1

MICROCOPY RESOLUTION TEST CHART
NATIONAL BUREAU OF STANDARDS
STANDARD REFERENCE MATERIAL 1010a
(ANSI and ISO TEST CHART No. 2)

National Library
of Canada

Canadian Theses Service

Ottawa, Canada
K1A 0N4

Bibliothèque nationale
du Canada

Services des thèses canadiennes

CANADIAN THESES

NOTICE

The quality of this microfiche is heavily dependent upon the quality of the original thesis submitted for microfilming. Every effort has been made to ensure the highest quality of reproduction possible.

If pages are missing, contact the university which granted the degree.

Some pages may have indistinct print especially if the original pages were typed with a poor typewriter ribbon or if the university sent us an inferior photocopy.

Previously copyrighted materials (journal articles, published tests, etc.) are not filmed.

Reproduction in full or in part of this film is governed by the Canadian Copyright Act, R.S.C. 1970, c. C-30.

**THIS DISSERTATION
HAS BEEN MICROFILMED
EXACTLY AS RECEIVED**

THÈSES CANADIENNES

AVIS

La qualité de cette microfiche dépend grandement de la qualité de la thèse soumise au microfilmage. Nous avons tout fait pour assurer une qualité supérieure de reproduction.

S'il manque des pages, veuillez communiquer avec l'université qui a conféré le grade.

La qualité d'impression de certaines pages peut laisser à désirer, surtout si les pages originales ont été dactylographiées à l'aide d'un ruban usé ou si l'université nous a fait parvenir une photocopie de qualité inférieure.

Les documents qui font déjà l'objet d'un droit d'auteur (articles de revue, examens publiés, etc.) ne sont pas microfilmés.

La reproduction, même partielle, de ce microfilm est soumise à la Loi canadienne sur le droit d'auteur, SRC 1970, c. C-30.

**LA THÈSE A ÉTÉ
MICROFILMÉE TELLE QUE
NOUS L'AVONS REÇUE**

PARA-STATAL ORGANIZATIONS IN THE VOLUNTARY SECTOR

by

COLIN D. STUART B.A., B.Ed.

A thesis submitted to
the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research
in Partial fulfillment of
the requirements for the degree of
Master of Social Work

School of Social Work

Carleton University

Ottawa, Ontario

September 15th, 1985

1985, Colin D. Stuart

©

Permission has been granted to the National Library of Canada to microfilm this thesis and to lend or sell copies of the film.

The author (copyright owner) has reserved other publication rights, and neither the thesis nor extensive extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without his/her written permission.

L'autorisation a été accordée à la Bibliothèque nationale du Canada de microfilmer cette thèse et de prêter ou de vendre des exemplaires du film.

L'auteur (titulaire du droit d'auteur) se réserve les autres droits de publication; ni la thèse ni de longs extraits de celle-ci ne doivent être imprimés, ou autrement reproduits sans son autorisation écrite.

ISBN 0-315-29881-2

The undersigned recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies
and Research acceptance of the thesis

PARA-STATAL ORGANIZATIONS IN THE VOLUNTARY SECTOR

submitted by Colin D. Stuart, B.A., B.Ed.

in partial fulfilment of the requirements for
the degree of Master of Social Work

Prof. Peter Findlay
Thesis Supervisor

Prof. Roland Lecomte
Director, School of Social Work

Carleton University

December 12th, 1985

ABSTRACT

Voluntary organizations in Canada have responded in a variety of ways to pressure from the state and from capital to reduce expenditure in social services. Chapter one sets out the theoretical framework for the paper using Clause Offe's work on the welfare state. Chapter two defines the methodology used. Chapters three and four use a content analysis of briefs submitted by voluntary organizations to the Royal Commission on the Economic Union and Development Prospects for Canada to demonstrate that a significant number of voluntary organizations either actively or passively support state reductions in social expenditure for the benefit of capital and become thereby adjuncts to the state, that is, para-statal organizations within the voluntary sector. This conclusion is set out in Chapter five along with implications for further research.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

A first note of thanks should go to my wife, Rieky and my two children, Netami and Beth, for their forbearance and support in doing this thesis.

A particular word of thanks should go to my thesis supervisor, Professor Peter Findlay, for his patience and critical humour during the preparation of this paper. By his encouragement much of what seemed at the time impossible became possible. Similar thanks should go to Professors Gillian Walker and Carolyn Andrew who kept me asking the right questions about the usefulness of the research.

Thanks also to Professor Allan Moscovitch who, in the preparation of my proposal and during the writing of the paper, continued to provide support and criticism under very difficult circumstances.

Finally, the research would have been impossible without the assistance of the resources staff at the MacDonald Commission.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Acceptance sheet.....	Page ii
Abstract.....	iii
Acknowledgements.....	iv
Table of Contents.....	v
List of Tables.....	vii
CHAPTER ONE: THE PROBLEM AND A THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVE	
Introduction.....	1
Overview and Statement of Hypothesis.....	3
The Voluntary Sector.....	7
Theoretical Perspective.....	15
Footnotes.....	26
CHAPTER TWO: METHODOLOGY	
Summary.....	28
Study Population.....	29
Analytical Categories.....	31
Some additional Categories.....	38
The MacDonald Commission Typology.....	39
Voluntary Associations and Agencies.....	43
Footnotes.....	46
CHAPTER THREE: ANALYSIS OF BRIEFS (A)	
Introductory Comments.....	48
Voluntary Coalitions.....	49
Women's Groups.....	58
Women's Groups:Agencies.....	60
Women's Groups:Associations.....	66
Health and Social Services.....	76
Category 2a Agencies.....	78
Category 1a Agencies.....	92
Category 1b Agencies.....	104
Category 2b Agencies.....	106
Category 3 Agencies.....	109
Footnotes.....	111
CHAPTER FOUR: ANALYSIS OF BRIEFS (B)	
Religious Groups.....	118
Category 2a Associations.....	119
Category 2b Associations.....	122
Category 3 Associations.....	125
Native Groups.....	127
Resource Control.....	129
Capital Investment.....	130
Social Services.....	131

Fund Raising Groups.....	132
United Way Agencies - Category 1a.....	133
Other Agencies - Categories 1a and 1b....	135
Special Interest Groups.....	137
Category 1a Associations.....	139
Category 1b Associations.....	140
Category 2a Associations.....	141
Category 3 Associations.....	142
Low Income/Unemployed Groups.....	144
Environmental, Canadian Development, — International, and Futurist Groups..	146
Category 1b Associations.....	147
Category 2b Associations.....	150
Category 3 Associations.....	152
Justice, Human Rights, Education, and Housing Groups.....	153
Category 1a Agencies.....	154
Category 1a and 1b Associations.....	156
Category 2a Associations.....	157
Category 2b Associations.....	159
Seniors and Youth/Children Groups.....	160
Senior Citizens - Category 2a.....	162
Daycare - Category 2a.....	163
YMCA - Category 1a.....	163
Footnotes.....	164
CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSIONS AND DISCUSSION	
Review.....	170
Conclusions.....	172
Discussion.....	175
Footnotes.....	180
APPENDIX 1: TABLES.....	181
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	195

LIST OF TABLES

TABLE	DESCRIPTION	PAGE
1.	List and Content Categorization of Voluntary Coalition (Type 700) Agencies with Primary and Secondary Focus of Categorization...	49
2.	List and Content Categorization of Women's Groups (Type 710 Agencies and Associations with Primary and Secondary Focus of Categorization...	58
3.	List and Content Categorization of Health and Social Service (Type 730) Agencies with Primary and Secondary Focus of Categorization...	77
4.	List and Content Categorization of Religious Groups (Type 740 Associations) with Primary and Secondary Focus of Categorization.....	118
5.	List and Content Categorization of Native Groups (Type 750 Associations) with Primary and Secondary Focus of Categorization.....	128
6.	List and Content Categorization of Fund Raising Groups (Type 774 Agencies) with Primary and Secondary Focus of Categorization.....	132
7.	List and Content Categorization of Special Interest Groups (Type 770 Associations) with Primary and Secondary Focus of Categorization.....	138
8.	List and Content Categorization of Low Income/Unemployed Groups (Type 790 Associations) with Primary and Secondary Focus of Categorization.....	145
9.	List and Content Categorization of Environmental, Canadian Development, International, and Futurist Groups (Type 731, 776, 780, & 791 Associations) with Primary and Secondary Focus of Categorization.....	147

10.	List and Content Categorization of Justice, Human Rights, Education, and Housing Groups (Types 760, 761, & 792 Agencies and Associations) with Primary and Secondary Focus of Categorization.....	154
11.	List and Content Categorization of Seniors and Youth/Children's Groups (Types 772, & 773 Agencies and Associa- tions) with Primary and Secondary Focus of Categorization.....	161
12a & 12b	Number of Agencies and Associations of All Types by Content Categories..	171

CHAPTER ONE

THE PROBLEM AND A THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVE

Introduction

In writing this paper I was asked a number of times by those who read drafts, what problem I was dealing with, not at a theoretical level, but in light of my experience and studies what it was that compelled the research, and in what way it might be useful to the practice of progressive social work. What might this paper do besides induce an academic yawn and a "so what"?

From my own experience within voluntary organizations I know that it is common, when applying for funds from the state, for an organization to present a financial comparison, stressing the probable cost to the state of providing a particular service if the agency were not there to undertake the work.¹ This is an appealing argument to the state, and is put forward by particular organizations precisely because of its attractiveness. It is a carrot held out to the state in order to obtain funding. Seldom is any thought given to the ramifications of such a funding rationale and this deficiency becomes especially important when there is increased pressure from capital to reduce social expenditure and at which time the rationale is very easily turned around by the state such that an increase in

voluntary work is promoted by the state as a means of reducing expenditure. The reality, and unintended consequence (so far as the voluntary organizations are concerned), is that there is a net reduction, not only in expenditure, but also in actual services to those who need them. The problem therefore rests, not only with the state, but within some voluntary organizations themselves: they effectively, and often without conscious deliberation, indirectly become adjuncts to the state in reducing services to those they ostensibly are supposed to help. The task of this paper is to demonstrate, beyond anecdote and individual experience, that there are such voluntary organizations, and to gain some preliminary understanding of how and what kind of organizations might be involved. Although I don't think there is anything particularly new or revelatory in discerning that voluntary organizations put themselves forward as a cost effective means of delivering services, I do think it is important that this fact be established objectively and seen distinctly in the context of a capitalist state. Relatively few voluntary organizations are able to see themselves in this manner, and if this paper helps them to do so, in however modest a way, then it will have achieved its purpose.

The submissions to the MacDonald Commission provided an excellent data base from which to do an analysis of the

position of voluntary organizations. The Commission encouraged submissions from the voluntary sector and sought out its views on the contribution voluntary organizations have made and could make to the Canadian economy, bearing in mind that the Commission was created in response to an economic situation which called for, or appeared to call for, restraint in expenditure. One qualification is important to note here: in using the briefs as a base, that is, in doing an interpretive or content analysis, I was conscious of the possibility that the stated positions of some organizations might differ significantly from their actual behaviour in relation to the state. Thus, while the submissions were a good source of data, they are far from perfect, and the conclusions, though arrived at systematically, are not infallible and would need to be confirmed or altered by considerable additional research undertaken directly with the organizations themselves.

Overview and Statement of Hypothesis

The experience of the 1930's has taught us that the voluntary sector simply cannot cope with the problems of large scale unemployment, hunger, and family distress which are attendant upon a capitalist economy which has driven itself into serious recession or depression. State intervention and financing are essential yet the thrust

today is to reduce expenditure by the state for social services in order that a larger portion of available money be used for industrial investment and infrastructure. The state responds to capital first, and only to social demands when conditions of deprivation and insecurity among individuals and families are sufficiently serious to threaten capital's labour pool or the continued power of the state and particular politicians and parties. In more general terms, the state acts to maintain a capitalist society, not just the particular interests of a capitalist class, but all those aspects of a class and gender divided society which go toward sustaining and expanding capital. While this paper is not about food banks, the recent efflorescence of these organizations has brought to the fore the more general question of the role of voluntary organizations within a financially strained and deteriorating welfare state. Concerns have been expressed about the way governments have used the voluntary agencies, including food banks, to reduce expenditures in the social sector, and how the work of such agencies can foster a belief that a number of social welfare needs can be managed without governmental or state intervention.

The proposition or task of this paper is to show that there are a number of voluntary organizations which assist or act as adjuncts to the state in the effort to sustain

and expand capital and capitalist relations. These organizations I have called para-statal, not because they are inspired or formed by the state, not even because they may be financially dependent on the state, but because, by presenting themselves and voluntary action as a cost effective means of delivering services, they accept or promote, explicitly or implicitly, the present state imperative to reduce and restrain expenditures in social welfare for the benefit of capital. Stated in another way, non-profit or charitable organizations may utilize volunteers and have a significant level of formal or structural autonomy from the state and by virtue of such autonomy be called voluntary, but in relation to the state's goal of controlling or reducing social welfare costs they may actively or passively promote such goals and thereby be called para-statal. All too often agencies have protested that the state, through funding and related bureaucratic mechanisms, reduces their autonomy and creates dependency. No doubt examples of this exist, but it is much less common for agencies to reverse the focus and look at their own position and the work they do in a critical way, beyond the immediate and more technical problems of programme or project implementation. They are not adept at seeing themselves as actors within the larger capitalist society, as protagonists or potential

protagonists of state activities which promote the interests of capital rather than the interests of the people with whom they are working or are serving. This problem, the inability or unwillingness of voluntary organizations to see themselves critically within the larger capitalist framework, forms the underlying impetus for doing this study. The proposition I have stated does not provide a "solution" to the problem. Hopefully, it will, in a modest way, illuminate the problem and provide some insight to social workers and others who intend to work or are now working in voluntary organizations.

Most of the data used in this study was gathered from submissions by voluntary organizations to the MacDonald Royal Commission on the Economic Union and Development Prospects for Canada (referred to hereafter as "the MacDonald Commission", or simply "the Commission"), and the Commission's typology for voluntary organizations is retained for reasons outlined in the methodology section of this paper. However, there was one significant addition or modification to the typology made necessary by a secondary hypothesis used in this study. In trying to determine if there are any organizations which might be called para-statal, it was also thought useful to determine if there were any differences between organizations which concentrate on the delivery of social services (or funding

and planning for such services), and organizations oriented toward a broader advocacy role. Accordingly all the organizations were divided, sometimes with difficulty, into either agencies (service) or associations (advocacy) and it was proposed that if there were a significant number of para-statal organizations, that the greater proportion of them would be service agencies. This hypothesis was not formulated prior beginning research but developed early on in the reading of the briefs, thus it was partly a methodological concern as well as theoretical. I have elaborated on it somewhat in the methodological section (see page 33).

The Voluntary Sector

In practice most people tend to divide our welfare system into easily comprehensible categories which include public or state welfare, private for-profit welfare, industrial welfare and non-profit formal and informal systems. Frequently when referring to the non-profit sector the assumed distinctions between the state system and the non-profit system are the presence of volunteers and autonomous or private consensual control over the organization. Hence we frequently hear, especially among state employees and agency workers the expression "voluntary sector". It is generally used to refer to virtually any non-profit organization which was not

established by the state and which includes among its members some volunteers.

This very broad definition is not sufficient. In undertaking the task of defining the para-statal one of the first problems faced is that of reaching beyond the rhetoric of voluntarism and the voluntary sector to show that consideration of these terms cannot adequately be undertaken without reference to the state. This is necessary because one of the spoken or unspoken assumptions within the voluntary sector is that it is voluntary simply by virtue of its autonomy from the state. There is in the literature on voluntary organizations, on voluntarism, a tendency to equate voluntary action with labour which is autonomous from the state, its financial incentives and constraints, statutes, regulations, and policies.

"It is this independence from government and other established institutions which probably lies at the core of voluntary action."²

Formal or legal autonomy there may be, but in practice and in terms of goals implicitly or explicitly shared with the state such autonomy is frequently little more than a charade. Despite frequent use of the term "voluntary sector", it lacks definition. David Tucker notes:

"Examination of the literature in both Canada and Great Britain suggests that the concept "voluntary sector" is an intuitive or prescientific abstraction."³

Harold Wilensky in a foreword to Ralph Kramer's

Voluntary Agencies in the Welfare State comments that:

"Upon close inspection, the "voluntary," "private" sector turns out to be neither voluntary nor private."⁴

Similarly, in the Wolfenden Report voluntary organizations are acknowledged to be of such "bewildering variety" as to defy logical precision in definition.⁵ Wolfenden opts for an imprecise and common sense usage of the term. He rejects as too negative and restricting any definition which would categorize voluntary organizations as simply non-statutory. This he says is too rigid and does not acknowledge the ever-changing relations between the state and voluntary organizations. Tucker concludes that: "...analysis of the role of the voluntary sector cannot be carried out in isolation from analysis of the role of the public sector."⁶

It is precisely this relationship which I wish to explore and hopefully give some definition to in this paper.

Before proceeding the fundamental point needs to be made that when talking about volunteers, voluntary action, voluntary labour, voluntary agencies etc., what is being referred to is in fact most frequently the work, organization, and participation of women. In many respects it is possible to replace the word "volunteer" or "voluntary" and refer more accurately to women's labour, women's action. This is especially so in the case of

social services where at least 63% of voluntary workers are women. Thus when we are talking about the relationship between the voluntary sector and the state we are also making a statement about the relationship of women to the state. Bearing this in mind I will define voluntary action as labour or work willingly undertaken without remuneration by way of wages, salary or other significant material consideration.

The presumed autonomy from the state poses an additional difficulty when it comes to analysing the voluntary sector and the problem of dependency. As we have seen, in practice the term "voluntary sector" is often assumed or defined to be that grouping of associations, organizations, and agencies which utilize volunteers, and by virtue of this utilization is deemed independent of the state. The reality is however that much voluntary action is dependent on the state, not only for financial support, although this is usually the major element, but also through a variety of statutory, regulatory, and administrative devices.

There is a temptation to think that the problem of dependency hinges solely on the degree of financial subsidy an agency receives from the state. That is, it is easy to assume there is a simple "he who pays the piper calls the tune" relationship. Such is not necessarily the case

although the extent of financial involvement by the state can be judged by the following quote from David Ross with respect to the revenue and finances of charitable organizations;

"By source donations make up 44% of all revenue, with government grants following at 23%, and the proceeds from the sale of goods and services making up 22%. In the non-religious charitable sector, however, government grants are the most important revenue source, comprising 40% of total revenues...."8

Even in the religious sector there are specialized agencies of the churches, particularly their overseas development agencies, which receive up to 50% of their funds from the state. Some agencies, including the churches, have utilized an implicit or explicit 50% rule which will not permit them to receive more than 50% of their funds from the state. There is no magic in such a rule; no guarantee that where state monies are kept below 50% that this will of itself insure the autonomy of the organization.

Certainly the level of financial involvement with the state can be a strong indicator of the degree of dependency but that is not the whole story. In a very cogent brief to the MacDonald Commission The Canadian Centre for Philanthropy speaks of collusion:

"The current danger in our opinion is the superficial attractiveness of what can amount to collusion between big government and big voluntary organizations"."9

Collusion, meaning "a fraudulent or secret understanding between ostensible opponents" (Oxford Dictionary), goes well beyond simple financial dependency and makes this statement very strong indeed, coming as it does from a well established, even conservative, institution. The brief goes on to note the serious risks such collusion poses to individuals and voluntary action, and follows with this statement:

"The other pole, which should be of equal concern, is often the result of the apparent success of voluntary activity of a collective nature, and the temptation for governments to try to exploit that success. In some respects such an admonition is better addressed to voluntary organizations themselves, and their adherents, than to governments."10

The problem then rests not only with the predilection of the state toward using the voluntary action for its own ends, but also the willingness of some agencies to promote this collusion. The analysis in this paper will concentrate on this very element: what agencies, by their statements and actions tend to accede to or encourage collusion, sometime called cooperation, with the state?

In approaching this problem I will not suggest that there should be no relationship with the state by voluntary organizations; such a position would be absurd. However, I will suggest that there may be a kind of culpable naivety on the part of a significant number of agencies, and it is this naivety which is a problem. It is a naivety which fails to distinguish clearly between the frequently

conflicting goals of the state on the one hand, and on the other, voluntary action undertaken collectively within voluntary associations or agencies to provide a service or advocate for significant social change.

The nature and extent of this collusion varies widely, but accepting that an essential aspect of the voluntary sector should be its autonomy or independence from the state, at what point is it no longer possible to speak of an organization as voluntary, and if it is not voluntary, what is it?

In response to this conundrum of the voluntary sector I will argue that the contradiction between autonomy and the tendency toward collusion with the state compels us to redefine voluntary action and the voluntary sector with much more direct and explicit reference to the state and its activity in maintaining capitalist or market relations. In doing this I will introduce the concept of the para-statal as a category within which certain voluntary agencies and associations fall. In effect I will argue that some organizations in the voluntary sector could also, and perhaps more aptly, be placed within a para-statal sector because of their advocacy and conformity to the goals of a capitalist state.

As the next section will indicate the theoretical base for this paper is derived from Clause Offe's Contradictions

11
of the Welfare State. Offe's understanding of the state is derived from a marxist analysis of society, but the concern for the risks posed by the state to voluntary agencies is not restricted to the left. The tendency, or at least the risk that some agencies may become para-statal is partially supported by Peter Berger in a short volume entitled To Empower People: The Role of Mediating Structures in Public Policy. 12 Berger advocates a role for mediating structures in public policy, particularly in the delivery of services. Mediating structures, including voluntary agencies and associations are:

"...those institutions standing between the individual in his private life and the large institutions of public life."13

"Mediating structures are essential for a vital democratic society...Public policy should protect and foster mediating structures, and wherever possible, public policy should utilize mediating structures for the realization of social purposes."14

At first glance these statements would seem to recommend the kind of collusion just discussed. However, Berger makes three very important qualifications or observations. First, he excoriates both the traditional left which would have every welfare function implemented by a state institution, and the present conservative right, which he correctly describes as old-style liberalism, and which would have the state abandon all but a residual role in welfare. Second, he recognizes the risk in advocating use of mediating

structures by the state.

"Also there is the real danger that such structures might be "co-opted" by the government in a too eager embrace that would destroy the very distinctiveness of their function."15

Thirdly, the goal, he says is:

"...to expand government services without producing government oppressiveness."16(Emphasis mine)

Much of what Berger says subsequently is an argument for decentralised expansion of services with a great deal of autonomy and local control given to voluntary agencies in deciding what services to implement and how to implement them. He assumes that services can be expanded with state support to the voluntary sector. Berger fails to answer a number of questions. In a time of "restraint" is it possible for a capitalist market-oriented state to do this and is it possible for many voluntary agencies to resist the call for restraint and advocate for an expansion which would give the poor of this country a greater share in its wealth?

With these observations and questions in mind, the next section will attempt to lay out in more detail the theoretical base upon which an analysis of some voluntary organizations will be undertaken.

Theoretical Perspective

In trying to develop a theoretical perspective on those voluntary organizations called para-statal I would

like to take as my starting point the following rather lengthy quotation from Clause Offe:

"A brief definition of a contradiction is that it is a condition in which certain indispensable elements of a social structure cannot be integrated because they are at odds with each other; i.e., the social structure paralyzes itself because the elements necessary for its survival at the same time render it impossible.. In applying this concept of contradiction to the welfare state, I was greatly impressed by Karl Polanyi's reformulation of the classical Marxist interpretation of the wage-labour process. As is well known, Polanyi argues that, although wage-labour is treated as if it were a commodity, it is in fact not a commodity. This is partly because labour cannot be separated from its owner. It is also a result of the fact that unlike all other commodities, the volume, quality, time and place of wage-labour are not predominantly determined by criteria of market rationality. In his studies of the early systems of welfare and social policy, Polanyi points out that a society based on the 'fictitious' commodity form of labour power necessarily depends upon non-commodified support systems. These systems function to preserve and enhance labour power whenever it is not traded in labour 'markets'. I consider this argument decisive. Contrary to the view later associated with the writings of T.H. Marshall, Polanyi suggests that 'welfare' is not a late development within capitalist societies, something that somehow comes into being for philanthropic reasons after the time of the absolute exploitation of labour power. Rather, 'welfare' institutions are a precondition of the commodification of labour power.¹⁷

In stating that welfare institutions are a precondition of the commodification of labour power, Offe is not arguing that they necessarily historically precede commodification, but rather that they form a concurrent base necessary for the establishment of labour power as a commodity. This is a fundamental and inherent contradiction in the welfare state.

There is another aspect of this statement which

requires some elaboration for this paper. In Offe's reference to Polanyi where it is stated that the "commodity form of labour power necessarily depends on non-commodified support systems" it is important to remember that there is a sexual division of labour between the commodified and non-commodified systems with women having much greater participation in the latter, that is, in the part of the non-commodified system which includes the voluntary sector. This paper will not attempt a causal explanation of such division - that is a major and very difficult discussion - but it will draw attention to the fact of such a division. Special attention will be given to the position of women's agencies and particular note to how they differ in their relationship to the state. It will be especially noted whether agencies specifically established and controlled by women to serve and advocate for women are distinguishable in terms of their stance toward the state. Pat Armstrong in Labour Pains has, as previously noted, indicated that in the social service sector 63% of the volunteers are women. Government restraint and cutbacks in social services mean that more work will be done by women on a voluntary basis at the expense of paid employment. This percentage is likely to increase, yet such an increase, along with its consequences for women and families will, unless attention is focused on it, remain

hidden as in the past. Quite apart from those agencies specifically run by and for women, in almost every instance in this paper where voluntary agencies are mentioned those agencies have a majority of women as members and the greater proportion of the work is done by women.

For Offe the fundamental contradiction is the simple fact that capitalism can neither exist with, nor exist without, the welfare state:

"The embarrassing secret of the welfare state is that, while its impact upon capitalist accumulation may well become destructive (as the conservative analysis so emphatically demonstrates), its abolition would be plainly destructive (a fact that is systematically ignored by the conservative critics). The contradiction is that while capitalism cannot coexist with, neither can it exist without, the welfare state." 19

On the one hand capitalism requires the welfare state as a means of maintaining and reproducing the work force, yet the cost of doing so increasingly undermines the profits upon which capital depends. The state, the welfare state, is the nexus of this contradictory relationship. Offe does not however, see the state as neutral in this relationship.

Offe defines the welfare state as:

"...a multifunctional and heterogeneous set of political and administrative institutions whose purpose is to manage the structures of socialization and the capitalist economy." 20

While the state does not act as an instrument of a particular ruling class, it does act to maintain a class

society, or more precisely in Offe's words:

"While it does not defend the specific interests of a single class, the state nevertheless seeks to implement and guarantee the collective interests of all members of a class society dominated by capital."21
(emphasis Offe's).

For Offe there is one very crucial and complex aspect to this contradiction which allows us to understand better the welfare state. He has called this decommodification. On the one hand the state, in order to maintain itself is required to support capitalist commodity relationships, i.e., the market and private property from whence it derives its income through taxation. The intervention of the state in defence of capitalist society is necessary because the commodity relationship in capitalism tends toward paralysis through monopolization and inflexibilities introduced by increased specialization and technological innovation. That is, the commodity relationship of itself is unable to maintain and reproduce the conditions for its own survival. The result is state intervention, and in such a context the economic existence of many individuals and institutions no longer depends on the sale of value, including labour, as a commodity. It is this process which Offe refers to in economic terms as decommodification and which is exemplified by the modern welfare state with its costly system of entitlements and social services not directly dependent on the market. What is crucial here is

the fact that the least costly way of supporting the decommodified sector is voluntary action, or voluntary labour.

Over time, expansion of this state managed non-market or decommodified activity increases the economic power of the state and reduces the power of capital and in reaction counter-pressure is placed on the state by capital to "rectify" the situation. The result is a variety of attempts at revaluation or reintegration of labour into the market, and a redirection of public funds into private or corporate investment. This takes a variety of forms, and can include investment incentives, especially tax reductions, legal and regulatory changes of benefit to capital, or simply inaction - letting the market take its course.²³ What is important here is that in the attempt to pay for recommodification (to manage the "crisis") there is extreme pressure placed on social services and entitlements to reduce costs. Voluntary labour, including the work of women, is seen as one answer and collectively the voluntary sector is seen as a mechanism where costs can be reduced whilst retaining the minimum of services required to reproduce an employable labour force and contain a marginalized unemployable reserve.

Voluntary agencies therefore rest within a very tense and contradictory context where they are being asked to

participate in a reduction in services to those they are either serving or who make up the membership of the agency. The way a particular agency deals with the contradiction inherent in its position is very significant in determining whether that agency can be called para-statal. Does it or does it not support the state in its attempt to reduce expenditures in the social sector? This is a fundamental question asked of each agency or association analysed for this paper. Many agencies are advocates to the state for increased attention and funding for their particular constituency but does this necessarily imply that they are opposed to cut-backs in the social services generally or that they won't put themselves forward as an efficient means of saving the state money by utilizing voluntary labour?

