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EQUALITY AND MULTICULTURALISM: ACCESS TO COMMUNITY SERVICES

Robert Doyle Ph.D. and Livy Visano Ph.D.*

INTRODUCTION

Notwithstanding the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms, rampant inequalities persist in our society. Paradoxically, community services mandated to serve the interests of consumers do not equitably serve disadvantaged groups, such as members of diverse cultural and racial groups. In some ways service providers exacerbate, rather than address, inequalities.

The authors report on their major study of access to health and social services for members of diverse cultural and racial groups in Metropolitan Toronto to illustrate the inertia that too often predominates in service systems. Consequently, consumers face a multitude of barriers to obtaining service. The study includes a survey of 135 mainstream voluntary health and social service organizations, 40 key informants from ethnospecific organizations and 160 consumers of service, as well as a funding policy review and a number of case studies of initiatives to promote access by voluntary organizations. The study adopts an action research approach and includes the use of focus groups and community forums, and an ongoing follow up by promoting the ownership of solutions and action within the local community. Traditional legal approaches are also evaluated.

A comprehensive program for improvement in access is proposed at 4 levels: intraorganizational; interorganizational; systemic and societal. It is pointed out that there is no simple or single panacea for improving access to available services for minorities, but that an active commitment to a wide variety of strategies and measures needs to be developed and implemented.

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Social activists who have traditionally been concerned with advocacy and social reform as ways to assist people in need, must be involved in efforts to reform the community services. This concern needs to be translated into concrete action and a specific program, and executed with strategic and political skill, if reformers are to effectively assist the disadvantaged.

The authors propose approaches for social activists to involve themselves in meaningful and effective efforts to promote access for members of cultural and racial groups.

AN UNEQUAL SOCIETY

Canadians have recently witnessed a proliferation of public inquiries, media accounts and research attention on equality. The long awaited equality provisions of the *Charter of Rights and Freedoms* as well as the much celebrated policies on multiculturalism continue to evoke a degree of unreasonable optimism. Legal protections and multicultural initiatives are of dubious value when unaccompanied by meaningful programs which embrace universal entitlements.

Historically, equality in Canada has been characterized by attractive legal palliatives replete with convenient mythologies. For example, long before the equality sections of the Charter came into effect in 1985, Canada was a signatory of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948. Accordingly, Article 25 affirmed a number of moral principles which included provisions for a standard of living adequate for the health and wellbeing of the individual and his/her family, such as food, clothing, housing, medical care and social services, as well as the right to security in the event of disability and/or unemployment. Likewise, in 1982 the Charter clearly indicated that within the operation of law, every individual was to be treated without discrimination. Section 15(1) states:

15. (1) " Every individual is equal before and under the law and has the right to the equal protection and equal benefit of the law without discrimination and, in particular, without discrimination based on race, national or ethnic origin, colour, religion, sex, age or mental or physical disability".

But this provision alone does not ensure equality. Section 7 of the Charter consecrates three fundamental rights: the rights to life, liberty of the person and security of the person. Despite these high-sounding phrases, our rights are to be interpreted by the Courts, when they are denied by our societal institutions. In particular, some argue that Section 7 provides clients of community services with a *right* to a basic level of income and services to assist them to live effectively and productively in the society. That is, a constellation of rights is inherent in these legal guarantees which include accessible health and social services.

According to the Parliamentary Committee on Equality Rights¹, visible minorities are excluded from full participation in Canadian society. According to Patrick Boyer M.P., Chairperson of the committee, the report was "guided by the letter and spirit of the new equality provisions of Canada's Charter". The Committee documented numerous cases of discrimination related to section 15. Despite the "spirit" of equality enshrined in the Charter, studies² have documented ways in which visible minorities are denied access to employment, personnel procedures discriminate in recruitment practices and little effort exists to eliminate discrimination. The lingering "spirit" of the Charter to which many politicians and bureaucrats allude warrants careful scrutiny.

