to sell the agency and our respectability to the community at large. I sit on different committees where I am representing PPWR.

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[47]However, she does not feel that supervising is a central aspect of her job (see Social Control section of Chapter Four).

I'm the major representative for the organization, the media contact. I now feel a pressure to be much more involved in fund-raising. And [I also] try to have a handle on the whole agency. So [my role is] not so detailed in one thing. Incredible how you get involved in paperwork!

Indeed, an important part of PPWR's ability to continue its services and sell its respectability to the community is maintaining links with the community and other organizations. Recently, the Executive Director has also become the Executive Director of Planned Parenthood Ontario. In addition to being involved with various committees and organizations, the Executive Director also feels it's important to stay active within the organization. She explained the reason for this:

I think it's really important to still somehow get involved with some of the programming, even to a small extent, to remember what it is you're out there doing and why you're doing all the administrative stuff, to make that happen.

As well, the Executive Director acts as the primary link between the organization and the Board. Since PPWR staff no longer attend board meetings, the Executive Director is responsible for keeping the lines of communication between these two levels, she acts as the "liaison."[48]

The Board

In addition to volunteers and staff, PPWR also has a volunteer Executive Board. The official task of the Board is "to establish policy, plan strategically for the future, supervise the Executive of the Agency, advocate the cause of Planned Parenthood and freedom of choice, and raise the funds necessary for the working of the Agency" (PPWR, 1996:15). The

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[48]See "Time" section in Chapter Five for a discussion of why staff does not attend Board meetings.

Executive Director, who is a member of the Board, explained that:

> The Board is responsible for the agency. [It is]legally responsible. So we have insurance advice and so forth from board members. The Board will set up policies by which we run the agency. We have an Executive Committee and we should have a Personnel Committee and a Hiring Committee is usually struck from the Personnel Committee. And the Board is also responsible for fund-raising, we've finally convinced the board of that, going out along with staff members and doing personal visits.

Basically, anything that may have major budget or legal implications is the responsibility of the Board.

However, the duties of the Board have been a source of problems at PPWR for some time. Staff have explained that for quite some time, it was not clear to what extent the Board should be involved in the day-to-day activities. In some instances, the Board would become very involved with staff duties and at other times the staff felt that they had no support or input from the Board. The Executive Director has explained that a key recent development at PPWR has been the delineation of staff-Board relations.[49]

3.4 Description of PPWR Offices

When examining how organizations are structured and how they achieve their goals, it is important to look at the atmosphere in which the people work. Are there several branches or offices? Do the individuals work in cubicles or do they have their own offices? Are there computers and other technical equipment? Is there a lounge area? All of these things say a lot about the organization. In this section I describe the PPWR offices and explain the underlying value system within the agency.

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[49]See Authority section of Chapter Four for further detail.

The Location

Planned Parenthood Waterloo Region (PPWR) is located in a medium-sized office building on the main street of Kitchener, near the border with the city of Waterloo. The location is readily accessible to clients as it is on the main bus route and there is free parking in the rear of the building. There is a large black and white sign in the front of the building which says "Planned Parenthood."[50]

PPWR's office has both a front and back door. Both office doors have the following inscription: "Planned Parenthood Waterloo Region: A Pro-Choice Agency," with the hours of operation and phone numbers below. However, because of on-going construction the front entrance has been closed for several months. In fact, the entire building and surrounding lot have been under construction since October 1997, as the building has changed owners and is being renovated. This has resulted in limited accessability to the agency. As well, the construction work being done inside the building has altered the appearance of the PPWR offices. For example, several ceiling tiles have been removed from the main office.[51]

The Layout

PPWR is composed of one main office and one separate but adjoining office. The main

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[50]This is a new sign which was installed by the new owner without consulting with the agency beforehand. The previous sign said "Planned Parenthood Waterloo Region: A Pro-Choice Agency." When asked, the staff indicated that they felt this sign may be better as it is more visible and does not say "pro-choice."

[51]This on-going construction is very distracting for the staff and volunteers. As well, the noise and various problems (such as the water being cut off) have negatively impacted on staff morale.

office includes a central area with a reception section, a waiting area, and a counselling

space. There are also four separate rooms: three staff offices and a counselling room.

The walls of the PPWR offices are painted a light pink colour and most of the

shelving units and filing cabinets are dark pink, as these are PPWR's colours. Although there

are no windows in the central section, each office has a long row of windows. As the office

doors are always kept open, a minimal amount of daylight comes through to the main area.

There are also many green plants displayed throughout the office, either on top of filing

cabinets or along the window ledges in the staff offices and the bathroom.

When clients come in through the front door, they see shelving units on either side of

the corridor. One of these units has several rows of brochures and pamphlets, which are

organized according to topics such as AIDS, STIs, violence, pregnancy, talking about sex and

community resources. These pamphlets are for distribution and clients are encouraged to

take them home. On the other side of the corridor there are three shelves on which there are

larger brochures, journals and newsletters, including the IPPF Annual Report, Pro-Choice

News, Orgyn (a women & health journal), Canadian Journal of Human Sexuality, and

SEXwise (the PPWR newsletter). These journals are for office use only, as PPWR has only

a limited number of copies.

Beside these pamphlets is a tall filing cabinet which contains a variety of information

relating to PPWR (old newsletters, newspaper articles, etc.), as well as any information

gathered on sexuality issues, pregnancy, the pro-choice movement, and so forth. On top of

this filing cabinet is a small basket which contains condoms and PPWR business cards.

Scattered around this basket are small piles of other business cards, such as the Sexual

Health Unit card, and some phone line cards, such as the Facts of Life Line.

Next to this filing cabinet is the Resource Centre. Each of these two units has approximately seven shelves of books and two shelves of journals on a wide range of topics (PPFC; birth control; family planning; government policies and programs; population; religious and ethical values; sex and sexual relationships; information, education and communication). Between the Resource Centre and the waiting area is a water cooler, which the staff often uses to fill up their mugs and water bottles or the tea kettle.

On the other side of the Resource Centre is the waiting area, which clients enter when they come in through the back door. There is a couch against the wall, which is large enough for two people. Next to this couch is a small table with a pile of magazines and a "bunny shaped" basket containing condoms, PPWR pamphlets, and cards for the Duke St. Aids Testing Clinic and the Facts of Life Line.

Throughout the main area there is a wide variety of signs and posters on the walls, including a sign for the New Herpes Vaccine research project conducted by a local doctor; a sign for the Waterloo Community Health Department; a sign for the Canadian Mental Health Association; a sign for a support group for expecting fathers; a sign for the Gay and Lesbian Liberation of Waterloo; and a sign for Marillac Place (a home for pregnant teenagers). There is also a large poster that says "Safe Sex for All" and has humourous drawings of different types of condoms (such as "the artist condom" or "the musician condom"); and above the couch there is a framed poster with pictures of families and individuals at different life stages with the inscription "Healthy Sexuality Lasts a Lifetime."

Also in the lobby of this main office are the reception area and the counselling desks.

The Administrative Assistant's desk faces the back door. There are two other tables for the computer and the printer (which is used by the staff and volunteers as well). In this space there are two large filing cabinets which contain most of the administrative paperwork (such as bank deposit books). There are also the mailboxes of the staff members, and a monthly planner on the wall with different colour codes for each PPWR program.

Directly across from the reception desk is the counselling area, which consists of two desks placed across from each other and perpendicular to the wall. There is, as well, a tall filing cabinet which contains all the resources needed for counselling and all of the CIS forms for the past year. The first desk, next to the Executive Director's office, is placed on a slight angle so that the occupant can greet the people who come in through the front door and who do not see the reception desk. Each desk has a phone and a variety of office supplies. On the main counselling desk are the resources used by the counsellors (CIS forms, Summary Sheets, etc), a "condom plant," and any recent newspaper clippings or memos. For example, if there was an article about PPWR in the local newspaper, it will be left on this desk for all counsellors to read. The second counselling desk has several information and reference books such as the community Blue Book, the Counselling Skills Book, phone books, and various pregnancy and sexuality information books. There is also a comment box in which clients drop their counselling session evaluation forms; and the counsellors' "mailboxes," which consist of a filing box in which each volunteers has her or his own folder. Also, above the main desk there is a board which usually has any news or upcoming events written on it. For example, from December 1997 to March 1998 it had a message asking for volunteers to run the Bingos, with each Bingo date and time, signed by the Fund-

raising Co-ordinator. In the corner of this board there is a small permanent drawing of a heart with the inscription "Love Carefully, Planned Parenthood."

In addition to the signs mentioned previously, there are also some large posters on the walls, some of which are framed. These include a large poster with the "Rights of the Client;" a women and Aids poster ("Knowing is Power"); and the PPWR bus advertisement which can currently be found in many local buses .[52]

In the passageway between this area and the offices, there is a large cabinet which contains all of PPWR's office supplies. On this cabinet there is a sheet which outlines each staff member's duties for the week, such as taking out the garbage or doing the dishes. In the corner there is a photocopying machine and a fax machine which are used by the entire office, and there is a recycling bin on the floor.[53]

The Counselling Room

The counselling room is primarily used for the counselling sessions, though it may at times be used for staff meetings. The centre of the room has four chairs placed in a circle. In the middle of this circle is a small table on which there is a calendar; a pregnancy wheel; a box of Kleenex; a stack of Pregnancy Test Information Sheets and a stack of PPWR Counselling Program Sheets.[54] Under the table is a birth control basket with all birth control methods and

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[52]Anyone using public transportation will often notice that these posters are defaced: the word "abortion" is scratched out.

[53]Taped to the photocopier is a comic strip with the words "Why is it that sometimes copiers reproduce and sometimes they won't? Maybe because they're pro-choice."

[54]This form describes our services and assures confidentiality.

instruments.

Against the walls are desks and shelving units on which are displayed a variety of resources and materials. For example, there are pamphlets on unplanned pregnancy decision-making; STIs; and summary sheets of birth control methods. On the desk there is a plastic reproduction of the female reproductive system, a basket of condoms, birth control pill samples, counselling service evaluation forms, a phone and Ultrasound appointment sheets. Also in this room, hidden in a corner, is the shredding machine which is used to dispose of confidential documents.

Like the main area, this room also has decorative material. Behind the chairs there is a tall artificial tree; a painting of flowers; and two halogen lamps which help to make the room friendly and welcoming. Closer to the entrance there is a comparative chart of birth control (which lists the advantages and disadvantages of all birth control methods) and two large framed pictures of both the female and male reproductive systems.

The Offices

All of the staff offices have a similar layout. Each has at least one desk, and some have an extra table or computer stand. Each office also has at least one large filing cabinet or two smaller ones. The only office in which there is no computer is the education office; and the Executive Director is the only person to have her own printer. In the education office there is also a small television which is used to view educational videos. And both the Counselling Co-ordinator and the Executive Director have sitting areas with two chairs on either side of a small table.

Staff members have several family pictures in their offices, either taped to the wall or in a picture frame. Most staff members also have items such as wooden penises, baskets of condoms, and various pamphlets spread throughout their offices. In fact, the Administrative Assistant has commented that "If you aren't comfortable working with a basket of condoms on your desk, this isn't the job for you!" There are also posters on all of the doors, such as "Love is caring enough to use a condom" or "World Aids Day" posters. The Fund-Raising Co-ordinator's office has an article clipping about the new Contraception Museum on her door, and the Executive Director's door has a collage of comic strips and caricatures revolving around sexuality and pro-choice values. Also in the Executive Director's office is a framed artwork of a naked woman lying down, and two baby shoes on the window ledge.[55]

Finally, PPWR also has a bathroom and a kitchen area, shared by the entire office. As you open the door of the education office, you pass through a small hallway which at the moment serves as a storage area with old posters, equipment for displays, a condom costume and so forth. Part of this office serves as a kitchen. There is a small fridge, a counter with a sink, a tea kettle, and cabinets above and below which contain cups and utensils. In the corner there is a small table with an old microwave oven. At the back of the main office is the bathroom. On the outside of the door is a poster from PPFC's 25th anniversary. Taped on the wall next to the toilet there is a comic strip that says "There's no sexism here because we don't hire men," as well as a poster for the Cambridge Sexual Wellness Clinic. Against the

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[55]These shoes were passed on by the previous Executive Director who explained that these shoes were representative of PPWR's mission. Although the current E.D. has said that she does not quite understand the connection, she feels that they are a symbol of PPWR and has left them in their place.

wall there is a small cabinet in which there is a box of pregnancy tests and a box of

tampons. Beside this cabinet there is a small lamp that reaches over (for conducting the

pregnancy tests) and a box of latex gloves (for sanitary protection).

3.5 Conclusion

In sum, there is a sense of separation built into PPWR's office. The counselling section is

separate from the education section, and all staff members have their own offices. However,

PPWR is quite small and one can hardly avoid contact with the other people in the office.[56]

As well, the Executive Director has explained that this layout is simply "what works." It was

not *intended* that the education office be separate from the main office. Further, the staff

members always leave their office doors open, thereby reinforcing the welcoming

atmosphere.

Jones (1996) argues that an organization's culture influences, and is influenced by,

the the physical qualitites of the organization. He defined organizational culture as "a system

of symbols that generates solidarity among organizational participants and...as contributing

to system stability" (Jones, 1996:151). Thus, the symbols found throughout the PPWR

offices are meaningful evidence of the organization's culture.

In many ways, PPWR's offices contain symbols of the bureaucratic organization. The

offices contain the range of technical equipment which can be found in all corporate offices,

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[56]See the Social Relations section of Chapter Four.

such as phones, computers, a fax and a photocopier, and even one television.[57] However, the decorative material is much more representative of PPWR's culture. The numerous posters and signs reflect feminist values and issues. Even more significant, the paraphernalia such as wooden penises and condom plants are testaments to the agency's stance on sexuality issues. There is no subject or issue which is taboo at PPWR. Participants and clients are encouraged to be open with their sexuality. Finally, the humourous posters and comic strips reinforce that healthy sexuality can be both educational and fun. Although the agency views healthy sexuality and women's reproductive freedom as serious issues, participants never lose sight of the need to laugh.

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[57]In the latest Grant application, PPWR asked for funds to buy a computer for the education program. The request was turned down.

CHAPTER FOUR:

ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE OF PPWR

In Chapter One I explain that according to organization theory the ideal form of organization is the bureaucracy. I argue that, in spite of the existence of criticisms and alternative theories, all of the traditional organization theories are derived from Weber's ideal type and incorporate at least some of the characteristics of that ideal type. Alternative organizations formed in response to the growing number of democratic organizations and some feminist theorists have constructed an alternative ideal type of organization: the collective.

The goal of this research is to examine how PPWR is organized to achieve its goals, as described in Chapter Three. In this chapter, I examine how PPWR's organizational structure fits the models set out in Table 1 (Appendix 1). I look at each organization characteristic in sequence to determine PPWR's place in the dichotomy. For each of the characteristics, I use examples and illustrations most representative of PPWR.

4.1 Recruitment and Advancement

The forms of recruitment, training and advancement of members reflect the values and goals of an organization. Whereas in bureaucracies recruitment is based on formal qualifications, experience and professional training; in consensual organizations it is based on friendship networks, political values and personal traits (Rothschild and Whitt, 1986:55). Further, in the bureaucratic organization training is skill oriented and highly technical, and directly affects one's chances of advancing in the hierarchy. In the collective type of organization,

advancement is not a goal since there is, ideally, no hierarchy for one to advance in.