More generally, wage labour within a market economy is a unique commodity which requires non-commodified (voluntary) labour to reproduce and maintain it. This paper will argue that many, though not all, agencies within the conventionally described voluntary sector show a tendency in their advocacy toward acceptance or promotion of themselves as a cost-effective means of delivering social services and of reducing the costs of such services to the state. In so doing they are more appropriately seen as semi-public or para-statal agencies.

On this basis then, there will be two fundamental tests applied to each agency to determine if it can be called para-statal.

1. The first test will be to determine if the organization is advocating, implicitly or explicitly, - voluntary action -voluntary labour - as a cost-effective way of reducing or restraining state expenditures on social services. In terms of our theoretical perspective, an affirmative answer to this implies that the organization accepts the state imperative to defend and strengthen the commodity relationship, through reductions in social expenditure, in the interests of a class society dominated by capital.

2. Alternately, to determine if the organization is recommending or advocating significant redistribution of wealth through increases in state expenditure for social welfare, or through other major changes in welfare and social institutions. Such a position is the converse of the first. The organization is countering the present state imperative to reduce social expenditure, and is, at least implicitly, working against the interests of capital and in favour of equity in the distribution of wealth and power. These two tests, or polarities should be seen as part of a more complex struggle:

"The structural weakening of the normative and moral fibres of a capitalist commodity society - which is caused by the

very attempts to stabilize and universalize the commodity form through state policy measures - again does not imply any automatic tendency towards crises or the 'breakdown' of capitalism. It can, however, become the focus of social conflict and political struggle which is oriented towards overcoming the commodity form as the organizing principle of social reproduction."24

How these tests are to be applied will be discussed in the section on methodology.

A comment or elaboration should be made here about the meaning of "advocacy". Ralph Kramer in Voluntary Agencies and the Welfare State makes the point that it is a myth that government funding limits the advocating capacity of agencies:

"In investigating other factors limiting the performance of advocacy by voluntary agencies, it was found that, contrary to conventional wisdom, reliance on public funds is not constraining."25

He states at the same time that there are widespread and long standing relationships between agency executives and government officials in many countries, cultivated by the government and especially the agencies in order to make their advocacy more effective. 26 It is important to note however that Kramer is here talking about advocacy in a rather limited sense. He fails to make a crucial distinction between what he calls "improver role" advocacy which is directed at changing particular policies, or obtaining increased funding for a particular agency or constituency, and advocacy which calls for significant redistribution of wealth and thereby questions the very

lifeblood of the state - the commodified, capitalist source of its revenue, and it should be added, the source or cause of many of the ills for which welfare expenditures are necessary.

A similar point is made in the Cooperstock study where on the basis of the survey, it could be argued that advocacy, in the sense of "improver role" advocacy even increases slightly where federal funding is granted. Cooperstock says however that such a conclusion is "suspicious" simply because many of those agencies which have more "militant" positions may have chosen not to respond to the survey.²⁷

In conclusion this is a rather grand hypothesis and a little modesty, a statement of the limitations of this paper, of what it is not, is in order. I do not intend to "prove" the hypothesis elaborated here, only to demonstrate that it is a workable and useful tool for further research. My data base and research method are limited, focusing exclusively on a content analysis of voluntary sector presentations to the MacDonald Commission on the Economic Union and Development Prospects for Canada. A thorough demonstration of the hypothesis would require a very broad research project, some elements of which I would have liked to undertake but for reasons of cost and time could not. It would be very useful to do an historical

study of the development of selected agencies from this theoretical perspective. Also, a fascinating project would be an analysis of the labour process within a number of agencies to determine how the state, through wage restraints for example, has affected the policy and direction of agency service and advocacy. Early in the preparation of the proposal for this paper I had occasion to meet with the director of a major agency which receives annually several million dollars in government funding. He had just completed wage bargaining and I suggested a study of the labour process in his agency. In response to an outline of my hypothesis he bleakly noted, and I quote, "we reached our accommodation with the government several years ago". Such a study he said, would be too sensitive now. I received similar responses from two other agencies. A study of the class interests and gender composition of some agencies would be revealing. The make-up of boards and how they are chosen would, I believe, demonstrate "collusion" with the state in a number of key areas.

This study merely makes a beginning in demonstrating that within the voluntary sector there is a discernable group of agencies, para-statal agencies, which are in a certain sense their own worst enemies; that by promoting dependent or "collusive" relations with the state, they contradict the very notion of voluntary.

FOOTNOTES. CH. I

1. My own experience of this comes from the annual budget preparation of CUSO where direct comparisons are made with the cost to CIDA (Canadian International Development Agency) should they have to place technical persons overseas in positions which are now filled by volunteers. A typical example would be that of an experienced engineer; who if he or she were paid by CIDA would entail an expenditure of approximately \$100,000 per year, but which can be handled by CUSO for some \$25-\$30,000 per year.
2. National Advisory Council on Voluntary Action, People in Action, (Ottawa, 1977), p.21.
3. David J. Tucker, and Sandra Devlin, An Exploratory Investigation of the Voluntary Sectors in Canada and Great Britain, (Ottawa: Social Trends Analysis Directorate, Secretary of State, 1984), p.3.
4. Ralph Kramer, Voluntary Agencies in the Welfare State, (Berkeley: Univ. of Calif., 1981), p.xiv.
5. Lord Wolfenden, The Future of Voluntary Organizations, (London: Croom Helm, 1978), p.11.
6. Tucker and Devlin, p.22.
7. Pat Armstrong, Labour Pains: Womens Work in Crisis, (Toronto: Women's Educational Press, 1984), p.131.
8. David Ross, Some Financial and Economic Dimensions of Registered Charities and Volunteer Activity in Canada (Ottawa: Social Trends Analysis Directorate, Secretary of State, 1983), p.i.
9. The Canadian Centre for Philanthropy, (brief #774-829, Nov.1983) p.8.
10. Ibid., p.10.
11. Claus Offe, Contradictions of the Welfare State, editor John Keane, (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1980). pp.310.

12. Peter Berger, and Richard Neuhaus, To Empower People: The Role of Mediating Structures in Public Policy, (Washington: American Enterprise Institute, 1977), 45pp.
13. Ibid., p.2.
14. Ibid., p.6.
15. Ibid., p.7.
16. Ibid., p.7.
17. Clause Offe, Contradictions of the Welfare State, p.263.
18. Pat Armstrong, Labour Pains. p.130.
19. Clause Offe, Contradictions of the Welfare State p.153.
20. Ibid., p.13.
21. Ibid., p.120.
22. Ibid., p.122-124.
23. Ibid., p.123-125.
24. Ibid., p.129.
25. Ralph Kramer, Voluntary Agencies in the Welfare State, p.229.
26. Ibid., p.225.
27. Henry Cooperstock, Ph.D., Relations Between Local Voluntary Organizations and Federal Government Departments and Agencies, (Undertaken for the Secretary of State, Ottawa, 1977, used in preparation of the Report of the National Advisory Council on Voluntary Action entitled People in Action, 1977.), p.37-40.

CHAPTER TWO

METHODOLOGY

Summary

The study population for this paper consists of 174 agencies and associations which presented briefs to the MacDonald Commission during 1983 and 1984. The agencies are typed using the same typology as the Commission but are given a further type according to whether they are agencies or associations. Such typing is based on the presumed activities and objectives of the organizations. Each agency or association is then placed in at least one of five analytical categories based on the contents of its brief. Categories 1a and 1b are complementary and contain agencies or associations which are putting forward a "cost-effective" or "privatization" approach to the voluntary sector. Categories 2a and 2b are also complementary and contain those agencies which have a "redistributive" or "labour over capital" approach. Category 3 contains agencies which are very difficult or impossible to categorize. Some agencies are placed in two categories in which case one of the two categories will be denoted as being the primary focus, the other secondary. The results are then tabulated.

In this chapter I will, after introducing the study population, begin by dealing with the analytical categories

then go on with the typology used.

Study Population

Other researchers when approaching the study of voluntary agencies in a systematic way have had to face a number of rather difficult tasks. Foremost among these has been that of trying to determine with precision what the total population of voluntary organizations is. To some extent this is a problem of the definition of voluntary organizations; however even within the framework of any reasonable and broad definition the number of agencies, organizations or associations in the voluntary sector is unclear. In Canada the estimates vary from 35,000 to 50,000 with 40,000 being the most frequent estimate. The truth is that no one knows for sure. This means that strict observance of the canons of survey research, resting as they do on a clearly defined and enumerated population, are impossible to follow. One of the most detailed studies of the Canadian voluntary sector, the Cooperstock study, stated in its opening paragraph that it sampling made no pretence to being representative. Most samples, even for more localized surveys, are drawn from community registeries or membership lists of coalitions and umbrella organizations, all of which ultimately depend upon self-selection by agencies. In most cases such registration or membership is not required, although it may be useful for

obtaining funds. In this study the situation is no different. The organizations to be studied are self-selected in that they chose to make presentations to the MacDonald Commission. There is no attempt to present the results of this study as being statistically representative of the Canadian voluntary sector overall.

In the first round of presentations to the MacDonald Commission during the latter half of 1984 there were 234 briefs presented by voluntary agencies. Of this number 174 have been reviewed for this study.³ This number is supplemented by 22 briefs presented in the second round, most from agencies which had presented in the first round. Some agencies were excluded from review rather arbitrarily partly to reduce the sheer volume of material to be read. A significant number of the French language briefs, mostly from Quebec were not included in the study, and briefs from arts councils, agencies related to the formal education system, and political parties were also not included. In retrospect some of these briefs probably could have been studied but I do not think their absence significantly alters the results. Many of the briefs from Quebec were not analysed, in part because of problems of translation, but also because of the quite different historical development of social service institutions and social policy in Quebec. The relationship between the state and voluntary agencies

in Quebec is distinct from the rest of Canada and deserves separate treatment beyond this paper.

Analytical-Categories

Before indicating how the agencies were typed consideration should be given to the way that each brief was analysed. As indicated in the previous chapter there are two basic tests applied to each brief, namely:

- whether it is advocating voluntary action as a method of more cost-effective delivery of services (category 1a);

- whether it advocates greater state expenditure or intervention in social services in a manner which implies or directly states the need for significant income redistribution in Canada (category 2a).

These tests also form the two fundamental categories into which agencies are placed and from this point on become categories 1a and 2a respectively. Two additional categories are used to distinguish variations within these two basic categories. Closely related to category 1a I added another category, category 1b according to whether the brief advocates direct business - voluntary sector, cooperation, for-profit private delivery of services, or simply places its faith in the ability of the market to satisfy consumer needs for services. After a preliminary

review of the briefs it was clear that the above three categories were reasonably comprehensive, however there were a number of briefs which, while similar to category 2a were distinguishable. Such briefs form another related category, category 2b, which criticise in a global fashion the market assumptions under which the Canadian economy operates and out of this critique suggest some alternative directions. In a variety of ways they were recommending that priority be given to non-commodified labour, and in general, in the words of the brief from the Canadian Conference of Catholic Bishops, that labour be given priority over capital. Submissions in this category went beyond simply advocating a recognition of the value of voluntary or non-commodified labour, to a more comprehensive vision of how any serious economic change which would benefit the majority of Canadian had to begin with the needs of labour and the right of workers and communities to control their own economic destiny and their conditions of work through cooperatives, community development organizations, or worker owned and controlled industries.

Finally there were a number of briefs which were difficult or impossible to categorize simply because they were too ambiguous, lacked information, or were not easily related to the subject of this study. These formed category

3. In shorthand form the categories can be listed as follows:

- 1(a) -cost effective approach
 - (b) -for profit, or privatization approach
 - 2(a) -redistributive approach
 - (b) -labour over capital or structural approach
 - 3 -uncertain
-

In a formal survey of the agencies questions or operational definitions would be devised to determine which of these analytical categories each agency felt best described its position. In this study the test is being applied by way of a content analysis of each brief and this often requires some interpretation and judgement about what is "really" meant. There is in other words, considerable risk of misinterpretation, or reading into any given brief conclusions which are not warranted. To minimize this, particularly in relation to category 1a it is necessary to be more precise about what criteria are used to categorize an agency as cost-effective and thereby potentially parastatal.

i.) Any brief from an agency which explicitly argued the cost effective approach would self-evidently fall into this category.

ii.) Briefs which assume that there are jobs available in the marketplace and that with programmes of affirmative

action or modest funding from the state for training via voluntary agencies, the costs of welfare could be reduced. This criteria was used with discretion. If the brief tended to argue for job creation on a significant scale it was not placed in this category.

iii.) Briefs which state or clearly assume that voluntary actions and agencies make a contribution to the economy and ask that the state give recognition to this, but at the same time do not or only very weakly suggest some sort of income redistribution.

An example of this latter criteria would be a brief presented by a volunteer centre in New Brunswick which, while never stating explicitly that voluntary action is a cost effective way of delivering services, does a statistical comparison of United States and Canadian participation rates in the voluntary sector, pointing out the advantages this has for business and encouraging government to provide concessions by way of such things as reduced postal rates, sales tax relief on printing, and tax deductions for out-of-pocket expenses incurred by volunteers.⁵ No mention is made of the need for significantly increased expenditure on social services in the face of well documented needs in New Brunswick.⁶ In this case the comparison between United States and Canadian data is used to demonstrate implicitly how, through very

modest concessions, the state might dramatically increase the level of voluntary participation in Canada. Without stating so explicitly this is very much a cost-effective argument.

Into category 1b. would fall those agencies which argue for an essentially residual approach to welfare and provision of social services. They would have the state abandon or drastically reduce its involvement and rely on donations of time and money from business and the corporate sector directly, or through foundations. Also in this category but distinguishable would be agencies which argue for privatization on a profit making basis. The New Brunswick brief, by citing a United States comparison and including quotations from U.S. companies about the advantages of corporate volunteers could possibly place this agency within category 1b. However, other portions of the brief qualify this comparison sufficiently to make any clear-cut categorization difficult. In fact the qualifications and context are sufficient to, on balance, place it primarily in category 1a., and only secondarily in category 1b.

It should be stressed that these criteria are not being used in an either/or manner. In some cases the briefs, in relation to these categories are contradictory and within the space of one or two pages in the same brief

can be found arguments for both increased voluntary action as a cost-efficient means of reducing the expenditures, and also advocating increased expenditure for a variety of services. However, in these instances I attempt to decide which is the primary focus, what is the overall tenor of the brief with respect to these categories.

In the New Brunswick example just described the decision as to whether to give a primary focus in category 1a or 1b is a choice between complementary categories. The more difficult choice would be between say category 1a and category 2a where a brief is internally contradictory. This is a question of judgement when reading and analysing the brief. In each case where this occurs, where for example a brief is given a primary focus of category 1a and a secondary focus of category 2a, the reasons for this will be discussed. Such briefs were not placed in category 3 because their positions though contradictory, were nonetheless clear.

Criteria for determining which agencies were predominantly in category 2a are fairly straightforward. Here the argument is based on whether the agency is advocating increased allocations to a number of social services, or to all services. The underlying theme or condition of such advocacy would be redistribution of income and of the fiscal pie. More generally, one could

ask if progressive tax reform is implicit or explicit in the recommendations and direction of the brief. Here, a distinction is made between those agencies which are merely asking for tax concessions such as tax credits for charitable donations, or lower postal rates, and those whose recommendations call for increased and universal services. The word universal is crucial here in that some agencies will call for increased services to those most in need but in such a way that an incomes or means test would be required. Such agencies would not fall into this category (2a) rather they fall either into 1a or 1b, usually into 1a simply on the basis that redistribution without progressive tax reform is contradictory and another way of arguing for efficiency which benefits capital and the market.

At a number of points in the analysis certain reforms advocated in the briefs, reforms such as a prevention oriented health care system, are cited as examples of the cost-effective approach an agency is taking. In citing them in such a way I am not suggesting that such reforms should not be advocated. Quite apart from their intrinsic merits, they may be the only reasonable form of advocacy an agency can undertake. What I do note however is whether such proposed reforms are accompanied by an awareness that they will mean some very dramatic alterations in our social

service system including significant initial investments. Preventive medical care would mean increased investment in education and educational facilities, not to mention the increases in numbers and salaries for women health workers, especially nurses. Andrew Hacker in a recent article in The New York Review of Books comments with respect to home care workers that the United States would have to expand the number of such workers twenty-five times in order to reach the same level as Sweden where they constitute two percent of the working population. Analagous figures for Canada would probably be similar, perhaps somewhat less. Nonetheless a significant investment would have to be made, and it is just such investments which a capitalist state would resist in a time of restraint.

Some Additional Categories

A set of ancillary categories were applied to the briefs. These were categories which, while not central to the research and analysis were a useful tool to understanding the context in which the agency or association works and the contents of its brief.

1. For women's associations and agencies I attempted to discern on the basis of the content whether the association or agency was taking a "reformist" or more "radical" position. By reformist I mean only that it accepted the

labour market and argued that women should be given equal access to it. The keynote here was whether or not the organization was placing priority on affirmative action. Alternately was the organization advocating equal pay for work of equal value as a priority? Such a priority would imply a more critical position toward the market.

Making such a distinction does not imply a rejection of the principle of affirmative action, as a political strategy. In a number of briefs such a distinction was not possible anyway.

2. Each agency was categorized as to its geographical base: local, provincial/regional, or national.

3. An attempt was made to determine the purpose of the organization with respect to service, advocacy, fund raising, and research. In many cases it was impossible to attribute only one of these purposes to an agency. More usually it was a combination of two or more and in tabulating this there are a number of agencies which have been recorded in two categories, e.g., in service and advocacy. No attempt was made to distinguish a primary or secondary level within these categories.

The MacDonald Commission Typology

The categories just described are specific to the thesis of this paper and are based on the contents of the

briefs. This content analysis was undertaken within the framework of the typology used by the Commission. This typology was based the purpose, or institutional base of each organization and was retained in part for the sake of convenience, but primarily because the types used were appropriate for the study. This was especially so with respect to women's groups, native groups, and the churches. All briefs and files were typed within a three digit series, and each brief was given a number based on the order in which it was heard or read by the Commissioners. Thus for example all briefs from the industrial and commercial sector were in the 100 series, and briefs from the voluntary sector were in the 700 series. Within each series there were sub-types allowing, for example, all briefs from women's groups to be given the number 710. Each individual brief was then given a sequence number according to when it was heard, so that the full designation of the brief say from the British Columbia federation of Women would be 710-232. Physically briefs were filed in the order which they were heard thus to retrieve the above brief I would simply go to file number 232. I have retained the typing and numbering system of the Commission in this paper. The Commission's typology was pragmatic and the following is an outline of the Commission types used for research in this paper. (see bibliography

for a complete list of briefs used and their file numbers.)

The Voluntary Sector (700, 6 briefs). This consists of local coalitions of agencies which have come together to coordinate their work, provide a broader advocacy base, and to use volunteers in a more efficient way.

Womens groups (710, 25 briefs). These are groups of women, some engaged primarily in advocacy, others incorporating both advocacy and service in their agencies. It should be noted that there was some debate among Commission staff as to whether there should have been a separate typing of womens agencies. Some felt that separating the womens groups would reduce or weaken the voice of women in the Commission given its predominantly, though not exclusively male composition. Others felt the opposite. The staff analyst and coordinator for voluntary agencies was a woman.

Health and Social Services (730, 32 briefs). This is the largest single group of agencies and includes a broad range of social service agencies, social planning councils, family advocacy and counselling agencies, and health agencies and coalitions.

Environmental groups (731, 8 briefs).

Religious organizations. (740, 13 briefs). Most, but not all of these are churches, or church related bodies, both local

and national.

Native Peoples groups (750, 22 briefs).

Justice and Human Rights (760, 4 briefs). These were advocacy agencies concerned largely with reform of the prison and legal system.

Education (761, 4 briefs). A number of these groups, while voluntary were associations affiliated to the formal education system and were not analysed. Others related to informal education, or education for the handicapped were studied.

Special Interest/Self-Help (770, 22 briefs). This was a catch-all type within the Commission's typology. It included everything from humane societies to the labour based Operation Solidarity in British Columbia.

Seniors (772, 5 briefs). Organizations within this type consisted of senior citizens or those advocating and providing services on their behalf.

Youth/Children (773, 2 briefs).

Fund Raising (774, 12 briefs). This type consists largely of United Way organizations plus two research and advocacy agencies (The Canadian Centre for Philanthropy and the

Institute of Donations and Public Affairs Research.)

Canadian Development (776, 5 briefs). These groups were concerned with the development of cooperatives or small scale community economic development schemes.

International Groups (780, 2 briefs). What is surprising here is the small number of briefs given the relatively large number and size of voluntary agencies which are involved in international development assistance.

Discussions with some representatives of agencies and with the Commission analyst for voluntary agencies indicate that many of these agencies were not convinced that their voice would have any significant impact on the Commission.

Low Income/Unemployed (790, 6 briefs). Agencies within this group, with the exception of one, are anti-poverty groups or organizations of the unemployed.

Futurists (791, 1 brief).

Housing Groups (792, 6 briefs). A mixture of groups representing both associations of landlords, and those advocating more social housing.

Voluntary Associations and Voluntary Agencies

However appropriate the above typology may have been for the Commission, it fails to distinguish clearly between

those agencies which are often referred to as Voluntary Social Service Organizations (VSSO's) and others which fall outside this type. In distinguishing between the two I will use Ralph Kramer's distinction between voluntary associations and voluntary agencies:

"Voluntary organizations fall into two classes according to the primacy of their social welfare functions. First, voluntary associations are membership organizations which usually have a social purpose--a "cause"--and usually seek to benefit their constituency. They include service and fraternal organizations, religious and charitable societies, political parties, and unions. Second, voluntary agencies are also of many different types, depending, for example, on the degree of participation of consumers in their governance. We are concerned with those that are essentially bureaucratic in structure, governed by an elected volunteer board of directors, and with those that are essentially bureaucratic in structure, governed by an elected volunteer board of directors, employing professional or volunteer staff to provide a continuing social service to a clientele in the community."8

In many respects the distinction between associations and agencies presented above, is similar to the distinction between mutual aid and philanthropy drawn by Lord Beveridge in Voluntary Action some 37 years ago. Briefly stated, mutual aid is expressed in organizations - associations - which consists of members who undertake some actions or advocacy for their own benefit. Philanthropy on the other hand is expressed in organizations - agencies - which exist for the provision of services or benefits to others. These distinctions are not rigid, and it is sometimes difficult to say whether any given organization is an association or

an agency, whether it is operating out of a mutual aid motive or a philanthropic motive.

Nonetheless, in this paper and in the analysis undertaken I will make a distinction between voluntary associations and voluntary agencies, and add to Kramers definition of voluntary agencies those organizations which provide a coordinating, planning, or fund raising service to such agencies. Thus the social planning councils and United Way organizations would be voluntary agencies. In referring to both agencies and associations collectively, or at the same time I may use the words "voluntary organizations" or simply "organizations". Thus, in addition to using the typology of the Commission, I have typed the briefs according to whether or not they are voluntary agencies or voluntary associations, and it will be particularly useful in testing our secondary hypothesis to note whether there is a difference between the two in respect to their para-statal character: that is, whether a greater proportion of the para-statal organizations are agencies rather than associations.

Within each of the types set out by the Commission was the possibility of there being both agencies and associations. In practice a number of the Commissions types were restricted to one or the other. For example, the briefs typed under Health and Social Services by the

Commission were all agencies; those under Native Groups were all associations. On the other hand women's groups as typed by the Commission are in some cases agencies and in others associations.

For each of the commission types discussed a table listing the briefs and their categorization is provided. This are further consolidated in tables in appendix I.

FOOTNOTES. CH.II

1. In fact these are probably rather conservative figures. Arthur Drache in The Tax Status and Tax Treatment of Non-Profit Organizations, (Secretary of State, Policy Co-ordination Directorate, Ottawa, 1984), p.7, notes, on the basis of information from Revenue Canada that there are almost 50,000 registered charities. As many voluntary organizations, including some service agencies are not registered it would be safe to say that the total population of voluntary agencies is well in excess of 50,000. The Coalition of National Voluntary Organizations quotes a figure of 47,000 in Voluntary Action, (Ottawa, 1982), p.2.
2. Henry Cooperstock, Relations Between Local Voluntary Organizations and Federal Government Departments and Agencies, (Ottawa:Secretary of State, 1977), p.3.
3. See Bibliography for list of Briefs.
4. Brief 740-1038, Canadian Conference of Catholic Bishops, p.6-7.
5. Brief 700-297, Moncton Volunteer Centre Benevolat, pp.14-15.
6. See for example Robert Mullaly "Social Welfare in New Brunswick, Vigilante Style", and Nere St. Amand and Robert Landry, "La Centralisation des Services: Une Reponse a la Crise?" in Perception, (Vol.8;no.2; Nov-Dec 1984)..

7. Andrew Hacker, "Welfare: The Future of an Illusion", New York Review of Books, (Vol. 32, No. 3, Feb 28, 1985) p. 38.
8. Ralph Kramer, Voluntary Agencies in the Welfare State, (Berkeley: U. of Calif, 1981), p. 9.
9. Lord Beveridge, Voluntary Action: A Report on Methods of Social Advance, (London: George Allan and Unwin, 1948), See especially the preface, p. 8-9, Chapter I, p. 21-23, and Chapter IV, p. 121.

CHAPTER THREE.

ANALYSIS OF BRIEFS. (A)

Introductory Comments

In presenting the data I will proceed in roughly the same way that the briefs themselves were reviewed; that is, by going through them serially, beginning with the first type on the Commission's list and concluding with the last. However, I will add to this my own typing of the briefs as coming from either voluntary associations or voluntary agencies. For each of the Commission types the results of the content analysis will be presented, first in tabular form and then discussed in some detail as to how they were arrived at, making particular reference to those briefs where two categories are given, one giving the primary focus of the paper and the other a secondary focus.

Although I have generally followed the Commission's sequence, because a number of types had only a few briefs in them, I have combined some into a single group for discussion. Environmental groups, Canadian development, international groups, and futurists were combined to form one group of sixteen agencies. Similarly, justice, education, and housing were combined to form a single group of fourteen agencies and associations. Senior citizens groups and youth/children were also combined into a group of seven agencies and associations.

For each group of organizations I have constructed a list giving the category for each agency or association, and where applicable noting if there is a secondary focus category. This table is followed by a detailed explanation for the particular categorizations.

VOLUNTARY COALITIONS

"Voluntary sector" was the Commission's title for this group of agencies. This has been altered to the title "voluntary coalitions" to more accurately reflect the character of the agencies within it. All the organizations within this group are coalitions of other agencies or represent in some way a larger number of agencies, and all but one, The Coalition of National Voluntary Organizations (NVO), are locally based. The Storefront for Voluntary Agencies in Yellowknife claims to represent some 48 agencies.¹ The Calgary Association of Voluntary Agencies represents some 26 local members.² Similar assertions are made by the other agencies in this type.

TABLE 1.

LIST AND CONTENT CATEGORIZATION OF VOLUNTARY COALITION (TYPE 700) AGENCIES WITH PRIMARY (i) AND SECONDARY (ii) FOCUS OF CATEGORIZATION.

(i)	(ii)	
la	-	Storefront for Voluntary Agencies
la	lb	Moncton Volunteer Centre Benevolat
la	lb	Volunteer Centre of Calgary
la	lb	Lethbridge Interagency Committee
la	-	Coalition of National Voluntary Organizations
la	-	Calgary Association of Voluntary Agencies

CONTENT CATEGORIES

- 1(a) -cost effective approach
 - (b) -for profit, or privatization approach
 - 2(a) -redistributive approach
 - (b) -labour over capital or structural approach
 - 3 -uncertain
-

All but one of these coalitions are reasonably clear in making a case for voluntary action, being a cost effective means of delivering services and supporting the economy. Two of the the agencies, in addition to spending considerable time discussing the contribution of voluntary action to the economy, also go a bit further. One, the Volunteer Centre of Calgary, extolls the virtues of policies in the United States toward the voluntary sector:

"It is also interesting to note that the Reagan administration's impetus for the third sector has done much to preserve the quality of service during economic recession."3

Such a statement, quite apart from the questionable assertion that the quality of service has been preserved, clearly implies that the voluntary or "third sector" can pick up where the state is unwilling to pay. The brief devotes significant space to describing the contribution of local volunteers to the economy, noting that over 100,000 Calgarians volunteer an average of 3 hours per week. In light of this the brief goes on to recommend that a proportion of the time and expenses of volunteers be tax deductible, that a tax-credit be granted for charitable

contributions, and that the federal government undertake a more thorough statistical tracking of the economic contribution of voluntary agencies. There is no recommendation for increased funding to Social services generally.