Persistent inequality is the most basic source of tension in our society. The admonitions of Miller and Roby³ regarding the dangers of inequality to social stability are applicable to Canada in the 1980's. Moreover, they argue that:

"a minimum approach by government in any society with significant inequalities must provide for rising minimum levels, not only of [1] incomes, [2] assets, and [3] basic services, but also of [4] self-respect and [5] opportunities for education and social mobility and [6] participation in many forms of decision-making."

In other words, a commitment to equality can only be measured by its contribution to social reform. Exaggerated claims of equality juxtaposed against actual provisions of fundamental services will serve to unravel and challenge prevailing myths about multiculturalism and the renewed spirit of the Charter. There is, for example, little evidence of organizational changes designed to remove direct obstacles to equality. Nowhere is this more apparent than in the most fundamental features of subsistence and basic entitlements of citizenry as in the health and social services. Equality requires equitable access to these resources.

ACCESS TO SERVICES AS AN EQUALITY ISSUE

People who need and who are entitled to human services do not generally receive assistance in an equitable manner. Kahn⁴ notes a number of rea-

¹ Report of the Parliamentary Committee on Equality Rights, *Equality Now* (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1985).

² Social Planning Council of Metropolitan Toronto, *No Discrimination Here* (Toronto: Social Planning Council of Metropolitan Toronto, 1985); SPC of Metro. Toronto, *Who Gets the Work?* (Toronto: SPC of Metro Toronto, 1985).

³ S.M. Miller and Pamela Roby, *The Future of Inequality* (New York: Basic Books, 1970).

⁴ Alfred J. Kahn, *Social Policy and Social Services* (New York: Basic Books, 1970) at 31.

sons for this : the complexity and bureaucratic nature of the service system; discrimination; variations among citizens in knowledge and understanding of rights or in appreciation of the values of certain resources, benefits and entitlements, and; geographic distance between people and services.

Service consumers encounter a variety of barriers in securing services from social agencies. The obstacles include culture, administrative, cost, geographic or locational, and informational and awareness barriers. Consumers are often bewildered by the multiplicity of organizations and agencies, with their complex and confusing eligibility rules, and their changing sets of programs and services. Some would even characterize the service system as a "service jungle" in which only few consumers have the capacity and opportunity to fully know their entitlements to services and the ways that they can use to access those services. Surprisingly, only a few service organizations have sufficiently altered their structures and operations to make their programs and services easily accessible to consumers.

The interests of agencies and consumers are not congruent, despite the protestations of managers and workers in the services. Robert Perlman⁵ contends that service providers and consumers have different orientations. The behaviour of providers is mainly framed within organizational norms which highlight economic priorities in the use of available resources. And, administrators and policy makers tend to seek maximum control of resources and programs, thereby excluding other relevant stake-holders like consumers from participating in decision-making processes. Perlman elaborates:

" By contrast, consumers require services that are as accessible as possible on a geographic, psychological, or cultural basis and that afford them maximum choice. Their need is for accountability and effectiveness in meeting their problems. Consumers increasingly want to keep services and agencies responsive by having a strong voice in their planning and administration."⁶

Given that service providers essentially conspire against consumers, and that agencies and consumers appear to have different interests, it is incumbent upon "equality seekers" to consider the issue of access in order to ensure that people get the help they need. Interestingly, Galper⁷ advises that social services are not meant to promote social or societal change. Furthermore he argues that social services function to contain change.

⁵ Robert Perlman, *Consumers and Social Services* (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1975) at 101.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ Jeffrey H. Galper, *The Politics of Social Services* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1975) at 61.

"The general message to the client that is contained in the fact of underfinanced, inadequate, and inappropriate services is also a message to the worker. The worker is providing social services to people who have, for some reason, failed to contain within themselves the symptoms of our social crisis. The worker knows how poorly provided for these clients are. The message must necessarily be that if the worker does not remain properly at work and properly within the accepted standards of behaviour, he or she might someday be forced to accept the very kind of inadequate service being provided to present clients. The social worker knows better than anyone, save clients, that the social services are not what they claim to be and that making it on one's own in the market is the nearest one can come in our society to having security."