PPWR's Policies and Procedures Manual documents the required skills of some of the staff members (such as the Administrative Assistant and the Fund-raising Co-ordinator only) as well as a list of requirements for the volunteers. However, the first and foremost criterion for selecting any member of the organization, whether volunteer, staff member or board member, is that the person hold pro-choice values. The Executive Director explained that when selecting potential members:

> A pro-choice belief system is key. That's the first [interview] question. If you don't have that, let's not even bother with the rest of the interview. I think that's more important than a skill set, you can learn a skill set. If I ever thought that somebody in this office was sort of leering at a client, I couldn't do that to a client. I don't care if that person was the most efficient person.

And in effect, the staff and volunteers progressively learn the necessary skills for their respective positions. As mentioned previously, the volunteers develop many of their required skills through the training process. For the staff, skill development is an on-going process. The Fund-raising Co-ordinator, for example, started with only a faint idea of what fund-raising involved. She confided that:

> When I first started doing this I really had no idea what fund-raising was about. I just thought "Well, I can write letters, sure"...I learned as I went along.

This does not mean, however, that the people working at PPWR are not qualified for their jobs. Rothschild and Whitt (1986: 56) state that "in spite of their studied neglect of formal criteria of competence (e.g., certification), alternative organizations often attract highly qualified and able people." Most of the PPWR staff members have at least some background experience in the work that they do. For example, the Fund-raising Co-ordinator

worked as a "marketing representative in sales" for a national corporation, and the

Counselling Co-ordinator "had a background in providing women with pregnancy options

counselling" as a part of her Bachelor of Social Work placement. As well, most of the staff

currently working at PPWR started by volunteering with the agency. The Fund-Raising Co-

ordinator, Counselling Co-ordinator and Executive Director all participated in the

counselling training, and the Kaufman Project Co-ordinator started by co-facilitating the

Parents For Healthy Sexuality Program. Thus, when these people were selected for their

respective positions, their skills and experience were taken into consideration.

Personal attributes such as self-direction and collaboration are equally important to

the recruitment process (Rothschild and Whitt, 1986:54). The Counselling Co-ordinator

explained that, in addition to making sure that she held pro-choice values, her interviewers:

> (...) also looked at my skills around not only counselling but inter-personal skills, the
> ability or non-ability to work with people and to supervise people, to support people
> in their roles here. A lot of what I do is in terms of support around the counselling
> program. Those were the two main things.

Similarly, the Administrative Assistant, explained her interview process as follows:

> We talked about computer knowledge and bookkeeping, you know, "Can you get the
> office work done?" As well as how comfortable I would be working in this
> environment. I don't believe they asked me any personal values, but would I be
> comfortable dealing with a variety of different issues that can come up here? I am
> pro-choice...That was certainly part of it. They wanted someone who would fit in.

The Executive Director explained that there are many qualified people "out there." Finding

individuals with the various professional skills that PPWR requires is not difficult. The key

is to find qualified people who also espouse PPWR's fundamental values and who will feel

at ease working in this environment. And so, before a person is hired, an important

consideration is that person's ability to be a part of the existing team. The Executive Director

explained that:

> I really believe that when you are hiring someone, the people who are going to be
> working with that person need to meet the person first and at least have an input in
> that, do I think I can work with that person?

The hiring process varies by position. Volunteers are usually interviewed by the

Counselling Co-ordinator, unless they specify that they only want to do education work. In

this case they may be interviewed by the Education Co-ordinator or the Executive Director.

The decision to accept prospective volunteers is left entirely to the discretion of the person

who conducted the interview. With the staff, however, an applicant is interviewed by the

Hiring Committee made up of the Executive Director, the President of the Board, and the

Chairperson of the Personal Committee (when there is one) (PPWR, 1996:9). Recruitment of

new staff members is done primarily from the existing members of PPWR. According to the

Executive Director, the process is as follows:

> Normally we would advertise a position. Ideally we like to advertise it internally first
> and that means this agency in particular. Depending on the position, we will also put
> it out to other Planned Parenthoods, especially the Ontario affiliates. If we don't have
> the response from that pool of people then we will go to a general advertisement.
> Another step in between that would be non-for-profit community organizations. So
> the idea is to make the position available to people who are involved in the
> organization.

An example of this is in the latest Education Committee meeting where the Executive

Director made it known that PPWR would soon hire a part-time Education Co-ordinator. She

invited interested volunteers to apply. There are times, however, when a position is not

openly advertised, even within the organization. For previous openings, such as the Kaufman

Project Co-ordinator, none of the volunteers that I interviewed was asked to apply. As well,

when PPWR hired a student over the summer in the previous year, the Counselling Co-ordinator said that it was very likely that not all volunteers were made aware of the position. It would therefore seem that the existing Board and staff may decide beforehand whom they would like to see apply for the position.

As for the volunteers, it is assumed that if they have these basic values, they can learn the rest through training and on-the-job experience. The Counselling Co-ordinator explained that when interviewing potential volunteers, she focuses on personal qualities:

> It's quite an intensive interview process, some have said it's worse than a job (interview)! What I want to find out about people is more in terms of their values. I also look at their ability to communicate, and confidence levels.

To find people with these qualities, PPWR recruits volunteers from several sources. First, they have a file in the local Volunteer Action Centre. One volunteer told me that when she went to the Action Centre, PPWR was one of the only places where you didn't have to be 18 years old to volunteer, and this was one of the reasons why she came here. Often, volunteers also come to PPWR though personal contacts, or because they have used the services themselves in the past. One volunteer explained how she came to Planned Parenthood:

> I had used the services before and my friend did it (volunteering) and she told me what a great experience it was for her. So I've been doing it ever since.

A majority of the volunteers, however, come to PPWR from the two local universities. Some hear about PPWR when the Executive Director gives a presentation in their class. Others are required to complete a volunteer placement as part of their Community Psychology course. The former Education Co-ordinator explained that:

> We're very fortunate here in that because we're in a city that has several sexuality programs, we can go to the university and get people that are already fairly educated

in sexuality issues. It's phenomenal if you can have that core base. That's where a large portion of our volunteers come from.

The members of the Board are also volunteers, but the way in which they are recruited varies considerably from the other volunteer base. The Fund-Raising Co-ordinator, who was once herself a member of the Board, attributes some of the problems with the Board to the lack of selection criteria:

> We aren't really strict with our criteria. There is criteria that is written out for people interested in the Board, but most of the time it's just anyone who is interested, because we're looking for people.

Most of the time, members join the Board through personal contacts and they don't necessarily have any related experience. A previous board member confided that:

> When I was asked to come on the Board (by a friend), I agreed because I was interested in the agency. But I really didn't know what Boards did and it took some time to figure out where I belonged.

As noted above, many staff members start out as volunteers with PPWR. This means that advancement within the agency is quite frequent, and can happen at a rapid pace. In effect, there is no policy with regards to "moving through the ranks." Each situation is evaluated on an individual basis since PPWR is more concerned with finding the right person for the job than emphasizing formal qualifications. In the following statement, the Fund-Raising Co-ordinator explained how she has moved around within the agency:

> I started of as a counselling volunteer but I didn't do that for very long...From there I went on to do some education work with the past Executive Director. We went off to a lot of schools and did workshops. From there I went to the Board. I was on the Board for three years and while I was doing that I also helped out in an administrative capacity. From there I became the fund-raiser. It's amazing how fast you get promoted in this place!

Rothschild and Whitt (1986: 56) explain that advancement is not a meaningful concept

within collectives because there is minimal role differentiation and hierarchy. Thus, the very idea advancement is really a moot point. This is not the case for PPWR where, as I have just noted, advancement is both possible and often desirable. This does not mean, however, that advancement is highly valued. The people who volunteer their time do not do so with the *intention* of becoming the Executive Director.[58] Often, it just happens that there is an opening which fits with the individual's personal goals, and the person believes that she or he could bring a lot to the agency. The Counselling Co-ordinator, for example, did not join PPWR with the intention of obtaining paid employment. She explained how and why she became a co-ordinator:

> I volunteered with Planned Parenthood because I was at home with the kids and I wanted some adult contact. I went through the training and then the position came up and I thought "Well, part-time", and it was an area that really interested me...I guess because I am a mother and I've gone through many life experiences with regards to sexuality, I think that really helps. I've had a miscarriage, I've had an abortion, I've had a pregnancy, I've had relationships, good and not so good. Just life experience, it helps me to do the job and be able to commit [to it].

Participants often change or alternate roles. Volunteers may become part of the staff, or an education volunteer may decide to become a counselling volunteer. Although moving around within PPWR is frequent, there really is no established direction. For example, one of the education volunteers started by working on the Board and said that "basically through my five years on the Board what I really learned was that I wanted to be a volunteer, and that was fine." There is no social stigma attached to moving backward through the hierarchical structure.

In sum, the only consistent criterion for joining PPWR is that one hold pro-choice

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[58]See Incentive Structure section in this chapter.

values. Although practical experience is also a consideration when staff members are selected, no level of experience can compensate for not being able to join the team. It would therefore appear that the relevant attributes listed by Rothschild and Whitt (1986: 56) also pertain to PPWR. These include "articulation skills, ability to organize and mobilize people, political values, self-direction, ability to work under pressure, friendship, commitment to the organization's goals, cooperative style, and relevant experience," though not necessarily in that order.

4.2 <u>Authority</u>

The basis of authority is the key variable in any organizational analysis. Both Weber (1946b) and Rothschild and Whitt (1986) construct their ideal type of the organization based on this defining characteristic. In Weber's ideal bureaucratic structure, authority is vested in the individual according to an hierarchical ranking. But this hierarchical basis of authority is specifically what members of alternative organizations want to avoid. They believe that social order can be maintained without recourse to formal authority (Rothschild and Whitt, 1986:51). They argue that individuals are capable of co-operative behavior and can exert self-discipline. In this section, I document the authority structure of PPWR.

As I point out in Chapter Three, there are several organizational levels in PPWR (see Appendix 5). The co-ordinators supervise the volunteers; the Executive Director supervises the staff; and the Board both supervises the Executive Director and makes decisions on behalf of the entire agency. I have used the term *supervision* because it is the concept used in the organizational models. However, the reality of PPWR is that no one is "supervised," in

the true meaning of the word.[59] In effect, the volunteers and the staff members of PPWR

work quite independently and do not require formal supervision. Although the Executive

Director is the official staff supervisor, each of the co-ordinators assumes responsibility for

her programs and does not need to consult with the Executive Director on every decision.

The Counselling Co-ordinator explained:

> I make the decisions in this program. I run the program very independently. I guess
> that's part of the reason why a person is hired, so that they can do their job. If I need
> to let the E.D. know about an issue, I will let her know. But in terms of the day-to-day
> basis, I make the decisions.

Thus, authority is based on the individual's capacity to make responsible decisions

based on her position within the agency. However, it is not necessarily the case that authority

is determined by rank. Rather, individuals are *trusted* by others to make mature and

responsible decisions. This is why volunteers, who technically are at the bottom of PPWR's

organizational pyramid, are allowed a great deal of decision-making freedom. The

Counselling Co-ordinator had this to say about supervising the volunteers: "I trust what's

being done. I guess obviously I have to trust that I've trained them well." Indeed, all of the

volunteers that I spoke to said that they felt trusted by others and never sensed that they were

watched or supervised.

If a decision affects the entire program or agency, final decision-making power does

belong to the staff and the Board, depending on the issue. Consensual decision-making,

though viewed as desirable by everyone at PPWR, is recognized as a rare possibility. One of

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[59]Jones (1996: 128) explains that supervision is needed "to achieve control in an
organization." Supervision can involve the use of direct orders, written rules, or formal
evaluation procedures.

the reasons why PPWR has a staff and a Board is to make the organization run more

effectively. The Executive Director justified the hierarchical authority structure as follows:

> Because somebody has to take the ultimate responsibility and deal with all the crap if it's not going well. At some point somebody has to make a decision. And if you're going to run around and try to get consensus from everybody, that's not going to work.

This does not imply, however, that there is no democratic process. The Executive Director

qualified the statement above by adding:

> I think the main difference in how we operate from a traditional model would be that everybody gets input, and I hope everybody else would say this, and believes that their input is being heard and that there's discussion around [issues] and somebody says "Ok, out of all that discussion let's go this route." Which might not be to everybody's liking but generally it's working with everybody's views and preferences.

> Based on this information, it is difficult to assess whether PPWR follows a

consensual decision-making process, defined by Rothschild and Whitt (1986: 51) as a

process wherein "all members participate in the collective formulation of problems and

negotiation of decision." The mere existence of supervisors who hold final decision-making

power implies that there is an hierarchical authority structure. Nonetheless, there is some

evidence of a consensual process. Supporting the statement made by the Executive Director,

a volunteer explained the brainstorming and decision-making process as follows:

> There's a lot of discussion about things and everybody gets an opportunity to voice their opinion. I think there are certainly going to be times where your idea isn't as good as somebody else's and that's not necessarily that "Hey, they're putting me down," but this is a better idea and it becomes, not quite self-sacrificing but it's like, this is for something else, this is not about me, this is not about my issue, this is not about my ego, this is about the organization, this is about providing a competent service. So if you come up with a good idea then everybody is right on it, it's like "Ya, let's work with that."

Even with the best intentions, consensual decision-making is not always possible in organizations. Rothschild and Whitt (1986) contend that if a consensual system is to be effective, the participants must be capable of disciplined, co-operative behavior. Most of the participants of PPWR demonstrate such qualities. Further, when individuals are asked to do something, this is treated more as a *request* than as an order. For example, when staff members would like volunteer assistance, they always use the phrases "Could you please" or "Would you mind." One incident which illustrates this point occurred during one of my observation periods when the Executive Director asked a volunteer if she could speak to her. The volunteer immediately jumped up and said "Yes!" The Executive Director laughed and replied "It doesn't have to be right away. Why does everybody jump whenever I say something?". Therefore, even though there are individuals who hold more authority than others, they do not exhibit autocratic styles of leadership.

Michels argued that if levels of authority are not clearly defined and monitored, the organization may succumb to his Iron Law of Oligarchy (Ianello, 1992).[60] Indeed, the staff members have confided that there are times where the lines of responsibility and authority can get blurred, especially between the staff and the Board. A previous board member explained the intricacies of the situation:

> There's always been the sort of thing where the Board is doing too much of the staff stuff, and it goes the other way where the staff feels it needs more involvement from the Board. So it's constantly an on-going process of figuring out how far each jurisdiction goes.

It is only recently that the agency has been able to clearly identify and delineate staff

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[60]See discussion of organization theory in Chapter One.

responsibility and Board responsibility. There is a more equal division of power now as,

according to a staff member, "the Board is especially careful that the staff doesn't try to run

things."

In sum, PPWR is an organization with variation in hierarchical structure, and with

some individuals who exercise more authority over certain areas. These authority relations

are built directly into the agency's constitution. However, the participants within the

organization do not always exercise the authority which is vested in them. As well, decisions

are reached through consensus as often as possible, and individuals feel that they have a

participatory role in the functioning of the agency. However, Jones (1996:128) summarizes

the reality of PPWR in the following statement:

> Even if control is modified by members having the opportunity to participate in
> policy decisions or in creating rules..., the fact that there are individuals whose roles
> require them to execute policy and supervise routine activities means that there is
> unequal access to information and unequal opportunity to take action.