Another agency, the Lethbridge Interagency Committee, states:

"It is assumed that the future will see a growth in the services sector of the economy and increased need for human services. Business and industry must be encouraged to financially support human services, thereby easing the reliance on funding from taxes. The incentive for business and industry can be built into the tax system as a form of "reward"."4

The brief also recommends continuation of universal health care, along with deinstitutionalization and self-help programs to reduce costs. Support from the state is seen as being given in terms of coordinated planning with agencies, and in tax concessions to agencies and volunteers for services and expenses.

Both of these agencies were placed primarily in category 1a, but also secondarily placed in category 1b because of their concern with increasing direct business-voluntary agency support.

The brief from the Storefront for Voluntary Agencies in Yellowknife was probably the one most difficult to categorize in this type. The brief was longer (34 pages) than most others and much space was given to asking

questions, so much so the impression was conveyed that a clear statement of the agency's position was being avoided. This is not unknown within coalitions, and with 48 member agencies including the local Chamber of Commerce and the Yellowknife department of community services represented, the unwillingness or inability to be clear about a variety of issues is not surprising. If one single theme dominated the brief it was the implied protest against bureaucracy generally in Yellowknife.

"The need exists to clarify if Canada operates on a capitalistic or socialistic economic base; decisions as to what becomes priorities in terms of receiving funding from the government directly affects the volunteer sector."5

This is said in the context of government decisions over funding being able to dictate the direction in which the voluntary sector will go. There is clearly competition in Yellowknife for tax dollars:

"How can criteria for allocation be developed to ensure more equitable sharing between agencies and the private sector?"6

and,

"How can the power bases be made more equitable for the volunteer and private sector?"7

What emerges from these and similar questions is a criticism of the convenient marriage between government and externally controlled industry, leaving the voluntary sector with little to spend, and the pieces to pick up:

"Monies available to the volunteer sector have been getting scarcer and are now quite scarce indeed. Volunteer groups

are forced to compete with both the private sector and government departments...from an unequal power base."8

Implicit in this is a need for some redistribution, but nowhere in the brief is there a clear recommendation that such take place, only that a decision be made about which direction to go, reflecting again the curiously passive, one is tempted to say colonial, nature of the brief.

On the other hand the brief asks these questions after pointing out that there are 200 community groups in Yellowknife contributing an estimated \$80,000,000 to the economy by way of labour. It also notes that volunteer experience is a training ground for work for women in the private sector.⁹ This is seen as a service, a plus, in terms of a cost saving in training. What is seen here then is an agency which is putting forth the voluntary sector as a cost-effective means of delivering services, and at the same time is a reluctant critic of the local status quo but unable to make any clear recommendations for redistributive change. On balance it seemed that this agency was recommending a cost effective approach and was accordingly placed in category 1a.

Reference has already been made to the Moncton Volunteer Centre Benevolat.¹⁰ After discussing the merits of volunteer labour in the context of the experience in the United States the brief goes on with two lists of

recommendations, the first set to the voluntary sector itself which in sum are recommendations for improvement to volunteer working conditions in order to attract more volunteers, and to retain them. Noteworthy among these recommendations was one which sees the voluntary sector as a convenient, and by implication inexpensive, training ground for entry into the labour market:

"The volunteer experience can be better used to provide beginning work opportunities and to develop work habits and skills for young people who are blocked, at the port of entry, from the paid labour force."¹¹

The second set of recommendations is directed to government and consists of a number of possible administrative supports local, provincial and federal governments could render to agencies. These include buildings, postal subsidies, and tax deductions for out-of-pocket expenses incurred by volunteers. There are no recommendations which imply significant redistribution of wealth. This brief was placed in category 1a with a secondary listing in category 1b because of the implied linkage with the private sector.

One statement in the brief has implications that were probably not evident to the writers:

"The Moncton V.C.B. is not suggesting the government hire all volunteers or to compensate them for their work. Volunteers by nature will continue their work regardless of conditions."¹²

For any one of the majority of women who are volunteers

within member agencies of this coalition, this could be a very annoying statement to say the least.

The Calgary Association of Voluntary Agencies also makes recommendations similar to the Moncton Centre, with one very significant addition. It recommends increased contracting with the voluntary sector. This raises the issue of what Ralph Kramer has called "vendorism" which is simply the offering by an agency, usually to the state, of services on a contractual, fee-for-service, frequently unit-cost basis.¹³ The problems associated with vendorism are at least three. First, if the rates paid by the state to the agency meet or exceed the costs then there is an incentive for the private sector to try and enter the particular service delivery area of the voluntary agency. This can become a serious problem when an agency has a mix of voluntary and paid staff, the former essentially keeping the overall wage bill down. Should the paid staff have reasonable or above minimum wage rates, then the private operator may see an opportunity to enter the service if he can keep wages below those of the agency. The second problem is similar. If the agency charges what the service actually costs then there may be some incentive for the state take over the service directly; such a decision would depend on the political gains and losses for the government. Thirdly, and most significantly in the

context of this paper, where the state pays less than the cost of providing the service it is the agencies which may end up subsidizing the state.

"If voluntary agencies are not reimbursed for their full costs - which is almost always the case in England as well as the United States - they subsidize government and must seek additional funds to cover the deficit. Often it is not clear who is subsidizing whom ...14

The Calgary Association of Voluntary Agencies, by recommending an increase in contracting leaves itself open to all the dangers just described, particularly that of subsidizing the state. The agency is thus putting itself forward as a means of reducing or restraining costs to the state, and it is justified to place the agency in category 1a.

At least two of the agencies in this type support the position of the Coalition of National Voluntary Organizations (NVO) in favour of a 50% tax credit for charitable donations. This same support is reflected in a number of briefs in other types thus it is worth elaborating on the position of the NVO.

The NVO is advocating that Canadians be given a greater incentive to make charitable donations, incentive in the form of a deduction from tax payable of 50% of the amount of charitable donations, the "Give and Take" proposal. This contrasts with the present deduction of donations from taxable income, a system which tends to

benefit more those with a higher income. In this respect the proposal is progressive and in a limited way redistributive. However, a closer examination of the figures reveals that a major selling point of the proposal to government is that it will not decrease government income, and may slightly increase it, at least over the first four to five years of the proposal.

"During the first five years there will be no increased cost to government."¹⁵

Bearing in mind the attempt to demonstrate that the government won't lose money the brief to the Commission goes on to state in regard to its Give and Take proposal:

"...it is obvious that Canada's charities will utilize new-found funds to create employment opportunities for lower and middle income Canadians, many first time workers, and in a climate of projected continuing high levels of unemployment, what investment of government resources could be more effective, if only for the viewpoint of employment creation,...Such an 'investment' on the part of government would cost 50 cents for each dollar received by Canada's charities. It is therefore twice as effective as a grant toward employment creation. Because of the multiplier effect between hired staff and volunteers in our sector, this reform will ultimately expand the quantity of voluntary work performed by Canadians."¹⁶

This expansion would be in a sector which according to the NVO brief already contributes 373 million hours of labour to the economy, and if compensated at average wages for the service sector would present a bill of almost 2 billion dollars.

Overall there is little doubt that the NVO position is a cost-effective one and it is accordingly placed in

category 1a. This is the more significant because at least 10 other briefs mention support for the NVO position or some variation of it.

WOMEN'S GROUPS

The first and most obvious comment on the data summarized in tables three and four below is the very high proportion of these agencies and associations which are placed in category 2a. The unanimity among women's groups with respect to the need for significant redistribution of wealth was surprising even given the fact that six of the briefs were from national or provincial Action Committees on the Status of Women where a certain degree of similarity might be expected.

TABLE 2.

LIST AND CONTENT CATEGORIZATION OF WOMEN'S GROUPS (TYPE 710 AGENCIES AND ASSOCIATIONS) WITH PRIMARY (i) AND SECONDARY (ii) FOCUS OF CATEGORIZATION.

		<u>agencies</u>
(i)	(ii)	
1a	2a	YWCA of Met. Toronto
2a	-	Calgary YWCA
2a	2b	Women's Involvement of Upper Trinity South
2a	2b	Women's Network Inc.
2a	2b	Northwestern Ontario Women's Centre
2a	2b	Womens Incentive Centre
2a	-	Women's Information Referral Centre
2a	-	YWCA of Canada

associations

1a	1b	National Council of Women in Canada
----	----	-------------------------------------

2a	2b	Vancouver Women in Trades Assoc.
2a	-	Victoria Status of Women Action Group
2a	-	B.C. Federation of Women
2a	-	Women Unlimited
2a	3	Status of Women Council
2a	2b	Women Against the Budget
2a	-	Women United for a Non-Exploitive New Age
2b	-	Women and Economic Development Committee
2a	-	Assoc. of Women Electors of Metro. Toronto
2a	-	National Action Committee on the Status of Women
2a	-	Saskatchewan Working Women
2a	-	Ontario Committee on the Status of Women
2a	-	New Brunswick Advisory Council on the Status of Women
2b	3	Saskatchewan Action Committee on the Status of Women
3	2a	Can. Congress for Learning Opportunities for Women
3	-	Manitoba Action Committee on the Status of Women

CONTENT CATEGORIES

- 1(a) -cost effective approach
 - (b) -for profit, or privatization approach
 - 2(a) -redistributive approach
 - (b) -labour over capital or structural approach
 - 3 -uncertain
-

The division of Women's groups into agencies and associations was difficult at times because the data in some of the briefs was not always clear as to whether a particular organization had a significant service function. In most cases where the advocacy function was clearly predominant that organization was typed as an association rather than an agency, despite the fact that it may have had some limited service function as well. Most of the associations and agencies had a local or provincial base;

only 4 of the 25 were national.

Women's Groups - Agencies

The YWCA of Metropolitan Toronto was the only agency to be placed in category 1a and secondarily category 2a.

This agency did make recommendations which included a national child care policy and pension reform. Potentially a daycare policy, if one assumes it means universal access to daycare, would require a significant allocation of money to families, particularly to single parent families.

Pension reform is also a potential area where larger sums of money would be required from the public purse. Together they constitute an implicit recommendation for substantial redistribution of income. However, these did not constitute the core of this brief and in discussing the voluntary sector the agency had this to say:

"Voluntary organizations provide community based alternative models of social services. By designing their services to meet the needs of specific groups, they can often provide service which is more effective and less expensive than mass produced government programmes. All levels of government should look profitably at available community organizations for direct service delivery before attempting to provide the service itself."18

Clearly this statement puts forth the voluntary sector as a cost-effective means of delivering services. In saying this it should be re-emphasized that the intent is not to rule out delivery of services by voluntary agencies or on some decentralized or more community oriented basis.

The concern is with the assumption that such will save the state money, that the advocacy of voluntary agencies as a cost saving mechanism.

This brief also asks for improvements or modifications in ~~the~~ market, especially equal access for women to the labour market, but it does not see the labour market in any way as part of the problem. Unionization is not discussed, nor is equal pay for work of equal value.

Summarizing, this brief has a predominantly cost-effective approach and hence was placed primarily in category 1a, but because of the inclusion of recommendations for policy changes in daycare and pensions, both potentially redistributive, it was given a secondary categorization of 2a.

There were seven agencies placed in category 2a. At first glance the brief from the Calgary YWCA, if it were consistent with the Toronto YWCA, would be placed in category 1a. However the content of the brief is distinctly different. The emphasis in the brief is on equal pay for work of equal value, and arising from a discussion of this are a number of recommendations which together would require a very substantial redistribution of wealth in Canada. The brief recommends:

- state provision of full-time daycare,
- improved minimum wages and benefits for part-time

workers,

-promotion of job-sharing in all sectors of the economy,

-labour relations laws which support rather than inhibit unionization especially for part-time workers,

-tax credits for full time parenting

Some idea of what the consequences might be are given in the brief:

"It has been estimated that if women's pay was increased from 60% of male wages to even just 70%, the additional costs would be 87.02 Billion."20

There was little question that this brief should go into category 2a.

One very interesting brief was that from the Women's Involvement Committee of Upper Trinity South in

21

Newfoundland. The Committee represents women in twelve small fishing communities and tries to document their conditions as well as offer a counselling service to them.

In a survey of 889 women, conducted by this agency and documented in the brief, it was found, among other things, that 65% have only one source of income and of those 35% have an income of less than \$8000 per year. Most are not working, and of these, 33%, in order to work would require daycare. State supported daycare was very much at the top of their list of recommendations, but so too were increased UIC benefits, improved education opportunities, and

generous maternity leave benefits, including job protection with less than twelve months service. All of this implies a very clear redistribution of income to a very depressed area of the country and to women who bear the harshest burden of the economic difficulties. Again there was little doubt about placing this small agency within category 2a.

A very short brief of two pages was submitted by the Women's Network Inc. of Charlottetown. The paper focuses on volunteer work, notes its contribution to the economy, and insists that much of this work which is done by women should be paid.

"Women do not necessarily need more employment, they need more PAID employment (emphasis in brief) and the chance to contribute to their own financial future on a fair and equal basis, and to have their volunteer labor recognized and rewardable work."22

This and similar statements which call the current funding of voluntary agencies an "unsuccessful system" amount, at least implicitly to a demand for redistribution. This is reinforced by a comparison the paper makes with what voluntary agencies get and the one million dollars a day Dome Petroleum is getting. In a much more abbreviated fashion than the previous presentation, this brief is also calling for substantial redistribution and is thus placed in category 2a

With something of a rhetorical flourish the brief from

the Northwestern Ontario Women's Centre makes clear where its members stand:

"Although lip service is paid to the general principles of equality and economic security, we live in a society that values everything in monetary terms. Money is power. But everyone does not have equal power on the market. A common response to any changes proposed which would benefit women (equal pay for work of equal value, mandatory affirmative action, more money for upgrading and retraining, accessible/affordable day care, improved pensions) has been that they would be too costly and would undermine the growth and stability of the Canadian economy. In other words discrimination is just too profitable to warrant changing the status quo...The question is: What are our policy makers prepared to do about it?"²⁴

Appended to the brief is a report on a "Women and the Economy Conference" held in May of 1983 in Thunder Bay, a conference which goes into more detail regarding some of the changes suggested in the brief. In particular the report spends some time discussing the reasons for equal pay for work of equal value and some of the unionization strategies which might be appropriate in moving toward that goal.²⁵ In all, the changes recommended would constitute a very significant redistribution of wealth and therefore this brief is placed in category 2a.

The Women's Incentive Centre of Windsor also makes a strong plea for equal pay for work of equal value, and adds that government job creation should include jobs in the social services. The major focus of the paper is on the risks for women in the work place, especially where micro-electronic technology is being introduced.

"Now women are entering programming in large numbers while systems analysts and program designers are men.. We may be witnessing the creation of a new dead-end women's job. It is not the nature of the work, but the social framework in which the work is done that brings about this result"26

The focus on the equal pay issue as well as the recommendation for job creation in the social service sector also place this brief within category 2a.

The last four briefs were secondarily placed in category 2b because the point of concern in each was specifically with labour and the need to revalue it in both monetary terms and socially. Indirectly, and sometimes directly, the priority of labour -women's labour - over capital was clear.

27

The Women's Information Referral Centre was not as clear as the above agencies in its position, but nonetheless, because it placed some emphasis on the need for pension reform to include homemakers, and because it went to some lengths to show the inequities to women in the present labour market it was included in category 2a. This brief tended to support affirmative action rather than equal pay provisions, but it did this fairly strongly, backing its statements with statistical material on the position of women in the labour market.

28

In many respects the brief of the YWCA of Canada reflects that of the Calgary YWCA. It recommends mandatory or legislated provisions for equal pay, and for

affirmative action. Affordable daycare, flexible working hours and inclusion of homemakers in the Canada Pension Plan are all part of the detailed recommendations contained in this presentation to the Commission. There was, in other words, little question that this agency would go into category 2a.

In conclusion, only one of the women's agencies falls into category 1. With some variation among them, all the others recommend changes broad enough to entail significant redistribution of wealth.

Women's Groups - Associations

There were briefs from seventeen women's associations to the Commission. Of this number twelve were in category 2a, one in category 1a, two in category 2b, and two in category 3. None were categorized secondarily in a contradictory category. Discussion of the one brief in category 1 will be left until the last, where it will stand in contrast to the penultimate brief to be discussed, the one from the National Action Committee on the Status of Women. These two briefs represent two very different positions, and the position of the National Action Committee is closest to the position of the rest of the briefs.

The Vancouver Women in Trades Association brief, placed in categories 2a and 2b, argues for access to

all types jobs for women, recognizing for example that women represent only 3% of apprenticeship trainees, and of these 74% are restricted to personal service occupations.²⁹ Of itself this would not be sufficient to place it in category 2a, but the brief goes on to make an implicit argument for job creation and significant government intervention to give women access to those jobs, including universal access to 24 hour day care. Although not stated directly, the general direction of criticism in the brief is to have the state intervene to redirect profits toward job creation:

"We are aware that employers and businesses must continue to make profit. Must they continue to make so much, must they be allowed to make so much?... Women in Trades submits that if employers and the policies presently carried out by this government that support those employers priority on profit are continued, you will speed up the creation of a working force and of a general population in which some will give up and some will get angry..."³⁰

The general direction of the brief is also toward giving priority to labour over capital. In addition to opening with a quote from the Catholic Bishops' New Year statement, the brief states:

"The 'individual Canadians' referred to in your mandate are, in the large majority, we, the men and women who produce value."³¹

The brief from the Victoria Status of Women Action Group was over 100 pages and difficult to summarize. Stress is laid on increased state involvement especially in

day care, and affirmative action. More than any other brief in this type it focuses on the situation of immigrant women, particularly those who are involved in domestic labour. It recommends that domestic workers come to Canada as landed immigrants rather than on work permits.³²

The short brief from the British Columbia Federation of Women is clearly in category 2a:

"...our greatest problem is the consequence of too great a concentration of too much economic power in too few places and controlled by too few people...Financial incentive should go to services and activities that will enrich and enhance the quality of life."³³

The paper indicates that some of the money for services must come from the overly large military, nuclear, and penitentiary budgets.

The brief from Women Unlimited was also presented in the name of the Cape Breton Transition House, though not listed this way by the Commission.³⁴ The Cape Breton Transition House would be typed as an agency, Women Unlimited as an association. In typing the brief as coming from an association I followed the Commission. The brief differs little from others in recommending universal daycare, tax breaks for working parents, and a revamping of pensions to incorporate homemakers. It was placed in category 2a.

The Status of Women Council in Whitehorse sent a short

handwritten brief, little more than a letter really, concentrating exclusively on affirmative action. It was placed in category 2a, but secondarily in category 3 because of its brevity and relative lack of information.

The brief from Women Against the Budget and the Women's Research Centre in Vancouver reflects the anger and concern which were prevalent in British Columbia in 1983 after the provincial government had severely reduced social services. It was placed in category 2a somewhat hesitantly because there are no clear recommendations which emerge. There is however, in the protest, an implicit direction:

"Whenever our husbands go off to work camps and resource towns, when major development takes place, or when the bust follows the boom - as it inevitably does, women are expected to provide the social services and other assistance that governments say they can't afford."35

The brief goes on to say that the domestic economy and women's work must be included in any serious reconsideration of the economy by the Commission. Again with some hesitancy I gave this brief a secondary categorization of 2b.

Women United for a Non-Exploitive new Age is based in Powell River B.C. and sees itself primarily as an advocacy and research group. Also with some hesitation this association was placed in category 2a. Explicit reference to redistribution or increased expenditure in social welfare is made when it recommends an income

insurance programme which would operate much like the Unemployment Insurance Commission, but with benefits not limited by time. Assuming that payment levels would remain the same or increase this could mean a significant additional cost to the current system. At the same time it is suggested that other programmes such as Old Age Security and the Guaranteed Income Supplement be rolled into this income insurance programme as well. What is being discussed here is some sort of Guaranteed Annual Income based on a limited insurance principle. It is not at all clear that the end result would in fact redistribute wealth, however on the basis of other criticisms in the brief one could conclude that this was the intent of the brief:

"The government elected to represent the needs of all Canadians is responsible for seeing that free enterprise capitalism or any other monetary system does not adversely affect the needs of the larger community...Our government has not fulfilled this obligation."36

The Women and Economic Development Committee (of Northwestern Ontario) takes a somewhat different approach than most of the other briefs. The argument in the paper is for increased political power as a route to changes in the economy. The report goes to some lengths in describing the level of women's participation in local political structures, especially regional economic development committees, and advocates a much greater degree of

37

participation. Underpinning this is the assumption that:

"The Whole economy should include not only the formal monetized institutionalized sectors - the paid work job part, but also the informal economy including self-employed, community non-profit enterprises, neighbourly cooperation and household activities."38

Accepting this assumption implies a greater focus on all kinds of work, not just work given a valuation by the market and capital. The brief was thus placed in category 2b.

The short (4 pages) brief from the Women Electors of Metropolitan Toronto is significant in that doesn't focus entirely or even primarily on the "taxpayers burden" although the question of how tax money is used is a major part of the brief. In particular, the brief takes to task the perceived inefficiency and jurisdictional disputes of senior (federal and provincial) governments in the delivery of services, and argues that municipal government could "make far better use of the money if they had the authority to do so. This is especially true for the introduction of new and innovative services. There is some discussion of the possibilities of new services in chronic home care. At first glance the argument is one, not for increased funding but for more efficient use of existing funds, however throughout the brief there is reiteration of the need for more money, and more in a great variety of services. The brief states that not enough thought has been given to

deinstitutionalization, and the necessary support services have not been put in place before deinstitutionalization is implemented. Day care and housing, both very "big ticket" items are items insufficiently funded. On the whole, despite the obvious self-interest of rate payers, there is a case made in this brief for significant increases in funding of services to warrant placing it in category 2a. 39 Unlike other briefs from women's groups this one does not concentrate directly on the position of women in society, but because of its concern for the same issues, especially that of day care, it carries very much the same message.

The brief of the Canadian Congress for Learning Opportunities for Women 40 is a moderate one, stressing affirmative action, but with a precedent need for training and education in trades and occupations usually reserved for men. The brief does not make any statements about a need for redistribution and the recommendation for equal pay for work of equal value is not well enough developed to draw such a conclusion from it. The brief was placed in category 3, with a secondary categorization of 2a.

A grim employment scenario for women is painted in the brief of the Saskatchewan Working Women, and an alternative scenario is given which constitutes the recommendations of this association. The brief argues that with cutbacks in health, education and social services jobs are being lost

but the work is being done by the volunteer and the work of women in the home. Furthermore, with 650 to 700 word processors being installed monthly in Canada this has the potential of 1.2 - 2.0 redundancies by 1990, mostly women.

The recommendations of this brief are extensive. They include an increase in jobs in the human services, universal day care, job sharing with no reduction in pay, positive support for unionization of women, and a ban on "contracting out". There was no hesitancy in placing this brief within category 2a.

In its brief entitled "The Economic Equality of Women" the Saskatchewan Action Committee on the Status of Women takes an expansive view of the situation of women and work. It outlines some of the history of how women came to be segregated in the job market in the industrial capitalist system and how this has led to serious problems in relation to the quality of life in our society. The paper concludes with a series of questions which imply a complete reorientation of the way we work. In short what is asked for is that the work of women be taken seriously and that our institutions and work places be changed dramatically.

The brief is very general and it was difficult to categorize. This is recognized by placing it secondarily in category 3. On the whole the paper was asking that

priority be given to labour, that capital and the sexually segregated job market is not up to the task of recognizing the work of women. Accordingly it was given a primary categorization of 2b.

The brief from the Ontario Committee on the Status of Women was a re-presentation of a 1979 brief to the Ontario Cabinet, calling for universal day care, equal pay for work of equal value, and affirmative action. Its content was similar to that of other briefs asking for the same changes and was thus placed in category 2a.

The same categorization applies to the brief from the New Brunswick Advisory Council on the Status of Women. This brief also mentions the need for improved pension coverage and spends some space in outlining improvement in educational opportunities for women including increased expenditures on universities and student assistance.

The brief from the Manitoba Action Committee on the Status of Women consisted of a 2 page letter to the Commission. It focused on technological changes and the effects on families. There was not enough information in the brief to place it in any category other than 3.

Finally, two briefs, one from the National Action Committee on the Status of Women (NACSW) and the other from the National Council of Women in Canada (NCWC), present nearly opposite views of what direction should be taken in

relation to social services. The NACSW brief is much more representative of the other briefs and was placed in category 2a, whereas the NCWC brief is an exception which casts a clear, neo-conservative vote for restraint and faith in the market and is thus placed in category 1.

The NACSW brief asks for legislation requiring minimum time, and pay for maternity leave. Along with this, under the rubric of parental rights, is a reiteration of the need for accessible day care. Equal pay for work of equal value and affirmative action take their place in the brief as requiring legislated compliance. The brief then discusses contracting out, part-time work and technological change as areas or means whereby women are losing jobs or being forced into poverty level wages and oppressive working conditions. All of these require some action by the government and such action should be directed toward full employment. Furthermore:

"Full employment, especially for women, can only be achieved through the development of public sector employment. ...emerging employment trends in Canada and the United States indicate that the private sector's use of technological change and accompanying structural changes in the economy will not produce employment or involve and equitable distribution of the benefits of technological change."43

Contrast this with the direction taken in the NCWC brief:

"Governments should provide more leadership and less control. Government deficits must be reduced through

reduced expenditure; efficiency should be put ahead of staff tenure. The need for marketing boards should be reviewed as well as the extent of their control; the system of welfare programs should be reviewed to look for ways to encourage people to become independent and to provide, where possible, for their own welfare."44

and:

"Insofar as there is a need for reductions in government spending, consideration should be given to encouraging and expansion of the volunteer activities since...they can generally operate more cheaply than government bodies performing the same function."45

These two positions exemplify in many respects, not only differences among women, but also the fundamental differences among a broad range of agencies and associations within the voluntary sector. In this paper the two positions are illustrative of the two contradictory categories of "cost-effectiveness" as an advocating position of some organizations and the position of "redistribution" or expenditure advocated by other agencies and associations. What is very clear from this review of womens groups is the general, though not universal consensus around category 2a, or advocacy in favour of redistribution.

HEALTH AND SOCIAL SERVICES

Agencies within this type were sometimes difficult to place unequivocally in any one category. Also, six agencies are contradictory or at least ambiguous in their advocacy, taking on the one hand a position of "cost-

effectiveness" (category 1a) and on the other advocating a more "distributive" approach (category 2a). These briefs will be compared carefully in the following discussion, and where there is doubt it will be noted with the reasons for particular categorizations given.

Discussion of briefs in this type will be made easier by grouping them according to their categorization. The first group to be discussed will be those in category 2a, excepting those which have a contradictory secondary focus in category 1a.

TABLE 3.

LIST AND CONTENT CATEGORIZATION OF HEALTH AND SOCIAL SERVICE (TYPE 730) AGENCIES WITH PRIMARY (i) AND SECONDARY (ii) FOCUS OF CATEGORIZATION.

(i) (ii)

1a	-	Manitoba Assoc. for Children with Learning Disabilities.
1a	-	Social Planning and Review Council of B.C.
1a	2a	British Columbians for Mentally Handicapped People
1a	2a	Premier's Council on the Status of Disabled Persons
1a	-	Family Service Assoc. Of Met. Toronto
1a	-	Canadian Red Cross
1a	-	Canadian Rehab. Council for the Disabled
1a	2a	Social Planning Council of Winnipeg
1a	-	Catholic Social Services (Alta.)
1a	2a	Saskatchewan Coordinating Council on Social Planning
1a	3	Catholic Family Services of Saskatoon
1a	3	Community Based Health Services
1a	3	Family Service Bureau of Regina
1b	1a	Kekuli Audio Visual Society
1b	1a	British Columbia Health Association
2a	2b	Canadian Council on Social Development
2a	1a	Community Council of Greater Victoria

- 2a - Alert (Charlottetown)
- 2a 2b The Health Coalition of Nova Scotia
- 2a 2b Community Services Council (Nfld. & Lab.)
- 2a 3 Lakehead Social Planning Council
- 2a - Canadian Mental Health Assoc.
- 2a - Ontario Assoc. of Family Service Agencies
- 2a - Income Maintenance for the Handicapped
- 2a - Social Planning Council of Ottawa-Carleton.
- 2a 1a Social Planning and Research Council (Hamilton)
- 2a 2b Social Planning Council of Metro Toronto
- 2a 2b The Canadian Health Coalition
- 2b 2a Vanier Institute of the Family
- 2b 2a Capital Families
- 3 1a Mental Health Assoc. in Saskatchewan
- 3 1b Alberta Committee of Consumers Groups of Disabled Persons
- 3 2a Community Nursing Registry of Windsor
- 3 1a Paradigm Health

CONTENT CATEGORIES

- 1(a) -cost effective approach
- (b) -for profit, or privatization approach
- 2(a) -redistributive approach
- (b) -labour over capital or structural approach
- 3 -uncertain

Category 2a Agencies

A touchstone for discussing a number of briefs both in category 2a and other categories will be the brief of the Canadian Council on Social Development. This brief and the three which follow were also given a secondary focus in category 2b.