RESEARCH

METHODS

Locating inequality within the structure of service agencies, this article investigates access for members of cultural and racial groups to mainstream health and social services organizations and their programs in Metropolitan Toronto. *Mainstream* was seen to refer to those organizations that offer services to everyone in the community that meet general eligibility criteria, not based on membership in a particular cultural or racial group. *Ethnospecific*, however, includes those organizations that provide services to people on the basis of general criteria which emphasize membership in a particular cultural or racial group.

The intention to provide access does not necessarily imply that there already exists the reality of access to available services. In this study, *availability* refers to whether a service exists or is provided for clients/consumers; on the other hand, *access* means whether a service is actually secured by a consumer.

Briefly, access incorporates two dimensions: (a) *client access*, the extent to which consumers are able to secure needed services and (b) *organizational access*, the extent to which consumers are represented and/or participate in the planning, development, delivery and administration of those services. Organizational access is important since it relates very closely to the purposes and effectiveness of voluntary organizations. Essentially, both features need to reflect the diversity of communities they serve in order for providers to be culturally sensitive to consumers who seek their help.

Interviews were held with respondents in 135 mainstream organizations, using two survey instruments. A "face to face" questionnaire obtained

perceptions on five types of barriers to access (information and awareness, physical/geographic, cultural, administrative, and cost), specific measures or strategies that organizations had undertaken to improve access, and ones which respondents felt should be taken in the overall system of services. A "self-administered" questionnaire was left with respondents to collect data on their organizations regarding their "multicultural" policies and measures, composition of staffing and personnel patterns, linguistic and planning data.

Forty interviews were held with key informants involved with ethnospecific organizations. In addition, 160 interviews were held in six languages with consumers of services. Other elements of the study included the use of focus groups, to review initial findings, in the 6 municipalities of Metro Toronto; a review of government funding policies and programs at three levels, and four case studies of innovations.

The study used a *community development approach*, involving participants in a variety of ways throughout the entire research process. In this *action research*, participants assisted in diagnosing problems, collecting information, suggesting necessary changes and evaluating the effectiveness of changes recommended. Participants also became advocates for the changes.

FINDINGS

Briefly, it was discovered that mainstream organizations devote little or no energy to effect change beyond the simple identification of barriers. While service providers in general articulate a sensitive appreciation of the problems inherent in securing access, the results are disturbing in terms of measures they adopt to reduce barriers. Serious gaps exist in the information base of agencies regarding the cultural and racial characteristics of their clientele and workforce, including board and volunteer representation.

The following *general themes* are drawn from the findings:

- agencies do not have, or are unwilling to share, information or organizational data regarding the cultural and racial characteristics of their clientele, staff and volunteers;
- agencies recognize that barriers to access exist, and can list them;
- agencies experience difficulties in responding to barriers, and are unable to devise strategies and programs to effectively address these barriers;
- cost is a factor that must be considered in order to improve access, but it must be acknowledged that some changes to improve access may not require any additional costs for agencies;

- change efforts within individual agencies are not sufficient to assure the necessary improvements in the system of services; collective responses on the part of service agencies, rather than isolated solutions, are required to achieve more equitable access for minority groups.

In summary, mainstream agencies fail to respond in an effective and meaningful manner to the new multicultural reality of Metropolitan Toronto. Consequently, the onus for ensuring access falls on smaller, poorer funded and understaffed ethnospecific agencies. Thus, mainstream and ethnospecific organizations operate in *two solitudes*, as separate systems. They seldom take account of each other's efforts to plan and deliver services. They do not share their plans and activities; and, instead, compete for scarce resources.

On the other hand, interviews with "multicultural" consumers indicated that an overwhelmingly large number of clients experience difficulties in securing access. They attribute obstacles to factors such as their lack of information, the styles and techniques of agency interaction, and the poor level of understanding of cultural and linguistic factors which complicate delivery patterns. Consumers, in general, expressed feelings of uncertainty, powerlessness and distance from agencies designed to serve them. For example, a middle aged woman who arrived from Poland in 1957 described: "No one ever tried to understand my accent."