4.3 Rules

Authority is vested in individuals through their capacity to issue direct orders or supervision.

In addition, the use of formal rules is an important characteristic of the bureaucratic form.

Jones (1996: 124) explains that "to the extent that a satisfactory level of compliance with

rules is achieved, they are an efficient substitute for the direct intervention of those in

authority." In collectivist organizations, however, any form of authority is avoided, including

the use of formal rules. Instead, order is maintained through a widespread acceptance of the

norms of participation. Rothschild and Whitt (1986) recognize however, that this is not

always possible, nor desirable, depending on the goals of the organization. The key,

therefore, is to "*reduce* drastically the number of spheres of organizational activity subject to explicit rule governance" (Rothschild and Whitt, 1986:52, emphasis added).

To ensure the proper functioning of the agency, PPWR has several Policies and Procedures manuals. There is a policy manual geared specifically to the volunteers, and another for the staff and board members. These manuals detail the job description of all the participants (paid and volunteer), as well as the numerous policies and procedures.[61] For example, there are general policies, such as how to handle harassment, sick leave, and termination, and there are more specific policies which detail staff and volunteer training and evaluation procedures.

However, all of the participants I spoke to agreed that these policies are not strictly enforced. In fact, most of the volunteers interviewed were not even aware that there are Policies and Procedures manuals. Although staff members are familiar with these policies, they have all said that most problems or complaints are dealt with informally; only in extreme cases do they need to resort to "doing it by the book." For example, in the Volunteer Policies and Procedures Manual (1995: 7) volunteers are advised that "it is not appropriate to become friends with clients." This rule is not communicated to volunteers (unless they have read the manual, which most haven't), and its application is haphazard. That is, I have witnessed volunteers bring in their friends for counselling (the volunteer in question acting as the person's counsellor). As well, there are times where a counsellor may become very close to a client. One counsellor, for example, has maintained close contact with a client who calls and visits on a regular basis.

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[61]See *PPWR Policies and Procedures Manual* (PPWR, 1994).

It therefore appears that PPWR's use of the rules manual conforms to the pattern of the ideal collective where, as Rothschild and Whitt (1986: 53) assert, rules "are not carved in stone, nor are they passed down from above." In fact, most staff members have indicated that they would prefer to not use rules at all. If there is a problematic situation, they will first try to resolve it without recourse to formal rules. And so, although the policies manual clearly states that a volunteer who cancels a third shift within an eight week period is subject to automatic dismissal, the Counselling Co-ordinator explained that she tries to work with the volunteer in solving the problem. If this policy were strictly enforced, without consideration to a person's particular circumstance, there would be fewer volunteers at PPWR. The staff members try to find solutions which not only accommodate the volunteer, but also benefit the organization.

Rothschild and Whitt (1986: 53) further explain that the use of rules can be necessary when there is a high turnover rate. As with most alternative organizations, PPWR participants do not stay very long (especially the volunteers); and there is a continual flow of new members to the organization. In this situation, the use of written rules can help to communicate to the new participants the expectations of the already existing group. This allows the group to maintain a level of consistency despite numerous comings and goings.

It is therefore assumed that participants will adhere to written and unwritten norms of participation. Of course, reliance on norms is possible only when there is an homogeneous group with similar values and goals. In PPWR, this homogeneity is attained primarily by means of specific recruiting strategies, which were discussed earlier. Although for the most part the participants adhere to the norms of participation, there are times when relying on

norms does not work. For example, when there was a very low turnout for the education committee meeting right after Christmas, one volunteer commented that she probably should have called people to remind them of the meeting. But the Executive Director replied "No, we're all big people, these big people (referring to the people there) remembered, didn't they?" It is expected that individuals will accept the responsibility given to them. Indeed, I have often heard staff members comment that they do not like to "chase after people." But the reality of working with volunteers is that often they will only participate to a minimum. During the latest counselling meeting, the few people that attended decided that it should become mandatory to attend monthly meetings. The Counselling Co-ordinator agreed that unless they were obligated to attend, most volunteers would likely choose not to.

In sum, there are written procedural rules, but these rules are there mainly to ensure continuity and in case of particularly serious circumstances. Emphasis is not placed on these rules, however, as PPWR relies heavily on norms of participation. These norms are followed, not only because the recruiting strategies of the agency guarantee a homogeneous group, but because there are also other forms of social control at work.

4.4 Social Control

Within the bureaucratic model, social control is crucial so that the people at the bottom of the hierarchy will "effectively understand and implement the aims of those at the top" (Rothschild and Whitt, 1986:54). Forms of social control, which assure maximum efficiency, are necessary because not all members of the organization have the same intentions, values, interests, and so forth. There are two ways in which this can be achieved: either through

direct supervision or through the use of standardized rules, procedures and sanctions. In collective organizations there is no need for social control measures since, theoretically, all of the members of the organization share similar values and goals. In the previous sections I argued that PPWR avoids both centralized authority and the use of formal rules. One would then conclude that participants share a common purpose and a rely upon "personalistic and moral appeals" to get the work done (Rothschild and Whitt, 1986:54).

The members of PPWR share a common purpose. Each person who contributes their time to PPWR, be it paid or voluntary, is dedicated to sexual and reproductive freedom and choice. One participant offered the following explanation when she was asked why she feels that PPWR's work is important:

> You know that you have to be here. You watch the videos and read the historical [information] about what has gone on for women that did not have these services (abortion and sex education) available. I just remind myself that we are not going back there: *I'm* not going back; I don't want my *daughter* to go back; I don't want my *grand-daughters* to go back. So I will be strong and fight the fight. I don't want somebody else to go through what my grand-mothers have. I try to always keep that in a corner of my mind.

The specific conditions under which volunteers and staff join PPWR vary considerably, but each participant wants to play a part in decimating information around healthy sexuality. One counselling volunteer explained her reason for joining Planned Parenthood:

> The reason why I choose to do this is that I think women have the right to access the correct information. It really bothers me when I see so many inconsistencies and unfairness with what they know. They are afraid to find out sometimes, or they just feel that they have no choice and they are scared. I really want to help people. Mostly because I think you should have access to this information, and I think it's your choice to do whatever you want...And as you get older, suddenly you're thinking "My God, I want to make sure that those kids have that information so they don't go through the kind of stuff that I know some people have."

Because everyone at PPWR shares a common interest, there is in effect no need for social control measures to assure that members will adhere to the organization's goals.

Moreover, because the members *want* to participate and because they *want* to help, compliance with requests is always normative. Throughout my experience with PPWR, I have never heard anyone refuse another person's request. Whether it is the Executive Director or a fellow volunteer asking for help with a particular chore, they are equally respected. Rothschild and Whitt (1986) argue that these moralistic and personalistic appeals are most efficient when the participants form a homogeneous group. By the simple fact that everyone at PPWR is pro-choice, the group has a homogeneous component.[62] However, the group is also quite diverse and unique. One volunteer had this to say about the participants of PPWR:

> The context in which people want to experience their sexuality varies quite dramatically. There are people who are quite comfortable having sex with people that they don't know well and doing that quite frequently throughout their life, and that's ok...There are others that associate sex with being married. And there's probably people who really don't have any sexual experience, it's not a real interest to them, though I don't think we see a lot of those volunteering.

All personalities and lifestyles are represented by the members of PPWR. Participants include single people, parents, gays and lesbians, university students, business people, outgoing people, and quiet and reserved people.[63] But the Executive Director views this diversity as a positive aspect. She offered the following comment:

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[62]See Recruitment and Advancement section in this chapter.

[63]These are not intended as mutually exclusive categories. For example, one volunteer could be described as a young, male, gay university student who is energetic and outgoing.

> We all have very strong personalities here. And I think that because we are little, your personality doesn't get smothered, so it can lead to more interesting times.

But perhaps the reason why these differences do not affect the group's ability to work together is that all members value tolerance and acceptance. A veteran volunteer described the general atmosphere of PPWR as follows:

> Although people here are very respectful of each other, not everybody here shares the same opinions or has the same beliefs. What I've encountered here is that people really aren't judgmental, or at least they don't voice it, so it's really an air of acceptance which is great to work or volunteer in.

Rothschild and Whitt (1986) claim that, because consensus is crucial, the democratic organization will only select members who are likely to comply with the group's decision. This is not the case with PPWR. Although everyone at PPWR has the same goal, there are can be disagreements over *how* to achieve those goals. For example, everyone agrees that it is important to teach the youth in the community about healthy sexuality. Exactly how to achieve this, however, can be a subject of debate. Recently, PPWR was invited to set up a display at a high school health fair but was specifically instructed by the school board not to distribute condoms or birth control information. There was some disagreement, and much discussion, within PPWR about whether or not to attend the health fair, and if so, whether to follow these orders. PPWR eventually decided to comply with the instructions but a veteran education volunteer expressed his position on the issue as follows:

> I feel that we really have to be cautious of how much we compromise...Let's get out there and take the hits and be who we are...I would have just gone and talked about it anyway. I would have given [condoms] out, I would have totally ignored [the directions].

However disagreements which may arise, such as this one, are not necessarily seen by

participants in a negative light. They realize that reaching complete consensus is not always possible, and that there are times where people will have differing opinions. What is crucial to PPWR staff and volunteers is that they be sure that their opinions will be heard. In the following statement, the Education Co-ordinator expressed the prevailing sentiment among all those I interviewed:

> I don't expect that [my opinions] will always be written into law. But of course, an expectation of mine is to be heard, and I haven't run into any difficulties with that.

Thus, because of the shared values and cooperative qualities of most PPWR participants, there is minimal need for, and use of, formal or informal sanctions. There are some situations, however, where sanctions are necessary. This is usually the case when a behaviour or action is interfering with the agency's ability to get the work done. Although the staff at PPWR generally do not like to resort to punitive measures, they recognize them as necessary at times. In the following statement the Counselling Co-ordinator expressed her dislike of sanctions:

> Discipline is always such a harsh term, I try not to [discipline volunteers]. I guess there's a lot of diplomacy that's involved in this position.

And so, when there is a problematic situation, supervisors may first talk to the person concerned and try to resolve the existing conflict. For example, if a volunteer is consistently late and/or missing shifts, the Counselling Co-ordinator has said that she would try to find out the cause of this behaviour and try to find an alternative arrangement. Sanctions have included dismissing people. However, such severe sanctions are rarely applied. A staff member was dismissed for the last time several years ago. All staff members interviewed

insisted that this was an isolated and unfortunate incident.[64]

Based on these observations, I conclude that social control is exercised at PPWR primarily through a continual reinforcement of core values and beliefs. Even though all of those who join PPWR already share fundamental values, such as being pro-choice, value reinforcement is also achieved through other means. For example, all PPWR volunteers are required to participate in training sessions. Although the main function of training is to provide volunteers with the skills and information that they need to perform their job, the values clarification workshops have a profound effect on volunteers' lives and personalities. The following excerpt from the volunteer training manual demonstrates PPWR's stand on personal values and beliefs:

> Participants should have an understanding of their own value-laden beliefs and accept these as being O.K. as long as these beliefs do not interfere with the helping process. By remaining conscious of the fact that we do not all share similar beliefs, we can own our own feelings and know our own boundaries. Hence, we must non-judgementally accept the feelings of others and not become emotionally entangled in a client's situation.

This is a crucial step in volunteer training. By internalizing these values, volunteers develop the qualities necessary to provide supportive and non-judgmental services. The Counselling Co-ordinator commented that this is a meaningful experience for volunteers:

> I think that each person that goes through training grows incredibly from that experience and I think they take that and become better people, just more in tune with others. And it reflects in your own relationships with people and your own listening to people, and being non-judgmental and accepting people. I think if we've

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[64]After having completed this research, a recently trained volunteer was asked by PPWR staff to discontinue volunteering. Although the staff members did not offer much detail, they explained that there was a growing concern that the volunteer in question was being judgmental and was not comfortable with various sexuality issues. This further demonstrates the importance of indirect social control through value reinforcement.

got a core group of people that can spread that type of communication, it's work well done.

Indeed, one of the new counselling volunteers told me that since she had gone though the training, her relationship with her partner had changed considerably. She explained that she is much more aware of the importance of communication and support within personal relationships.Thus, volunteers are continually encouraged to develop personality qualities which are viewed as positive.

There are also more indirect ways in which values are reinforced on a daily basis. Participants will often say and/or do things which encourage and reinforce the agency's values. Examples of this were numerous throughout my observation period. I overheard and participated in many conversations which dealt with issues such as abortion, birth control, sexism, harassment, women's health and relationships. During one of my shifts, for example, a discussion began on television shows and soap operas. The conversation then turned to the "political correctness" of abortion as a volunteer remarked that abortion is never considered as an option when characters in these shows are faced with unplanned pregnancies.

There are also many physical reinforcements in the form of posters and newspaper articles distributed throughout the office. For example, during my field research I noted the following:

> Amy looked at one of the newspaper clippings on the wall and said to me "I don't get it, what does this mean?" It was a picture of the Prime Minister and several Premiers taken in 1996. Underneath the picture, someone had written "What's wrong with this picture?" I said to Amy that I assumed the comment referred to the fact that there were no women in the picture. Olivia, standing near by, gave a similar response. Then Maureen added that the men were also all white and middle aged. This led to a

discussion on gender representation within government.[65]

As well, newspaper articles are often distributed throughout the office. As issues dealing with sexuality and reproductive rights are current and continually changing, the members of PPWR need to be kept up to date on current trends and information. Indeed, some of the articles relate to new contraceptive technology and statistics on pregnancy rates and abortion. The majority of newspaper articles passed around PPWR, however, deal with the pro-choice/pro-life debate. Before passing them on to volunteers, the Executive Director will often underline particular passages and write comments in the margin such as "Will they never give it a rest?," or, "Oh, how sad."

In sum, the use of social control within PPWR is informal. It is achieved primarily through indirect measures such as maintaining a homogeneous group and reinforcing core values. Only in extreme circumstances will the staff members resort to implementing formal sanctions.

4.5 Social Relations

In an hierarchically structured organization, impersonal social relations are equated with professionalism. As Rothschild and Whitt (1986: 55) explain, "personal emotions are to be prevented from distorting rational judgements." But in feminist organizations, rationality is not a goal. Relationships are valued and are both affective and holistic. Although Rothschild and Whitt (1986) do not place much emphasis on social relations in their analysis, I examine this feature in detail, as this emerged as a key characteristic of PPWR.

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[65]All names used in this thesis are fictional so as to not identify the participants.

Several of the participants that I spoke to told me that although they felt the people at PPWR were very friendly, they did not know everyone in the organization. One volunteer confided that she was quite troubled by the fact that she did not know very many of the staff or new volunteers. Another volunteer also expressed his desire to get to know people better:

> One of the areas where I feel a little disappointed is that I would like to have more social functions, where people get together more often to really know each other better.

