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THE GIVING BUSINESS: MAKING OUT THE SOCIAL SERVICE SCENE
IN MISSOULA MONTANA

By

Loren A. Lutzenhiser

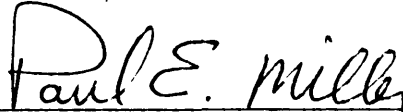
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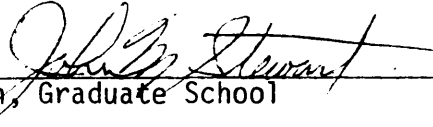
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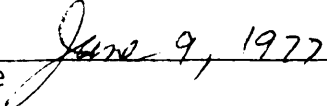
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Sociology

The Giving Business: Making out the Social Service Scene in Missoula, Montana (107 pp.)

Director: Paul Miller *pm*

This study examines the published accounts by social service agencies in Missoula, Montana in terms of who they are, what they do and whom they serve. Proceeding within the context of the sociology of community organization, documentary agency descriptions are examined and a set of four typologies of social service agency organization and operation is derived. Distinctions between social service agencies are drawn on the basis of: 1) type of organization, 2) service focus, 3) level of service and 4) target population.

Following a discussion of the elements of each typology, the Missoula social service "scene" is examined through comparison of agency project distributions along each typologic dimension. An analysis of complex relationships between dimensions is also undertaken through examination of cross-tabulations of paired variable dimensions. The study exposes the relative importance of the private charity agency, planning services as opposed to direct client services, the character of the quasi-public agency and the relative distribution of service foci (food, shelter, medical care, etc.) among study agencies. A discussion of the potentials of modeling social service scenes is included.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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CHAPTER I

Introduction

This study is concerned with a description of the array of social service organizations that have become a common feature of American society. In theoretical terms, it falls within the scope of interest of the sociology of community organization. Methodologically, the research was an inductive exercise designed to produce description through both qualitative and quantitative procedures. The goal of the research was the generation of a conceptual and procedural model for a description of "social service scenes" in a variety of localities.

Since the turn of the century, the nation-state has grown spectacularly as a provider of human/social services. Older charities have found themselves to be mere partners in the "giving business," an enterprise long held to fall within the exclusive domain of the family, the community and the church. The historical accounts of organized giving point to changing social conditions that outstripped the abilities of these institutions to provide for persons' perceived needs. Industrialization, urbanization, colonialism and capitalism are often cited as causes for growing poverty, the diminished importance of the family and the community, alienation and "social disorganization" in modern society. Organized charity has arisen in response to these developments. This charity is presently conducted by churches, private philanthropy and government agencies. Organized giving continues to

supplement, in greater or lesser degree, the mutual-aid and self-help practices of persons and groups in all modern societies. The advent of government on the social service scene has been accompanied by violent social upheaval in some nations. In others, the role of the state is of less consequence.

The question of what "needs" persons in modern society have and who should best serve those needs is not a new one. The classic arguments about the role of society in the lives of persons and the proper character of change in society serve as the philosophical bases of whole disciplines and have taken on the trappings of ideology for groups of all sorts. In psychology, Maslow (1954) created an elaborate "heirarchy of human needs" which serves as both a touchstone for certain schools of thought within that discipline and as an example of wrong thinking for other schools. In sociology, the concept of human/social need has been found by Lindesmith and Strauss (1968) to be so broad and vague as to be of little conceptual utility for that discipline. In social welfare, the concept of need plays a central part, and while the concept here is ill-defined, upon it rests nearly the whole of social work practice.

In popular American usage, the concept of need serves as the focus of routine debate. A central differentiating characteristic between the two major American political parties is the orientation of each towards the question of what persons actually need and who should best provide for those needs. Americans of most political persuasions find the notion of a "welfare state," or one in which the government is primarily responsible for meeting perceived needs, an uncomfortable one.

Since the "New Deal" programs of the Roosevelt administration, this nation has experienced a rapid expansion of the roles of federal, state and local government in the provision of social services. Large government expenditures now support the routine maintenance of millions of American citizens. Billions of dollars are annually allocated by these governments to other sorts of programs, termed "public service" or "community development" efforts, whose goals are to preserve and enhance social goods as opposed to individual needs. Meanwhile, private charities continue to contribute their billions to social services. The goals of all of these programs are to meet needs perceived to exist in the general population and in subclasses thereof, those needs having been determined to be unmet by the machinations of the "free enterprise market."