After a preliminary description of the historical development of the Canadian welfare state, of how it was built upon an underlying policy or social contract of full employment, the CCSD brief states that this arduously built social contract is now in danger of being broken:

"When employment opportunities are removed from a major

sector of the population a "social contract" is broken. Moreover many powerful groups in society, desirous of increasing their wealth, can be expected to attack the victims of this broken contract as not "truly needy," and therefore to call for severe limits to social spending. Indeed the process has already begun, with questions being raised about eliminating universal programs ... "46

But this is not all. The problem in the mind of the Council is that private business will not be able to generate sufficient employment to restore the contract and more, not less, intervention will be necessary:

"Government intervention is going to be absolutely necessary in order to achieve a broader distribution of available jobs, and to create additional employment to fill the gap."47

The Council does not argue with the need for efficiency in the delivery of services, indeed it argues that a cost-efficient system is essential, but by recognizing that even in the context of a very efficient delivery system more state intervention will be needed, the Council is seeking significant redistribution of wealth, via jobs, and thus can safely be placed in category 2a.

Indeed the Council's argument goes a bit further and recommends that increased financial support be given to the voluntary sector for the creation of paid jobs:

"A new look at this sector leads the CCSD to believe that these organizations -- if they had access to significant and ongoing public funding to pursue their own objectives, with funding requirements specifying only that certain numbers of new jobs be created -- would produce results which would far surpass the level of investment."48

Not only should the voluntary sector receive funding

for job creation in services, but money should be made available for smaller scale, locally based industries which would be run on a cooperative or non-profit basis. Overall, with the concentration on job creation, on dignified employment, it was felt that this brief from the CCSD should be placed secondarily in category 2b, which stresses the priority of labour over capital.

These two points, an awareness of the limitations of the private sector with its inability and unwillingness to provide jobs or support the state in funding social services, and the recommendation for increased intervention by the state in job creation were important factors in deciding whether other agencies in this type were placed primarily in categories 1a and 1b or categories 2a and 2b. If there was such an awareness, even implicitly, or some thrust toward job creation then the brief would tend to go into the "redistributive" category (2a). On the other hand if the brief put forward itself or the voluntary sector generally as an cost effective deliverer of services but lacked an awareness of the points above then the tendency would be to place it in category 1.

One of the best written and researched briefs to the Commission was that of the Community Services Council of Newfoundland and Labrador. The brief concentrated on work and employment in Newfoundland and give detailed figures as

to the levels and kinds of unemployment in the province. To do this the Council in 1980 undertook two major research projects: one was a comparative ethnographic study of five communities, and the second was a province-wide random sample survey.⁴⁹

Among the many findings of the two studies was the very significant difference between the meanings of work as defined by the formal labour market and work as understood by members of some communities.

"Our five ethnographic studies, however, indicate a virtual absence of a labour market in the two inshore fishing communities and quite different labour market characteristics in the three towns studied compared to those assumed in the conventional economic definition."⁵⁰

The brief then goes on to redefine unemployment, not on the official basis of the numbers searching for work in the job market but in terms of those who desire work, whether searching for it or not. In these terms the unemployment figure in Newfoundland in the summer of 1981 becomes, not the official 13%, but 30.8%.⁵¹ Having established the level and quality of unemployment in somewhat new terms the recommendations of the brief are very similar to those of the Canadian Council on Social Development, and in relation to the voluntary sector the CCSD brief is explicitly endorsed. Job creation becomes the crucial recommendation, with the voluntary sector seen as a productive and permanent job creation mechanism, along

with local economic development initiatives. While support for substantial job creation placed the brief in category 2a, this support did not arise from the same direct criticism of the private sector's inability or unwillingness to create employment that was noted in the CCSD brief. More criticism is directed at the political interference and patronage involved in job creation in the past, which resulted in short term job creation projects which had no lasting effect on employment. Nevertheless, even in its moderate and less critical tone this brief is placing a good deal of emphasis on labour, and in a way which would imply a definite bias in favour of labour over capital. Accordingly it is also given a secondary focus in category 2b.

The third brief to be placed in both category 2a and 2b was that of the Social Planning Council of Metropolitan Toronto. The brief concentrates on jobs and the economy and remarks that:

"A significant erosion of social programs since 1975 and generous tax policies to increase profits and investment have not restored growth and efficiency. And they are not likely to because they do not propose to deal with the structural weaknesses of the Canadian economy, the irrational nature of private sector decision making..."⁵²

Also, in the testimony before the Commission the following was said:

"We feel it would be nothing short of disastrous to place our primary reliance on those very institutions which seem to have led us into the problems which we currently face. We

have tried to put forward reasons why we feel private sector market based institutions have not provided the levels of employment growth and income security which we feel are necessary for Canadians."53

The brief calls for greater equality in the distribution of income and recognizes that the service sector, including the voluntary sector will have to provide much of any new paid employment:

"It seems to us, certainly in terms of this brief, that one of the major directions for economic growth in the country in fact is in the human services field."54

There was little doubt that this brief belonged in category 2a. Also, there was another theme running through this brief, one which called for economic democracy and, implicitly at least greater power to labour. The theme was sufficiently strong to place the brief secondarily in category 2b.

"Communities and workers require a much greater role in the management of their economic lives. Shop-floor participation is essential to improve our productivity performance, and municipal and community decision-making structures should be involved in an instrumental way in local investment decision-making."55

One brief given both a primary focus of 2a and secondary focus of 2b, but not a social planning council,⁵⁶ is that of the Health Coalition of Nova Scotia. The brief recommends, in the context of a discussion of medical reform, that a more progressive tax system be implemented along with changes in federal-provincial fiscal arrangements. User fees of any description are rejected

and the planning of health care services should be done by health care workers and consumers with only a minor part played by doctors. The brief recognizes that many present health problems are environmentally induced and this will mean increased expenditure on pollution control and health education.

Very similar to the above brief was that of the Canadian Health Coalition. The Coalition calls for a completely revamped health care system, one which would expand to include dental, home care, optical, prosthetic, and prescription drug coverage. The recommendations also call for widespread establishment of community health care clinics oriented toward preventive as well as curative medicine. Legislation should be enacted in work place and environmental health, and financing should be put in place to adequately pay all health care workers. Financing would come:

"From general income tax revenues after having made basic changes in the federal and provincial income tax system to make them more progressive."57

These recommendations quite evidently place this brief within category 2a. The concern expressed for work place health and safety, a recommendation asking assurance of collective bargaining rights for health care workers, and a proposal for a structure which includes predominant representation from labour and users, to determine national

health priorities all go to giving this brief a secondary focus in category 2b, that is, a priority to labour over capital.

The next group of briefs are those which had a primary categorization of 2a. No secondary categorization was applied to these, usually because the emphasis was exclusively on redistribution with little or nothing said which would directly place them in another category.

The Canadian Mental Health Association chose to comment on our economy rather than focusing on mental health specifically. It unmistakably recommends a redistribution of income and more democratic control over the economy, and this arises from a clear criticism of the present capitalist economy:

"Unemployment and poverty are direct outcomes of economic policies and of the economic structures that these policies promote...Clearly our choice is between policies that encourage decision making which is responsible to the community as a whole and those that emphasize profits" 58

The brief then goes on to recommend increased state intervention, not only to redistribute wealth, but to plan such redistribution. It would be the role of the state to support and encourage more community based planning, not necessarily to undertake the planning itself in every case.

A very short one-page brief was presented by ALERT of Charlottetown.⁵⁹ This is a group of welfare recipients who provide a support service to other people also on welfare.

Their brief was terse and explicit, even bitter, and called for jobs, a guaranteed income programme, and rejected the introduction of hospital and other medical user fees.

There was, despite the brevity of the document, and considering the group from which it came, no doubt that it was calling for redistribution.

The brief of the Ontario Association of Family Service Agencies⁶⁰ provides a general description of the situation of families, particularly single parent families which are on welfare, and based on this description of needs goes on to recommend universal daycare, increases in welfare benefits, support services for the working poor, increases in subsidised housing and elimination of user fees. Job creation was also seen as important although the paper did not elaborate greatly on how this was to be achieved. Overall there was little doubt that the recommendations of this brief would entail significant redistribution and thus it was placed in category 2a.

As the name implies, Income Maintenance for the Handicapped, is an agency which is calling for some redistribution. This paper is not particularly critical but it does make recommendations sufficiently strong that there is little doubt that redistribution on a significant scale would be required. It calls for integration of disability payments with the Canada-Quebec Pensions Plans,

and for special costs beyond disability payments to be met by the state. Tax deductions and other concessions should be given to the disabled and support should be provided to families whose handicapped child lives at home. 61

Above all, jobs should be created for those many handicapped who are able to work.

The brief of the Social Planning Council of Ottawa-Carleton is similar in many respects to that of the Ontario Association of Family Service Agencies in that it focuses on the conditions of the poor, particularly of families, and from its analysis concludes that there must be significant increases in payments to the large number of people below the poverty line.

"There is a pressing need to adopt a standard of income adequacy for Ontario that establishes higher benefit levels for social assistance recipients."62

Such a standard would be adjusted annually, indexed, and based on a percentage of average wages and salaries in a region. The recommendations of this brief also ask for revisions in the Canada Assistance Plan so that additional payments could be made directly to voluntary agencies for new preventive and developmental services.

This brief also cites one clear example how the state uses its revenue generating capacity to the benefit of capital at the direct expense of the poor:

"...many who should know better, simply deny the clear evidence of the inadequacy of social spending and the

responsive sector in partnership with government." ⁷⁷

It is surprising that the Social Planning and Review Council should see the voluntary sector as having worked in "partnership" with government in developing jobs in British Columbia, in a province where unemployment has in fact increased, and where there have been large reductions in social service budgets and employment. Perhaps the words are a bit of hyperbole to demonstrate the need for more planning. However planning itself can be seen as a means of reducing costs, as managing restraint. As Prof. Dobell at the School of Public Administration in Victoria says:

"...the personnel practices embodied in this latest round of action by the B.C. government have to be judged contrary to everything one teaches about the management of restraint. The longer term costs of the process are incalculable." ⁷⁸

This brief is certainly not arguing for any increases in expenditure in social services, and makes a oblique but strong case for voluntary sector participation in restraint and is therefore placed in category 1a.

Superficially it would appear relatively easy to make a judgement about the brief of the Family Service Association of Metropolitan Toronto in that it seems to have sensible proposals which redirect income toward the most needful persons in our society. However, the first few of these proposals, when taken together, amount to a programme of subsidies and tax concessions to industry to provide job

effects on people. In the last Ontario budget a 5% surcharge was applied to all taxable income over \$2178 for an 18 month period. This tax is called the "Social Services Maintenance Tax". The funds go into general revenues. They will be used for varied purposes including health services, incentives to business, roads. The use of this strategy, presumably to deflect criticism to one group, shows contempt for Social Assistance recipients..."63

With this kind of criticism and the extent of income redistribution which is recommended, there was no hesitation in placing this brief in category 2a.

The brief of the Lakehead Social Planning Council concentrates on local job creation in the forestry industry. It is placed primarily in category 2a because there are clear recommendations for increases in transfer payments to all social programmes, a recommendation for more progressive taxation, and because the job creation proposals are implicitly redistributive in that extensive investment would be required. At the same time there is a lack of clarity in the brief, in that it assumes that somehow the market will be eager to invest in labour intensive forestry and secondary processing industries. There is in other words a rather touching faith in the market which doesn't square well with the general impetus for redistribution expressed in the brief. Thus a secondary focus of 3 is given simply to express this implied contradiction in the brief.

The next group of six briefs are ones in which there was some element of contradiction, that is, where either a

primary or secondary focus noted for categories 1a or b, and 2a. The first two briefs were placed primarily in category 2a where some redistributive recommendations or direction are primary but also where there is a lesser and contradictory emphasis on the cost-effective argument for voluntary agencies.

The brief from the Community Council of Greater Victoria was short and consisted primarily of questions rather than stated positions. On the one hand the brief was opposed to turning services over to the private or for-profit sector and asked a number of questions about whether economic values could,

"...be expanded to include greater recognition of social activity such as work in the home or voluntary work?"⁶⁵

The brief also had appended to it a document from the British Columbia Association of Social Workers which laid out some of the differences in costs between the terminated Family Service Worker programme, and varying types of institutional care, the latter being much more expensive. Both these statements could imply some significant changes and increases in expenditure, at least initially, and thus place the brief in category 2a. On the other hand, the need for such increases, was only implied, never stated. However, with an awareness of the context in British Columbia where the previous government had, at considerable

initial expense introduced the Family Service Worker Programme, the benefit of the doubt was given to the brief and it was placed in category 2a as recommending significant redistributive change, but, with a secondary focus in category 1a.

The brief of the Social Planning and Research Council of Hamilton was one of the more difficult briefs to categorize and an initial reading might have placed it first in category 1a, as an agency recommending a cost-effective approach. The brief explicitly recommends implementation of the NVO proposal of a tax credit for charitable donations:

"That the federal government provide a substantive incentive to voluntary giving by shifting the status of voluntary donations from a tax deduction to a tax credit as recommended by the National Voluntary Organizations in their proposal "Give and Take"."66

There is also a recommendation that many current social welfare programmes be rolled into a single
67-
Guaranteed Annual Income programme. This was not accompanied by any recommendation that there be an increase in overall allocations to social welfare via a GAI programme. As will be noted when the briefs from religious organizations are discussed, especially that of the United Church, there is a sentiment among some parts of the business community that a GAI programme would actually be cheaper, would cost less. Overall there is very little

explicit reference to the need for increased expenditure and redistribution. On the other hand there are a number of recommendations which predominate in the brief, and which imply increased expenditures, and if implemented would mean considerable redistribution to the jobless and poorer individuals and families in society. First, the brief calls for the establishment of a Community Development Corporation which would be given substantial investment funds to be made available to both service and small industrial cooperatives. Such a corporation and the related cooperatives would be under community and worker control, have a mandate to become financially self-sufficient, and to generate jobs.

"In essence CDC's allow integrated community planning, which brings together resident expertise, analysis of community demand, and the unemployed in the development of profit making and non-profit activities controlled by the community in question."77

Furthermore, apart from the recommendation supporting the NVO, there is another recommendation which, while not actually calling for increased funding to voluntary agencies, does make a strong plea for not reducing funding, noting at the same time that the voluntary sector is not the road to cost savings:

"We would note a singular confusion evidenced by these calls for voluntary action, a confusion related to the understanding of what constitutes voluntary action. Often there has been the implicit assumption that if a service is delivered through the voluntary sector, it results in a significant cost-saving to government. In fact, this is

not always the case....The employment of a wide array of skilled professionals in the voluntary sector who cannot, nor should not, be replaced by even the most skilled of volunteers, often depends on the continuation of this government support."69

On balance, because the recommendations for community job creation, and support for the voluntary sector imply redistribution and increases rather than reductions in expenditure, and because these form the major part of this brief, the brief was placed primarily in category 2a, but with some of the contradictory recommendations given recognition by placing it secondarily in category 1a.

Category 1a agencies

The following four briefs were categorized primarily as 1a that is having a fundamentally cost effective approach. However, they were also contradictory in that they made some mention of the need for redistribution and thus were placed secondarily in category 2a.

The brief of the British Columbians for Mentally Handicapped People recommends, for the handicapped, an expansion of needed services including housing and legal assistance. What the brief is talking about at one level is indeed some increase in expenditures and thus implicitly some redistribution. However the more significant aspect of this brief, the one which it emphasises is community care:

"It is as cost-effective to provide service to a mentally handicapped person in the community as in an institution."

Extensive documentation exists to show that disabled persons including those with complex medical problems and multiple disabilities are living successfully in the community."⁷⁰ [emphasis in brief]

The question of community care needs to be looked at a little more closely, because this and a number of other briefs present such care, along with deinstitutionalization, as something of a panacea for overcoming the expense and sometimes coldness, of institutional care. Community care is attractive not only because of the cost factor but also because it may mean care "about" a person as well as "for" a person. What is seldom considered is who is doing this care, who is bearing the cost in terms of the work done. In many cases, in the majority of cases, it is undertaken by women, and where the cost is reduced it is because it is assumed that women will do this voluntarily, or that it is somehow their proper caring role to undertake such work without remuneration, or with the presumption that the work is somehow its own reward. Society seems to visit upon women a remarkable degree of "altruism" which, if the briefs from women's groups to the Commission are to be taken seriously, they don't want. There is a dilemma here. Janet Finch comments:

"There are no easy or obvious solutions to the impasse of sexual divisions in caring. 'Community care' as it exists at the moment exploits women's unpaid labour...Residential alternatives offer some attractions, but may well be resisted, and almost certainly involve severing affectional relationships and dividing caring 'for' from caring 'about'."⁷³

It perhaps would be unfair to expect the writer of the brief to come up with a solution to this dilemma, however the problem is not even recognized, and the assumption that care in the community is cost-effective clearly throws such care back on volunteers, on the unpaid work of women. Had there been more discussion of the need for funds to pay for community care, to provide at least some financial infrastructure for this care, then the brief might not have been placed so readily in category 1a. with only a secondary focus on redistribution - category 2a.

The Premier's Council on the Status of Disabled Persons made an argument for increased community based care rather than institutional care, but failed to articulate how the change was to be made, and did not discuss how it was to be paid for. The implication was that the voluntary sector would be able to undertake some of the tasks involved.

"Some assessment of the economic impact of volunteerism in our country is long overdue, as well as how we might promote more of the same."72

The brief recognized that disabled persons needed jobs but did not make a clear case for job creation, rather it looked to the existing job market. These factors placed the brief in category 1a, but there was some qualification to this in that it did argue for increased expenditure on treatment facilities in the community, as well as greater

attention to prevention of disabilities. This placed it secondarily in category 2a.

The brief of the Social Planning Council of Winnipeg concentrates on the need for change in current federal-provincial fiscal arrangements, changes which would allow more room for socially innovative programmes, particularly with municipalities, and which would be less subject to provincial manipulation. Tax room and block funding are seen as less preferable than cost sharing agreements and conditional block grants. Examples of the kinds of changes such a revised system of transfers would allow are explored. They include increased emphasis on preventive medical care with a reduction in the number of doctors and an increase in the role of para-medics and nurse-practitioners. Social services to senior citizens could be provided less by unpaid volunteers and more by people presently on Unemployment Insurance. The report recommends:

"That the federal government amend current U.I.C. regulations to encourage recipients to assume meaningful volunteer roles, especially in the voluntary and human service sector.

That in areas of high unemployment and continuing unemployment, consideration be given to the designation of such new roles as "jobs", paid at the prevailing U.I.C. rates for periods of one year at a time, subject to re-designation if paid work remains unavailable."73

It was difficult to categorize this brief. On the one hand there is discussion of redistribution, but only of existing funds, and there is also at least the appearance

of job creation. However, deeper questioning of the capitalist market sector is not evident, as it was for example in the brief from the Canadian Council on Social Development. In terms of job creation what is being suggested in this brief is not so much job creation as job redefinition, with a rather significant level of compulsion or "workfare" potentially evident. It is not being suggested that funds be given to voluntary agencies to increase their paid staff as they see fit; rather, through regulation U.I.C. recipients would be "encouraged" to accept "jobs" in the voluntary sector. One could envisage an agency which had accepted a contract with the state for service provision, being required as part of the contract, to accept a quota of U.I.C. recipients, and in so doing reduce the number of more highly paid or highly skilled staff. It is a situation fraught with considerable risk of reduction in service quality however much it would appear to be cost-efficient to the state, at least in the short term. The conclusion reached was that the net effect of the recommendations in this brief was to place it within the "cost-effective" category 1a. However some of the recommendations, including those involving changes in health services, could entail considerable initial expense, although the brief doesn't state this, thus the secondary focus was seen as in category 2a.

The Saskatchewan Coordinating Council on Social Planning in a two page brief and longer accompanying report focuses on the needs of the disabled and states:

"It is our conviction that increased labour market participation of disabled persons will benefit society as a whole."74

Reliance is placed on the market to fulfill the needs of the disabled and this is a predominant theme of the council and places it within category 1a. However within this framework increased expenditures are also implied in the call for sheltered workshops, training subsidies, and affirmative action programmes and thus a secondary focus is given in category 2a.

The following group of six agencies were all placed exclusively in category 1a as recommending voluntary action, either implicitly or explicitly, as means whereby the state could reduce or restrain costs in social services. Some of them do hint at a redistributive focus but such a focus is not strong enough in any of these briefs to place it even secondarily within category 2a.

A case in point would be the Manitoba Association for Children with Learning Disabilities. Most of the brief was taken up with the task of educating the Commissioners about what constitutes a learning disability, but it concludes its lesson by describing the most serious problem learning

disabled people face, namely, unemployment. The brief is clear that welfare assistance is inefficient and self-defeating and that some investment in assessment personnel and guidance counsellors to help the disabled find and keep jobs, would;

"...require not only less funds from government but also better use of the dollars spent."75

The problem with this otherwise commendable proposal is its assumption that the jobs are there to be had. In fact they are not or at least the numbers of such jobs are very few, and there is no suggestion that a significant number of jobs actually be created for the disabled. Jobs which might be created for counsellors would hardly be worthwhile if the counsellors in turn were advising the disabled how to obtain non-existent jobs. This brief was, despite its good intentions, placed among those which concur with the state's insistence on restraint in social expenditures, that is, in category 1a.

The Social Planning and Review Council of British Columbia makes a plea for consensus based planning with government and then goes on to point out the advantages to government of such planning:

"The economic contribution of the voluntary sector is highly significant--in direct cost saving, in research..."76

The brief also remarks that:

"... in the area of employment development, during the last year this [voluntary] sector has proven to be the most

responsive sector in partnership with government." 77

It is surprising that the Social Planning and Review Council should see the voluntary sector as having worked in "partnership" with government in developing jobs in British Columbia, in a province where unemployment has in fact increased, and where there have been large reductions in social service budgets and employment. Perhaps the words are a bit of hyperbole to demonstrate the need for more planning. However planning itself can be seen as a means of reducing costs, as managing restraint. As Prof. Dobell at the School of Public Administration in Victoria says:

"...the personnel practices embodied in this latest round of action by the B.C. government have to be judged contrary to everything one teaches about the management of restraint. The longer term costs of the process are incalculable." 78

This brief is certainly not arguing for any increases in expenditure in social services, and makes a oblique but strong case for voluntary sector participation in restraint and is therefore placed in category 1a.

Superficially it would appear relatively easy to make a judgement about the brief of the Family Service Association of Metropolitan Toronto in that it seems to have sensible proposals which redirect income toward the most needful persons in our society. However, the first few of these proposals, when taken together, amount to a programme of subsidies and tax concessions to industry to provide job

training and retraining. Experience with such programmes in the past has been poor insofar as those most in need of employment having actually obtained it. Many programmes have merely been a wage subsidy to industry and when the money runs out the jobs are either lost or there is no net increase in jobs as a result.

79

The brief then goes on to make a series of recommendations for revamping the social security and social services system. It recommends a form of guaranteed annual income limited to those who are unable to find employment, including employment in social support services when U.I.C. benefits have expired. The "service employment program" as the brief describes it, sounds very close to being compulsory. Then comes a key recommendation:

"Reconsider such social welfare policies as the indexing of pensions and benefits and universality. Government welfare assistance should be reserved for those individuals in real economic need. Money saved by overhauling current programs could be used to implement a guaranteed annual income program and to subsidize job retraining."

It is hard to read this in any way other than as a sacrifice of universality in order to provide a subsidy to industry for dubious job creation.

The two final recommendations of this brief lend support to the NVO proposal and suggest a limited program of work sharing, with no mention made of resistance the latter program would create from employers in terms of benefits and wages equivalent to those of the full time

employees. There seemed little doubt that together these proposals argue for a cost-effective approach and accordingly the brief was placed in category 1a.

The Canadian Rehabilitation Council for the Disabled⁸¹ presented a brief describing the conditions and economic situation of many disabled persons. However in its recommendations it does not argue for any significant changes in income distribution. Rather, it returns to some of the now familiar recommendations in support of the NVO proposal, a reshuffling of fiscal arrangements, and some tax concessions for volunteers and voluntary agencies. The brief was placed in category 1a.

The general theme of the brief from Catholic Social Services in Alberta was to avoid making cuts to social services in the same abrupt and brutal way they were accomplished in British Columbia. Cuts and economies in Alberta would be accomplished more through an efficient funding system.

"A part of the streamlining must involve the transfer of more program responsibility to the private sector of the community...[this] provides for a more efficient and cost effective means of service delivery."82

The last brief to be placed in category 1a exclusively was from the Canadian Red Cross. Virtually the entire brief was devoted to elaborating on the efficiencies of the voluntary sector by comparing the large number of Red

Cross volunteers and what expense this would entail had they been paid.

"The Canadian Red Cross Society recommends that the voluntary sector be strengthened through increased support from governments because of the efficient and cost-effective way in which the sector delivers services, because voluntarism is essential to the health of the Canadian economy, and because investment of this type will result ultimately in cost savings to Canadians for equal service."⁸³

The brief then goes on to indicate that increased support means implementation of the NVO proposal, postal and tax concessions, and direct funding, as distinct from indirect funding, to the voluntary sector. The latter, the brief points out would:

"greatly increase the public's perception of federal assistance in this area."⁸⁴

Three briefs placed in category 1a were also given a secondary categorization of 3 because, while it was reasonable to infer that they would recommend a cost effective approach to the voluntary sector, there was not sufficient content in the briefs, or the content was not clear enough to provide an unequivocal categorization.

Representative of this would be the brief of the Catholic Family Services of Saskatoon where most of the brief was anecdotal, describing particular situations of families in need, and responding to this rhetorically but not very helpfully by asking what value we place on sharing.⁸⁵ The brief also made a simple statement that we must cut back in our expectations of society, and a good way to do this was

to support the "6 & 5" restraint programme.

The Community Based Health Services of Ottawa made the following statement:

"It is unthinkable that government institutions can meet the caring service expectations and costs which concern us even now. Increased voluntary services will only occur in a milieu which accepts caring as a social/economic responsibility and as an opportunity for developing and using innate individual skills and resources."86

It is difficult to know what to make of a statement like this. Voluntary action is an alternative to costly state provision of services, but the statement also implies that voluntary action is to occur only when the most idealized state of economic altruism is achieved. There is some discussion of decentralized, community based planning and administration of services, but this is not accompanied any clear indication of how it is to be paid for or achieved other than through a general spirit of voluntarism.

87
The Family Service Bureau of Regina presented a brief which was somewhat critical of the present economic system but which also suggested that much of what is presently accomplished by the welfare system could be done within the family. That is, the family should be considered the basic economic unit in society. While there was no direct reference to cost-effectiveness, throwing the burden of welfare back on the family, especially on women, does provide some indication of a

cost-effective approach and thus can be placed in category 1a. The brief was only 4 pages long, and the ideas were not well developed thus difficult to interpret. This is expressed by giving the brief a secondary categorization of 3.

Category 1b Agencies

Only two briefs were placed in category 1b as advocating or supporting private, for-profit, delivery of services. The first of these was the Kekuli Audio Visual Society in British Columbia. The Kekuli Society has as its goal:

"...to assist, through educational channels, Homemakers and Health Aides achieve upgrading of their skills in order to perform more competently and confidently in their chosen fields. To this end the Society creates educational aids specific to these workers."88

This sounds wonderful but then we find that the Society was ~~initiated by educators and administrators who:~~

"...having come into contact with the "Kekuli Bazaar", a private enterprise which was already producing some educational aids for this market, they decided to form a non-profit society which would incorporate the "Bazaar" and assist in expanding this work."89

Homemakers and health aides have become a market for a commercial educational organization, using a non-profit society as a kind of sales force. The brief then goes on to compare the relative cost-effectiveness of home care as

distinct from institutional care and argues that government should augment and support existing community services and not try to do it all itself. One is left with the impression that the most suitable way to support these services is to provide Kekuli educational materials. Much of this short brief is couched in the rhetoric of supporting the "health care team" yet nowhere is it even whispered that homemakers or health aides are usually, if not always women, usually very poorly paid. The brief was placed in category 1b, with a secondary categorization of 1a.