It therefore appears that social relations and personal contact are very important and valued by the members of PPWR. Despite the fact that there are people who feel that there is not enough social interaction, the overriding atmosphere of PPWR is quite friendly and welcoming. Everyone uses first names to address co-workers. And there is indeed an atmosphere of openness. The workers at PPWR are usually very willing to discuss their personal experiences with other participants. From the first day of training, volunteers are encouraged by the Counselling Co-ordinator to discuss values, emotions, and personal experiences. For example, during training, the Counselling Co-ordinator asked volunteers to tell the group what they would do if they found out that they, or their partners, became pregnant. As well, meetings usually start with an icebreaker or a casual discussion. For example, at a recent education committee meeting, the first activity was the "toilet paper game." In this game, each person is asked to take the amount of toilet paper they would normally use in a sitting. Then, for each square of paper, the person has to say something about themselves.

Furthermore, relationships are on the whole affective, and co-workers have genuine concern for each other's well being. Although not everyone is close with everyone else,

bonds do form between individuals. For example, the Counselling Co-ordinator will often ask volunteers how things are going and inquire about their personal lives. Often these conversations will be quite lengthy and several volunteers jokingly refer to her as their "personal counsellor." During one of my shifts, I saw a staff member sit down with the Executive Director to discuss family problems. Neither situation is considered rare or unusual at PPWR. And as a feature of these affective relationships, there is also quite a bit of physical contact among members. For example, when PPWR recently won the Public Health Unit grant, participants were exchanging hugs and patting each other on the back. Of course, the longer one is involved with PPWR, the more co-workers they will come to know and the closer they may become with others.

Although there are intense emotional relationships, the general ambience at PPWR is usually lighthearted and fun. There is a great deal of laughter and joking within the agency, and groups will often gather to converse about a wide range of topics. As I noted in the previous section, discussion topics include anything from movies to menopause. Further, there is really no discussion topic which is perceived as "inappropriate." The staff and volunteers will often engage in discussions on sexuality issues which may be considered explicit or very personal by an outsider. As well, the general atmosphere is one of teasing, as most of the people at PPWR have the ability to laugh at themselves. In fact, even those who are technically supervisors are often the brunt of jokes. There is never any sense that one "cannot make fun of the boss." In summary, the Administrative Assistant offered the following description of social relations within the organization:

They are certainly very friendly and the staff makes an effort to contact each other

outside of work, and we make an effort to get together and socialize, like Christmas parties and lunches and so forth. And particularly Olivia is very good at coming and asking "So, how are you today? How was your weekend?," and trying to find out how the person is doing, not how the job is going! And I don't think I've seen any personal bickering, you know, there are professional issues though.

Indeed, none of the people interviewed could recall problems or tensions among the participants, at least not on a personal level. That is, all interviewees implied that relationships are dichotomized: they view others as *co-workers* and as *friends*. That means that relations may be more serious when interacting as co-workers. However, professional problems do not affect personal relationships. And so, although individuals may disagree over work issues, they can still be friendly to each other and appreciate that level of the relationship.

From my interviews and observations, however, it appears that relations are in fact somewhat more complicated between staff and/or board members. That is, the volunteers interviewed immediately stated that they could not recall any tensions or problems with others, and even seemed surprised that I would ask such a question. But as one volunteer hypothesized, problems are bound to occur when people work together every day. She explained that because she is only there one day a week, there really isn't an opportunity for interpersonal problems to arise. The staff members, however, stated that there can be difficult situations. When asked about inter-organizational problems, the Executive Director had this to say:

> It never ceases to amaze how in such a tiny organization you can have so many stresses...I think the majority of difficulties that arise involve poor communication. Almost anywhere you work that happens...Generally it involves somebody getting upset about something to the extent of writing a memo or raising the issue, and it involves people getting together and talking about the concern and speaking about

your contribution to the stress and looking at ways to make it better.

This communication problem was reiterated by all staff members. Some even said that it was causing a lot of unhappiness among the staff. However, each person also stated that this is a temporary problem and that the staff will work as a team to resolve it. And so, even when problems do arise and relationships may be strained, participants want to resolve the problem in the interest of the organization.

In sum, relationships among participants are dichotomized into *friends* and *co-workers*, particularly among the staff. Regardless of possible stresses or tensions, personal relationships are highly valued, affective and holistic. All of the members of PPWR feel like they are a part of a family, whether they know everyone or not.

4.6 Incentive Structure

Weber (1946b) theorized that a necessary condition of organizational effectiveness was pecuniary compensation. Thus, in a bureaucratic structure the main participation incentive is remuneration.[66] Feminist organizations such as PPWR, however, formed around a genuine concern for women and various social issues. Here, the main incentive is purposive, as there is usually very little money to be made. PPWR resembles the ideal alternative organization, as it is a non-profit organization whose purpose is to fulfill a social need rather than make a profit. The individuals who provide these services are either volunteers or under-paid staff. One may therefore wonder what would motivate a person to become involved in an area

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[66]One could argue that power is the main incentive, but with power, in the corporate world, comes money.

which is known for high-stress and burnout levels (Walsh, 1987). Rothschild and Whitt (1986: 56) summarize the main incentives within alternative organizations as, first, a "sense of shared purpose," second, "friendship ties," and third, "material incentives."

It would seem logical to assume that volunteers are motivated by purposive incentives since, by definition, "a volunteer is an individual who makes a commitment of *unpaid time and service* to assist PPWR in the accomplishment of its mission" (PPWR, 1994:3, emphasis added). Purposive incentives include expectations that one will experience value fulfillment and solidarity (Rothschild and Whitt, 1986). Indeed, the volunteers at PPWR have strong values and opinions around sexuality issues and working at Planned Parenthood gives them the opportunity to contribute to a cause they believe in. That is, PPWR appeals to the individual's symbolic values.

In addition to working toward goals that they feel are important, volunteers also feel rewarded by the simple fact that they are helping other people. As one volunteer expressed it:

> The work can be very rewarding, if you are able to help somebody through a tough situation in their life, or even help them with some information, or maybe clarify their decisions or values.

Volunteers also receive praise from the staff and clients. For example, comments written by clients on the Volunteer Counsellor Evaluation Forms include "Everyone was very helpful, friendly and understanding," "You've done a wonderful job," and "I've heard nothing but good things about your organization. Your services are greatly appreciated." A counselling volunteer expressed how gratifying it can be to hear such words:

> It's really a very nice thing to have somebody say "Thank you", even though you're there to do that work. To have somebody say thanks for doing that is really nice, sort of one of those little warm fuzzies that you don't always get in other situations.

In addition to being thanked verbally, volunteers also receive occasional cards, gifts and even food. For example, when volunteers came in on evenings to help with the annual fund-raising mailing, PPWR bought pizza for everyone. And when the Education Co-ordinator distributed cookies and drinks at an education committee meeting, "she said that because we're all volunteers she feels it is only normal to give us something to eat and drink."

Of course, there are also less purely altruistic reasons why volunteers may join PPWR. Volunteering gives participants a chance to meet interesting people, develop new friendships and participate in an activity that they enjoy. One volunteer explained that she looks forward to her counselling shift because:

> It's not like "Oh, I *have* to go counselling"(displeased tone), it's "Oh, I *get* to go counselling!"(cheerful tone). I get to see other people I work with; it's like working with a bunch of friends.

As well, PPWR's warm and supportive atmosphere gives volunteers the opportunity to deal with their own personal issues and problems. One veteran counsellor laughed as she remarked:

> Olivia is really good to talk to, and she checks in with people. It's really good therapy for me. I want to go back because I can just chat. Like, who are we kidding? *We're the ones in therapy*!

Although these are the main incentives, there are also material incentives for volunteering at PPWR. But *material* incentive does not necessarily mean *monetary* compensation. In the organizations they studied, Rothschild and Whitt (1986) found that, for many, gaining experience was an important reason for participating. Likewise, many participants become involved with PPWR because a volunteer placement is a required

segment of a university course. During one of my shifts, I noted the following:

> I asked Amy what she was doing at university. She said that she was in her 3rd year (of university) and that several (7 or 8) of the other new volunteers were all in the same Community Psychology course as her. She joked that they would all have the same placement essays after this. I then remembered that several of the volunteers that were trained last year were also in this same course. To my knowledge, only two of them are still here.

Volunteers realize that they can benefit scholastically and professionally from their experience.[67] For example, most of the volunteers will ask the Counselling Co-ordinator for reference letters, for things such as university, scholarship and job applications. During my observation period, and coincidently on the same day that I had asked the Counselling Co-ordinator for a university application reference letter, I noted the following:

> Veronica and James asked [the Counselling Co-ordinator] for reference letters in front of everyone else. We joked that she probably had a ready-made format and just inserted our names.

As for the staff, it is of course understood that they are paid for the work that they do. However, as the Executive Director claims, the PPWR salaries "do not measure up to other non-for-profit agencies". In fact, she speculates that the low salaries may be one of the reasons why there are no men on staff. In her words, "most men are not mad enough to do this much work for this kind of money!" In talking to the staff, it is clear that most work at PPWR because of their personal beliefs and values, and not for the money. For example, the Counselling Co-ordinator came back to PPWR after working elsewhere for a few years. She explained:

> I felt I had rejuvenated myself and needed to get back to social work and out of the

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[67]A clear example of volunteers benefitting from their experience is this research, as my involvement with PPWR is what allowed me to write this thesis.

optical business, to get back to what was really *me*.

Further, both the Counselling Co-ordinator and the Fund-raising Co-ordinator accepted their positions because the nature of the work still allowed them to be actively involved in their family lives. The Executive Director believes the flexible nature of the work can offer more compensation than money. She pointed out that there are benefits which can outweigh, or at least equal, the pay difference with other jobs. Like many other alternative organizations, PPWR is now considering how it can compensate the staff without necessarily increasing their salaries. In the Executive Director's words, the organization wants to know "what can we do that's workable for you?" And so, the Executive Director now works four days a week instead of five, for the same salary; and the Counselling Co-ordinator and the Fund-raising Co-ordinator will likely get more time off during the summer, possibly with salary.[68]

In sum, there are various incentives for participating with PPWR. However, everyone involved is there because they *want* to be.[69] As Rothschild and Whitt (1986: 56) coined it, "work in collectives is construed as a [labour] of love." In fact, the Counselling Co-ordinator expressed the prevailing sentiment in the following statement:

> I really love the work, the people I work with. I mean, everything about it just fits who I am, what I am. I don't think there are a lot of people who can say they love what they do, and I love what I do! And to be able to work at a job that you love, that's not work, it's an extension of yourself.

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[68]At the time of writing, these issues were still being discussed at the Board level.

[69]With respect to some of the volunteers, the primary incentive may be to gain scholastic credits or professional experience. However, these individuals chose to gain this experience at PPWR because of their commitment to the organization's goals. They could very well have chosen another voluntary organization in the community.

4.7 <u>Social Stratification</u>

In bureaucracies, social prestige and material privilege are commensurate with positional rank (Rothschild and Whitt, 1986:59). That is, hierarchy justifies inequality. This form of social stratification would therefore violate the collective's commitment to equality. However, even members of consensual organizations recognize that in any human group it is often inevitable that some form of stratification will emerge. In the ideal collective organization, therefore, any form of stratification is to be carefully created and monitored by the entire group. In a previous section, I explained that there is indeed a hierarchical structure to PPWR. What I will examine in this section, is whether there are differential rewards and if the existing organizational stratification is monitored by the group.

Although there are supervisors and people with more responsibility than others, these differences do not lead to differential prestige and privileges. The Executive Director explained that there can still be a sense of equality despite the fact that there is a hierarchical structure. In her own words,

> I really believe that you do have a hierarchy, [but] not because you believe the E.D. is a better person, or more important person, or smarter person than anybody else.

And I noted in the previous section on social relations, individuals at PPWR are valued because of *who* they are, not *what* they are. Thus, a person's title does not automatically command respect the way it might in a bureaucratic organization. A staff member explained that a volunteer who comes in for a two hour shift can be just as (if not more) dedicated as a staff member or Board member. Individuals gain respect because of personal qualities and their commitment to the organization.

With respect to the volunteers, there truly is no sense of hierarchy. Although some are more experienced than others, and perhaps respected by their peers, in no way do they receive differential treatment. In fact, the participants of PPWR make every effort possible to convey a sense of equality. One veteran volunteer expressed his vision of PPWR in the following way:

> It's not like I see it as a hierarchy...There isn't a huge hierarchical structure where people have different power levels and people have to pull their weight around. It's an open environment where people are allowed to be who they are and are not going to be judged for whether or not they are "new"...I could care less that I've been around longer, it doesn't matter.

Another veteran volunteer had this to say about the atmosphere:

> It's really informal to me. I've never felt like there's a hierarchy, I feel really equal to the staff...This seems much more "out of your basement," and I don't mean that as an insult. I mean that as in that's what we have, this is what we make due with, because there isn't that much volume. I don't feel it's hierarchical here, and I've never been made to feel that I'm less than anyone, ever. And I also don't feel supervised.

Furthermore, volunteers recognize that no matter what their level of experience, they are always learning, and can even learn from newcomers. A veteran education volunteer explained:

> I don't feel that I'm in charge; I don't think that anybody is really in charge. I think that for the last little while, I've been the person who's had the most experience (with ROOF) and that's rapidly changing...I think that new blood is really crucial. For example, I think that one of the people who is volunteering is much more [confrontational]...He was much more probing in his questions (to the group). It produced a really good discussion, and that's a newcomer. So I'm thinking, great, I'm learning something and it's valuable.

There are times, however, where the staff will differentiate among volunteers based on their skill level and experience. When asked about evaluation procedures for the volunteers, the Counselling Co-ordinator had this to say:

> Everyone has different levels and skills in terms of empathy and counselling, but I think the information is getting to the clients...But it might be different from counsellor to counsellor in terms of ability to communicate. I mean, the information gets there but are the feelings being attended to? Maybe not always, but everyone is different.

And so, although there aren't differential rewards among volunteers, the staff does recognize that some are more skilled or experienced than others. For example, during one of my shifts, the Fund-raising Co-ordinator asked a veteran volunteer if she could help out with a fund-raising evening, but she did not ask a newly trained volunteer who was sitting nearby. This does not mean however, that respect and prestige are commensurate with skill and experience. The staff make it clear to volunteers that all individuals are respected equally. Simply put, some volunteers may be appreciated more because of the time, effort and dedication that they put into their work and the organization.

In sum, despite the fact that there is an hierarchical structure, there is minimal social stratification. In a purely monetary sense, there are indeed differential rewards since the staff members are paid for their work and the volunteers are not. However, these so-called "differential rewards" are expected and are certainly not a source of friction or tension. Each person is appreciated for what they do and respected for contributing their time. There may be some people who are more respected by certain people, but this is the reality of working in groups and certainly not unique to PPWR.

4.8 Differentiation

The hierarchy and stratification found in bureaucratic organizations are only possible, and effective, if there is a "complex network of specialized, segmented roles," also referred to as

"role differentiation" (Rothschild and Whitt, 1986:59). There must be a highly structured division of labour in which manual and intellectual work is dichotomized. In other words, there are those at the bottom of the pyramid who follow orders, and those who do the thinking and make the decisions at the top. This is radically different from the collectivist ideal where equality is key. In order to assure minimized differentiation, consensual organizations rely primarily on the following three strategies: role rotation, task sharing, and diffusion of knowledge.