Given that a number of social institutions are involved in defining and providing for perceived needs of persons and groups in society, one might assume that some sort of order would have evolved in that process. In a pluralistic society, it would seem that some sorts of accommodation between service groups might evolve between and within the public and private sectors about who would serve which persons' needs. In fact, little order can be found. There does not seem to be any general agreement about which needs properly fall within a certain group's bailiwick. The works of Gouldner (1963) and Zald (1966) are representative of a body of literature that suggests that, in fact, the more closely social service agencies' goals correspond, the less likely they are to cooperate in meeting those goals. It is suggested that such agencies will actually use the excuse of coordination of efforts within the context of an unorganized social service scene as justifi-

cation for further expansion and separation of competing program efforts.¹

In an effort to discover some organization of social service efforts that may be the result of action within historical social contexts and not necessarily the result of purposive social service coordination schemes (a distinction made on the basis of the literature cited), an examination of the sociology of community organization proves instructive. The concept of "community organization" is not used in an exclusively sociological sense. That is, we are not solely concerned with discovering some sort of "organization" of communities. The concept has long-standing utility in the field of social welfare as a differentiating principle in describing the work of social welfare practitioners. Friedlander (1968) notes that "community organization" is one of three major divisions of social work practice, the other two being "casework" and "group work." In his discussion of community organization as a sub-discipline of social work, Rothman (1974) notes that over fifty definitions have been advanced for the concept. In general, however, community organization can be said to be that area of social welfare practice concerned with organizations and institutions which provide social services to persons. Practitioners of community organization are concerned with improving, through a variety of means, the services delivered to persons by these institutions.²

¹Alvin Gouldner, "The Secrets of Organizations," Social Welfare Forum (New York: Columbia Press, 1963), p. 165.

²Jack Rothman, "Three Models of Community Organization Practice," in F.M. Cox (ed.), Strategies of Community Organization (Itasca, Ill.: F.E. Peacock, 1974), pp. 20-36.

Zald (1966) outlined the lack of and need for a sociology of community organization. He concluded that such a study would include " . . . a social history of the emergence and growth of the field of practice, an analysis of its ongoing social system and diagnostic categories and criteria for investigating community problems and structure."³ Zald then proposed a number of hypotheses about the relationship of agency structure to propensities towards coordination and cooperation with other agencies.

Subsequently, Rothman (1971) has considered the range of research undertaken in the area of community organization practice. He notes research concerned with client-constituent relations and involvement, bureaucratization, attitudes and values of social service workers, authority distribution patterns, decision-making styles, alienation and morale, client "turn over" rates, referral patterns, professional vs para-professional "outlook," client identification and dollar to program quality ratios in social service agencies. Leaders in this effort include Zald (1963), Aiken and Hage (1966), Swartz (1967), Billingsley (1964), Kurtz (1968) and Sharkansky (1967). Given these efforts, Rothman noted, however, " . . . a striking paucity of research in community organization, a factor that has inhibited the development of this area of professional practice in social work."⁴ He attributes this lack of research to: 1) the marginal position of community organization in the field, 2) a small percentage of all

³Meyer Zald, "Organizations as Politics: An Analysis of Community Organization Agencies," Social Work, XI (1966), p. 56.

⁴Jack Rothman, "Community Organization Practice," in H.S. Maas (ed.), Research in the Social Services: A Five-Year Review (New York: National Association of Social Workers, 1971), p. 102.

social workers engaged in community organization practice, 3) low numbers of students and faculty in social work schools interested in community organization, 4) meager curricula in such schools and 5) an unsophisticated literature in the field.

While many students of community organization are interested in the relationships of social service agencies to one another and in the characteristics of social service agencies vis á vis their clients and constituents, little work has been done in the area of social service "systems" or "scenes." This research chooses to hypothetically disregard the implications of essential order inherent in use of the concept "system" and substitutes the notion of scenes." Clearly, an over-arching ecological study of patterns of social service organization is required to provide some coherence to existing and subsequent studies of social service agencies within the rubric of the sociology of community organization.

The purpose of this research was to begin to unravel the web of agencies, boards, bureaus, departments and charitable causes that constitutes the social service scene. While principles of order have been found inherently operant within particular organizations and between pairs of organizations, the goal of this research was to describe a social service scene in a macroscopic sense. The weltering mosaic of agencies, overlaid by funding sources, working to meet identical, overlapping and conflicting goals, serves to define the level of analysis.

Notes on Method and Perspective

A scarcity of theoretical guidance on the level of analysis selected for this research dictates an inductive methodology. The

research was undertaken as a classical taxonomic exercise. The four phases of this study were: 1) data collection, 2) typology generation, 3) analysis and 4) model development. Each phase is outlined in subsequent chapters.