The British Columbia Health Association was established in 1917 and represents 158 hospitals and hospital boards in the province. The position of the Association is very clear:

"The association is pleased to point out that in the long term care field in the Province of British Columbia there exists room for the delivery of health services on both a profit basis and a non-profit basis. This mixture ensures ~~that citizens are able to choose the manner in which they~~ wish health services to be delivered to them".90

The brief then goes on to argue that the health care system should be redefined and advised by a panel of experts analagous to the Economic Council of Canada, and that such redefinition should reduce universal medical care to situations of "catastrophic" illness, with the individual being responsible for all the rest; that is, within the private and for-profit sector. Stated bluntly this brief is

reactionary, and if its proposals were implemented, would undo years of work toward equity and universality in Canada's health care system. There was no hesitation in placing this brief within primary category 1b and secondary category 1a.

Category 2b Agencies

Two briefs, one from the Vanier Institute of the Family, the other from Capital Families in Victoria, were placed in category 2b because they set a clear priority on labour, including especially non-commodified labour within families. Both briefs made a serious, though some might say unrealistic case for a reorientation of the economy, not on a market or capitalist base, but on a familial base.

It is difficult to summarise or characterise in one or two short paragraphs the 75-page brief of the Vanier Institute of the Family entitled A Social Framework for Economics: Development from the Ground Up. ⁹¹ The paper is based on a consideration of the informal economy which includes all productive activity, including activity in the home, which is not intended for market exchange. ⁹² It also includes the provision of services and production of goods, at the community level, much of it not only beyond the pale of the market, but also unrecorded. The paper further argues that this informal economy has been systematically ignored and that the determining influence of the market

economy has distorted and dehumanized our lives and forced us into patterns of wasteful consumption. What the paper is calling for is a revaluation of the informal economy, making it a central part of our economic thinking, because, in the view of the VIF, the informal economy is fundamental to maintaining human and familial relationships.⁹³ This general thrust toward placing higher priority on all forms of labour, especially non-commodified labour, including voluntary labour, puts this brief within category 2b.

The brief argues that while tax breaks, incentives, and subsidies to industry are treated as economic development, family allowances, child tax credits, and child care subsidies are matters of social policy and thereby of lesser concern and that this is an inversion of priorities.

"Tax breaks, incentives and subsidies to industry"
and commerce, which comprise both direct and indirect payments to firms, are by contrast treated as matters of economic development and thereby accorded a higher social purpose and greater social value. In this view, economic and social matters are generally unrelated except insofar as greater productivity in "the economy" allows us to "pay" for social well-being. This is an example, of the first order, of inverted perception and value, to wit, that people depend on the economy whereas the reverse is true - the economy depends firstly on the imagination, initiative and energies of people..."⁹⁴

The brief was given a secondary and complementary categorization of 2a because it also recommends

95

increases in expenditures for social benefits , and suggests a rather unusual way of increasing tax income:

"It is recommended that consideration be given to the possibility of expanding the basis of taxation beyond persons, whether actual or corporate, to include (1) the new "producers" of our goods and services, to wit, to the output values of our robotic entities and their robotic progeny..."96

Although it doesn't affect the categorization of this brief it should be noted that there is an assumption that the formal economy can be "adapted" to the kind of perspective outlined by the VIF. In other words, according to the VIF there is no necessary contradiction between the formal and the informal economy 97

A much shorter, but very similar brief to that of the VIF is presented by Capital Families and it is given the same categorization. The brief does note, about the voluntary sector that:

"the escalating expectations of the voluntary sector are enabling the "economic supports" of our country to progressively avoid their corporate responsibility for the disintegration and fragmentation of community and family."98

It explicitly adopts the VIF assumptions about the informal economy, and also states that it supports in principle and in detail the brief of the Canadian Council on Social Development, but appends a rather strong anti-bureaucratic and anti-professional qualifier. 99

Category 3 Agencies

Finally, there were four briefs which were given a primary categorization of 3. Two briefs, one from the Mental Health Association in Saskatchewan and another from Paradigm Health in Toronto were adamant in insisting upon an attitude change to health, a popular shift toward preventive rather than curative health care. There was little or nothing in these briefs about how this would be achieved, what roles the voluntary sector or the state might play. There was in both briefs a resentment toward health professionals, particularly the medical profession, but it is hard to know how to construe this. In the absence of any clear direction as to how a preventive system might be put in place, who would do it, and where the investment would come from, plus remarks about the costliness of the current system, there was an implication that a cost-effective approach was being taken. For this reason a secondary categorization of 1a was given.

In some respects it was unfortunate that the Community Nursing Registry Brief had to be placed in category 3 because some of the programmes they are advocating and undertaking for home care are effective and probably superior to institutional care. They describe very briefly the system of private duty nursing they have undertaken in homes, and point to the cost of this (low) compared to

hospital care thus indicating a cost effective approach. On the other hand they suggest that what they are doing should be covered under universal health care insurance, which would initially at least, mean some considerable additional expense. The brief was only two pages and did not deal with the dilemma it posed, although the tendency was to stress the need for universal coverage of home care. On this basis it was given a secondary categorization of 2a.

The short (2 pages) brief of the Alberta Committee of Consumer Groups of Disabled Persons ¹⁰⁰ says nothing more than that disabled persons should be entitled to participate in the labour market on the same basis as anyone else. There was simply not enough information in the brief to place it in any other primary category but 3. The faith in the market does provide a enough evidence to place it secondarily in category 1b.

Some observations can be made about briefs in this type. First, agencies in this type are equally divided among those recommending a cost-effective approach (category 1a), and those recommending a redistributive approach (category 2a). Of the 9 social planning and social service councils, all of which have a research focus, seven of them are in category 2a, and only two in category 1a. There are four agencies relating to the disabled and

handicapped in category 1a, and only one in category 2a.

In general those agencies which are closer to direct delivery of services tend to be in category 1a, and those which are one or more steps removed in structure of jurisdiction tend to be in category 2a or 2b. For example, the Ontario Association of Family Service agencies is in category 2a while the Family Service Association of Metropolitan Toronto is in Category 1a.

FOOTNOTES - CH. 3.

1. Storefront for Voluntary Agencies, Brief no., 700-263, p.4.
2. Calgary Association of Voluntary Agencies, Brief no., 700-1097, p.1.
3. Volunteer Centre of Calgary, Brief no. 700-653, p.1-2.
4. Lethbridge Interagency Committee, Brief no. 700-645, p.4.
5. Storefront for Voluntary Agencies, p.5.
6. Ibid., p.5.
7. Ibid., p.10.
8. Ibid., p.2.
9. Ibid., p.6.
10. See page 21.
11. Moncton Volunteer Centre Benevolat, Brief no., 700297, p.13.
12. Ibid., p.7.
13. Ralph Kramer, Voluntary Agencies in the Welfare State,

(Berkeley: Univ. of Calif. Press, 1981), p.152.

14. Ibid., p.153. Kramer is quite explicit about these risks and later goes on to describe two other issues related to government funding namely, grantsmanship, and dependency. He makes the point that there is no necessary relationship between dependency and the level of state funding. The issue of dependency is related to the question of vendorism and subsidy but not to be confused with it. We are dealing with the issue of subsidy and vendorism here.
15. National Voluntary Organization Committee (NVO), Give and Take: A New Tax Break that Makes Sense for Every Canadian, (Ottawa, 1983), p.6. Currently there is about \$900 million in charitable donations in Canada which "costs" the government about \$550 million in foregone revenue. The NVO goes to considerable lengths to demonstrate that their proposal will not "cost" the government any more and may "save" some money.
16. Coalition of National Voluntary Organizations, Brief no., 700-686, p.2.
17. Ibid., p.2.
18. YWCA of Metropolitan Toronto, Brief no., 710-906, p. 24.
19. Calgary YWCA, Brief no., 710-156, p.13.
20. Ibid., p.10. Based on Lynn MacDonald, "Wages of Work" in Women in Canada, ed. Mary Lee Stephenson, (General Publishing Ltd., 1977). These figures used by the YWCA are clearly dated, but not exaggerated when translated to 1985 dollars.
21. Women's Involvement of Upper Trinity South, Brief no., 710-157.
22. Womens Network Incorporated, Brief no., 710-339, p.2.
23. Ibid., p.1.
24. The Northwestern Ontario Women's Centre, Brief no., 710-344, p.2-3.
25. Women and the Economy Conference: Action Report (Thunder Bay, May, 1983) p.9.

26. Women's Incentive Centre, Brief no., 710-401, p. 5.
27. Women's Information Referral Centre, brief no., 710-471.
28. YWCA of Canada, Brief no., 710-690.
29. Vancouver Women in Trades Association, Brief no., 710-150, p.2. The figures cited are from Patricia Dale, "Women and Jobs," (Ottawa: Canadian Advisory Council on the Status of Women, 1980), p.52.
30. Ibid., p.16.
31. Ibid., p.17.
32. Victoria Status of Women Action Group, Brief no., 710-174, pp.100.
33. B.C. Federation of Women, Brief no., 232-710, p.2.
34. Women Unlimited, and Cape Breton Transition House, Brief no., 710-256, pp.19.
35. Women Against the Budget, Brief no., 710-269, p.11.
36. Women United for a Non-Exploitive New Age, Brief no. 710-295, p.2.
37. Women and Economic Development Committee of the Northwestern Ontario Women's Decade Council, Brief no., 710-382. See especially the table appended the brief (no p.no. given.)
38. Ibid., p.2.
39. Association of Women Electors of Metropolitan Toronto, Brief no., 710-601, p2-4.
40. Canadian Congress for Learning Opportunities for Women, Brief no., 710-816, pp.19.
41. Saskatchewan Working Women, Brief no., 710-887, p.8. Here the brief is referring to Heather Menzies, Women and the Chip, p.70-74.
42. Saskatchewan Action Committee On the Status of Women, Brief no., 710-929, p.11.
43. National Action Committee on the Status of Women,

Brief no., 710-789, p.12.

44. National Council of Women in Canada, Brief no., 710-698, p.4.

45. Ibid., p.12.

46. Canadian Council on Social Development, Brief no., 730-109, p.9.

47. Ibid., p.10.

48. Ibid., p.16.

49. Community Services Council, Newfoundland and Labrador, Brief no., 730-340 p.4. The research referred to is documented in The Meaning of Work and the Reality of Unemployment in the Newfoundland Context, (St. John's: Community Services Council, 1980).

50. Ibid., p.8.

51. Ibid., p.11.

52. Social Planning Council of Metropolitan Toronto, Brief no., 730-857, p.vi.

53. Transcripts of the Commission, Toronto, Dec. 2, 1983, p.11749.

54. Ibid., p.11758.

55. Social Planning Council of Metropolitan Toronto, Brief p.x.

56. The Health Coalition of Nova Scotia, Brief no., 730-318.

57. The Canadian Health Coalition, Brief no., 730-952, p.18.

58. Canadian Mental Health Association, Brief no., 730-666, p.8.

59. ALERT, (Charlottetown), ~~Brief~~ no., 730-160.

60. Ontario Association of Family Service Agencies, Brief no., 730-713.

61. Income Maintenance for the Handicapped, Brief no.,

- 730-799, p.8.
62. Social Planning Council of Ottawa-Carleton, Brief no., 730-812, p.8.
 63. Ibid., p.10.
 64. Lakehead Social Planning Council, Brief no., 730-375.
 65. Community Council of Greater Victoria, Brief no., 730-154,
 66. Social Planning and Research Council (Hamilton), Brief no., 730-828, p.20.
 67. Ibid., p.16.
 68. Ibid., p.24ff.
 69. Ibid., p.19.
 70. British Columbians for Mentally Handicapped People, Brief no., 730-219, p.2.
 71. Janet Finch, 'Community Care: developing non-sexist alternatives', in Critical Social Policy, (Issue 9, Spring 1984, London,)p.16.
 72. Premier's Council of the Status of Disabled Persons, Brief no., 730-276, p.10.
 73. Social Planning Council of Winnipeg, Brief no., 730-767, p.26.
 74. Saskatchewan Coordinating Council on Social Planning, Brief no., 730-865. p.80.
 75. Manitoba Association for Children with Learning Disabilities, Brief no., 730-28, p.4.
 76. Social Planning and Review Council of BC., Brief no., 730-217, p.3.
 77. Ibid., p.4.
 78. A.R. Dobell, Director, School of Public Administration, University of Victoria, in What's the B.C. Spirit: Recent Experience in the Management of Restraint, (University of Victoria, September 1983). p.18.

79. See for example Ian Adams et al., The Real Poverty Report, (Edmonton: Hurtig, 1971)p.94-101 where he notes that aside from serious problems of selection of candidates for training, that "The types of training subsidies given to workers also reveal the government's subservience to corporate demands. Millions of public dollars are spent every year training workers in skills that are of use only to specific industries but those industries have never troubled themselves to provide. Those dollars, in the absence of the Occupational Training Program, would have been provided by those industries themselves." p.99.
80. Family Service Association of Metropolitan Toronto, Brief no., 730-378, p.6.
81. Canadian Rehabilitation Council for the Disabled, Brief no., 730-741.
82. Catholic Social Services, Brief no., 730-798, p.4-5.
83. Canadian Red Cross Society, Brief no., 730-699, p.1.
84. Ibid., p.7.
85. Catholic Family Services of Saskatoon, Brief no., 730-928, p.3.
86. Community Based Health Services, Brief no., 730-941, p.3.
87. The Family Service Bureau of Regina, Brief no., 730-1027.
88. Kekuli Audio Visual Society, Brief no., 730-87, p.2.
89. Ibid., p.2.
90. British Columbia Health Association, Brief no., 730-112, p.3.
91. Vanier Institute of the Family, A Social Framework for Economics: Development from the Ground Up, (Ottawa: VIF, October 1983), Brief no., 730-807.
92. Ibid., p.17.
93. Ibid., see especially section VI Principles and

Precepts Toward a Reformulation of Policy Orientations', p.68-69. We see here echoes of Polanyi and thereby Offe. See for example Karl Polanyi, The Great Transformation, (Boston:Beacon, 1967), p.3, p.30, and Chapter 21, p.249-258B.

94. Ibid., p.23.

95. Ibid., p.70.

96. Ibid., p.71.

97. Ibid., see item B, p.68.

98. Capital Families; Brief no., 730-123. p.4.

99. Ibid., p.5.

100. Alberta Committee of Consumer Groups of Disabled Persons, Brief no., 730-959.

CHAPTER FOUR: ANALYSIS OF BRIEFS. (B)

RELIGIOUS GROUPS

Deciding whether church and other religious organizations are agencies or associations is somewhat arbitrary in that almost all the churches see acts or programmes of service as a part of their work. Yet, the establishment of a local church or other religious facility is primarily for the purposes of worship. Furthermore, most of the briefs presented were from central administrative bodies which would not be involved directly in service although they might be actively supporting it. Most such bodies were more concerned with advocacy. Thus all religious bodies were typed as associations, at the same time recognizing that many had some concern with providing service.

There were no associations given a primary focus in category 1a or 1b among the religious groups although three were given a secondary focus in category 1a. These will be discussed below.

TABLE 4.

LIST AND CONTENT CATEGORIZATION OF RELIGIOUS GROUPS (TYPE 740 ASSOCIATIONS) WITH PRIMARY (i) AND SECONDARY (ii) FOCUS OF CATEGORIZATION.

(i)	(ii)	
2a	-	First United Church (Vanc.)
2a	1a	General Synod of the Anglican Church of Canada
2a	1a	United Church of Canada

2a	2b	Churches of Edmonton
2a	3	St Patrick's Church (Lethbridge)
2b	2a	Social Action Commission - R.C. Diocese of Charlottetown
2b	1a	Mennonite Central Committee of Canada
2b	2a	Archdiocese of Quebec
2b	2a	Canadian Conference of Catholic Bishops
3	-	Catholic Women's League of Canada
3	-	Thunder Bay and Dist. Council of Clergy
3	-	The Canadian B'ahai Community
3	-	Federation of Sikh Societies of Canada

CONTENT CATEGORIES

- 1(a) -cost effective approach
- (b) -for profit, or privatization approach
- 2(a) -redistributive approach
- (b) -labour over capital or structural approach
- 3 -uncertain

Category 2a Associations

The First United Church of Vancouver spent some time discussing the situation of the poor in Vancouver and British Columbia, noting that at least 10% of the province's population are long term poor.¹ The brief recommends redistribution through tax reform and condemns the government for relying on volunteer run food banks and soup kitchens to meet the need of these poor. Basic needs are part of fundamental human rights and the government should be responsible for seeing that these needs are met.

Furthermore:

"Parenting needs to be acknowledged as the caring for our greatest resource of all - our next generation! Parenting is work that makes a valuable contribution to society. Single mothers receiving welfare deserve a much higher salary for their work.²

There was little doubt that the direction of this brief was toward redistribution and it was placed in category 2a.

The brief of the United Church of Canada was wide ranging, covering issues from agricultural policy to refugee support. The brief condemned initiatives to expand Canadian arms production and export, implying that this money would be better spent on environmental and social programmes. There were recommendations for a more equitable tax structure, one which would tax the corporations and not give them massive write-offs. Pensions and other income support programmes should be expanded and pegged to increases in average income levels.

Finally there was support for a guaranteed annual income (GAI) and it was in this recommendation that the contradiction was found and led to placing this brief secondarily in category 1a. If a GAI were pegged fairly high, well above the poverty line, it would mean some significant redistribution, yet when the brief was presented before the Commission a different perspective was taken.

"Commissioner Docquier: Reverend Lindsay or Mr. Harrison, you mentioned the guaranteed annual income. You know very well that there is a tremendous opposition in the corporate world against more government spending and that there is already too many government programs. How do you see this kind of opposition can be overcome?

Rev. Lindsey: You remember that one of the fathers of the

guaranteed annual income is Milton Freedman, the father of supply side economics. Of course it sells itself in the business community. It is not a radical measure; it sells itself there because of what Mr. Harrison indicated, that opposed (?) together, it cuts costs elsewhere."⁴

The brief of the General Synod of the Anglican Church of Canada also gave support to a GAI but did not elaborate on it in the manner of the United Church. In a number of other respects

the two brief were similar, having as a common theme a sustainable, non-growth oriented society which concentrates on labour intensive employment particularly in renewable resources and energy. The Anglican Church brief did lay greater stress on environmental issues and in doing so gave considerable attention to the need for increased funding for public involvement in the advocacy process.⁵ Because of its general similarity to the United Church brief, including its advocacy of GAI, the brief of the Anglican Church was given the same categorization.

The brief of the Churches of Edmonton was also placed primarily in category 2a, but with a secondary focus in category 2b because of the stress on labour.

"The participation of organized labour and unorganized workers (72% in Alberta) in choosing our economic future is essential".⁶

The need for redistribution was made clear, and this was to include a redistribution of jobs and the creation of new jobs. The document questions mega-projects and capital

intensive development because of the social dislocation, low level of democratic control and lack of permanent job creation.

"At the same time as we are witnessing the inability of the economic sector to provide meaningful employment for many, we are conscious of much necessary work that needs to be done...such work as community development, care of the sick and elderly, general education and care of the environment".⁷

Implied in this is redirection of money to job creation in the service sector, an expansion of services rather than restraint.

The brief from St. Patrick's Church in Lethbridge concentrated exclusively on transferring funds from the defense industry to industries which are more labour intensive, including the voluntary sector.⁸ The overall tenor of the brief was redistributive thus it was placed primarily in category 2a, but it was not clearly articulated, partly because the brief was so short (3 pages). This lack of clarity and information was indicated by giving it a secondary categorization of 3.

Category 2b Associations

There were five briefs placed in category 2b as giving priority to labour over capital. One of these, that of the Mennonite Central Committee had an implicit critique of capital in its criticism of corporations in southern Canada which view the north as a resource warehouse for the

south at the expense of northern natives who correctly see the north as their homeland.⁹ Although it uses very different terms, the MCC shares with the Catholic Bishops the fundamental view that labour is not a commodity to be bought or sold, that the source of peoples' livelihood, the land, is not to be bartered in the market. At the same time there is in the MCC brief an implicit advancement of volunteerism as beneficial without a parallel consideration of how the state might use voluntary action for its own ends. It is only implicit however:

"During the last decade MCC has provided professional teachers, nurses, researchers, social workers, in remote or critical urban areas where competent dedicated and culturally sensitive personnel is often difficult to obtain. By taking a stance of accessibility to the community, these voluntary service people function within a policy of local accountability..."¹⁰

This is not to fault the MCC for undertaking much of their voluntary work, but only to note that the implied recommendation for voluntary action is not accompanied by an awareness of how it may be used by the state to reduce its own responsibility, financial and otherwise. Accordingly a secondary focus in category 1a was given to this brief.

Three briefs from the Canadian Conference of Catholic Bishops (CCCB),¹¹ the Archdiocese of Quebec,¹² and the Social Action Commission of the R.C. Diocese of Charlottetown,¹³ though differing somewhat in length,

were very similar in their direction thus, of the three, that of the Canadian Conference of Catholic Bishops will be presented here. All three ~~were~~ placed within primary category 2b as giving priority to labour over capital, and secondarily in category 2a, as recommending significant redistribution of wealth.

The CCGB brief consists of a summary of the various social documents published by the Commission in recent years, the best known of these being Ethical Reflections on the Economic Crisis issued on ¹⁴new years day in 1983. The heart of that document was the ethical principle of the priority of labour over capital. The principle is summarized in the brief:

"...working people are to be viewed as the subjects not the objects of production in a given economy. - Human labour, therefore, should not be treated as a commodity to be bought and sold in the market place. On the contrary, human labour must be the subject of production, taking precedence over both capital and technology in the production process. In effect, the rights of working people take priority over the maximization of profits and the accumulation of machines in the economic order. This is the priority of labour principle".¹²

Related to this principle, or flowing from it are a number of other ethical principles which provide the basis for the brief's recommendations. Included among the related principles is one which, while not abjuring private ownership or private property, qualifies it and states that there is a social mortgage on the means of production, such that it must serve the basic needs of all people,

especially the need or right to work, to employment.

Furthermore, there is a right of working people and the poor to participate in decisions about the use of capital¹⁶ and technology.

The brief then goes on to elaborate on some of the consequences to people of the present crisis in the capitalist order, including serious unemployment and reduced social spending. The brief says that there must be:

"...a renewed national commitment to full employment with an emphasis on permanent and meaningful jobs, new patterns of work, with adequate personal or family income. It also entails a fresh commitment to the development of more meaningful and effective forms of providing basic social services (e.g. education, health care, social security-benefits, etc.). These social objectives, in turn, require a commitment to finding new and more effective ways of redistributing wealth and power among both people and regions in this country",¹⁷

Thus we see both a commitment to labour and a call for redistribution in this brief. There were other criticisms and recommendations in the brief including a criticism of increased military expenditures simultaneously with reductions in social spending. As with the Anglican and United Churches, the Catholic Bishops share a concern about the destruction of the environment.

Category 3 Associations

Four associations were placed in category five. The Canadian B'ahai Community¹⁸ and the Federation of Sikh

19
Societies were both concerned with explaining their religious beliefs and indicating their need for support for their members whose rights were being violated in Canada and internationally. Neither of these associations commented on the voluntary sector or implied any clear position with respect to voluntarism or redistribution of wealth in the country.

Two other associations, The Catholic Women's League and the Thunder Bay and District Council of Clergy were very unclear and contradictory in their presentations; so much so that it was impossible to indicate clearly where they stood in relation to volunteers or redistribution. The Catholic Women's League for example lamented, quite properly, the lack of credit given to volunteer experience in the market place and concluded that a wide ranging change in society's attitude to work was necessary, especially the work of women. The problem is they didn't take this any further, and went on to lament the problems small businesses and farmers have with government regulation and the high wages of plumbers. The Thunder Bay brief was only three pages, concentrated on the need for meaningful employment, with stress on the word "meaningful" and argued that this could only be achieved in cooperation with management. There was not enough information to place this brief or that of the Catholic

Women's League in any category other than 3.

In summary, there were no religious associations advocating that the voluntary sector be a cost-effective means of delivering services. The greatest stress was placed on redistribution (five associations) and the priority of labour over capital (four associations).

Interestingly however there was some secondary stress on the cost-effective approach within three associations and this came from national bodies. Four associations were indeterminate (category 3) in their approach, and two of these were from minority religions in Canada.

NATIVE GROUPS

There are 22 associations in this type and as the tables below indicate there is a remarkable degree of uniformity in the categorization: all are placed in category 2a as recommending some form of redistribution of wealth. The fact that there is uniformity in the categorization should not however lead one to conclude that all the briefs are uniform in their approach to redistribution. There are in fact at least three distinguishable though related kinds of recommendations: some briefs stress the need for control over natural resources, some the need for capital investment, finally some argue simply for increases social welfare payments.

Rather than discussing each and every brief, I will discuss at least one example for each of these three kinds of recommendations.

TABLE 5.

LIST AND CONTENT CATEGORIZATION OF NATIVE GROUPS (TYPE 750 ASSOCIATIONS) WITH PRIMARY (i) AND SECONDARY (ii) FOCUS OF CATEGORIZATION.

(i)	(ii)	
2a	-	N.B. Assoc. of Metis and Non-Status Indians
2a	-	Nuu-Chah-Nulth Tribal Council
2a	-	Carrier-Sekani Tribal Council
2a	-	United Native Nations of B.C.
2a	1a	NWT Friendship Centres
2a	-	Nunavut Constitutional Forum
2a	-	Union of Ontario Indians
2a	-	Attawapiskat Band
2a	-	Thunder Bay Indian Youth Friendship Society
2a	-	Nishnawbe-Aski Nation
2a	-	James Bay Tribal Council
2a	-	Central Interior Tribal Councils
2a	-	Makavik Corporation
2a	-	Inuit Taparissat
2a	-	Keewatin Inuit Assoc.
2a	-	Federation of Saskatchewan Indian Nations
2a	-	Northern Flood Committee
2a	-	Manitoba Kewatinowi Okimakinak Inc.
2a	-	Grand Council of the Crees of Quebec
2a	-	Dakota Ojibway Tribal Council
2a	-	Inuit Circumpolar Conference
2a	-	Assembly of First Nations

CONTENT CATEGORIES

- 1(a) -cost effective approach
 - (b) -for profit, or privatization approach
 - 2(a) -redistributive approach
 - (b) -labour over capital or structural approach
 - 3 -uncertain
-

Resource Control

A number of briefs make the point that solutions to the problems of Indian and Inuit people are dependant upon greater control over resources, or at least a guaranteed share in the income derived from resource extraction. The Inuit Circumpolar Conference states simply that there must²¹ be more Inuit control of natural resources. This demand for control is not necessarily linked to a desire for the revenue non-renewable resources might bring, rather it is to preserve a way of life based on renewable resources:

"While powerful interests - be they military, oil and gas, other forms of energy or shipping - bear down on the north with the support of governments motivated by revenue needs or other economic factors, the small societies may feel themselves fighting for survival. Whether defending caribou and reindeer resources against road builders, or hydro projects, or fighting for control of marine pollution zones, northern peoples are representing fundamental economic needs.²²

Where this way of life has already been threatened there still remains a call for ~~control~~. The Northern Flood Committee, formed in response to Manitoba Hydro's Nelson River - Churchill River Diversion Project was, under terms of an agreement, guaranteed compensation to communities affected by the project. Yet:

"The Northern Flood Committee is finding that getting the Northern Flood Agreement implemented is more difficult than the negotiation leading up to its signing."²³

The brief goes on to insist that the ongoing planning²⁴ of the project must include the Cree people. These

demands for control involve, not necessarily the immediate redistribution of wealth in terms of financial wealth, but they do mean an increase in power and control for native people and a corresponding diminishment of power in the white society, especially that portion of the society which reaps the profits from extraction of resources, renewable and non-renewable.

Capital Investment

A number of brief were very explicit in stating demands for access to capital to undertake self-reliant economic development. the Dakota Ojibway Tribal Council notes that in addition to the settlement of land claims and acquisition of a resource base:

"Access to adequate and reserve funding is essential so that economic ventures are able to plan, expand and diversify."25

The Federation of Saskatchewan Indians seeks investment funds from the government, and states that this will cost a considerable amount over current expenditure for welfare, at least for the first ten years. ²⁶ The Nuuchah-Nulth Tribal Council asks for special banking arrangements which would permit low interest loans for ²⁷ economic development projects.

Other briefs make these same points, and if there is a consistent thread through all of them, it is that money

must be made available for local native economic development, money which is not under the control of Indian Affairs or the provinces, but within Indian or Inuit control.