In Chapter Three I described the different roles of each of the individuals involved with PPWR. It is clear that there is a delineation of tasks, which is even documented in the Policies and Procedures Manual. The implication of each person having a clearly defined role is that they are usually not qualified or able to do someone else's job. And so, although the Executive Director is knowledgeable about the Counselling Co-ordinator's role, she could not replace her. In an interview, the Executive Director said that she has done counselling in the past and could do it again, but she is not familiar with all the paperwork and, for example, could not make an abortion appointment at KW Hospital. It's also the case that the staff cannot do a volunteer's job. For example, when I was having trouble with a pregnancy test on a day that the Counselling Co-ordinator was away, I asked the Fund-raising Co-ordinator if she could help me. She admitted that she had never done one before and could not, but she did watch me so that she could learn how it is done.

Within the programs there is less differentiation. All of the counselling volunteers do the same tasks and all of the education volunteers have the same role. For example, each counselling volunteer is expected to conduct counselling sessions, answer the phones and

handle the paperwork. There is some role rotation as well. For example, one day when I was working with another volunteer, we started with one person answering the phone and the other doing paperwork. After about an hour of this system, we switched jobs. And when there are several clients coming in during a shift, each counsellor will see one, deciding beforehand which counsellor will speak to which client. Working as a team is especially valued *within* the programs. Volunteers will work together on a job. For example, on one of the "envelope stuffing evenings," volunteers got together and determined the most effective way of performing the task. And so, they formed a chain where one person folded, another stuffed, and another sealed and stamped the envelopes. After awhile, jobs were rotated so that people do not get bored. And, as demonstrated earlier, the co-ordinators can replace volunteers as they do the same type of work, but they also have additional duties which are unique to their position. So, a volunteer could not take over the responsibility of co-ordinating activities, such as recruiting other volunteers.[70]

Although teamwork is valued within the agency, at times the reality of the organization makes it less feasible. One of the main reasons why staff have resumed their weekly meetings is precisely because that "team feeling" had been lost and this was a concern to all of the members. The Fund-raising Co-ordinator explained that:

> We're kinda losing touch with each other. All of us do a very different job and because it's a small agency, I've really felt recently that we're all running in different directions.

As is discussed in the section on social relations, one negative consequence of these

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[70]Although, as illustrated in the Recruitment and Advancement section, volunteers may indirectly recruit other volunteers simply by talking to friends about their experience.

differentiated roles is a breakdown of communication. Thus, although the staff members believe that the best way to get the work done is to have separate roles, they also realize that there are problems which may arise from this organizational structure. But instead of alternating jobs or sharing jobs, as prescribed by the ideal consensual organization, PPWR participants chose to solve the problem by opening the lines of communication.

In addition to segmented roles, there is also a dichotomization of intellectual and manual labour in PPWR. Within the ideal collective, Rothschild and Whitt (1986) explain that everyone manages *and* everyone works. Initial observation of PPWR would lead one to conclude that there is no dichotomy of labour. For example, the staff is not only responsible for running their various programs, but they also do all of the necessary paperwork. If the Counselling Co-ordinator needs something photocopied or faxed, she will usually do it herself. This situation is changing, however, now that there is a permanent Administrative Assistant.[71] This violates a central condition of the collective organization, where there should not be one person who is responsible solely for the administrative tasks. Despite these changes, the Administrative Assistant has said that some staff members still do the majority of the "manual" work for themselves, either because they would rather take the responsibility themselves or simply because they are used to doing it this way. As well, all the staff members are responsible for doing things such as taking out the garbage or doing the dishes. These are manual tasks which are shared equally. In fact, they have recently made a schedule of cleaning duties for each month as they found that the maintenance work was not being done.

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[71]The current Administrative Assistant was just hired in the Fall of 1997.

The last point in the Differentiation section of Table 1 (Appendix 1) pertains to the demystifcation of expertise and the sharing of knowledge. This means that no one person in a collective organization is to become an "expert" in any particular area. This follows the democratic organization's commitment to equality. Within PPWR, although everyone has different roles and different skills, for the most part knowledge is shared. The organization as a whole attempts to keep everyone informed and distribute knowledge equally. For example, the staff will distribute memos to all of the participants about issues such as the funding situation and the grant application process. Also, there is an information binder for the volunteers which contains any recent information which would be of interest to a PPWR member (such as information on new birth control methods). There can still be some inequalities however. For example, counselling volunteers know more about birth control and hospital procedures, and fund-raising volunteers know more about the funding situation. Also, the fact that volunteers only come in once a week means that they are not privy to much of the information that may come into PPWR. Usually, if a volunteer wants to know about something, the onus is on that person to ask for the information. To my knowledge, no one has ever been denied any information which they requested.

In sum, in a previous section I quoted a volunteer who explained that he was continually learning from new volunteers. Indeed, within PPWR, expertise and experience are not viewed as something that comes with rank. Rather, it is recognized that each person has strengths and weaknesses, and that each person can learn from others.

4.9 Conclusion

Rothschild and Whitt (1986), Ianello (1992) and Brown (1992) clearly state that the most important features of the collectivist organization are communal based authority and consensual decision-making. Ideally, there would also be an elimination of differentiated roles. But when this is not possible, the group must assure equality of knowledge and power.

To summarize this chapter, one could classify PPWR as a democratic hierarchical organization. According to the policy, there are individuals who exercise more authority than others and the basis of this authority is their hierarchical position within the organization. However, the individuals within PPWR made it clear that they do not exercise the authority which they may legitimately hold. The overriding structure is usually one of consensus and democratic process - so much so that none of the people interviewed felt that she or he worked in a traditional hierarchical organization.

As for role differentiation, it is clear that this is a key characteristic of PPWR. The need for, and structure of, this differentiation is documented in the organization's constitution. Although some tasks are shared, and perhaps we could even say that there is some role rotation within certain areas, each individual is trained for and expected to perform her or his prescribed role. Thus, if we were to evaluate PPWR's organizational structure based on this particular characteristic, one may conclude that PPWR is a slight variation on the bureaucratic model.

As the models used to examine the organizational structure of PPWR are ideal types, one would expect that PPWR does not fully correspond to either model. Rather, PPWR is an organization which finds itself somewhere within the continuum of organizational structures

which ranges Weber's bureaucracy to the alternative collective. The result is an organization which is unique in its own way and which functions quite independently of any models established by theory.

What is interesting however, is that the values of PPWR would appear to make it more suited to collectivist structure. Even Weber acknowledged that values are a determining factor in the structure and functioning of an organization (Jones, 1996). Based on my experience at PPWR and the interviews that I conducted, I can offer a synopsis of PPWR's central values and belief system. Central to the agency is a pro-choice belief system. This does not only refer to the organization's stance on abortion, however. Participants recognize that each individual has the right to receive information in a non-judgmental, supportive atmosphere. Further, all individuals hold the right to self-determination and should be equally respected and valued. The volunteers and staff of PPWR believe in the intrinsical value of co-operation. Participants want to work as a team and support each other in their different roles. These are fundamental feminist values.

In their studies of alternative organizations, Brown (1992) and Ianello (1992) demonstrate the prevalence of the same values and beliefs. This raises the question - if the participants share a common set of values which include support for consensus decision-making, and which closely resembles the value system of feminist collective organizations, why does PPWR maintain some hierarchical structures? This is the question which I explore in the following chapter.

CHAPTER FIVE:

CONSTRAINTS OF AND CONDITIONS FOR CONSENSUAL ORGANIZATIONS

PPWR is an organization which formed during the second wave of the women's movements. Further, it is a non-profit organization which services a medium-sized community in an attempt to fulfill a social need. The participants share a sense of purpose, demonstrate essential feminist practice values, and favour a consensual process. Based on these statements, PPWR has all of the necessary foundations of a consensual, collective organization. Instead, the organization still tends to follow a more structured, hierarchical model.

The Executive Director mentioned that PPWR has a hierarchy and a structure for the simple fact that this is a system which she believes is more effective and efficient, and which helps the individuals within PPWR accomplish their tasks. She explained that PPWR has evolved from a small grassroots organization to its current structure. The organization is continually searching for the best, most efficient structure:

> We used to tend toward the disengagement side and we were trying to represent the feminist structure of consensus. I've seen more organizations break down that way. I don't think we could totally function on consensus. [We have to recognize that] organizations are traditionally set up in the way they are partially because it works, and partially because they were more male focused. We're trying to use a model that's going to work for us.

Therefore, finding the most suitable organizational structure involves a delicate weighing of the organization's values and the most effective way to reach the organization's goals. The viability of the consensual process depends on a variety of factors. There are many

constraints and conditions which can impede or facilitate the creation and maintenance of the collectivist model.

Rothschild and Whitt (1986) examine in detail some of the factors which can alter an otherwise consensual organization (see Appendix 7). They explain that there are constraints which can impede the democratic process of all organizations. As well, they identify several internal and external conditions which they feel are instrumental in guaranteeing a non-hierarchical structure. Examining these constraints and conditions provides the opportunity to look at some important characteristics of PPWR which may have been overlooked in the previous chapter.

5.1 Constraints of Consensual Organizing Practice

Time

The most often cited problem with a completely consensual organization style is *time*. It is the main reason why feminist and non-feminist organizations alike have opted for a more hierarchical structure (Adamson et al., 1988). Indeed, consensus takes a great amount of time and requires the attention of all those involved in the organization. Specifically, meetings can take several hours, and issues need to be discussed at length, and decisions are voted on until everyone is in agreement (Rothschild and Whitt, 1986). Most social service organizations find that this consensual process takes time away from doing the things which they are organized to do.

And so in the case of PPWR, the staff no longer attend board meetings because this took away from the time that they needed to do their designated jobs, and resulted in poorer

services. In interviews, staff members explained that if they only work 15 or 20 hours a week and have to attend a 4 hour board meeting, this "eats into your time." The decision was therefore made to have the Executive Director act as the staff representative. This system allows the staff to have some input in major decisions while still giving them the time to work towards the organizational goals.

This time constraint was also the reason why the staff decided to discontinue regular staff meetings. But, as discussed in Chapter Four, because the staff members are very independent in their work, they felt they were losing touch with one another. This led to various communication problems. One staff member explained how she was affected by this breakdown in communication:

> I've recently felt that we're all running in different directions and none of us were meeting to even find out what the other person was doing. For instance, I was kind of critical of Shelley about some of the work that had gone into the grant application. So I wrote her a note and said "I'm upset about the lack of things that we've done about our upcoming grant application" and she wrote me back and said "Well I'm sorry you feel this way because I've done this, this, this and this" and I said "Well you know, maybe if we had a meeting to tell us that we would know, but I had no idea that you were doing all that." So as of yesterday the staff met and we discussed it and we will be having staff meetings on a regular basis.

Although these meetings do take some time (anywhere from one to two hours), the staff feels that they are essential. Therefore, an important consideration for all organizations is the *management* of time. Members do not want to feel like they are "wasting" their time. The definition of wasted time varies from organization to organization. In one of the organizations that Rothschild and Whitt (1986) studied, six hour staff meetings were viewed as essential. For PPWR, the benefits and inconveniences of meetings are equally considered and the staff reach a communal decision. Thus, it was decided that attendance at lengthy

Board meetings is not necessary but that the organization will run better and the staff

members will be happier if they resume their weekly staff meetings.

Environmental Constraints

In addition to having to make optimal use of the little time that they have, organizations also

need to adapt to the external environment. We live in an organized world. Everything from

the local pub to the national banks are organized hierarchically. Finding a place in this

bureaucratic world can therefore be problematic for collective organizations. Some

organizations can remain completely autonomous and independent. But organizations such

as PPWR, where the goal is to provide a community service, rely on the external

environment for assistance, and ultimately for survival.

Rothschild and Whitt (1986) explain that environmental constraints can be of a

legal, political, economic or cultural nature. Economic constraints are a main concern for

most voluntary, non-profit organizations. Not only do they work on different principles and a

different organizational structure, which makes attaining legitimacy problematic, but they

often depend on bureaucratic organizations for financial assistance. This dependence gives

the hierarchical organizations some power over the smaller collectives and may even force

the collective to alter its goals or operating procedures.

In recent years, PPWR has developed a strong base of committed private donors. In

doing so, PPWR is increasingly relying on an independent financial base. However, the

agency still very much depends on external sources of funding, such as public grants and

corporate foundations. The changing Education Co-ordinator position is a clear example of

how external funding can affect the structure of the organization. The position became a separate, full-time job *at the request of* the Trillium foundation, as a condition for receiving a grant. This year, PPWR based its public grant request specifically on the need to re-instate this position which the agency could no longer afford to fund. Thus, external organizations have a considerable degree of control over the structure of PPWR. Obviously, PPWR has the final say in how much interference it will allow. However, PPWR needs to retain these links with the external world in order to achieve its goals.

PPWR must also deal with numerous political constraints. For example, one of the goals of PPWR is to educate youth on healthy sexuality issues. Gaining access to these target groups, such as high school students, can be problematic. For example, because of the controversial nature of the organization school boards are not always willing to let PPWR into the schools. In a further section I discuss PPWR's need to liaise with the community. All that will be said here is that in order to reach its goal, the organization has to work with various groups and organizations in the community. Whether this is done by attending various meetings, sitting on committees and boards, or making proposals to external organizations, PPWR needs to gain legitimacy in the external world. The best way to do this is by attempting to "fit in". The difficulty therefore lies in maintaining a level of independence while still gaining the respect of the outside world. The Executive Director offered the following opinion:

> We have become much more a part of this community and I think those are really important developments. Now, I [also] think there's some benefit to being the group that doesn't belong, and to some extent we try to remain on the periphery.

In sum, complete disengagement is not an alternative for PPWR. The very nature of the agency's goals mean that it has to work with external organizations and institutions. Interaction with the hierarchical, bureaucratic world is not only necessary at times but can also be quite beneficial to the organization.

Other than time and environmental constraints, there may be other characteristics which would affect an organization's structure. In addition, there may be special conditions which would affect the feasibility of the feminist grass-roots model of organizing. Rothschild and Whitt (1986) argue that there are indeed many internal and external conditions which affect an organization's ability to work on a consensual system. They identify six *internal* conditions which facilitate democracy. Much of these conditions, such as homogeneity and diffusion of knowledge, were discussed in a previous chapter. There are however some other key features which are of particular interest in the context of PPWR.

5.2 Internal Conditions Affecting Consensus

Provisional Orientation

Rothschild and Whitt (1986) argue that temporal orientation is never considered as an organizational variable because it is *assumed* that "longevity is desirable," even for alternative organizations. They contend that it is not the actual time span of the organization which matters, but the participants' *attitude* toward time. In alternative organizations, where the goal of the organization is the driving force of all the participants, goal achievement usually means that the organization is no longer perceived as useful. Thus, disbandment is not viewed as failure, but as the ultimate success. And so, the collective structure is

endangered when the organization is characterized by goal displacement. This means that the members lose sight of the original goals and become more concerned with maintaining the organization. According to Rothschild and Whitt (1986), this is especially likely when the participants view the organization as permanent, as opposed to temporary.