Moreover, it was found that prevailing cultural factors either inhibit consumers from approaching agencies or effectively negate the value of assistance by failing to recognize the respective values of consumers. A young man who arrived from El Salvador in 1981 notes: "I didn't feel good when I was there. I was afraid, so I did what they wanted".

There is widespread discontent among consumers about the staff and the services obtained at agencies. The most frequent criticism directed at service providers concerned their ignorance - their failure to appreciate the predicament experienced by newcomers from different cultures. Admittedly, consumers from racial and cultural groups encounter problems which are common to other consumers but their difficulties are more intensified because of their limited knowledge of rights and entitlements; their limited language ability; and their cultural differences which make them more susceptible to misconceptions and negative judgments. They risk double exclusion, making it difficult for them to be considered as full and equal members of the society.

In general, minorities are not participating fully in programs ostensibly designed for them. Current practices succeed, however, only in fostering further discrimination and alienation. Just as consumers are ill-informed about services to which they are entitled, providers are extremely insensitive and ignorant of cultural diversity. Despite the rhetoric of multiculturalism and the benevolence of social assistance, providers willingly admit that the services they offer are inappropriate. Surprisingly, pro-

viders candidly acknowledge the debilitating effects of a number of impediments and yet they fail not only to proffer suggestions in improving their immediate organizational responses but miserably refuse to even hypothetically consider changes at the systemic level.

ACCESS TO SERVICES AND THE LIMITS OF LAW

A circumspect appreciation of health and social services clearly demonstrates the prevalence of discrimination. Access to basic services, as noted above, is a fundamental feature of equality. But, equality has been far too frequently approached within the domain of law. Despite their hyperbolic niceties, legal remedies conceal as much as they reveal. An emphasis on law is at best a partial solution to the discriminatory exclusion of members of diverse cultural and racial communities. Moreover, as will be argued, the general formalities of law and their attendant procedures are also inaccessible to many individuals. As Ericson notes:

"Those who seek equality in social structure and social relations, and the justice this promises, should look more often to means other than law".⁸

Turgid case law, incomprehensible legalese and abstract principles render the law understandable to legal technicians or experts alone. Law alone does not facilitate the removal of obstacles. In fact, laws may exacerbate inequality since, as Friedenbergs argues⁹, law is inimical to freedoms. An excessive reliance on the judiciary as a forum for the protection of equality invites difficulties. By its very nature the Canadian judiciary is an extremely conservative mechanism¹⁰ which has seldom assumed an activist stance on universal entitlements. The judiciary defines equality as unfair practices that can only be vindicated on an individual case basis. Additionally, the right to equality is promoted within the Charter according to legally defined criteria. The legal discourse on equality limits the scope for social change by justifying pre-existing distributions of resources¹¹.

Legal definitions of equality are problematic. They tend to disguise deeply-rooted structures which impede access. Consequently, an emphasis on legal remedies tacitly ensures inequality by failing to address wider socio-economic conditions. Instead, the premise of the Charter highlights the individual pursuit of legal channels. Even within this

⁸ R. Ericson, *The Constitution of Legal Inequality* (Ottawa: Carlton University, 1984).

⁹ E. Friedenbergs, "The Side Effects of the Legal Process" in R. Wolff, ed., *The Rule of Law* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1971) at 45.

¹⁰ S. Rush, "Collective Rights and Collective Process: Missing Ingredients in the Canadian Constitution" (1984) 2 *Socialist Studies* 45.

¹¹ Friedenbergs, *supra*, note 9.

legal framework, procedural equality is not a guarantee of substantive equality¹². Equality "before" the law does not necessarily mean equality "in the law"¹³. The illusory language, convoluted logic and ambiguity of law creates little confidence among those traditionally disenfranchised from health and social services because of colour, language facility or cultural diversity. A benign and paternalistic treatment of recent refugees, immigrants and visible minorities is not designed to consider existing inequities.