Social Services

While every brief stressed the need for local control, at least two of them were also adamant that more funds were required for social services. The United Native Nations of B.C. state:

"...to resolve these problems that face our people, we need more than volunteers and short term projects...To succeed we need more money. Money to develop economically viable and community based businesses. Money to train our people to take advantage of new opportunities. And above all, money for our organizations, to start dealing with the devastating social problems that face our people."28.

The Union of Ontario Indians is more explicit, expressing a concern for the elderly inside Indian communities. It asks for considerable expenditure on housing, including nursing homes, group homes, apartments, and home makers assistance.²⁹ Considered together, the recommendations - demands - of native groups amount to a very significant redistribution of wealth. One important element to perceive in all these briefs is that the organizations presenting them consist of native people. There are no associations which are composed of non-natives speaking for native people.

FUND RAISING GROUPS

All but two of the organizations below are United Way or Centraide agencies, and all but one are in category 1a. It will not be necessary to discuss each of these agencies separately as their positions are so similar. The relative brevity of the discussion does not detract from the importance of fund raising agencies in the voluntary sector, particularly the United Way agencies.

TABLE 6.

LIST AND CONTENT CATEGORIZATION OF FUND RAISING GROUPS
(TYPE 774 AGENCIES) WITH PRIMARY(i) AND SECONDARY (ii)
FOCUS OF CATEGORIZATION.

(i) (ii)

1a	-	Prince George and Dist. United Way
1a	-	United Way of the Lower Mainland
1a	-	United Way of Fredricton
1a	-	United Way of Thompson
1a	-	Centraide Montreal
1a	-	United Way of Ottawa-Carleton
1a	-	Centraide Quebec
1a	2a	Canadian Centre for Philanthropy
1a	-	United Way of Greater Toronto
1a	-	United Way of Canada
1a	-	United Way of Winnipeg
1b	-	Institute of Donations and Public Affairs Research

CONTENT CATEGORIES

1(a) -cost effective approach
 (b) -for profit, or privatization approach
 2(a) -redistributive approach
 (b) -labour over capital or structural approach
 3 -uncertain

United Way Agencies - category 1a

In 1983 the United Way/Centraide campaigns raised \$116 million dollars across the country, and applied these funds to some 250,000 service agencies.³⁰ Lest this appear to be a large sum it should be borne in mind that in current dollars, the value of contributions to united way agencies declined from 42 % of total revenues in 1972 to 29% in 1979.³¹ Most of the difference has been taken up by state funding, but now that this funding is being restrained or reduced, the general direction of United Way agencies is to accept the reductions and make a plea for enhancement of the voluntary sector.

"The need for dedicated and enduring volunteers has never been greater as funding is cut back and the charitable dollar shrinks."³²

Support for the sector can come from tax concession in the manner of the NVO proposal, or through corporate donation of employee time.³³

Sometimes the voluntary sector takes on the character of a resource which can be used like any other natural resource:

"We recommend that, in the second phase of its hearings, the Commission undertake to carefully examine the volunteer model and its social and economic impact, in order to allow other sectors of the economy to appreciate its inherent qualities, and to restore this natural resource to its proper position within the mainstream of the economy."³⁴

Although the United Way of Thompson Manitoba argues

that it doesn't want to see reductions in social services, it does state that if there are to be any increases they should be contracted:

"We argue for contractual activity because it properly allows for "specifications" to be set by the policy body who are spending the money...and we would suggest considerable economies may be achieved! Efficient and effective non-profit organizations may even make a "profit" on such services which allow for continued and expanded service which the organization views as important!"³⁵

One interesting aspect of some briefs from United Ways was the support or at least acceptance of lotteries. The Ottawa-Carleton United Way acknowledges that lotteries are competition for the voluntary dollar yet accepts them.³⁶ Having accepted them it then argues that lottery revenues should be used to cover overhead costs for the United Way,³⁷ as they do in Manitoba.

In general, the view of the United Way agencies is to accept government restraint and cutbacks and plead for a reinforcement of the voluntary sector as a means of adequately responding to these cutbacks and the increased needs of people suffering the effects of a sour economy. At no point in the briefs is there any serious discussion or criticism of the structural or larger economic context from which so many of the needs arise, or any clear evidence that the United Way should pressure the state to remedy these ills by increased funding or appropriate redistributive legislation. The direction evident in these

briefs is the converse of that suggested by, for example, Metro Toronto Planning Council, which, in discussing the decisions of the United Way to establish funding priorities among member agencies states:

"The objectives of these decisions will be more effectively met if meaningful dialogue with government regarding mutual needs and priorities is initiated. A shift to government of responsibility for funding those social services for which it has already accepted nominal responsibility and which fall within the scope of existing legislation will ease the competition for increasingly scarce charitable funds."38

Without denying the need for increased charitable contributions, the Social Planning Council is politely telling the United Way to go back to government and lobby for more money on behalf of its member agencies.

Other Agencies - Categories 1a and 1b

Two other agencies should be mentioned, the Institute of Donations and Public Affairs Research and the Canadian Centre for Philanthropy. The latter agency has already been discussed in Chapter I and it is evident from that discussion that the Centre's position is a complex and thoughtful one. It was not an easy position to categorize, and the temptation was strong to place it in category 3. This would be unfair. On the one hand there is an awareness of the possibilities of "collusion" with the state by voluntary agencies, yet, there is an overriding direction in the brief toward a regulatory, even self-

regulatory framework for voluntary organizations which runs the risk of containing them in such a way that they no longer provide a truly critical perspective on the state. That is, the framework would provide a suitable forum for expressions of opposition to particular policies but would not be sufficiently critical to question the capitalist nature of the state. The clue to this is found in the brief's perception of the voluntary sector, or third sector as a mediating one between the state and the commercial sector:

"It must be recognized that, increasingly there will be tasks to be done that lie outside those that preoccupy the government or the commercial sectors, and require intermediation from a "third sector"."³⁹

There is a risk that in seeing the voluntary sector as somehow in the middle, or neutral, in relation to the state and capital that it can be co-opted by both in their common interest of maintaining a capitalist society. The illusion of being neutral, of having tasks to do which cannot be done by the state, can easily turn into doing tasks the state won't do because it is cheaper to have the voluntary sector do them.

Admittedly this is a rather fine thread upon which to base the placement of this brief in category one. An argument could almost as easily be made that the brief, in advocating greater autonomy and self-regulation to the voluntary sector was also providing a much stronger

platform for progressive alternatives to cut-backs and restraint. Accordingly the brief was given a secondary categorization of 2a.

The Institute of Donations and Public Affairs Research was much easier to categorize. It evaluates, or provides factual information to the corporate world about organizations, voluntary and charitable, so that companies may make decisions as to the charities they will support. Its board consists exclusively of senior executives of major companies in Canada. ⁴⁰ The Institute was very honest about the reasons for corporate donations:

"In many companies management has increasingly come to look upon these funds [donations] as a "cost of doing business": in this respect they resemble budget allocations for wages, raw materials, advertising and other items of expense that can change with the companies fortunes." ⁴¹

The brief mentions corporate encouragement to employees to volunteer, pointing especially to the executives loaned to the United Way. ⁴² There was no hesitation in placing this brief in category 1b as recommending increased direct support to the voluntary sector.

SPECIAL INTEREST GROUPS

As the type name implies most of these groups are special interest advocacy groups rather than service groups. As such they were all typed as associations,

although a few of them are related to social services, e.g., those dealing with pensions. Of the twenty-two associations in this type fourteen were difficult or impossible to categorize, most because they focused on very specific issues and from this it was difficult to see what their position might be vis-a-vis the categories used in this paper. There were no association placed in category 2b.

TABLE 7.

LIST AND CONTENT CATEGORIZATION OF SPECIAL INTEREST GROUPS (TYPE 770 ASSOCIATIONS) WITH PRIMARY (i) AND SECONDARY (ii) FOCUS OF CATEGORIZATION.

(i)	(ii)	
1a	-	Consumers Assoc. of Canada (Yukon)
1a	-	Minto Family Life Education Centre Inc.
1a	-	Sudbury 2001
1b	1a	Midas Reform Organization of Alberta
1b	-	Canadian Pension Conference
2a	-	Operation Solidarity
2a	-	Winnipeg Coordinating Committee for Disarmament
2a	-	Canadian Friends of Schizophrenics
3	2b	North Shore Citizens Comm. for Resp. Forest Management
3	-	Local Exchange Trading System
3	1b	Consumers Assoc. of Canada (Winnipeg)
3	-	Federation of N.S. Heritage
3	-	Canadian Federation of Humane Societies
3	-	Assoc. for the Protection of Fur Bearing Animals
3	-	Canadian Centre for a Changing Society
3	-	Coalition for the Protection of Human Life
3	-	Planetary Initiative
3	-	Heritage Ottawa
3	-	Federal Superannuates National Assoc.
3	-	Heritage Canada Foundation
3	-	Heritage Winnipeg

3 - Alberta Wilderness Assoc.

 CONTENT CATEGORIES

- 1(a) -cost effective approach
 - (b) -for profit, or privatization approach
 - 2(a) -redistributive approach
 - (b) -labour over capital or structural approach
 - 3 -uncertain
-

Category 1a Associations

There are three associations in category 1a, The Consumers Association of Canada (Yukon), Sudbury 2001, and the Minto Family Life Education Centre Inc. The latter presented a very short brief of three pages recommending the volunteer sector as a way to efficiently initiate and implement preventive services to families. There was no call for increased payments to families in need, only a recommendation that financial assistance be provided to voluntary agencies to train volunteers and that these agencies be used on a contract basis in the provision of services.

Sudbury 2001 concludes that the welfare state is too expensive, although it does support a more cost effective guaranteed annual income. It recommends more deinstitutionalization, reliance on the home and family, and strengthening of the voluntary sector and an increase in education for voluntary action.

The Consumers Association (Yukon) makes a number of recommendations, particularly in tax relief, which are

designed to relieve some of the above-average costs of northern living. The brief then suggests:

"...that members of the labour force be encouraged to use some of their spare time to benefit the volunteer segment of our society. Volunteer work is a great contribution to the economy and some deductions should be allowed on income tax to partially compensate these unpaid workers".⁴⁵

The brief leaves little doubt that the encouraging of such unpaid work would be done by the state as a means of saving money, and that the "spare time" would be available because of job sharing.

Category 1b Associations

There were only two organizations in this category, the Midas Reform Movement of Alberta,⁴⁶ and the Canadian Pension Conference.⁴⁷ It is doubtful that the Commissioners took the brief of the Midas Reform Movement too seriously. In a long rambling document a revivification Social Credit is recommended with the evils of banks and bureaucracies eliminated by a free-wheeling market place. Welfare should be left to the individual with the state taking on only a very minor residual role.

The Canadian Pension Conference is a voice of the private sector in Canada, with over half its membership coming from insurance companies, investment houses, and the manufacturing sector. Its position is clear:

"Private sector occupational pension funds, as distinct from some public sector plans and the universal plans, are invested in marketable assets. It is important that these

private sector pension savings continue to generate funds that flow through the capital markets. This is the vehicle for channelling money from the suppliers of capital to the users of capital which is necessary if our economy is to be a buoyant one".⁴⁸

In a survey conducted by the conference 70% of its membership were opposed to an increase in the Old Age Security benefits, 80% opposed a mandatory pension scheme for part time employees, but in a flourish of generosity 86% felt that there should be improved benefits to single recipients of the income tested Guaranteed Income Supplement.⁴⁹

Category 2a Associations

There were three associations placed in this category, all of them recommending some increases in state expenditure for social services. The brief of Operation Solidarity⁵⁰ in British Columbia expresses people's experience of provincial cutbacks in social services and government employment and recommends reinstatement and expansion of these services and movement toward a full employment economy. The brief of the Winnipeg Coordinating Committee for Disarmament⁵¹ discusses the present link between the economy and defence policy and calls for conversion of capital intensive defense industries to more labour intensive employment generation, including social services. Canadian Friends of Schizophrenics⁵² outlines some recent research relating to the causes of

schizophrenia, pointing to indications of a chemical or biological basis. The need for further research should be supported by the state, and above all disability pensions and allowances should be increased particularly with the tendency today to deinstitutionalization.

Category 3 Associations

As interesting as some of the briefs in category 3 might be only a few of them need to be discussed as being relevant to this study. A number of them can be grouped together because of the similarity of the issues they take up, or because of the direction they take. For example, the various Heritage organizations are concerned exclusively with retaining older housing stock and seek various subsidies and tax concessions to achieve this. While this can have some implications for social policy and the need for housing, this is not the major focus of these briefs. The major focus is on the intrinsic merits of such housing, on the "built environment" of our cities.

It is also possible to group the briefs of the Local Exchange Trading System,⁵³ The Canadian Centre for a Changing Society,⁵⁴ and Planetary Initiative,⁵⁵ as having some somewhat expansive suggestions which bear little relation to questions of social policy and the voluntary sector as discussed in this paper. This is not to say that

the ideas in these papers are insignificant. The Local Exchange Trading System for example is trying to implement in a town in British Columbia, an alternative exchange system based at least partly on barter, including barter of ones labour.

Another group of three agencies, the Association for the Protection of Fur Bearing Animals,⁵⁶ The Canadian Federation of Humane Societies,⁵⁷ and the Alberta Wilderness Association,⁵⁸ are all concerned with wild life or animal welfare. None of them had much to say about social policy though the Alberta Wilderness Association did deplore the depredations of extractive industries on the environment.

Finally there are four associations which are distinct and cannot be placed together. The North Shore Citizens Committee for Responsible Forest Management⁵⁹ has commendable proposals which would see the extensive timber grants to large companies removed and replaced with grants to smaller more ecologically based operators.

The Consumers Association of Canada (Winnipeg)⁶⁰ concentrates on the food industry and the lack of choice for the consumer, the remedy for which is more competition, a more competitive market. Nothing is said about social services, though one could conclude, on the basis of the Yukon submission (above) and the faith in the market

expressed in the brief that the Association would favour some level of market or for-profit service delivery.

The Coalition for the Protection of Human Life⁶¹ is a pro-life group seeking government legislation to prevent abortions.

Finally, the Federal Superannuates National Association⁶² seeks improved indexing and tax relief on after-retirement income sources, but it does not make clear whether this should apply to all pensions, or only to the rather generous pensions of a number of retired senior civil servants. Reading the brief gives one the impression that it is the latter.

In conclusion, many associations within this type, because they concentrate on advocacy in areas with limited or no direct relationship to social services or social policy, are not possible to categorize in any place other than 3. For some it would have been relatively easy to speculate and place them in one of the categories 1a to 2b, but this would not have been fair to the material. As it is five associations are placed in either category 1a or 2, and three have been placed in category 2a.

LOW INCOME/UNEMPLOYED GROUPS

Again, it is unnecessary to present each of these briefs. While they are not all the same in detail, all of them do recommend changes in the distribution of wealth in

this country. The table below attests to the uniformity of this recommendation.

TABLE 8.

LIST AND CONTENT CATEGORIZATION OF LOW
INCOME/UNEMPLOYED GROUPS (TYPE 790 ASSOCIATIONS) WITH
PRIMARY (i) AND SECONDARY (ii) FOCUS OF
CATEGORIZATION.

(i) (i) *

2a	-	Federated Anti-Poverty Groups of BC
2a	2b	Windsor Coalition for Development
2a	-	Unemployment Committee of Regina
2a	-	Saskatoon Union of Unemployed Workers
2a	-	Manitoba Anti-Poverty Organization
2a	-	Federation Quebecoise Anti-Pauvrete Inc.

CONTENT CATEGORIES

- 1(a) -cost effective approach
 (b) -for profit, or privatization approach
 2(a) -redistributive approach
 (b) -labour over capital or structural approach
 3 -uncertain

The list of recommendations contained in these briefs is extensive and is perhaps best represented in the brief of the Saskatoon Union of Unemployed Workers. This brief calls for a shorter work week with no loss in pay or benefits, as a means of creating jobs. Accompanying this should be an increase in the minimum wage, such that it raises income above the poverty line. The same applies to Old Age Security benefits and welfare benefits. Beyond the question of wages and direct transfers, the brief also recommends free retraining, more subsidized housing,

63

universal day care, and expansion of legal aid. Other briefs were not so extensive in their recommendations - demands - but all briefs included at least some of these and to a degree sufficient to place them clearly in category 2a.

One of the briefs, that from the Windsor Coalition for Development, made the point, seldom made in most briefs, that the question of poverty and unemployment in Canada is inseparable from problems relating to the international mobility of capital and the relative immobility of labour:

"If profits in one country are not high enough, these multinationals will open branches in one where labour is cheaper, and thus, more profitable to the company. The net effect for the Canadian or Mexican is the same: he will be laid off if the company so decides."64

At a secondary level, there is in this brief a priority on labour over capital, thus the brief was also placed in category 2b.

ENVIRONMENTAL, CANADIAN DEVELOPMENT, INTERNATIONAL AND FUTURIST GROUPS

All of the organizations or groups below were typed as associations. None of them related directly to delivery of social services, or to questions of social policy as usually understood, however some did have words to say about social policy, or it was relatively easy to conclude

What the position might be in relation to the questions this paper is asking.

TABLE 9.

LIST AND CONTENT CATEGORIZATION OF ENVIRONMENTAL, CANADIAN DEVELOPMENT, INTERNATIONAL, AND FUTURIST GROUPS (TYPE 731, 776, 780, & 791 ASSOCIATIONS) WITH PRIMARY (i) AND SECONDARY (ii) FOCUS OF CATEGORIZATION.

(i) (ii)

1b	-	STOP
1b	-	Human Resources Development Assoc.
2b	2a	Ecology Action Centre
2b	-	Cape Breton Cooperative Council
2b	2a	Fed. of Community Dev. Corporations of Canada
2b	-	New Dawn Enterprises
2b	2a	Community Forum on Shared Responsibility
2b	-	Pacific Group for Policy Alternatives
3	1b	The Sierra Club of Western Canada
3	2a	B.C. Wildlife Federation
3	1b	Conservation Action Research and Education Inc.
3	2b	Conservation Council of New Brunswick
3	-	Northeastern Ontario Energy Conservation Society
3	-	Saskatchewan Environmental Society
3	-	Asia Pacific Foundation
3	-	Steering Committee for Implementing Ecosystem Approach

CONTENT CATEGORIES

- 1(a) -cost effective approach
- (b) -for profit, or privatization approach
- 2(a) -redistributive approach
- (b) -labour over capital or structural approach
- 3 -uncertain

Category 1b Associations

There were two associations in this category, STOP,

and the Human Resources Development Association. STOP took great pains to point out that it was a voluntary organization⁶⁵ then went on to argue that its overall goal of a soft or ecologically sound economy could also be profitable:

"...The use of modern techniques would allow an improved distribution of working time without diminishing profits... Work sharing for example, and the reduced work week make jobs available for more people. Moreover this type of growth enables us to accumulate surpluses, which can then be distributed to the needy".⁶⁶

By implication, without saying so directly STOP is placing its faith in the market to provide the necessary social services. The distribution of "surpluses" to the "needy" hints of a residual approach to social welfare, and this indicates that there would be a less equitable rather than more equitable distribution of wealth.

The Human Resources Development Association (HRDA) is a non-profit Association owning all the shares of HRDA Enterprises Ltd. This structure was set up by a group of Halifax city politicians and businessmen:

"...to create job opportunities for persons who experience extreme difficulty in finding and holding employment."⁶⁷

Ideally one cannot quarrel with the objective, however two significant factors need to be noted. First, the money for starting the project came directly out of social assistance funds,⁶⁸ and second, the people who were to be affected by the project did not have a significant part in its

conception or implementation. This second point is very important but not directly relevant here. The fact that social assistance funds were allocated in this way is however very relevant. In relative terms the amount was small, \$200,000, and the fact that it had to come from the social assistance budget only indicates how reluctant the state is to increase in absolute terms the amount available to those who are most in need, whether that money be used for direct personal transfers or for starting an enterprise. The objective then, was to demonstrate how social assistance funds, rather than being increased, could be used more efficiently. In fact the brief goes to some lengths to compare costs, and while the ostensible savings might not have been as large as the initiators of the project wanted, it does note that:

"...the working individual makes contributions to the Canada Pension Plan, Unemployment Insurance and possibly pays federal and provincial income tax, while the social assistance recipient does not. If these contributions are taken into account, it becomes evident that the cost of providing grants per employee at HRDA may be almost identical or even less than the costs of maintaining the individual on social assistance.⁶⁹

For most of the enterprises or projects the HRDA undertook the money was used as a wage subsidy. HRDA received a contract to provide cleaning services to a nursing home only to find that when those who were doing the cleaning no longer had the subsidy there was no longer any job. The one successful enterprise was the sewing of

high fashion clothes for the Ontario market, and it remains to be seen whether the enterprise can be sustained in the very vulnerable and low wage clothing industry in Canada.

Category 2b Associations

There were six associations which fell primarily into category 2b, as recommending a greater priority on labour. Three of these groups also had a secondary focus on redistribution.

The first of these was the Ecology Action Centre which called not only for more jobs but an improvement in the quality of jobs;

"Paying much more policy attention explicitly to the creation and improved design of jobs, rather than assuming that economic growth will take care of more jobs is essential.⁷⁰

By implication the brief also calls for greater allocations to social services. It recognizes explicitly the dependence of the economy on the service sector:

"In a real sense, the education and service sector is the foundation for profitable economic output, not the reverse. Over the long term, effective social services, including environmental regulation, thus create wealth; they don't drain it".⁷¹

The Federation of Community Development Corporations of Canada has as its primary focus the formation and fostering of locally controlled development agencies which would support and plan a variety local initiatives that are

72

economically viable.

While there is no explicit reference to labour, underlying the CDC orientation are the themes of job creation on a non-profit basis, and the need for the state to financially support, on an arms length basis, the formation and continuation of CDC's and all other elements of the "third sector".⁷³ The third sector here includes the informal economy, voluntary organizations, cooperatives, and CDC's.

The Community Forum on Shared Responsibility begins with a criticism of the present Canadian economy in much the same vein as the Canadian Conference of Catholic Bishops (see earlier section on religious groups). It continues with an explication of the principles it sees as necessary for a renewed economy beginning with "the principle of the prior dignity of labour", the corollary of this being the imperative of job creation:

"The principle of the prior dignity of human labour demands first of all a policy of full employment. The Canadian economy is presently organized around capital and technology. We would like to ask the commission to imagine the Canadian economy if it were planned around images of meaningful work and human needs...To be effective, this policy would result in such practices as ...direct and increased investment in all forms of social services;..."⁷⁴

The brief from the Cape Breton Co-operative Council is very general and makes no reference to increases in expenditures for social services. It does however undertake a critique of large capital intensive projects and the

deleterious effects this has had on the Maritimes, and recommends;

"Policies that support small community based enterprises, that involve both the community and the workers in the decision making process".75

76

The brief of New Dawn Enterprises of Sydney was very similar to those of the Federation of Community Development Corporations of Canada, and the Cape Breton Co-operative Council, in that it called for the formation of community based or co-operative enterprises which would be job creating and locally controlled.

With a somewhat different orientation and from the opposite end of the country, the Pacific Group for Policy Alternatives argues for extensive investment in social infrastructure:

"If Canada showed the same commitment to building social infrastructure, improving public education and housing the poor that Reagan shows for the MX missile, then we could reach our economic potential".77

This proposal arises from the same principle of labour priority discussed in the Bishops statement, and to which the brief makes explicit reference.

Category 3 Associations

It is not necessary to discuss all the briefs in category 3. Most of them were from environmental groups which did not directly deal with questions of social policy, although for some appropriate secondary

categorizations were inferred. Typical of these would be the brief of the Sierra Club of Western Canada which on the basis of some exceptional examples, tried to show how immediately profitable it might be to undertake pollution and emission controls; that is, what is socially useful can also be profitable.⁷⁸ In this case an inference was made that the agency might also, in some cases, support for-profit delivery of services.

Alternately, the B.C. Wildlife Federation noted that "Our provincial restraint program hits hardest at environment issues and social programs".⁷⁹

One might infer from this that the Wildlife federation, at least in the interests of being consistent, would recommend increases in social programmes as well as environmental programmes.

In summary, most of the environmental groups were difficult to categorize while four of the five Canadian development groups fell into category 2b with the remaining one being in category 1b.

JUSTICE, HUMAN RIGHTS, EDUCATION, AND HOUSING GROUPS

Only two organizations within these types are agencies in that their major activity is in the provision of services. The other twelve organizations are a rather mixed group of associations oriented toward advocacy though with some service elements.

TABLE 10.

LIST AND CONTENT CATEGORIZATION OF JUSTICE, HUMAN RIGHTS, EDUCATION, AND HOUSING GROUPS (TYPES 760, 761, & 792 AGENCIES AND ASSOCIATIONS) WITH PRIMARY (i) AND SECONDARY (ii) FOCUS OF CATEGORIZATION.

(i) (ii)

1a - agencies
 1a 2b Laubach Literacy of Canada
 Daybreak

Associations

1a - Canadian Assoc. for Adult Education
 1b - Rental Housing Council of BC.
 2a - BC Law Union
 2a 2b Nfld. and Labrador Human Rights Assoc.
 2a - Public Interest Advocacy Centre
 2a - Habitation Populaire de Quebec Inc.
 2a - Canadian Association of Housing Renewal
 Officials
 2a - Cooperative Housing Foundation.
 2b 2a Citizens for Public Justice
 2b - Rural Learning Association
 3 - Atlantic Conference on Learning
 Disabilities

 CONTENT CATEGORIES

1(a) -cost effective approach
 (b) -for profit, or privatization approach
 2(a) -redistributive approach
 (b) -labour over capital, or structural approach
 3 -uncertain

Category 1a Agencies

Placed in category 1a was Laubach Literacy of Canada, an adult education organization with some 3500 members which uses voluntary teachers and relies on materials distributed from their own publishing house in New York. Though never stated directly it was clear from the general tone of the brief that they felt no need for increased

funding for adult education. They praised the work of their volunteers asking only that government support be provided by way of reduced bulk mail rates and free radio and television announcements.

80

The only other agency was Daybreak which was also placed in category 1a but with a contradictory secondary placement in category 2b. Daybreak is a church initiated independent organization providing rooming house facilities to destitute men and women in Ottawa. Despite the poverty Daybreak sees, it accepts restraint:

"...growth in public sector support for social services can no longer be expected, and that more voluntary programs at the community level are therefore required.

It is not our thesis that appeals to government should be made for more funds and more programs to combat social problems. It is our thesis that:

- a) governments and voluntary agencies must work more cooperatively together in an attempt to provide better social services;
- b) and that governments should make a greater effort to help create the conditions which will encourage and foster voluntary programs at the community level."

81

This statement was sufficiently explicit to place the agency within category 1a, but it was contradicted by other rather sweeping recommendations which flowed from the brief's criticism of all forms of centralization and industrial development. There was a call for resources to be allocated to pollution control, community economic development, and more "natural" and localized production processes. Finally, and apparently in contradiction to its

acceptance of restraint:

"Allocate resources in support of poorer and more backward sectors of both domestic and international economies."82

Category 1a and 1b Associations

The Canadian Association for Adult Education also accepts restraint:

"In era when no new funds are likely to be forthcoming, the public is asking to have the existing resources allocated with greater effectiveness."83

The CAAE has two recommendations which will produce greater effectiveness. One of these is a system of paid educational leave for presently employed persons in order to upgrade their skills. 84 Such a proposal might or might not involve additional costs to capital directly or through the state. The answer to this would depend on a myriad of factors, including the nature and quality of training and whether such training would not have to be undertaken by industry in any case. Certainly part of the costs would be born by implementation of the second recommendation of the CAAE which sees voluntary organizations as leading in education and to some extent replacing existing, more institutional, programmes:

"Voluntary organizations are engines for learning." 85

Such an exuberant view of the voluntary sector would certainly be shared by a state under pressure to reduce education expenses. This association was consigned to

category 1a.

In a short brief the Rental Housing Council of British Columbia argues for income tax deferrals and reductions to builders and owners of rental housing, and argues that this will lead to a reduction in welfare costs:

"We concede that there will be deferment of income tax regarding the capital cost write off but maintain that this will be offset by the stimulation of the economy, reduced social welfare costs by the subsidizing to a greater extent by landlords who can defer tax by building ownership."86

Such a touching faith in the willingness of landlords to subsidize welfare costs is either hopelessly naive or deliberately disingenuous and self-serving. Landlords tend not to be naive, so the latter is more likely. This brief was placed in category 1b.

Category 2a Associations

The brief from the British Columbia Law Union is one brief which argues strongly for a reduction in expenditure yet is placed in category 2a as being redistributive. The brief argues that we need to challenge our "punishment industry" and reduce it drastically:

"Canadian law and legal processes are generally becoming increasingly authoritarian, costly and inefficient. These anti-democratic and positivist inclinations of Canadian law correspond to an unimaginative, derivative and static legal system."87

The brief is really arguing that much of the current expenditure within the legal system, including the penal system, is wasted and that it serves the interests of a

very narrow and generally wealthy class of people. It is this wasteful expenditure which should cease and the money should be applied to a more democratic and less adversarial system that would benefit the majority of people and not a coterie of judges and lawyers.