The prevailing sentiment within PPWR is expressed by a volunteer who confided: "I really wish that we didn't have to be here, that there was no need for these services." Although the staff and volunteers recognize the importance of their work, they realize that they are there because of unfortunate and undesirable social conditions. The general philosophy is that PPWR's job will be done when every pregnancy is planned and when there are no more STIs or abusive relationships. Unfortunately, all participants recognize this goal as being somewhat "utopian." As long as there is social inequality based on gender, PPWR will always have a purpose. One volunteer offered this interpretation of PPWR's mission, based on the work of Katherine McKinnon:

> The opening line of her paper was "Sexuality is to Feminism what work is to Marxism, that which is most one's own yet most taken away". She basically says that we have two sexes and based on those two sexes gender is socially constructed, and then gender is sexualized. And what she says to me is that we have to redefine sexuality so that, ultimately, what I think healthy sexuality leads to is a complete redefinition of our culture. So I think that the work that we're doing is much more than just liberating people sexually, it's liberating our culture.

Thus, it is assumed that the need for PPWR will always be there and the organization has set out some more achievable goals of promoting responsible sexuality and birth planning on a daily basis.

On the other hand, PPWR does live with the constant threat of having to close its doors. According to the Executive Director of Planned Parenthood Ontario, provincial

downloading and health care cutbacks have resulted in a situation where sexual health is no longer viewed as a government priority. As well, because of the controversial nature of the organizations, Planned Parenthoods across the nation live in a precarious state. I discuss the effects of this external opposition further on. The point I am making here is simply that although the participants of PPWR realize that there will always be a need for their services, they are very much aware that the organization is not necessarily permanent. This, in addition to the previously mentioned sentiment of "wishing we didn't have to be here," means that PPWR is unlikely to experience goal displacement.

Mutual and Self-Criticism

Rothschild and Whitt (1986: 84) argue that the tendency toward oligarchy is reduced by "a regular and sanctioned process of mutual and self-criticisms." That is, unequal power relations are less likely to emerge if criticism is viewed as positive and constructive.

Although there is a documented, formal process of criticism detailed in PPWR's Policies and Procedures manual, for the most part it remains informal. Normally, staff and volunteers are to be evaluated regularly by their supervisors. However, many informants indicated that this process can be informal (and not always regular), and described it as "a discussion between two individuals about which areas can be improved." As a part of this process, self-criticism is highly encouraged. For example, the Counselling Co-ordinator recently gave volunteers evaluation forms so that the volunteers could perform their own evaluation. The idea was to be honest with oneself and think about those areas which need to be improved upon. Unlike bureaucratic organizations, the evaluation process is not seen as a

form of social control, but rather as a way to help individuals identify their strengths and weaknesses. The Counselling Co-ordinator had this to say about volunteer evaluations:

> Ideally it would be great to be able to sit in [on a counselling session] every three months. Not necessarily for *my* purpose, but to be able to give feedback so that person can grow and change.

When criticism comes from another source, it is rarely seen as a source of tension or dispute. For example, one volunteer explained to me that he had often done counselling sessions with another volunteer so that they could then discuss each other's performance and exchange advice. As well, following an education talk that I did with another volunteer, she asked me to be honest about her style of leadership and we then engaged in a lengthy discussion about each other's performance. Thus, the prevailing sentiment within PPWR is that participants are there to help each other grow and develop. When criticism is offered it is never seen as a rejection of the person.

Rothschild and Whitt (1986) also explain that meetings which help clarify the goals and priorities of the organization can facilitate a collective process. This is because participant are continually reminding each other of the organization's goals, and thinking of new ways to achieve them. In the last year, PPWR has had two "Visioning Meetings." The purpose of these meetings is to give the organization a chance to redefine its goals and brainstorm on how to achieve them. The idea is that one has to have a vision of tomorrow in order to know where to go today. In these meetings, participants shared ideas about what direction they would like to see the organization take by reaffirming their goals. The organization emphasized that in order to encourage healthy and responsible sexuality, the focus needs to be on *prevention*. Many participants feel that many of the services offered by

PPWR are reactive rather than pro-active, and they would like to see this change. As well, participants have reaffirmed that they need to have pride in the agency and not be ashamed of their position on such controversial issues such as abortion. And so, the agency needs to focus even more on advocacy work so that it can become valued and well known within the community. These are just two examples of the issues that were discussed at these meetings, but they suffice to demonstrate that the participants of PPWR are continually in a process of self-criticism and self-evaluation.

Limits to Size

Rothschild and Whitt (1986) explain that the size of an organization is a key determinant of the internal structure. The more people there are, the less likely it is that each person will have input in all the decisions made. Thus, increase in size is directly related to the slow erosion of consensus. Neither traditional nor feminist organization theory stipulate a minimum or maximum number of participants for their respective ideal organizational structure. However, it is clear that collectivist organizations are considerably smaller than the ideal bureaucratic structure. This smaller number of participants makes it possible, ideally, for all participants to know each other. In a bureaucratic structure, the organization is divided into departments, and this limits the possibilities of face-to-face relations. Of course, the ideal size of an organization also depends on the goals of that organization, so that if an organization provides a service there need to be enough people there to assure that this need is met.

PPWR has an Executive Board which currently consists of 11 people, including 1

staff member. The staff component has one person working full-time and 4 people working part-time. There are also 35 volunteers: 18 education volunteers; 20 counselling volunteers, (of which 7 are also education volunteers; 3 regular fund-raising volunteers (of which 1 is also an education volunteer); 1 volunteer librarian; and 1 volunteer accountant.[72] There are therefore 51 people who currently are actively involved with PPWR.[73] However it is important to keep in mind that most of these participants only work a few hours a month (anywhere from 4 to 20 hours). Only the staff is there on a regular basis (which is a minimum of 15 hours a week). I would conclude that although PPWR is perhaps a larger organization than the ideal consensual organization, in no way does it come close to the size of the corporate bureaucratic organization. Furthermore, the participants themselves view the organization as being quite small. In the Executive Director's words, "we're very tiny." Therefore, regardless of the actual number of people involved with PPWR, the overriding atmosphere closely resembles the collectivist ideal. One of the characteristics of the bureaucratic structure is that not all participants know each other and there is limited face-to-face interaction. Although it is true that not all 51 people involved with PPWR know each other, the number of people one knows depends very much on one's role in the organization.

The staff members all know each other very well and engage in extensive face-to-face interaction, if for no other reason than because of the logistics of working in the same

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[72]Also in Chapter Three, I explained that all volunteers may help out with fundraising from time to time. But there are mainly 3 people which the Fund-raising Co-ordinator counts on, on a regular basis.

[73]Even when people leave the agency, they may help out from time to time. For the purpose of this research, these people are not included as active participants.

small office space. Whether they need to ask someone a question or discuss a situation, they will usually talk to the person directly. Throughout my observations I would see staff members walk into another staff person's office to talk to them. Sometimes they would even run into each other in the main area and start a discussion there. There are, however, times when staff members will write each other notes or memos. This is usually the case when a staff member has what they feel is a serious concern, or if something needs to be passed on to the entire staff.

The staff also know most of the volunteers. Obviously, the Counselling Co-ordinator knows all of the counselling volunteers and the Education Co-ordinator knows the education volunteers. A volunteer's chances of being introduced to other staff members depends on the hours they work and their scope of involvement with PPWR.[74] There may be a case, for example, where the Fund-raising Co-ordinator does not know a new member of the education committee. However, staff members make an effort to introduce volunteers to other staff whenever the occasion presents itself.

The volunteers know each other from participating in the same training session, working the same shifts, or meeting at education meetings and social gatherings. It is often the case, however, that some volunteers never have a chance to be introduced. For example, despite the fact that the newly trained volunteers have been counselling for four months now, I have often overheard the veteran counsellors ask "Who's that?" In an interview, one of the veteran counsellors expressed her concern over not knowing many of the other participants:

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[74]For example, if a volunteer always comes in Thursday nights from 5 PM to 7 PM, they will probably never meet the Administrative Assistant as she never works passed 2 PM.

I haven't gotten to know any of the new (volunteers), none of them work my shift. I really don't know them, and it sort of troubles me sometimes. I would say I don't really know the people there well at all.

In fact, despite the amount of time that I have spent at PPWR, either volunteering or doing research, there are at least 4 volunteers that I know only in name.

With regards to the Board, face-to-face relations and personal relationships become much less frequent. Although the staff members are introduced to the Board members once a year, they do not interact on a regular basis. In an interview, the Counselling Co-ordinator explained that if there is something that she wants to convey to the Board, she would relay this information to the Executive Director who would then pass it on.[75]

The volunteers for the most part have no contact with the Board members. They are not introduced formally and they do not work together (with the exception of a few fund-raising activities). One volunteer explained that he knows some of the board members from meeting them at social gatherings. He further explained that although he will at times overhear what is happening at the level of the Board, he has "no contact with them whatsoever". On one occasion, the President of the Board faxed a message addressed to both the staff and the volunteers, thanking them for their hard work and dedication. However, throughout the course of my research and personal experience at PPWR, I have never seen the President in the PPWR offices.[76]

In sum, the number of people that one knows depends on 1) working together, or at

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[75]The Fund-Raising Co-ordinator does have more frequent contact with the Board as she does training sessions with them to develop their fund-raising skills.

[76]Most board members have careers and work during PPWR office hours. This would explain why they are unable to visit the PPWR offices.

least being in the office at the same time; 2) participating in training sessions; 3) being present at social gatherings. Although ideally all the participants would like to know everyone else, the size of the organization and more so divisions within the organization mean that many participants never have a chance to meet.

In their discussion of size, Rothschild and Whitt (1986) also explain that increased size usually means that there will be increased hierarchical divisions and role differentiation. Indeed, this is precisely the case with PPWR. As I have illustrated throughout this research, PPWR is progressively increasing the number of staff members. As a reminder to the reader, the Executive Director formerly was responsible for education programs. The decision to hire a Fund-raising Co-ordinator was made just a few years ago, and the Administrative Assistant was hired last year. As well, in the Visioning Meetings, the staff and board have discussed the expansion of the organization. They feel that in order to achieve their goals, the organization will benefit from having either one full-time, or two part-time Counselling and Fund-raising Co-ordinators; a full time Administrative Assistant; and Program Manager who would oversee the running of the education, counselling and fund-raising programs, thereby allowing the Executive Director to act as a Chief Development Officer who would be primarily responsible for political advocacy and the agency budget (see Appendix 6). It is difficult to predict what effect this new structure would have on internal democracy. Unless the organization is constantly focused on its founding values, there is a danger that the current consensual atmosphere of PPWR may slowly erode.

5.3 <u>External Conditions Affecting Consensus</u>

Rothschild and Whitt (1986) identify other constraints which are not particularly relevant to PPWR. For instance, they argue that the participants of these consensual organizations are socialized, and may still participate, in the bureaucratic word. These participants therefore hold bureaucratic values, which Rothschild and Whitt argue impede the organization's ability to maintain a consensual atmosphere. Although it is true that most of the participants of PPWR are in contact with this external world (either through work or school), most do not experience difficulty in readjusting to these consensual values. In fact, many believe in the overriding importance of this system and appreciate it even more because they do not experience it elsewhere. This may not be true at the Board level. There is some evidence that working in a consensual mode is difficult for those involved in the Board, specifically because they are still part of the corporate world, and because they do not work within the same atmosphere of caring and support as the staff and volunteers.

In this section I focus on three external conditions which are of particular relevance to PPWR and how the work is done. These are: oppositional values and services; a supportive professional base; and a social movement orientation.

<u>Oppositional Values and Services</u>

Most alternative organizations exist to fulfill what they feel are important social needs which are not successfully being met by traditional organizations and institutions. PPWR is indeed one of these organizations. Although some health services around sexuality are to be provided by the region (such as through family physicians, the Public Health Unit and the

public schools), the reality of the situation is that these services are inadequate. Further, the

Executive Director offered the following explanation as to why sexual health is often

overlooked:

> Definitely in this community there is a really conservative approach to sexuality in general, and definitely a strong belief that those kinds of things shouldn't be talked about by anybody but the parents of the youth, when in fact we know that means they won't ever talk about it. There's still that basic fear that if you talk to your kids about sex and sexuality they're going to be sexually active, as if they're not sexual to begin with.

In addition to this recognition that there is a gap with regards to sexual education within the

community, participants of PPWR also believe that their organization is the only place where

clients are *guaranteed* supportive and non-judgmental services. Thus, the recognition of this

common goal and the need for the services gives the participants of PPWR a sense of

purpose, despite the increasing moral opposition.

Mainly because of its pro-choice stance on abortion, PPWR is the focus of intense

moral debate within the community. Pro-life groups and lobby groups are very active in the

community and tirelessly attempt to put up obstacles for PPWR. Rothschild and Whitt

(1986:117) use the phrase "perception of opposition" in their work. However, for PPWR it

is not a perception. It is a reality which the participants have to deal with on a daily basis.

For example, the participants of PPWR often endure harassment. One volunteer, called a

"homo" and a "baby killer" by a Right-To-Life member, expressed her reaction as follows:

> I'm like, "Where are you coming from? What basis do you have to call me a baby killer or a homo? How is that related?" I was so infuriated! I was really angry! I wanted to scream something back at him. I didn't because that's just going back to his level...If anything, that just pisses me off enough to continue [working at PPWR]. I'm not going to give him the pleasure of backing away from this, that's what he wants.

That sentiment of "not letting them get to us" is prevalent within the organization. Recently, when there were protesters outside of the office harassing clients and volunteers, the Counselling Co-ordinator became very angry and frustrated. But every time that she would get upset, she reminded herself that this was exactly what they wanted to accomplish and that she wasn't going to let them win.

Indeed, all participants have to learn how to deal with opposition and even harassment, either directly or indirectly. For example, as a volunteer I have answered phone calls from men who angrily told me that PPWR "supports murder" and that PPWR members are all "a bunch of homosexuals." Initial exposure to such personal attacks can be quite traumatic. One could say that experiencing such forms of harassment for the first time is a form of initiation. Only those who can learn how to disassociate themselves from it will be able to minimize their stress levels. One volunteer explained that he had some difficulty dealing with this opposition at first:

> It used to frustrate me a lot and I vent my feelings when I'm in a safe place with my friends, that's my first recourse. But as time goes on things don't really bother me anymore. When I see people who are so adamantly against us, such as Mrs. Brown, I feel kind of sorry for her because I see somebody who is mentally ill, and that's maybe putting a big judgement on her, but there's something that feels really hurt in her. And usually when I can see through a person like that things don't bother me anymore.

In fact, most often the staff and volunteers will laugh at the opposition, in an effort to lighten the existing tension and frustration. Thus, instead of getting angry about the protesters outside, the participants will laugh at their tactics and their perceived lack of intelligence. The day after PPWR made its grant request to Waterloo Regional Council (where the pro-life side was allowed to argue against the grant), staff and volunteers gathered in the office to

comment on the arguments that were made.[77] Instead of getting angry and upset, people were bent over laughing.

There was another instance of the reinforcement of convictions among volunteers and staff when a client brought in the pamphlets that she had been given at the local Birthright agency. The volunteers on duty that day went through the pamphlets, reading to each other what they felt was incorrect information. I recorded the following field notes:

> Olivia came out and sat at the counselling desk. She looked at James and asked "Some light reading?" James started to read some parts to her. He read a passage about how a woman was supposedly traumatized because she had an abortion and was quoted as saying "Now you won't know my child." James replied "Ya, well, what if your child was snotty, irritating person? I wouldn't want to know her!" Olivia then remarked that there's always the argument "What if Mozart's mother had an abortion?" and she replied "Well what if Hitler's mother had an abortion?" Then James read a passage which said that because of abortion there are no babies for adoption and he commented "And yet there are all these children in orphanages!"