The Charter's equality provisions do not grant the right to equal treatment *per se*. They do not provide general norms of non-discrimination.¹⁴ The Charter simply affords the right to equal treatment before and under the law. In reference to the security of the person, it is unlikely that the Charter operates to maximize the following basic rights—economic independence, housing, employment, health and social services, aboriginal claims, safe working conditions, adequate standard of living, employment equity, etc. Extra billing, the shortage of affordable housing, structured unemployment or current provisions for day care discriminate against the economically disadvantaged. Will the courts, for example, consider a more expansive definition of "security of the person" to include the right to subsistence?

Social reform has not been inspired nor managed by legal remedies. Despite the frenetic optimism of legal apologists, the Charter does not provide a concrete proposal for social advocacy.¹⁵ Historically, law has been slow in redressing wrongs and in responding in a progressive manner.

The Charter, nonetheless, opens up new possibilities. This legal cornerstone can be effectively used to mobilize a renewed commitment to social and economic priorities. By provoking an awareness of the constitution of injustices, the development of action networks or coalition groups presumably can fuel public interest in causes. The politicization of legal struggles will inevitably stimulate analyses of discrimination.

In reference to measures specifically aimed at the equality provisions of the Charter a variety of strategies are necessary, and community organizations can assume leadership to implement such strategies. Briefly, we will address public education, information and monitoring, advocacy and litigation.

¹² M. Eberts, "Sex and Equality Rights" in A. Bayefsky and M. Eberts, eds., *Equality Rights and the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms* (Toronto: Carswell, 1985) at 12-14.

¹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ Livy Visano, "The Social Justice of Legal Remedies" in Robert Doyle and Livy Visano, eds., *Report of the Proceedings: Conference on Human Service Issues and the Charter of Rights and Freedoms* (Toronto: Social Planning Council of Metro Toronto, 1986).

(1) *Public Education.* There need to be attempts to educate the public in matters of Provincial law and how they relate to the Charter of Rights and Freedoms. This education needs to be directed at different constituencies within the public, such as students, teachers, unions, social service agencies, professions. And there is an urgent need to inform and stimulate all kinds of human service organizations around equality issues, as to date very few in this province are aware of these issues and the implications of the Charter and Provincial laws to ensure equality for them, their clients and consumers.

(2) *Information & Monitoring.* There is confusion within the community service sector with regard to what is happening in cases being litigated which use the Charter as a basis for argument, and what is happening in the public and voluntary sectors with regard to equality actions. Information even if available is not being adequately disseminated. An information clearing house function needs to be developed, recognized and supported to enable community organizations to have access to up-to-date information on Charter based legislation, litigation, and public and voluntary sector plans and activities on equality issues. Closely tied to this is the need for community organizations to have the capacity to effectively monitor government's actions with regard to ensuring equality.

(3) *Advocacy.* Community organizations need to be supported which are accountable to and can effectively represent the interests of disadvantaged people and groups, and plead their case before public bodies. This advocacy function is a vital one as the disadvantaged need the opportunity to be involved in and heard on public decisions regarding equality rights wherever their interests are affected. It is a touchstone of our democratic system that people should be able to effectively advocate for themselves and their interests.

(4) *Litigation.* Community organizations representing the disadvantaged need to have access to the legal system and the courts. The Federal Government has provided funding to the Canadian Council on Social Development to administer a Court Challenges Program which gives financial assistance for legal costs to litigants who are asserting equality rights and language rights in important test cases. The Province of Ontario, for example, could also provide funding for challenges to Provincial legislation, policies and practices.

The Charter is not the sole text upon which equality is inscribed. A program of action which transforms service providers into equality seekers is much warranted. In the following section we detail a commitment to action based on informed collective responses.

A PROGRAM OF ACTION

Action which enhances access to community services for members of cultural and racial groups requires the mobilization of both ethnospecific and mainstream organizations in order to work collaboratively. Mainstream agencies need to consider ethnospecific agencies as service partners and not simply as resources for translation and interpretation.

Any effective *program* for action, that is, a sense of interrelated and directed activities, warrants a collaborative relationship between organizations in the two systems. The program proposed incorporates change at four levels : intraorganizational; interorganizational; systemic and societal.