88

The Newfoundland and Labrador Human Rights Association concentrates on the rights of families and children and calls for increased funding of social housing and social assistance, not as a matter of charity but as a matter of right.⁸⁹ More education is also needed about human rights and this should be incorporated into school curricula.

There was no question that the direction of this brief was toward redistribution and it was accordingly placed in category 2a.

The Public Interest Advocacy Centre, also placed in category 2a, is concerned about the inability of members of the public to understand and intervene before regulatory bodies. The brief calls for a more open and better staffed regulatory system with individuals and groups having the costs of intervention reimbursed to them. In addition the Centre advocates that core funding be provided to some public intervention groups for research

90

The next three briefs from the Habitation Populaire de Quebec,⁹¹ The Canadian Association of Housing Renewal Officials,⁹² and the Cooperative Housing Foundation,⁹³

are all similar in that they call for very significant expenditures and subsidies for social or low-income housing and in so doing are placed in category 2a.

Category 2b Associations

There were only two associations in category 2b, the Citizens for Public Justice, and the Rural Learning Association.

In some respects the brief of Citizens for Public Justice echoes that of the Canadian Catholic Bishops in condemning the current consumer oriented economy. It calls our economy a two track economy, one which has separated the social and relational aspects of peoples lives from the economic:

"The first, and major, track focusses on ever increasing material production and consumption. Accompanying this first track, we have found it increasingly necessary to develop a second track of social services to pick up the pieces of lives and relationships broken or marginalized by the first track."94

Given this situation the over-arching recommendation is to:

"...integrate responsibility for the multitude of social concerns back into the production sectors where it belongs."95

The worker must cease being treated as a "piece of merchandise" and must be given control over conditions of his or her work. Recommendations for achieving this would include a range of flexible working conditions, preventive health and safety measures controlled by workers, and most

significantly the establishment of community based⁹⁶ employment alternatives or enterprises. While this brief is not as strong as that of the Bishops, it heads in the same direction, and includes a number of proposals, noted above, which would involve significant redistribution and thus was placed secondarily in category 2a.

The Rural Learning Association makes a strong plea for a community economic development (CED) strategy in smaller communities and rural areas. It stresses the need for greater financial resources from the state to initiate these programmes, programmes which are non-profit and⁹⁷ locally controlled.

Finally, The Atlantic Conference on Learning Disabilities presented a brief which was only one page in length and was not interpretable. It was placed in category 3.

In conclusion, this is a mixed group of agencies and associations, but in the case of the two agencies, both fell into category 1a as advocating their agency, or voluntary agencies generally, as cost effective means of delivering services.

SENIORS AND YOUTH/CHILDRENS GROUPS

Of the agencies and associations noted in table 22 below all but one are in category 2a. The one remaining brief from the YMCA will be discussed last. It will be

unnecessary to discuss all the briefs from senior citizens organizations as there was a very significant degree of similarity among them. It should be noted however that with the exception of the brief from the Canadian Association of Gerontology, all briefs relating to senior citizens were from organizations of senior citizens, including the two briefs from senior citizen agencies.

TABLE 11.

LIST AND CONTENT CATEGORIZATION OF SENIORS AND YOUTH/CHILDRENS GROUPS (TYPES 772, & 773 AGENCIES AND ASSOCIATIONS) WITH PRIMARY (i) AND SECONDARY (ii) FOCUS OF CATEGORIZATION.

(i) (ii)

agencies

1a	-	National Council of YMCA's
2a	-	Prince George and Dist. Senior Citizens Centre
2a	-	Help the Aged

associations

2a	-	Canadian Pensioners Concerned
2a	-	National Pensioners and Senior Citizens Federation
2a	-	Canadian Assoc. on Gerontology
2a	-	Canadian Daycare Advocacy Assoc.

CONTENT CATEGORIES

1(a)	-cost effective approach
(b)	-for profit, or privatization approach
2(a)	-redistributive approach
(b)	-labour over capital or structural approach
3	-uncertain

Senior Citizen Agencies and Associations - Category 2a.

Virtually all of the briefs from senior citizens groups agree on the need for an increased basic income to the elderly. They all recognize that the present Old Age Security benefits are insufficient, and that the Canada Pension Plan should include women working at home.

"The need for adequate pensions must be recognized as a major priority for older Canadians. Our present pension system particularly penalizes older women living alone, half of whom have incomes that fall below the official poverty line. Increased OAS; an expansion of Canada Pension Plan contributions and pension levels; participation of women working at home in the plan; vesting and portability of private pensions... Pension income must be fully linked to the Average Industrial Wage; it is quite unacceptable to make older people poorer in real terms by a government policy which deliberately offers only partial indexing. 98

This excerpt from the brief of Help the Aged sums up the general direction of the other briefs. All are clear about the need for a redistribution of income which will benefit the increasing number of elderly in Canadian society.

One brief, that of the Canadian Association on Gerontology, did not come from a group actually composed of senior citizens; rather it was written by the Association's task force on income security and provides a more detailed and systematic policy rationale for increases in income to the elderly. It reviews current policy and comes to the conclusion that:

"A person's retirement income is a social question intricately related to the just distribution of wealth in a society. People who have contributed to the wealth of a society have a right to an equitable share in that wealth

99

upon retirement."

Underlying this is the assumption that a just distribution of wealth should be based on need, not on merit, gender, or class membership. Following from this are recommendations echoing those noted previously, but going somewhat further and arguing that eventually the OAS and other programmes should be rolled into a guaranteed annual income, based not on a minimum subsistence or poverty line criteria, but on

100

the average industrial wage. On such a basis there would indeed be a significant redistribution of wealth in the country.

Daycare - Category 2a.

The recommendations of the Canadian Day Care Advocacy Association follow those of many of the women's groups described earlier, especially with respect to the universal provision of daycare. The brief calls for a Canadian Child Care Financing Act which would provide designated federal funds to the provinces for daycare and include requirements for a specified increase in the number of qualified child care workers.

101

YMCA - Category 1a

The only brief placed in category one from this group was that of the YMCA. It outlines the history of the YMCA in Canada, and describes some of the programmes and projects the "Y" undertakes. The brief elaborates on the

contribution of the voluntary sector to the economy then goes on to present the sector as a cost saving mechanism for government:

"-the voluntary component utilizes resources comparable to government's but not available to government any other way. Many people will volunteer to work for the YMCA where they would demand payment from government."102

This is not of course the only theme in the brief but it is a consistent one, and places the "Y" among those agencies which see the voluntary sector as a means of saving the state some money:

FOOTNOTES - CH.4.

1. First United Church, Brief no., 740-197, p.3.
2. Ibid., p.5.
3. United Church of Canada, Brief no., 740-815. See pages 25-26 for recommendations relating to social policy.
4. Transcripts of the Commission, p.10207.
5. General Synod of the Anglican Church of Canada, Brief no., 740-743. p.26.
6. Churches of Edmonton, Brief no., 740-806. p.3.
7. Ibid., p.30.
8. St. Patrick's Church (Lethbridge), Brief no., 740-652, p.2.
9. Mennonite Central Committee, Brief no., 740-436, see especially p.2-7.
10. Ibid., p.3.
11. Canadian Conference of Catholic Bishops, Brief no., 740-1038.

12. Office de la Pastorale Sociale du Diocese - Quebec, Brief no., 740-498.
13. Social Action Commission, R.C. Diocese of Charlottetown, Brief no., 740-336.
14. Canadian Conference of Catholic Bishops, Ethical Reflections on the Economic Crisis, (Ottawa:CCCB, 1983).
15. CCCB, Brief, p.7.
16. Ibid., p.8-9.
17. Ibid., p.20.
18. The Canadian Bahai Community, Brief no., 740-658.
19. Federation of Sikh Societies of Canada, Brief no., 740-883.
20. Catholic Women's League of Canada, Brief no., 740-844, p.7.
21. Inuit Circumpolar Conference, Brief no., 750-1016, p.1.
22. Ibid., p.6.
23. Northern Flood Committee, Brief no., 750-591, P.2.
24. Ibid., p.3.
25. The Dakota Ojibway Tribal Council, Brief no., 750-1010, p.13.
26. Federation of Saskatchewan Indians, Brief no., 750-538, p.4-5.
27. Nuw-Chah-Nulth Tribal Council, Brief no., 750-285, p.2-3.
28. United Native Nations, Brief no., 750-293, p.2.
29. Union of Ontario Indians, Brief no., 750-328, p.2.
30. United Way Canada, Brief no., 774-1000, p.3.
31. Social Planning Council of Metropolitan Toronto,

Voluntary Sector at Risk: Trends in Government
Support of the Voluntary Social Service Sector in
Metropolitan Toronto. (Toronto, July 1981), p.5.

32. Prince George and District United Way, Brief no., 774-136, p.8.
33. Ibid., p.9.
34. United Way Canada, p.6.
35. United Way of Thompson, Brief no., 774-428, p.5.
36. United Way of Ottawa-Carleton, Brief no., 774-709, the brief states "Lotteries are here stay", p.6. It should be noted that other organizations view lotteries as a tax on the poor, as a form of regressive taxation. See United Church of Canada, Brief no., 340-815, p.25.
37. United Way of Winnipeg, Brief no., 774-609, p.7.
38. Social Planning Council of Metropolitan Toronto, Voluntary Sector at Risk, p.8.
39. Canadian Centre for Philanthropy, Brief no., 774-829, p.2.
40. Institute of Donations and Public Affairs Research, Brief no., 774-581, p.2. Also, see appendix II for list of board members.
41. Ibid., p.3.
42. Ibid., p.5.
43. Minto Family Life Education Centre, Brief no., 770-441, p.2-3.
44. Sudbury 2001, Brief no., 770-432, p.20-24.
45. Consumers Association of Canada (Yukon), Brief no., 770-171, p.4.
46. Midas Reform Movement of Alberta, Brief no., 770-677.
47. Canadian Pension Conference, Brief no., 770-749.
48. Ibid., p.6.

49. Ibid., p.4.
50. Operation Solidarity, Brief no., 770-218.
51. Winnipeg Coordinating Committee for Disarmament, Brief no., 770-588.
52. Canadian Friends of Schizophrenics, Brief no., 770-1053.
53. Local Exchange Trading System. Brief no., 770-95.
54. Canadian Centre for a Changing Society, Brief no., 770-649.
55. Planetary Initiative, Brief no., 770-692.
56. Association for the Protection of Fur Bearing Animals, Brief no., 770-410.
57. Canadian Federation of Humane Societies, Brief no., 770-336.
58. Alberta Wilderness Association, Brief no., 770-940.
59. North Shore Citizens Committee for Responsible Forest Management, Brief no., 770-647.
60. Consumers Association of Canada (Winnipeg), Brief no., 770-820.
61. Coalition for the Protection of Human Life, Brief no., 770-650.
62. Federal Superannuates National Association, Brief no., 770-712.
63. Saskatoon Union of Unemployed Workers, Brief no., 790-915, p.3-8.
64. The Windsor Coalition for Development, Brief no., 790-423, p.9.
65. STOP, Brief no., 731-483, p.2.
66. Ibid., p.8.
67. Human Resources Development Association, Brief no., 776-294, p.1.

68. Ibid., p.2.
69. Ibid., p.6.
70. Ecology Action Centre, Brief no., 731-350, p.9.
71. Ibid., p.3.
72. Federation of Community Development Corporations of Canada, Brief no., 776-210, p.9-10.
73. Ibid., p.7.
74. Community Forum on Shared Responsibility, Brief no., 776-787, p.4.
75. The Cape Breton Co-operative Council, Brief no., 776-196, p.7.
76. New Dawn Enterprises Ltd., Brief no., 776-240.
77. Pacific Group for Policy Alternatives, Brief no., 791-36, p.14.
78. The Sierra Club of Western Canada, Brief no., 731-135, p.5. The brief quotes examples whereby CIBA-GEIGY and 3M Companies have saved millions, or in the words of the brief have "realized increased profits from pollution control."
79. British Columbia Wildlife Federation, Brief no., 731-248. p.2.
80. Laubach Literacy of Canada, Brief no., 761-603. p.7.
81. Daybreak, Brief no., 792-1017, p.5.
82. Ibid., p.12.
83. Canadian Association for Adult Education, Brief no., 761-716, p.6.
84. Ibid., p.8-10.
85. Ibid., p.8.
86. Rental Housing Council of B.C., Brief no., 792-1034, p.3.
87. British Columbia Law Union, Brief no., 760-212, p.1.

88. Ibid., see pages 7-11 for recommendations.
89. Newfoundland and Labrador Human Rights Association, Brief no., 760-353. p.1-2.
90. Public Interest Advocacy Centre, Brief no., 760-841. p.8-10.
91. Habitation Populaire de Quebec, Brief no., 792-455.
92. Canadian Association of Housing Renewal Officials, Brief no., 792-765.
93. Co-operative Housing Foundation, Brief no., 792-848.
94. Citizens for Public Justice, Brief no., 760-693, p.7.
95. Ibid., p.10.
96. Ibid., p.13-15.
97. Rural Learning Association, Brief no., 761-951. p.5.
98. Help the Aged, Brief no., 772-684, p.2.
99. Canadian Association on Gerontology, Brief no., 772-967, p.2, entitled "Distributional Justice and Income Security for the Canadian Aged: Economic Goals for the Future", prepared by the Association's task force on income security, J. Tindale, department of family studies, University of Guelph; J. Edwardh, Department of Behavioral Sciences, University of Toronto; and S. Neysmith, Faculty of Social Work, University of Toronto. pp.30.
100. Ibid., p.11.
101. Canadian Day Care Advocacy Association, Brief no., 773-880, p.29.
102. The National Council of YMCA's of Canada, Brief no., 773-1003, p.14.

... page 169 ,

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSIONS AND DISCUSSION

Review

At the beginning of this paper we posited that there were a number of voluntary organizations which, by presenting themselves and voluntary action as a cost effective means of delivering services, thereby became para-statal organizations, organizations which supported the state imperative to reduce and restrain expenditures in social welfare for the benefit of capital.¹ Underlying this thesis was Offe's theoretical view of the welfare state as a set of institutions which manage and guarantee the continuation of a class society dominated by capital.²

The question asked was where voluntary organizations fell within this framework at a time when the state, under pressure from capital, was seeking to reduce social expenditures.³ In order to test the hypothesis we undertook a content analysis of 174 briefs presented by voluntary organizations to the MacDonald Commission on the Economy. The question applied to each agency or association was whether it was advocating voluntary action or privatization as a means of reducing social expenditure (categories 1a and 1b), or alternately, was advocating redistribution through increased expenditure or significant structural change (categories 2a and 2b).⁴ Below is a tabular

consolidation of the results presented in Chapter III.

Note that not all agencies and associations were given a secondary categorization.

TABLE 12a.

NO. OF AGENCIES AND ASSOCIATIONS OF ALL TYPES BY PRIMARY
(i) CONTENT CATEGORY.

n=174

	tot	content category				
		1a	1b	2a	2b	3
AGENCY	63	32	3	22	2	4
ASSOC.	111	5	5	59	13	29

TABLE 12b.

NO. OF AGENCIES AND ASSOCIATIONS OF ALL TYPES BY SECONDARY
(ii) CONTENT CATEGORY.

	tot	content category				
		1a	1b	2a	2b	3
AGENCY	32	6	4	9	10	3
ASSOC.	29	5	4	9	8	3

CONTENT CATEGORIES

- 1(a) -cost effective approach
- (b) -for profit, or privatization approach
- 2(a) -redistributive approach
- (b) -labour over capital or structural approach
- 3 -uncertain

Conclusions

Before setting out the conclusions it is worth repeating that they are based on an analysis of the briefs presented by the various voluntary agencies and associations and not on direct contact. This qualification is important to bear in mind when conclusions are drawn about the position of various agencies and associations in relation to the state. Such conclusions are by way of inference and, as noted at the beginning of this paper, require further research and modification.

At the most straightforward level, of the 174 agencies and associations studied 45 fell within categories 1a or 1b; that is, 25.9% of the voluntary organizations studied have conformed to the definition of a para-statal organization. A further 96 agencies and associations, or 54.5%, fell within categories 2a and 2b as seeking some form of redistribution, and 33 or 18.8% fell within category 3 as uninterpretable.

These figures need to be qualified. As is evident from table 12 above, there are 36 organizations which have secondary categorizations in 2a or 2b. Of this number 8 are also in primary category 1a (none in 1b) which is to say that the briefs were internally contradictory. To be very conservative with the figures we could subtract these 8 organizations from our calculation of the number of

agencies and associations in categories 1a and 1b and arrive at a figure of 37 or 21.3% which might be called para-statal. Slightly less conservatively, and probably more accurately we could offset the 8 organizations with the 6 organizations which were primarily in categories 2a and 2b but which had a secondary categorization of 1a. Doing this we come up with 24.7% of agencies and associations which are para-public. In other words, approximately one-quarter of all the voluntary organizations studied implicitly or explicitly support the state in restraint or cut-backs by presenting the voluntary sector as a cost-effective means of delivering services.

If we consider the 63 agencies alone, that is, organizations which have as their principle activity the delivery of services, fund raising for such services, or planning such services generally, 35 fell within primary categories 1a or 1b which is to say that 55.6% of them conform to the definition of a para-statal organization. A further 24 agencies or 38.1% fell within categories 2a and 2b, and four agencies, or 6.3% fell into category 3.

Again, if we look at table 23 we find that there are 17 agencies which are given a secondary categorization in 2a or 2b. Of these agencies 7 are in primary category 1a. Reducing the total number of agencies in category 1a and 1b by this number would give 30 agencies or a conservative

44.4% which are para-statal. This however could be offset by two agencies which have a secondary categorization of 1a to arrive at 47.6% which are para-statal.

In other words, almost one-half of the voluntary agencies studied implicitly or explicitly support the state in restraint or cut-backs by presenting themselves as a cost-effective means of delivering services.

If we look at associations alone and review the figures in the same manner as we have for all organizations and for agencies we arrive at 10.8% being para-statal.

In the hypothesis we did not specify the number of voluntary organizations which might be called para-statal, rather the task was primarily to demonstrate that some organizations did conform to the definition. What we see from the evidence, insofar as the analysed agencies and associations are concerned, is that there are such organizations, and that both agencies and associations, in differing proportions do support the state and are para-statal. In Offe's framework these agencies, while voluntary, are nonetheless adjuncts to the capitalist state in that they support the state in maintaining capitalist relations in general. It is thus difficult, if not impossible, to argue as many agencies do, that by being voluntary they are thereby autonomous from the state.

Discussion

The data raise a number of additional interesting points and questions. The most obvious of these is the difference between agencies and associations, with the former having approximately one-half as para-statal and the latter only slightly more than 10%. At one level this is not surprising in that there are many more associations than there are agencies, and when looking at all the voluntary associations in Canada, a very large number of them would not necessarily see themselves as relating to the state or social services at all, e.g., professional associations, cultural and ethnic associations, and sports clubs. On the other hand, of the associations studied here a number of them represent people who have historically been at least the objects of state social services. This is especially so with women.

Of the eight women's agencies studied, only one was categorized as para-statal; the other seven were clearly calling for increased state funding, redistribution, or institutional change. There is a far lower proportion of women's agencies in category 1a than is the case for other agencies, and for the twenty-two women's agencies and associations combined there were only two which fell into the para-statal category. One could comment that similar proportions were evident for native groups as well and this

is true, but there is a significant difference: within social services women constitute well over-half of the voluntary workers,⁶ and this leads to one possible contradiction which requires more research and explanation. If one assumes that much of the voluntary work within agencies generally is done by women, why is it, in the light of what is being said by women's groups specifically, that so many agencies are advocating or at least accepting restraint and cut-backs? There are a great variety of possible explanations for this, all of which may be true to some degree, but the most obvious possible explanation to be explored is that while women may form much of the voluntary work force, they do not control those organizations they work for. It would be useful to explore the composition of the boards and senior executive positions of many voluntary agencies to see what correlation might exist between the gender of boards and executives, and the position of agencies with respect to the state and financial restraint.

Any such study would immediately have to concern itself with the question of the class composition as well as gender composition of agencies. Here it would be useful to remind ourselves of one of the distinctions between agencies and associations which we mentioned in Chapter two, namely that agencies tend to be philanthropic,

existing for provision of service to another group, whereas associations tend to consist of a membership which is working on its own behalf or advocating to government or the public about an issue of particular concern to its membership. ^{7.} This distinction between agencies and associations is not rigid, as the data regarding service, advocacy, fund raising and research would indicate, but it remains true that many agencies, especially those in categories 1a and 1b, are not made up of those whom they ostensibly would benefit. There is, in other words a question of both class and gender interests to be determined when analysing voluntary organizations. If, as this study seems to indicate, almost half of all voluntary agencies are para-statal and "colluding" with the state to the benefit of capital, then one further way to test the hypothesis would be to do a more detailed analysis of the class and gender composition of the controlling bodies of such agencies.

At least two additional lines of research would be worth pursuing to confirm or modify the conclusion drawn in this paper. First, either a longitudinal survey, or an historical analysis of voluntary agencies and associations would establish with more certitude the dimensions and characteristics of para-statal organizations in Canada. Second, an analysis of the funding sources of voluntary

agencies and associations would be useful, especially the extent and methods of state funding which might influence the position of voluntary organizations in opposing or supporting policies which benefit capital. Both of these research directions would be all the more valuable if done on a comparative basis between Quebec and English Canada.

As there is a distinction between agencies and associations, between philanthropy and mutual aid, so too might there be a similar distinction among agencies themselves. That is, some agencies are quite obviously only providing a service for others, (one thinks immediately of the United Way, or some family service agencies), yet it would seem that there are also some agencies which do provide a service, have some sort of outreach in the community, but which at the same time are controlled by those they serve. Notable among these would be some of the women's agencies placed in category 2a. This kind of distinction is also made with respect to food banks for example. Although the research has not yet been published, Graham Riches at the University of Regina has indicated that food banks can be broken into two categories; one the charitable model, and the other the participatory action model, and this gives a kind of double edge to their work:

"Food banks pose both a threat and an opportunity. The threat is they represent a return to voluntarism and ad hoc residual relief of the thirties. The opportunity of food banks is to serve as catalysts for a re-examination of

the public safety net and as promoters of social rights and entitlements."8

One of the more encouraging aspects of this study was the relatively small number (8) of briefs which were in primary category 1b and the greater though still modest number (15) which were in primary category 2b. Of those in category 2b most (13) came from associations, especially from churches, cooperative based organizations, and alternative family life groups. No doubt many of the other organizations presenting briefs to the Commission would, with some disdain, describe these briefs as visionary. They were in fact thoughtful and well articulated and as I was reading them a reference to Offe kept intruding:

"Every political theory worth its name has to answer two questions. First, what is the desirable form of the organization of society and state and how can we demonstrate that it is at all 'workable', i.e., consistent with our basic normative and factual assumptions about social life? This is the problem of defining a consistent model or goal of transformation. Second, how do we get there? This is the problem of identifying the dynamic forces and strategies that could bring about the transformation."9

It occurred to me that these organizations which had placed emphasis on labour and on the need for very fundamental social changes had gone a considerable way toward answering the first question. The task they didn't, and perhaps couldn't undertake was the second, that of devising a strategy. None of these associations or agencies are, in the first instance, political

organizations dedicated the creation and implementation of a strategy. However, perhaps out of the many voluntary agencies and organizations which are aware of the contradictions of their position in relation to the state and capital will come those women and men who can devise and implement a humane and compassionate strategy.

FOOTNOTES CH. 4.

1. See p.2.
2. See p.18.
3. See p.21.
4. See p.31.
5. See p66.
6. See p.17.
7. See p.43-44
8. Graham Riches, "Feeding Canada's Poor" in Briar Patch, (Vol.14, Issue 1, Feb. 1985), p.18.
9. Offe, Contradictions of the Welfare State, p.152.

APPENDIX.1TABLESExplanation of Tables 1 to 11.

These tables set out the number of agencies in each of the content categories, with every agency or association categorized at least once according to the major thrust of the brief. In some cases organizations were given a secondary level categorization, that is, they were placed in more than one category, but where this occurred the alternate category was deemed a secondary or less important theme to the first. The number of agencies or associations in these secondary level categorizations is noted in the lower half of the table (ii).

CONTENT CATEGORIES

- 1(a) -cost effective approach
 (b) -for profit, or privatization approach
 2(a) -redistributive approach
 (b) -labour over capital or structural approach
 3 -uncertain

TABLE 1.

NO. OF VOLUNTARY COALITION AGENCIES BY CONTENT CATEGORY.

TYPE 700 VOLUNTARY COALITIONS

n=6

		content category				
	tot	1a	1b	2a	2b	3
AGENCY	6	6	-	-	-	-
ASSOC.	-	-	-	-	-	-

(ii)

AGENCY	-	3	-	-	-	-
ASSOC.	-	-	-	-	-	-

TABLE 2.

NO. OF WOMEN'S GROUPS, AGENCIES AND ASSOCIATIONS, BY
CONTENT CATEGORY

TYPE 710 WOMEN'S GROUPS

n=25

		content category				
	tot	1a	1b	2a	2b	3
AGENCY	8	1	-	7	-	-
ASSOC.	17	1	-	12	2	2

(ii)

AGENCY	-	-	1	4	-	-
ASSOC.	-	-	1	3	2	-

TABLE 3.

NO OF HEALTH AND SOCIAL SERVICE AGENCIES BY CONTENT
CATEGORY.

TYPE 730 HEALTH/SOCIAL SERVICES

n=34

		content category				
	tot	1a	1b	2a	2b	3
AGENCY	34	13	2	13	2	4
ASSOC.	-	-	-	-	-	-

(ii)

AGENCY	6	1	7	5	3	-
ASSOC.	-	-	-	-	-	-

TABLE 4.

NO. OF RELIGIOUS GROUPS, ASSOCIATIONS, BY
CONTENT CATEGORY

TYPE 740 RELIGIOUS GROUPS

n=13

	tot	content category				
		1a	1b	2a	2b	3
AGENCY	-	-	-	-	-	-
ASSOC.	13	-	-	5	4	4

(ii)

AGENCY	-	-	-	-	-	-
ASSOC.	3	-	3	1	1	

TABLE 5.

NO. OF NATIVE PEOPLE'S GROUPS, ASSOCIATIONS, BY
CONTENT CATEGORY.

TYPE 750 NATIVE PEOPLE'S GROUPS

n=22

	tot	content category				
		1a	1b	2a	2b	3
AGENCY	-	-	-	-	-	-
ASSOC.	22	-	-	22	-	-

(ii)

AGENCY	-	-	-	-	-	-
ASSOC.	1	-	-	-	-	-

TABLE 6.

NO. OF FUND RAISING AGENCIES BY CONTENT CATEGORY.

TYPE 774 FUND RAISING

n=12

	tot	content category				
		1a	1b	2a	2b	3
AGENCY	10	9	1	-	-	-
ASSOC.	-	-	-	-	-	-

(ii)

AGENCY	-	-	1	-	-	-
ASSOC.	-	-	-	-	-	-

TABLE 7.

NO. OF SPECIAL INTEREST/SELF-HELP ASSOCIATIONS BY CONTENT CATEGORY

TYPE 770 SPECIAL INTEREST/SELF-HELP

n=22

	tot	content category				
		1a	1b	2a	2b	3
AGENCY	-	-	-	-	-	-
ASSOC.	22	3	2	3	-	14

(ii)

AGENCY	-	-	-	-	-	-
ASSOC.	1	1	-	1	-	-

3 OF/DE 3

MICROCOPY RESOLUTION TEST CHART
NATIONAL BUREAU OF STANDARDS
STANDARD REFERENCE MATERIAL 1010a
(ANSI and ISO TEST CHART No. 2)

TABLE 8...

NO. OF LOW INCOME/UNEMPLOYED ASSOCIATIONS BY CONTENT CATEGORY.

TYPE 790 LOW INCOME/UNEMPLOYED

n=6

	tot	content category				
		1	2	3	4	5
AGENCY	-	-	-	-	-	-
ASSOC.	6	-	-	6	-	-

(ii)

AGENCY	-	-	-	-	-	-
ASSOC.	-	-	-	1	-	-

TABLE 9.

NO. OF ENVIRONMENTAL, CANADIAN DEVELOPMENT,
INTERNATIONAL, AND FUTURIST ASSOCIATIONS BY CONTENT
CATEGORY.