And so, dealing with opposition is a daily reality for the members of PPWR. Whether they are directly attacked through insults and threats, or whether they read information which they feel is false and undermines their efforts, participants are continually having to reinforce to themselves and to others the importance and value of their work. As Rothschild and Whitt (1986) predicted, this has the effect of uniting PPWR members and reinforcing the organization's values. Because, although all participants will admit that dealing with opposition can be very frustrating and stressful, they also believe that this offers them a constant reminder of why they are doing what they are doing, and why they should never give up.

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[77]For example, one person argued that abortions are detrimental to the local economy because of the loss of diaper sales.

Supportive Professional Base

Having this oppositional stance means that it is particularly important for alternative organizations to be supported by a core professional base which may increase the legitimacy of the organization and provide it with additional help and resources. These individuals "contribute to the development of cooperatives in direct and indirect ways" (Rothschild and Whitt, 1986:123).

Despite PPWR's controversial stance, and perhaps even *because* of it, PPWR does have many supporters. Not only does it have many private donors, but is also seen as a crucial organization by key authority figures in the community. For example, at the recent grant application in front of Regional Council, the Medical Officer of Health's representative clearly stated to Council members that PPWR deserved the grant and could make better use of the money than the Public Health Unit. According to the Executive Director,

> One of the major advantages we have in this community is our really close and good working relationship with Community Health. Their support, or not, really affects how Planned Parenthood is perceived in the community. So here that positively affects our acceptance of education programs, for example, in schools and in other organizations in the community. It affects our ability to liaise with many different aspects of the community, because much of that takes place through community health.

PPWR has always been supported by the local Public Health Unit as well as many physicians in the community. In fact, one physician has given PPWR permission to use her name to give patients referrals for pregnancy ultrasounds. Without her assistance, PPWR could not provide clients with this essential service. PPWR also seeks the support of teachers, counsellors and other social service workers. With the support of these individuals, PPWR can reach areas which may otherwise not be accessible. As noted in Chapter Three,

PPWR relies on individual teachers for access to classrooms or to let students know of the organization.

In fact, this ability to liaise with the community is key to how PPWR gets the work done. The previous Education Co-ordinator explained that when she was a full-time co-ordinator the whole community became aware of what PPWR does. As well, PPWR's controversial stance may also be construed as an advantage since it brings PPWR a lot of press and media attention. The Executive Director explained:

> Like it or not, the press is key. The publicity around our grant application, and how that was handled...basically how the press perceives our whole situation, that's how we are presented to the community. So having developed a really good relationship with the media is really important.

So, despite PPWR's controversial philosophy and services, the organization is not struggling alone. There is actually quite a bit of community support. Members have hypothesized that sometimes it may appear that there isn't much support simply because the oppostion has a strong voice and is continually reinforcing its presence. But in reality PPWR is supported not only by professionals and key authority figures, but by the community as a whole. A long-standing volunteer explained why it can however be difficult for people to come forward and openly express their support:

> Consistently when we've lost funding there's been a very large grass-roots groundswell of support for us, which feels really good. So I think that we are really well supported in the community. But because of the nature of the agency, it's hard for a lot of supporters to come forward and say "Hey, I'm interested in healthy sex!"

Of course, a problem for PPWR, especially in recent years, is that there is also a professional base which is not supportive. There are doctors in the area who refuse to talk to clients about birth control and abortion, for example. In addition, this professional base can

influence local politicians who in turn decide whether or not they will be supportive. And because these politicians have the final say in whether or not PPWR receives the annual grant, they can be most instrumental in how PPWR achieves its goals. Therefore, when the agency was preparing for the grant presentation early this year, the staff encouraged everyone involved with PPWR to become politically active. Further, the Executive Director spent most of her time "shmoozing," as she termed it, and trying to find out how Councillors were intending to vote. As discussed previously, this can have the effect of bringing the members of PPWR closer together in their fight to survive. It can also become quite discouraging for many.

Indeed, when an organization is faced with a great deal of opposition and when there are people in power who interfere with the agency's ability to achieve its goals, the members of the organization may feel overwhelmed. At first they may become even more dedicated and determined, as is usually the case when people are involved in something which they value as strongly as PPWR members value their work. But the reality of non-profit social service organizations such as PPWR is that there are high levels of stress and, ultimately, burnout.[78] Although the volunteers that I spoke to could not envision having to leave PPWR because of stress or frustration, it is important to keep in mind that they are only there once a week. The staff is much more aware of the pressures. One staff member left the organization for a short while in order to "rejuvenate" herself. Others hinted that they would probably

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[78]Joseph Walsh (1987: 280) defines "burnout" as "a state of physical, emotional, and mental exhaustion marked by physical depletion and chronic fatigue, a feeling of help-lessness and hopelessness, and the development of a negative self-concept and negative attitudes toward work, life, and other people."

have to leave soon because they are sensing that they are approaching the burnout stage.

Although burnout is not solely related to the support or lack of support within the

community, it is an important contributing factor.

Social Movement Orientation

Finally, the collectivist organization must have a social movement orientation. This is

because when the participants maintain a unified orientation, they are less likely to

experience goal displacement (Rothschild and Whitt, 1986). If an organization loses this

orientation, the goals of the organization will inevitably change, in turn jeopardizing the

consensual process. Therefore, the organization needs to be based within a wider social

movement and share resources and information with similar organizations. It can therefore

not be *completely* isolated and independent.

Rothschild and Whitt (1986:128) explain that social movement organizations are

"oriented toward goals of social and personal change and ... participation in them is

motivated by values, friendships, and material incentives, in that order." In Chapter Four, I

argued that participation incentives are purposive. What has not been discussed, however, is

how PPWR formed out of the birth control movement and the second wave feminist

movements in Canada. I will not engage in a lengthy discussion of the history of family

planning or feminist movements.[79] But I should note that PPWR is an organization which is

very much contextualized within the abortion debate and the fight for women's rights.

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[79]For detailed histories of Canadian feminist movements, see Naomi Black (1993) and
Marjorie Griffin Cohen (1993).

Indeed, a central concern of feminists is that of "control over our bodies" (Pierson, 1993: 98). This was primarily the rhetoric of the abortion debate. In the 1970s and 1980s, when PPWR was formed, the abortion issue was at the center of the Women's Liberation Movement (Cohen, 1993). The right to abortion was seen to epitomize the fight for emancipation and women demanded freedom of choice based on the right to control their own bodies (Pierson, 1993). It is within this political and cultural context that PPWR opened its doors to provide women with counselling services and an abortion referral service. PPWR has never lost sight of their origin and the need to reinforce those values continually.

In fact, the feminist practice values which emerged during this period still influence how the participants of PPWR do their work. In the following statement, an education volunteer explains how he conducts group sessions:

> I believe in a sort of feminist self-help model which I attribute as being that when we get people talking about their real experiences, we're usually on the money, it's usually what sees the biggest return...The guidelines are very simple. They are 1) speak from your own experience, 2) equal time for opportunity to speak, 3) good listening, 4) respecting what other people are saying, and so on, which I think is very consistent with feminist values.

Equally important for maintaining this social movement orientation is communicating and liaising with similar organizations. In a Chapter Three I explained that PPWR is an affiliate of the Planned Parenthood Federation of Canada. In addition to having contact and support from the Federation, PPWR also interacts with other area Planned Parenthoods. Staff members are encouraged to contact staff from other Planned Parenthood affiliates; the Executive Directors meet on a regular basis to discuss Planned Parenthood's mission and goals; and affiliates may even join together in writing and publishing

newsletters and reports.

And finally, PPWR also shares resources and information with a variety of social service organizations within the community. As discussed in Chapter Three, PPWR establishes liaisons with organizations that deal with street youth and young mothers through their education programs. As well, staff members are encouraged to develop contacts and establish relationships with other professionals. And so the Fund-raising Co-ordinator sits on various fund-raising committees and will attend conferences; and the Counselling and Education Co-ordinators will regularly attend health and sexuality conferences. Although the purpose of attending these meetings and conferences is also to develop new skills and receive information, the Executive Director explained that the primary intention is to find sources of support. When asked whether PPWR co-operates and communicates with other similar organizations, she stated this:

> Well certainly we do this with the whole Planned Parenthood Family, and that's the major connection. I've encouraged staff to go out and meet other co-ordinators in other Planned Parenthoods, and even do a half-day visit to get an idea of how they do it. I've [also] encouraged all staff members to find some connection in the community, and provincially, to help support them in the work that they do. We co-operate with Community Health and other organizations like the Sexual Health Network in Toronto.

In sum, I have argued that PPWR can in fact be termed a social movement organization, and this is an important condition for maintaining a degree of consensus within an organization. As well, PPWR co-operates with a multitude of other non-profit and social service agencies, all of which believe in the need for healthy sexuality and women's reproductive rights.

CHAPTER SIX:

CONCLUSION: PPWR'S ORGANIZATIONAL DILEMMAS

As noted in Chapter One, I did not expect that PPWR would fit either of the models of organization set out in Table 1 (Appendix 1), as these are ideal types. However, the use of these models has facilitated my examination of PPWR's organizational structure, for it led me to detail the key characteristics of the organization.

Following the analysis in Chapter Four, I conclude that PPWR represents a variation of the bureaucratic form. PPWR has a hierarchical structure with individuals who exercise different levels of authority: staff co-ordinators are responsible for their respective programs; the Executive Director assumes responsibility for the daily functioning of the agency; and the Board assumes legal and financial responsibility for the organization. In addition, there is a clear differentiation of roles and a written constitution which establishes central rules and procedures. But despite these bureaucratic tendencies, the staff members and the volunteers do not feel that they are working in an hierarchical structure. This is because the prevailing atmosphere of PPWR is consensual and supportive. Participants are allowed input into decisions, social relations are informal and friendly, and staff avoid using formal social control measures and sanctions.

Although PPWR may not appear to fit the ideal type of the consensual organization, it is in fact similar to other feminist organizations. Indeed, the collective form of organization is not always possible for feminist groups. Although this form seemed to put into practice central feminist values, the reality of feminist organizations is that most cannot

function on a purely consensual basis. The consensual model may work for small consciousness-raising groups, but it is not practical for feminist service organizations such as PPWR. For these groups, the main goal is to provide a service to a community. This requires some formal organization.

Adamson et al. (1988: 244) argue that the consensus model of organizing works only for small, homogeneous, stable groups. In previous chapters, I argued that PPWR is not small (by grassroots standards); that although the participants share similar values, the group is diverse; and that there is a frequent turn-over of both volunteers and staff. Therefore, it is not likely that this organization could adopt the feminist collective model.

In fact, many feminists have argued that the collective model is not the best form of organizing, especially for feminist organizations. Adamson et al. (1988) explain that because many of the feminist groups that emerged out of the feminist movements are dedicated to providing a service, these groups need leadership, co-ordination, and planned activities. Sirianni (1984) feels there are many advantages to a formalized structure. She argues that an organization needs a paid staff in order to secure long-term commitment and to up-grade the services provided. Further, a formalized structure allows participants who "cannot afford the high time costs of engagement" to participate (Sirianni, 1984:565). Therefore, increased structure leads to decreased exclusionary practices. But most importantly, feminist organizations need a formalized structure in order to prevent "informal tyrannies" and "exclusivist practices based on friendship cliques" (Sirianni, 1984:546).

Adamson et al. (1984) argue that grassroots organizations' idealization of consensus has resulted in a fear of conflict. That is, these groups' rejection of hierarchy and leadership

has the unintended consequences of creating informal leadership networks and stifling positive and creative ideas. Conflict and disagreement can in fact be healthy for an organization, as long as feminists find a way to resolve conflicts that do not disempower group members (Adamson et al., 1988:243). For these reasons, Sirianni (1984: 572) claims that "formalized and sometimes centralized, albeit democratically representative, organizations are generally superior."

PPWR needs a formal structure primarily as a time-saving measure. As noted in Chapter Five, pure consensus takes too much time and interferes with members' abilities to do their designated jobs. The participants would rather use a process where their opinions are taken into consideration, but where they do not need to be actively involved in every aspect of the organization.

Another reason why PPWR needs to be hierarchically organized is that the agency provides a variety of services. This requires individuals to have different roles for the sake of consistency. For example, the counselling program requires a person whose time is reserved for handling the daily tasks of the counselling service in order to provide the best possible service for the clients. This individual is responsible for clients' forms, for following up on clients' situations, and for providing the most accurate and up-to-date information. In sum, having a program co-ordinator minimizes confusion. Similarly, the education program, which depends strongly on volunteer participation, needs someone to co-ordinate activities and establish links with other community groups. When PPWR could no longer afford a co-ordinator, the agency was forced to discontinue the education programs. At an Education Committee meeting, the volunteers agreed that the program required an individual to assure

overall responsibility for the program. Although the committee discussed organizational alternatives (such as having volunteer representatives for each education program), participants realized that these measures would not be effective and that the clients would not receive adequate service.

Also, structure increases respectability within the community. Similar social service organizations function with co-ordinators and directors. They are therefore more likely to relate and interact with organizations which resemble their own structure. As the Executive Director has explained, the education program expanded with the inception of a full-time Education Co-ordinator. And with only one or two persons dealing with the media and the press, legitimacy is likely to increase. This agency representative is viewed by the community as the leader of the organization.

In sum, PPWR has a formal structure primarily because this allows the organization to effectively achieve its goals. The organizational structure assures a level of consistency in services provided. Furthermore, it means that workers can focus on their respective duties and on helping the client, rather than worrying about the organizational functioning of the agency. At the same time, PPWR's consensual atmosphere counteracts many of the negative effects of bureaucracy which feminists want to avoid - the use of coercive and unequal power.

PPWR's decision-making processes allow participants to provide input into the daily functioning of the agency. This makes individuals feel needed and important, and it also gives them the sense of working as a team. In addition, PPWR recognizes that all participants can provide valuable ideas, regardless of their official position. The discussion

of new ideas is strongly encouraged. This can be especially beneficial to the agency. For example, a volunteer may be able to bring up an issue which has been overlooked by the staff members. During the latest counselling meeting, the volunteers discussed many issues which the co-ordinator had not previously considered. This volunteer input resulted in some positive changes in the counselling program. But without this forum to brainstorm and discuss issues and concerns, the program could not improve. Thus, PPWR recognizes that, because everyone has different roles and experiences as a PPWR participant, everyone has valuable ideas.

As well, the supportive atmosphere of PPWR may prevent the destructive effects of burnout, which is so prevalent in social service organizations. When PPWR workers feel overwhelmed or frustrated, there is always someone who will listen to them and focus on their emotional well-being (rather than their ability to perform their job). Although PPWR's goal is to support clients, this is never done at the detriment of the staff members and volunteers. And so, if a volunteer is having personal problems, for example, she or he is encouraged to work these out, even if it means taking a break from her or his involvement with PPWR.