INTRAORGANIZATIONAL CHANGE

Firstly, a number of internal organizational changes are required. In particular, individual agencies must systematically implement *initiatives* that directly confront barriers within their organizations for consumers. For example, it might seem self evident that organizations which serve a significant non-English clientele would at a minimum translate their forms and provide assistance at the entry level in the language of the clientele. But, only a handful of agencies assume appropriate and sufficient initiatives or articulate strategies that would ameliorate problem conditions for consumers.

An important focus for improvement in service agencies for access is the *entry function*. The entry function includes the following: giving information to prospective users, community education on available services, outreach and recruitment for services, referral to specialized services, and brokerage to help consumers and agencies make contact. Three approaches to improve these processes are : (a) making contact, (b) locating and organizing resources, and (c) providing and evaluating services. One salient process that must be developed within agencies to ensure that needed services are provided to clients is *case management*. Typically, the case manager does not provide direct service to clients but is involved in case planning and case monitoring on behalf of clients. Other case management functions include intake, needs assessment, contracting, information and referral, advocacy and evaluation.

INTERORGANIZATIONAL CHANGE

Secondly, mainstream and ethnospecific agencies can easily develop specific *linkages* with one another to ensure that minority groups are adequately served in the mainstream system. Depending on the ingenuity and willingness of the organizations involved, integrating linkages at the administrative and direct service levels involves: budget and finance, personnel practices, planning and coordination, administrative

support, core services, and modes of case coordination. One suggestion that seemed to gain favour during the study is for a "twinning" of main-stream and ethnospecific agencies.

SYSTEMIC CHANGES

Thirdly, changes in *funding policy* and programs are required at the level of the community services system. Funders also need to develop their own "multicultural" policies such as recruitment, outreach, affirmative action, representation, in order to respond appropriately to funding proposals and the needs of a diverse population. We have seen that agencies have multiple priorities and will give short shrift to improving access unless funding policies and programs specifically encourage them to be compliant.

Additionally, attention must be directed to changing the *structure and functioning* of community organizations. Helping agencies must not simply mirror the inequalities existing within the society. Instead, they need to become prototypes by demonstrating how they can best promote justice, equity and fairness in providing equitable access to opportunities, structures and services for minorities.

A third related area of change required to make service organizations sensitive, responsive and accountable is in the *education of professionals* and service workers. It is not sufficient to concentrate on cross-cultural training programs within service agencies. Rather, fundamental improvements for access must be made in the core curriculum of educational bodies.

SOCIETAL CHANGES

Lastly, changes are required at the level of the society to improve the overall context for other changes. *Public education* campaigns on cultural issues must be directed to the public, including members of diverse cultural groups. We need to go beyond mere tolerance to respect for cultural differences. And, members of diverse cultures and races must equally learn to be more knowledgeable about rights, to be more assertive, and to advocate for their interests within service systems.

Obviously, there is *no simple panacea* to improve access. The much invoked solution of training is not alone sufficient for the degree of change required to markedly impact on access for disadvantaged consumers. Rather, *a variety of initiatives* that address changes in individual organizations such as information, recruitment and representation, services and programs; in the linkages between organizations; in funding policy and programs; in educational institutions and curricula; in public education, and in other areas.

It is increasingly clear from our data that community service workers are not responsible advocates for change. However, professionals, as social activists, *should* act as a catalyst of demands and programs which enable individuals to become change agents in their own conditions, and that lift "the institutional obstacles of bureaucratization".¹⁶ In constructing and implementing a specific program for an individual agency or educational body, a set of agencies, or a community system, community activists require skills to develop an appropriate mix of roles and strategies.

Warren has identified three basic change strategies to facilitate these roles.¹⁷ Based on different situations where there is consensus, difference or dissension on a proposal for change, he outlines the appropriate strategy as being collaboration, selling or persuasion, and contest. He derived his conceptualization from the seminal work of Bennis, Benne and Chin's delineation of strategies of changing.¹⁸

Collaboration is used where the different parties have common goals or interests, and is based on rational-empirical strategies that emphasize the provision of information, using the results of research, and improving communication to effect change. This is a comfortable set of strategies for most service workers who are taught to emphasize cooperation.