TYPE 731 ENVIRONMENTAL GROUPS (n=8) n=16
776 CANADIAN DEVELOPMENT (n=5)
780 INTERNATIONAL GROUPS (n=2)
791 FUTURISTS (n=1)

		content category				
	tot	1a	1b	2a	2b	3
AGENCY	-	-	-	-	-	-
ASSOC.	16	-	2	-	6	8

(ii)

AGENCY	-	-	-	-	-	-
ASSOC.	-	2	4	1	-	-

TABLE 10.

NO. OF JUSTICE/HUMAN RIGHTS, EDUCATION, AND HOUSING
AGENCIES AND ASSOCIATIONS BY CONTENT
CATEGORY.

TYPE 760 JUSTICE/HUMAN RIGHTS (n=4)
761 EDUCATION (n=4)
792 HOUSING (n=5)

n=13

	tot	content category				
		1a	1b	2a	2b	3
AGENCY	2	2	-	-	-	-
ASSOC.	11	1	1	6	2	1

(ii)

AGENCY	-	-	-	1	-
ASSOC.	-	-	1	1	-

TABLE 11.

NO. OF SENIOR CITIZEN, AND YOUTH/CHILDREN
AGENCIES AND ASSOCIATIONS BY CONTENT
CATEGORY.

TYPE 772 SENIORS (n=5) n=7
773 YOUTH/CHILDREN (n=2)

	tot	content category				
		1a	1b	2a	2b	3
AGENCY	3	1	-	2	-	-
ASSOC.	4	-	-	4	-	-

(ii)

AGENCY	-	-	-	-	-	-
ASSOC.	-	-	-	-	-	-

TABLE 12.

NO. OF AGENCIES AND ASSOCIATIONS OF ALL TYPES BY
CONTENT CATEGORY.

TYPE ALL TYPES n=174

	tot	content category				
		1a	1b	2a	2b	3
AGENCY	63	32	3	22	2	4
ASSOC.	111	5	5	59	13	29

(ii)

AGENCY	6	4	9	10	3	
ASSOC.	5	4	9	8	3	

Explanation of tables 13 to 24.

3. The following tables were used to record the functional categories of agencies and associations, and their geographical base. It should be noted that the functional categories (service, advocacy, fundraising, and research) are not mutually exclusive. A number of agencies were for example, involved in both service and advocacy. If one were to ask agencies directly what activities they are involved in, a number of them would doubtless mention all four functions. Thus these tables should not be interpreted strictly. The categories were used as a form of note-taking during the reading of briefs to keep track of the primary functions of agencies and associations.

Functional Categories.

svc. - agencies or associations with a service function.
 adv. - agencies or associations with an advocacy function.
 fundr. - agencies or associations with a fund raising function
 rsc. - agencies or associations with a research function.

Geographical base.

loc. - local
 prov. - provincial
 nat. - national

TABLE 13.

NO. OF VOLUNTARY COALITION AGENCIES BY FUNCTIONAL
 CATEGORY AND GEOGRAPHICAL BASE

TYPE 700 VOLUNTARY COALITIONS

n=6

	!functional category!					geog. base		
	! tot!	! svc	! adv	! fndr	! rsc	! loc	! prov	! nat
AGENCY	6	6	3	-	2	5	-	1
ASSOC.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

TABLE 14.

NO. OF WOMEN'S GROUPS, AGENCIES AND ASSOCIATIONS, BY
FUNCTIONAL CATEGORY, GEOGRAPHICAL BASE, AND ADVOCACY OF
EQUAL PAY FOR WORK OF EQUAL VALUE (column a) AND
AFFIRMATIVE ACTION (column b).

TYPE 710 WOMEN'S GROUPS

n=25

	tot	functional category				base			a	b
		svc	adv	fndr	rsc	loc	prov	nat		
AGENCY	8	8	5	-	-	7	-	1	4	6
ASSOC.	17	2	17	-	5	8	0	3	6	9

TABLE 15.

NO. OF HEALTH AND SOCIAL SERVICE AGENCIES BY FUNCTIONAL
CATEGORY AND GEOGRAPHICAL BASE.

TYPE 730 HEALTH/SOCIAL SERVICES

n=34

	tot	functional category				geog. base		
		svc	adv	fndr	rsc	loc	prov	nat
AGENCY	34	34	26	-	9	15	13	6
ASSOC.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

TABLE 16.

NO. OF RELIGIOUS GROUPS, ASSOCIATIONS, BY
FUNCTIONAL CATEGORY AND GEOGRAPHICAL BASE.

TYPE 740 RELIGIOUS GROUPS

n=13.

	!functional category!					geog. base			
	! tot!	svc	adv	fndr	rsc	! loc	prov	nat	!
AGENCY!	-	!	-	!	-	!	-	!	-
ASSOC.!	13	!	11	!	12	!	-	!	2
		!		!		!	4	!	2
		!		!		!		!	7

TABLE 17.

NO. OF NATIVE PEOPLE'S GROUPS, ASSOCIATIONS, BY
FUNCTIONAL CATEGORY AND GEOGRAPHICAL BASE.

TYPE 750 NATIVE PEOPLE'S GROUPS

n=22

	!functional category!					geog. base			
	! tot!	svc	adv	fndr	rsc	! loc	prov	nat	!
AGENCY!	-	!	-	!	-	!	-	!	-
ASSOC.!	22	!	2	!	22	!	-	!	-
		!		!		!	11	!	8
		!		!		!		!	3

TABLE 18.

NO. OF FUNDRAISING AGENCIES BY FUNCTIONAL
CATEGORY AND GEOGRAPHICAL BASE.

TYPE 774 FUND RAISING

n=10

	!functional category!					geog. base			
	! tot!	svc	adv	fndr	rsc	! loc	prov	nat	!
AGENCY!	10	!	10	!	2	!	10	!	2
		!		!		!	9	!	-
		!		!		!		!	3
		!		!		!	-	!	-

TABLE 19.

NO. OF SPECIAL INTEREST/SELF-HELP ASSOCIATIONS BY
FUNCTIONAL CATEGORY AND GEOGRAPHICAL BASE.

TYPE 770 SPECIAL INTEREST/SELF-HELP n=22

	!functional category!				geog. base			
	tot	svc	adv	fndr	rsc	loc	prov	nat
AGENCY	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
ASSOC.	22	4	18	-	-	11	4	7

TABLE 20.

NO. OF LOW INCOME/UNEMPLOYED ASSOCIATIONS BY
FUNCTIONAL CATEGORY AND GEOGRAPHICAL BASE.

TYPE 790 LOW INCOME/UNEMPLOYED n=6

	!functional category!				geog. base			
	tot	svc	adv	fndr	rsc	loc	prov	nat
AGENCY	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
ASSOC.	6	3	6	-	-	3	3	-

TABLE 21.

NO. OF ENVIRONMENTAL, CANADIAN DEVELOPMENT,
INTERNATIONAL AND FUTURIST ASSOCIATIONS BY
FUNCTIONAL CATEGORY AND GEOGRAPHICAL BASE.

TYPE 731 ENVIRONMENTAL GROUPS (n=8) n=16
776 CANADIAN DEVELOPMENT (n=5)
780 INTERNATIONAL GROUPS (n=2)
791 FUTURISTS (n=1)

	!functional category!				geog. base			
	tot	svc	adv	fndr	rsc	loc	prov	nat
AGENCY	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
ASSOC.	16	-	16	-	1	8	6	2

TABLE 22.

NO. OF JUSTICE/HUMAN RIGHTS, EDUCATION, AND HOUSING
AGENCIES AND ASSOCIATIONS BY FUNCTIONAL CATEGORY
AND GEOGRAPHICAL BASE.

TYPE 760 JUSTICE/HUMAN RIGHTS (n=4) n=13
761 EDUCATION (n=4)
792 HOUSING (n=5)

	!functional category!				geog. base			
	tot	svc	adv	fndr	rsc	loc	prov	nat
AGENCY	2	2	-	-	-	1	-	1
ASSOC.	11	7	10	1	3	-	6	5

TABLE 23.

NO. OF SENIOR CITIZEN AND YOUTH/CHILDREN'S AGENCIES BY
FUNCTIONAL CATEGORY AND GEOGRAPHICAL BASE.

TYPE 772 SENIORS (n=5)

n=7

773 YOUTH/CHILDREN (n=2)

	! tot !	! functional category !				! . . base !		
		! svc !	! adv !	! fndr !	! rsc !	! loc !	! prov !	! nat !
AGENCY !	3	3	1	-	-	1	-	2
ASSOC. !	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	4

TABLE 24

TOTAL OF ALL AGENCIES AND ASSOCIATIONS BY
FUNCTIONAL CATEGORY AND GEOGRAPHICAL BASE

TYPE ALL TYPES

n=174

	! tot !	! functional category !				! geog. base !		
		! svc !	! adv !	! fndr !	! rsc !	! loc !	! prov !	! nat !
AGENCY !	63	65	37	12	13	36	13	14
ASSOC. !	111	29	101	1	11	45	35	31

BIBLIOGRAPHY

The following bibliography includes material by authors which are not directly referred to in the study. However all the documents listed were read, in whole or in part, in preparation of this paper.

Adams, Ian. The Real Poverty Report, Hurtig: Edmonton, 1971, 255 pp.

Armstrong, Pat, Labour Pains: Women's Work in Crisis. Womens Educational Press: Toronto, 1984.

Armstrong, Pat, and Armstrong, Hugh. The Double Ghetto Canadian Women and Their Segregated Work, McClelland and Stewart: Toronto, 1978.

-----"More on Marxism and Feminism", A Response to Patricia Connelly, in Studies in Political Economy, Number 15, Fall 1984, pp.179-184.

-----"Towards Feminist Marxism", in Studies in Political Economy, Number 10, Winter 1983, pp. 7-43.

Bahmueller, Charles F. The National Charity Company, Jeremy Bentham's Silent Revolution. Univ. of Calif Press: Berkely, 1981

Beresford, Peter, and Croft, Suzy. "Welfare pluralism: the new face of Fabianism," in Critical Social Policy, Issue 9, Spring 1984, pp.19-39.

Berger, Peter, and Neuhaus, Richard. To Empower People: The Role of Mediating Structures in Public Policy, American Enterprise Institute: Washington, 1977, 45pp.

Beveridge, Lord, and Wells, A.F. editors. The Evidence for Voluntary Action, George Allen and Unwin: London, 1949.

Beveridge, Lord. Voluntary Action. A report on Methods of Social Advance, George Allan and Unwin: London, 1948.

Birch, R.C. The Shaping of the Welfare State, Longman: London, 1974

Boulding, Kenneth E. The Economy of Love and Fear: A Preface to Grants Economics, Wadsworth: Belmont Calif., 1973.

-----, and Pfaff, editors. Redistribution to the Rich and the Poor: The Grants Economics of Income Distribution, Wadsworth: Belmont Calif., 1972.

Bourdillon, Ann Francis
Claudine. Voluntary Social Services:
Their Place in the Modern State. Methuen: London, (no date)

Canadian Conference of Catholic Bishops. Ethical Reflections on the Economic Crisis, Ottawa, 1983.

Canadian Political Science Association, "The Role of Private Charity in Meeting Distress Due to Unemployment." Papers and Proceedings of the Fourth Annual Meeting CPSA. Vol. IV, Toronto, May 1932, pp. 57-63.

Carter, Novia. Trends in Voluntary Support for Nongovernment Social Service Agencies. The Canadian Council on Social Development: Ottawa, 1974.

Connelly, Patricia, and MacDonald, Martha. "Women's Work: Domestic and Wage Labour in a Nova Scotia Community", in Studies in Political Economy, Number 10, Winter 1983, pp. 45-72.

-----, "On Marxism and Feminism", in Studies in Political Economy, Number 12, Fall 1983, pp. 153-161.

Codperstock, Henry. Relations Between Local Voluntary Organizations and Federal Government Departments and Agencies. Background study produced for the National Advisory Council on Voluntary Action. Secretary of State: Ottawa, November 1977.

Dobell, A.R. What's the B.C. Spirit: Recent Experience in the Management of Restraint, University of Victoria, September, 1983.

Drache, Arthur. The Tax Status and Treatment of Non-Profit Organizations, Secretary of State, Policy Coordination Directorate: Ottawa, 1984.

Forder, Anthony. Concepts in Social Administration: A Framework for Analysis. RKP: London, 1974.

Fox, Bonnie. editor, Hidden in the Household, Women's

Domestic Labour Under Capitalism. Includes contributions by Susan Mann, Linda Briskin, Bruce Curtis, Wally Seccombe, Emily Blumenfeld, and Bonnie Fox; Womens Press: Toronto, 1980.

Frizzell, Alan. Social Participation and Voluntary Associations: The Canadian Perspective, Queens University Research Team, Department of Sociology, Queens University, 1975.

Giddens, Anthony. Sociology: A Brief but Critical Introduction. HBJ:New York, 1982.

Ginsburg, Norman. Class, Capital and Social Policy. Macmillan: London, 1979.

Gough, Ian. The Political Economy of the Welfare State. Macmillan: London, 1979.

Govan, Elizabeth S.L. Voluntary Health Organizations in Canada. A study done for the Royal Commission on Health Services, Queen's Printer: Ottawa, 1966.

Graff, Linda. Volunteer-Union Relations. Social Planning and Research Council of Hamilton, 1983. pp.47.

Gronbjerg, Kirsten A. "Private Welfare in the Welfare State: Recent U.S. Patterns." in Social Service Review, 56:1, March 1982, 1-26.

Hawrylyshyn, Oli. The Economic Nature and Value of Volunteer Activity. Secretary of State: Ottawa, Mimeo, 1978.

Hacker, Andrew, "Welfare: The Future of an Illusion", in New York Review of Books, Vol.32, No.3, Feb.28, 1985.

Hadley, Roger, and Hatch, Stephen. Social Welfare and the Failure of the State, Centralised Social Services and Participatory Alternatives. George Allan and Unwin: London 1981.

Health and Welfare Canada. A Framework for the Development of a National Health and Welfare Policy in Support of Voluntary Action, Health and Welfare Canada: Ottawa, 1982.

Henriques, Ursula R.Q. Before the Welfare State: Social Administration in Early Industrial Britain. Longman: London, 1979.

Hirschhorn, Larry. Cutting Back: Retrenchment and Redevelopment in Human Community Services. Jossey-Bass: San Francisco, 1983.

Johnson, Norman. Voluntary Social Services. Blackwell: Oxford, 1981.

Kramer, Ralph. "Public Fiscal Policy and Welfare Agencies in Welfare States". in Social Service Review, No.53 (1979): 2-14.

----- Voluntary Agencies in the Welfare State. Univ. of Calif. Press: Berkely, 1981.

Lawrence, Roger. "Voluntary Action: A Stalking Horse for the Right?" in Critical Social Policy vol.2, No.3, Spring 1983, p.28-29.

Lissner, Jorgen. The Politics of Altruism. A Study of the Political Behavior of Voluntary Development Agencies, Lutheran World Federation: Geneva, 1977.

Lynn, Laurence E. The State and Human Services: Organizational Change in a Political Context. MIT: Cambridge Mass., 1980.

McClymer, John F. War and Welfare: Social Engineering in America, 1890-1925. Greenwood: Westport, 1980.

McLaughlin, Elizabeth. Study of the Board of Directors of a Private Agency, MSW Thesis, Carleton University, 1962.

Marshall, T.H. Sociology at the Crossroads and Other Essays. Heinemann: London, 1963.

----- Social Policy in the Twentieth Century. Hutchison: London, 1975.

----- The Right to Welfare and Other Essays, Macmillan; New York, 1981.

Mishra, Ramesh. The Welfare State in Crisis, Harvester Press: Brighton, 1984.

Moscovitch, Allan. The Welfare State Since 1975. A paper prepared for the Canadian Association for Political Economy, 1983. pp.28.

Moyer, Mel S., editor. Managing Voluntary Organizations.
Proceedings of a Conference held at York University,
Toronto, October 19th to 21st, 1983.

National Advisory Council on Voluntary Action. People in
Action. Report of the National Advisory Council on
Voluntary Action, Ottawa, 1977.

National Voluntary Organization Committee. Give and Take:
A New Tax Break that Makes Sense for Every Canadian,
Ottawa, 1983.

Nicholls, William M, and Dyson, William A. The Informal
Economy, Vanier Institute for the Family: Ottawa 1984.

O'Connor, James. The Fiscal Crisis of the State.
St. Martin's: New York, 1973

Offe, Claus. Contradictions of the Welfare State.
Edited by John Keane, MIT Press: Cambridge Mass., 1980.

Polanyi, Karl. The Great Transformation. Beacon: Boston,
1957.

_____. The Livelihood of Man. ed., Harry W. Pearson,
Academic Press: New York. 1977.

Riches, Graham. "Feeding Canada's Poor", Briar Patch,
Vol. 14, Issue 1, Feb. 1985.

Salamon, Lester. "Nonprofit Organizations and the Rise of
Third Party Government: The Scope, Character, and
Consequences of Government Support of Nonprofit
Organizations," in Independant Sector (1983),
attachement, 47pp.

Secretary of State (Gov't of Canada). The Development of a
Typology of the Voluntary Sector in Canada.
Written by DPA Consulting Limited for Social
Trends Analysis Directorate. Dec 1983. (A83-3).
Analyst responsible, Carmen Frenette.

_____. Some Financial and Economic Dimensions of
Registered Charities and Volunteer Activity in Canada.
by David Ross for Social Trends Analysis Directorate,
January 1983, (A83-1)

Social Planning Council of Metropolitan Toronto. Voluntary

Sector at Risk. Trends In Government Support of the Voluntary Social Service Sector in Metropolitan Toronto, Social Planning Council of Metropolitan Toronto, 1981.

Statistics Canada. An Overview of Volunteer Workers in Canada. Supply and Services: Ottawa, 1980-81.

Stein, Herman D., editor. Organization and the Human Services: Cross-Disciplinary Reflections. Temple Univ. Press: Philadelphia, 1981.

Thomas, Henk, and Logan, Chris. Mondragon: An Economic Analysis. Published in co-operation with the Institute of Social Studies at the Hague, George Allan Unwin: London, 1982.

Titmuss, Richard M. Essays on The Welfare State. George Allan and Unwin: London, second edition, 1963.

Therborn, Goran. "Classes and States: Welfare State Developments 1881-1981", in Studies in Political Economy: A Socialist Review, No. 14, Summer 1984, pp. 7-41.

Toch, Hans. Reforming Human Services: Change Through Participation. Sage: Beverly Hills, 1982.

Tucker, David J. Interorganizational Relations and the Delivery of Social Services. Unpublished doctoral dissertation; University of Toronto, 1978.

-----". "Voluntary Auspices and Behavior of Social Service Organizations." in Social Service Review, No. 55. (1981) 603-627.

-----". McMaster Study of Voluntary Organizations, Volume One. Unpublished report, McMaster University, December 1982.

-----". McMaster Study of Voluntary Organizations: Phase I Progress Report. Unpublished Report: McMaster University, January 1982.

-----, and Devlin, Sandra. An Exploratory Investigation of the Voluntary Sectors in Canada and Great Britain, Social Trends Analysis Directorate, Secretary of State: Ottawa, 1984.

Vanier Institute for the Family. Reshaping the Welfare State
 Proceedings of a Conference on the Welfare State,
 1983.

Walker, Malcolm. "Organizational Change, Citizen
 Participation and Voluntary Action," Journal of
Voluntary Action Research, Vol.4, no.1-2, 1975.

Weisbrod, Burton A. The Voluntary Nonprofit Sector: An
Economic Analysis, Heath: Toronto, 1977.

Wilding, Paul. Professional Power and Social Welfare.
 RKP: London, 1982.

Wisner, Susan, and Pell, David. Community Profit:
Community Based Economic Development in Canada,
 Is Five Press: Toronto, 1981.

Wolfenden, Lord. The Future of Voluntary Organizations.
 Report of the Wolfenden Committee, appointed by the
 Joseph Rowntree Memorial Trust and the Carnegie
 United Kingdom Trust. Croom Helm: London, 1978.

Zaretsky, Eli. "The Place of the Family in the Origin of
 the Welfare State", in Rethinking the Family, Ed.
 Barrie Thorne, and Marilyn Yalom, New York: Longman,
 1982. pp.188-224.

Briefs used in this study and submitted to the Royal
 Commission. on the Economic Union and Development Prospects
 for Canada (MacDonald Commission):

700 - Voluntary coalitions

- 263 Storefront for Voluntary Agencies
- 297 Moncton Volunteer Centre Benevolat
- 653 Volunteer Centre of Calgary
- 654 Lethbridge Interagency Committee
- 686 Coalition of National Voluntary Organizations
- 1079. Calgary Association of Voluntary Agencies

710 - Women's Groups

- 150 Vancouver Women in Trades Assoc.
- 156 Calgary YWCA
- 157 Women's Involvement of Upper Trinity South
- 174 Victoria Status of Women Action Group

232 B.C. Federation of Women
 256 Women Unlimited
 264 Status of Women Council
 269 Women Against the Budget
 295 Women United for a Non-Exploitive New Age
 339 Women's Network Inc.
 344 Northwestern Ontario Women's Centre
 382 Women and Economic Development Committee
 401 Womens Incentive Centre
 471 Women's Information Referral Centre
 601 Assoc. of Women Electors of Metro. Toronto
 690 YWCA of Canada
 698 National Council of Women in Canada
 789 National Action Committee on the Status of Women
 816 Can. Congress for Learning Opportunities for Women
 887 Saskatchewan Working Women
 906 YWCA of Met. Toronto
 929 Saskatchewan Action Committee on the Status of Women
 1076 Ontario Committee on the Status of Women
 1088 Manitoba Action Committee on the Status of Women
 (2112) New Brunswick Advisory Council on the Status of Women

730 - Health/Social Services

28 Manitoba Assoc. for Children with Learning Disabilities
 87 Kekuli Audio Visual Society
 109 Canadian Council on Social Development
 112 British Columbia Health Association
 123 Capital Families
 154 Community Council of Greater Victoria
 160 Alert (Charlottetown)
 217 Social Planning and Review Council of B.C.
 219 British Columbians for Mentally Handicapped People
 276 Premier's Council on the Status of Disabled Persons
 318 The Health Coalition of Nova Scotia
 340 Community Services Council (Nfld. & Lab.)
 375 Lakehead Social Planning Council
 378 Family Service Assoc. Of Met. Toronto
 418 Community Nursing Registry of Windsor
 595 Paradigm Health
 666 Canadian Mental Health Assoc.
 699 Canadian Red Cross
 713 Ontario Assoc. of Family Service Agencies
 741 Canadian Rehab. Council for the Disabled
 767 Social Planning Council of Winnipeg
 798 Catholic Social Services (Alta.)
 799 Income Maintenance for the Handicapped
 807 Vanier Institute of the Family
 812 Social Planning Council of Ottawa-Carleton

- 820 Consumers Assoc. of Canada
- 828 Social Planning and Research Council (Hamilton)
- 857 Social Planning Council of Metro. Toronto
- 863 Mental Health Assoc. in Saskatchewan
- 865 Saskatchewan Coordinating Council on Social Planning
- 928 Catholic Family Services of Saskatoon
- 941 Community Based Health Services
- 952 The Canadian Health Coalition
- 959 Alberta Committee of Consumers Groups of Disabled Persons
- 1027 Family Service Bureau of Regina

731 - Environmental

- 135 The Sierra Club of Western Canada
- 247 Conservation Council of New Brunswick
- 248 B.C. Wildlife Federation
- 350 Ecology Action Centre
- 404 Northeastern Ontario Energy Conservation Society
- 483 STOP
- 866 Saskatchewan Environmental Society
- 1118 Conserver Action Research and Education Inc.

740 - Religious groups

- 197 First United Church (Vanc.)
- 336 Social Action Commission - R.C. Diocese of Charlottetown
- 347 Thunder Bay and Dist. Council of Clergy
- 436 Mennonite Central Committee of Canada
- 498 Archdiocese of Quebec
- 652 St Patrick's Church (Lethbridge)
- 658 The Canadian Bahai Community
- 743 General Synod of the Anglican Church of Canada
- 806 Churches of Edmonton
- 815 United Church of Canada
- 844 Catholic Women's League of Canada
- 883 Federation of Sikh Societies of Canada
- 1038 Canadian Conference of Catholic Bishops

750 - Native People's Groups

- 274 N.B. Assoc. of Metis and Non-Status Indians
- 285 Nuu-Chah-Nulth Tribal Council
- 288 Carrier-Sekani Tribal Council
- 293 United Native Nations of B.C.
- 301 NWT Friendship Centres
- 307 Nunavut Constitutional Forum
- 328 Union of Ontario Indians
- 351 Attawapiskat Band

- 364 Thunder Bay Indian Youth Friendship Society
- 381 Nishnawbe-Aski Nation
- 387 James Bay Tribal Council
- 406 Central Interior Tribal Councils
- 501 Makavik Corporation
- 528 Inuit Taparissat
- 533 Keewatin Inuit Assoc.
- 538 Federation of Saskatchewan Indian Nations
- 591 Northern Flood Committee
- 621 Manitoba Kewatinowi Okimakinak Inc.
- 975 Grand Council of the Crees of Quebec
- 1010 Dakota Ojibway Tribal Council
- 1016 Inuit Circumpolar Conference
- 1075 Assembly of First Nations

760 - Justice/Human Rights

- 212 BC Law Union
- 353 Nfld. and Labrador Human Rights Assoc.
- 693 Citizens for Public Justice
- 841 Public Interest Advocacy Centre

761 - Education

- 603 Laubach Literacy of Canada
- 716 Canadian Assoc. for Adult Education
- 951 Rural Learning Association
- 972 Atlantic Conference on Learning Disabilities

770 - Special Interest/Self-help

- ~~95 Local Exchange Trading System~~
- 171 Consumers Assoc. of Canada (Yukon)
- 218 Operation Solidarity
- 321 Federation of N.S. Heritage
- 336 Canadian Federation of Humane Societies
- 410 Assoc. for the Protection of Fur Bearing Animals
- 4 Sudbury 2001
- 4 Minto Family Life Education Centre Inc.
- ~~511 Winnipeg Coordinating Committee for Disarmament~~
- 641 North Shore Citizens Comm. for Resp. Forest Management
- 642 Canadian Centre for a Changing Society
- 60 Coalition for the Protection of Human Life
- 69 Midas Reform Organization of Alberta
- 69 Planetary Initiative
- 705 Heritage Ottawa

- 712 Federal Superannuates National Assoc.
- 715 Heritage Canada Foundation
- 749 Canadian Pension Conference
- 820 Consumer Assoc. of Canada
- 854 Heritage Winnipeg
- 940 Alberta Wilderness Assoc.
- 1053 Canadian Friends of Schizophrenics

772 - Seniors

- 146 Prince George and Dist. Senior Citizens Centre
- 349 Canadian Pensioners Concerned
- 593 National Pensioners and Senior Citizens Federation
- 648 Help the Aged
- 967 Canadian Assoc. on Gerontology

773 - Youth/Children

- 880 Canadian Daycare Advocacy Assoc.
- 1003 National Council of YMCAs

774 - Fundraising

- 136 Prince George and Dist. United Way
- 161 United Way of the Lower Mainland
- 222 United Way of Fredericton
- 428 United Way of Thompson
- 543 Centraide Montreal
- 581 Institute of Donations and Public Affairs Research
- 609 United Way of Winnipeg
- 709 United Way of Ottawa-Carleton
- 727 Centraide Quebec
- 829 Canadian Centre for Philanthropy
- 901 United Way of Greater Toronto
- 1000 United Way of Canada
- 1093 Centraide-Cour de Quebec

776 - Canadian Development

- 196 Cape Breton Cooperative Council
- 210 Fed. of Community Dev. Corporations of Canada
- 240 New Dawn Enterprises
- 294 Human Resources Development Assoc.
- 787 Community Forum on Shared Responsibility

780 - International Groups

- 198 Asia Pacific Foundation
- 631 Steering Committee for Implementing Ecosystem Approach

790 - Low Income/Unemployed

- 152 Federated Anti-Poverty Groups of BC
- 423 Windsor Coalition for Development
- 881 Unemployment Committee of Regina
- 915 Saskatoon Union of Unemployed Workers
- 938 Manitoba Anti-Poverty Organization
- 971 Federation Quebecoise Anti-Pauvrete Inc.

791 - Futurists

- 36 Pacific Group for Policy Alternatives

792 - Housing Groups

- 455 Habitation Populaire de Quebec Inc.
- 554 Assoc. des Proprietaires de Quebec Inc.
- 765 Canadian Association of Housing Renewal Officials
- 848 Cooperative Housing Foundation
- 1017 Daybreak
- 1034 Rental Housing Council of BC.

END

FIN

2 04 87