Despite a consensual process and supportive atmosphere, there are considerable communication problems within PPWR. In fact, the lack of communication is probably the central weakness of the organization. As noted in Chapter Four, because each person has a different role, participants are not exposed to all aspects of the organization. The staff members have resumed weekly staff meetings but it is too early to tell if this will resolve the existing problems. As well, some of the staff members have noted that there are times where

they do not feel consulted on all decisions, specifically those made at the Board level. Recently, when the organization encountered some negative reaction from a few supporters in response to PPWR's newsletter (which dealt only with homosexuality issues), one staff member confided that she had not been consulted before the newsletter was distributed. She hypothesized that if she had, maybe the problems could have been avoided.

As well, many volunteers feel cut-off from the organization. They do not attend weekly meetings and are not consulted on major decisions. For example, they were not invited to attend the PPWR Visioning Meetings. And some volunteers have said that they feel isolated from the Board. Although PPWR once had a volunteer representative attend Board meetings, this is no longer the case. As Board members are not involved in the day-to-day activities of PPWR, they are forced to rely on staff members' accounts of problems and issues. Staff members will argue that this is because most volunteers do not stay with the agency for longer than a year, and they are only there once a week. Although this does not affect the volunteer's ability to do her or his work, it can give the individual a sense that she or he is not a full participant.

The lack of formal structure can also affect the quality of services provided by PPWR. As discussed in Chapter Four, volunteers are not regularly evaluated. Staff members will admit that there are differences in skill levels among volunteers. I have also observed that there are differences in commitment among volunteers which affect the quality of service provided. In addition, education volunteers are not trained to the same extent as counselling volunteers. Many are not prepared to facilitate group discussions and may even not be comfortable in such settings. As well, they do not receive current information on birth

control methods even though they are responsible for disseminating this information into the community. Staff members are aware of these discrepancies and are working to remedy existing problems. But they have also acknowledged that this is the reality of working with volunteers. In theory, the quality of services provided may improve if the volunteers are required to attend weekly meetings or if they are formally supervised and evaluated. However, because these participants are volunteering their time and effort, the organization is forced to be less formal and more lenient.

PPWR is in fact becoming more structured. Today, the organization has more staff members than in previous years, and the agency's activities are more far-reaching. The Executive Director and the Board would like to see the organization become even more specialized and structured in the near future (see Appendix 7). Some feminist organizational theorists would predict that the organization runs the risk of oligarchy and goal displacement. Other theorists, such as Sirianni (1984: 573), argue that structure is not as important as outcome:

> we need much more nuanced and dimensional concepts of bureaucracy, as well as of feminist organizations, (...) including a renewed emphasis on feminist *outcomes* rather than such exclusive focus on internal structure. (emphasis added)

As a feminist service organization, PPWR needs to find whichever structure allows it to provide clients with quality service. As long as the organization maintains its essential feminist values and its social movement orientation, it is not likely that PPWR will succumb to the problems of the traditional patriarchal bureaucracy.

APPENDIX 1

TABLE 1: COMPARISON OF THE BUREAUCRATIC IDEAL TYPE AND THE CONSENSUAL IDEAL TYPE [80]

	Bureaucratic Organization	Consensual Organization
Recruitment and Advancement	-Recruitment based on formal qualifications and training -Advancement highly valued -Positions appointed by superiors	-Selection based on friendship networks, political values and personal traits -Advancement is not valued (as there is no hierarchy)
Authority	-Authority vested in the individual according to position and rank	-Authority resides in the collectivity -Individual capacity for cooperative behavior
Rules	-Written documentation of fixed rules -Emphasis on conformity	-Minimized use of rules -Reliance on norms of participation
Social Control	-Achieved through hierarchy and supervision of subordinates by supervisors -Formal and informal sanctions	-Conscious aspect of membership selection based on moralistic and personalistic appeals creates a homogeneous group -Akin to "peer pressure"
Incentive Structure	-Pecuniary compensation and remunerative incentives	-Main incentives are purposive (value fulfilment) and solidarity (friendship) -Material incentives are least important

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[80]Based on the work of Weber (1946b) and Rothschild and Whitt (1986).

	Bureaucratic Organization	**Consensual Organization**
Social Stratification	-Hierarchy of supervision (firmly ordered system) -Differential rewards of prestige, privilege and inequality	-Egalitarian, no hierarchy -Any stratification is carefully created and monitored by collective
Differentiation	-Clear delineation of tasks -Maximizes division of labour -Dichotomizes intellectual and manual labour	-Minimizes division of labour -Values role rotation, teamwork and task sharing -Demystification of expertise: knowledge is shared
Social Relations	-Impersonal social relations (impersonality linked to professionalism)	-Ideal of community -Relationships are highly valued, affective and holistic

APPENDIX 2

PPWR BELIEF STATEMENTS [81]

Planned Parenthood Waterloo Region believes in the following statements:

a) Every child has the right to be a wanted child, and is entitled to a quality of life which included a loving, supportive environment that meets her or his physical and emotional needs. Every mother has the right to be a willing mother.

b) Every person, regardless of age, gender, marital status, socio-economic status, or sexual orientation, has the right to control her or his own fertility in accordance with her or his own values and beliefs.

Every person has the right to access reliable family planning and sexuality** information, and all who choose to practice family planning should be able to do so with adequate preparation and medical consultation, as necessary.

Every person has there right to informed choice regarding sexuality, family planning, and parenting. If a woman becomes pregnant, she has the right to access an abortion in a safe and supportive environment.

c) Every person, regardless of age, gender, marital status, or sexual orientation, has the right to express her or his sexuality as she or he feels appropriate, as long as that expression does not interfere with another person's health, safety, or well being.

Sexual partners share responsibility equally in communicating their sexual needs, and in recognizing and respecting the needs of their partner. Every person has the right to say "no" to sexual activity, and this right can be exercised at any time, including after sexual activity has begun. No one ever has the right to coerce another person into sexual activity.

d) Women and men share responsibility equally in matters regarding sexuality, family planning, and parenting.

e) Responsible decisions regarding family planning and sexuality can be made only given adequate information and an awareness of the feelings affecting those decisions. Decisions must ultimately be made by the individual, and not by a PPWR

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[81]Source: *Planned Parenthood Waterloo Region: Volunteer Programs Policies and Procedures Manual*, PPWR (1995), pp. 1-2.

representative.

f) Human sexuality is a very personal and complex experience for every individual, regardless of gender or sexual orientation. Services related to human sexuality should be provided by mature and well-trained women and men who have the sensitivity needed for the responsible provision of these services.

g) Birth control and family planning services, safer sex information, and sexuality education provide significant benefits to individuals and to the community. These benefits can be seen in improved levels of physical and emotional health for individuals and in reduced need for social assistance programs.

** Sexuality is a basic element of our existence as human beings and an active part of everyday life. It refers to much more than sexual activity, and includes such issues as socialization and gender roles, values, beliefs, and personal responsibility in decision making and behavior (Planned Parenthood Federation of Canada Annual Report, 1989-90).

Sexual health is the integration of the somatic, emotional, intellectual, and social aspects of sexual being, in ways that are positively enriching and that enhance personality, communication, and love...[T]hus the notion of sexual health implies a positive approach to human sexuality, and the purpose of sexual health care should be enhancement of life and personal relationships and not merely counselling and care related to procreation and sexually transmitted diseases (World Health Organization, 1975, pp. 6-7).

APPENDIX 3

PPWR'S GOAL AND OBJECTIVES [82]

Goal

Planned Parenthood Waterloo Region's goal is to promote responsible and healthy sexuality throughout the human life cycle and to promote birth planning by assuring education for residents of Waterloo Region.

Objectives

The objectives of Planned Parenthood Waterloo Region are as follows:

a) To provide information, counselling, and referrals on general issues related to healthy and responsible sexuality throughout the life cycle, regardless of gender or sexual orientation.

b) To provide information, counselling, and referrals on issues related to family planning, unplanned pregnancy, sexually transmitted diseases, sexual abuse, and partner abuse.

c) To provide individuals with the information and support necessary to make informed decisions about their sexual health.

d) To co-operate with recognized local, provincial, national, and international organizations with similar aims.

e) To provide training for personnel to ensure the implementation of the above-mentioned objectives.

f) To ensure the aforementioned by developing a strong financial base.

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[82]Source: *Planned Parenthood Waterloo Region: Volunteer Programs Policies and Procedures Manual*, PPWR (1995), pp. 2-3.

APPENDIX 4

COUNSELLING SERVICE STATISTICS

The demand for PPWR counselling services continues to grow. In 1996-1997 we saw an increase of 17% from the previous fiscal year. This increase continues as a trend, as we have doubled our numbers since the early part of the decade. As our demand increases into the next millennium, PPWR will need to focus on the challenges involved in maintaining and expanding services under fiscal constraints.[83]

Counselling Service Statistics for 1996-1997(in total number of clients):

Pregnancy and Birth Control	543
Birth Control Only	21
Other	12
Total	576
Average # of Clients/Month	49

Telephone Counselling Statistics for September-December 1997:

Book Counselling Appointment	40 %
Abortion Information and/or Referral	45 %
Pregnancy/Parenting Information	17 %
Adoption Information	2 %
Contraception and/or S.T.I. Information	17 %
Community Resource Referral	50 %

(Note: Total is greater than 100% as clients may require information from several categories)

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[83] Source: *Report from Counselling Co-ordinator To 1997 Annual General Meeting of Planned Parenthood Waterloo Region*, PPWR (1997).

APPENDIX 5

CURRENT PPWR ORGANIZATION CHART

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                        ┌──────────────────┐
                        │      BOARD       │
                        │   (Volunteer)    │
                        └────────┬─────────┘
                                 │
                   ┌─────────────────────────────┐
                   │     EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR       │
                   │        (Full-time)           │
                   └─────────────┬───────────────┘
         ┌─────────────┬─────────┴────────┬──────────────────┐
┌────────────────┐┌────────────────┐┌────────────────┐┌────────────────┐
│  COUNSELLING   ││   EDUCATION    ││  FUND-RAISING  ││ ADMINISTRATIVE │
│ CO-ORDINATOR   ││ CO-ORDINATOR   ││ CO-ORDINATOR   ││   ASSISTANT    │
│  (Part-time)   ││  (Part-time)   ││  (Part-time)   ││  (Part-time)   │
└───────┬────────┘└───────┬────────┘└───────┬────────┘└────────────────┘
┌────────────────┐┌────────────────┐┌────────────────┐
│  COUNSELLING   ││   EDUCATION    ││  FUND-RAISING/ │
│  VOLUNTEERS    ││  VOLUNTEERS    ││ ADMINISTRATION │
│                ││                ││  VOLUNTEERS    │
└────────────────┘└────────────────┘└────────────────┘
```
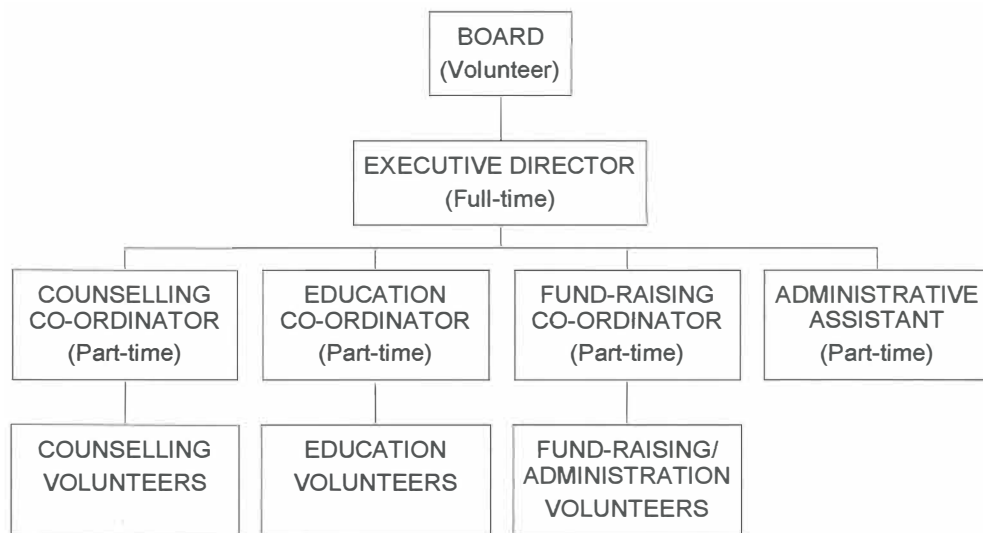
APPENDIX 6

FUTURE PPWR ORGANIZATION CHART (3 YEAR PLAN)
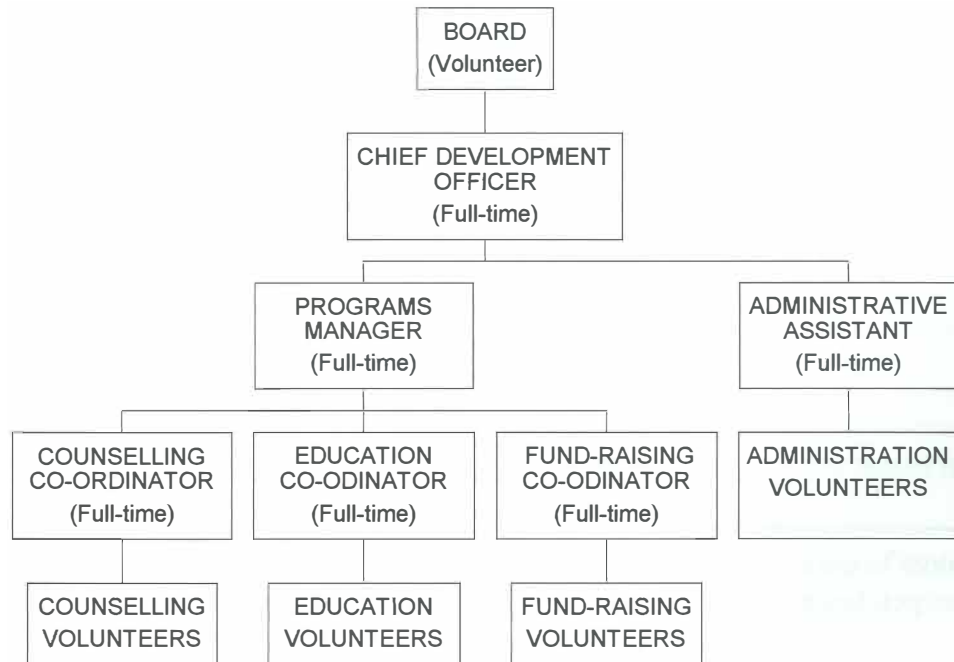
APPENDIX 7

TABLE 2: CONDITIONS AND CONSTRAINTS OF CONSENSUAL ORGANIZATIONS[84]

		Effect of Presence	**Effect of Absence**
INTERNAL CONDITIONS	Provisional Orientation	-Commitment to goals	-Goal diplacement -Oligarchy
	Mutual and Self-Criticism	-Increases group morale and productivity -Levels inequalities	-Criticism considered unfair and/or hurtful, and a source of power
	Limits To Size	-Face-to-face relations -Consensual decision-making	-Loss of consensual decision-making -Increased hierarchy
EXTERNAL CONDITIONS	Oppositional Services and Values	-Sense of purpose -Heightened commitment	-Loss of motivation -Goal displacement
	Supportive Professional Base	-Human and finacial support	-Loss of community respectability
	Social Movement Orientation	-Reduced tendency toward goal displacement	-Goal displacement -Lower level of participation

[84]Based on the work of Rothschild and Whitt (1986).

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