Persuasion is employed when the parties do not yet have consensus ("situations of difference") but where there is still a possibility that agreement can be reached. In these situations, service workers as change agents would have to engage in techniques of persuasion on those who oppose an objective and those who are indifferent. This set of strategies is based on what Bennis calls "normative-reeducative" change that emphasizes changing norms, counselling and educating or reeducating people. It includes the use of prestige figures, advocacy research, consciousness raising, lobbying, and a wide variety of persuasive or selling measures. Most service workers are also comfortable with these kinds of strategies.

Contest strategies are used where there is an assessment that there is no possibility of agreement among the parties, a "situation of dissension". There is irreconcilable opposition to a proposal and that opposition can't be won over; in this case, there is an explicit contest of forces. Bennis' term for this set of strategies is "power-coercive". This includes efforts that violate the usual norms of the community and direct action tactics such as boycotts, strikes, demonstrations, calling attention to situations,

¹⁶ Helga Nowotny, ed., *Thought and Action in Social Policy: Social Concerns for the 1980's* (Vienna: European Centre for Social Welfare Training and Research, 1984) at 187-194.

¹⁷ R.L. Warren, *Social Change and Human Purpose: Toward Understanding and Action* (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1977) at 119-159.

¹⁸ W.G. Bennis, K.D. Benne and R. Chin, eds., *The Planning of Change* (New York: Holt Rinehart and Winston, 1969).

documenting accusations, rallies and vigils. This method incorporates more assertive tactics than persuasion, taking sides, presenting forceful arguments, more assertive types of advocacy and more partisan activity on behalf of the disadvantaged. Service workers tend to be uncomfortable with this set of strategies. Maximum effectiveness, however, is animated by these feelings of discomfort.

Furthermore, Pincus and Minahan use these various conceptualizations to outline three approaches to intervention—education, facilitation and advocacy.¹⁹

The *education approach* covers a cluster of roles such as teacher, expert and consultant, where the objective is to help people and systems acquire information, knowledge and skills. Generally, the educational approach is used in "situations of consensus".

The *facilitation approach* includes roles such as enabler, mediator and broker. The objectives are to stimulate and mediate linkages within and between systems, strengthen the integration of systems and help them to overcome apathy and disintegration, and help systems mobilize internal resources as well as secure external ones. It also aims to help create and build new systems, and activities include eliciting information and opinions, interpreting behaviour, clarifying situations, developing alternative courses of action, recruiting members, and developing networks and organization.

The *advocacy approach* emphasizes the role of advocate on behalf of specific clients or consumer groups and helper for people who want to advocate on their own behalf. The objective is to help an individual or system obtain a needed resource or service or to obtain a policy change or concession from a resistant institution.

CONCLUSION

In general, this study demonstrates both a lack of initiative and a lack of priorities among mainstream agencies in making changes that would promote access for cultural and racial groups. This inertia is attributable to the failure of providers to appreciate the kinds of concrete measures and initiatives that need to be taken to confront barriers. Also, the issue of access is not a pressing priority for most agencies and institutions. But the climate is changing. Pressures from consumers, advocates and funders to adapt to the new multicultural reality will presumably lessen their complacency.

¹⁹ Allen Pincus and Anne Minahan, *Social Work Practice: Model and Method* (Itasca, Illinois: F.E. Peacock Publishers, 1973) at 113.

Improving access for minorities is complex and demanding. There is no simple legal or community response. A variety of initiatives and measures are necessary. This article proposes a comprehensive program of change addressed to the organization, to relations among organizations, at the system level, and at the level of the society.

In order to accomplish these changes in a deliberate and effective way service workers need to recognize and implement a mix of strategies, involving collaboration, persuasion and advocacy.²⁰

²⁰ For further information on the issues raised in this article see: Robert Doyle and Livy Visano, *Access to Health and Social Services for Members of Diverse Cultural and Racial Groups in Metropolitan Toronto: Report 1, "A Time for Action; Report 2, "A Program for Action"* (Toronto: SPC of Metro. Toronto, 1987).