The setting of the research was Missoula, Montana. Missoula is a small Rocky Mountain city, noted in that region for the number and variety of social service programs offered to its residents. While the Missoula social service scene might vary considerably from those of larger cities and neighboring rural areas, a pre-study survey indicated that nearly all of its government-sponsored programs and many of its private charities have counterparts in most American cities of like size and larger.

Data collection was the initial phase of the research. The data are in documentary form and consist primarily of public accounts of what the organizations are and what they do. Documentary information was selected for this study because organizations are, by definition, impossible to directly interview. Changes in policy and ambiguities in chains of command make interviews with agency officers and employees of uncertain value. These problems can be ameliorated by the researcher only if elaborate pre- and post-interview studies are undertaken as well. Organizations may, however, be readily "interviewed" through analysis of documentary statements made by these bodies about themselves.

Since public statements by social service agencies often accompany solicitations of support, financial and otherwise, they may not credibly convey what the agency actually does. Such statements do convey what the agency purports to do (i.e., what the agency's goals

are). Perrow (1970) has examined the problem of goals in the study of complex organizations. He has isolated five levels of goals. We assume that all agencies studied share a common "output goal" (social service). The study examines their various "product goals." This then was a central focus of the research-social service agencies' goals. The questions of whether or not these goals are realistic or if they are actually being met are routinely addressed by students of program effectiveness and are not addressed here.

Gouldner (1963) noted that, "The fact is that welfare agencies do not respond randomly to any and all needs within the community. Agencies and their staffs select, out of the welter of possible needs, several to which they commit themselves, and they give these specific and conceptualized formulations which provide directions for agency programs . . . "⁵ In Missoula, social service agencies have been regularly given the opportunity to publish the needs that they have "selected out" and publicly present some of their individual "specific and conceptualized formulations" which direct their efforts to meet those needs. The University of Montana Social Work Department has published these accounts in its Health and Welfare Resource Guide, Missoula, Montana (Arkava et. al., 1975).⁶ While this listing is not exhaustive, it is extensive and each program included has itself provided the published description of what it does. Agencies not included in this directory have been located through other directories, government publications and with the assistance of local social service workers known

⁵Gouldner, "The Secrets of Organizations," p. 170.

⁶Morton Arkava, et. al., Health and Welfare Resource Guide, Missoula, Montana (Missoula, Montana: University of Montana, 1975).

to be experts at "resource referral," a skill in some local demand because of the large number of special purpose "helping agencies."

Typology generation constitutes the second phase of the study. In this phase the data were examined for similarities and differences between agencies. As differences emerged in this examination, four ranges of "types" of organizations and services were discovered. Glaser and Strauss (1967) discussed the generation of descriptive theory from documentary materials, the object of this study, in The Discovery of Grounded Theory: Strategies for Qualitative Research.⁷

The four dimensions of agency services discovered all possess a common sense potency in comparing agencies. They are: 1) type of organization, 2) focus of service, 3) level of service and 4) target population. Type of organization is taken to mean distinction on the basis of differences in sources of funding and formal auspices of program sponsorship. Who is providing the service? Focus of service is based on differences in "needs" addressed by social service agencies. What is the range of needs perceived to require action by social service agencies? Level of service is the proximity of the service offered to the person "in need." Preliminary analysis indicates that all agencies do not provide direct services to clients. Some may be termed "line agencies" as opposed to "staff agencies" much as complex organizations may possess both the line and staff functions examined by Dalton (1950). (Some agencies rarely, if ever, come in direct contact with persons in need but are totally concerned with social services

⁷Barney Glaser and Anslem Strauss, The Discovery of Grounded Theory (Chicago: Aldine, 1967).

delivered by other agencies.) The question on the level of service dimension is: How are services provided? Target population is a useful social welfare concept, examined in detail by Zald (1966). On this dimension distinctions are drawn between groups receiving services. Who is being served? Through examination of actual agency cases, the most parsimonious typologies sensitive to distinctions inherently drawn between agencies have been generated along the four dimensions outlined.

Analysis of the Missoula social service scene follows the generation of typologies. In this phase an effort has been made to determine the relative magnitude of each class along each dimension. Each agency was assigned its appropriate place on each dimension: type, focus, level of service and target population. In the case of multifunctional agencies, each unique focus/level/target combination was termed a "project" and treated independently. In this way an agency may be said to engage in a single project or dozens, depending on its focus/level/target orientations. One-way frequency distributions were compiled for each class along each variable dimension. The counts are of projects, then, and are not counts of agencies.

An effort has been made to discover any existing correlation between elements of different dimensions. Cross-tabulations of paired variables were examined for evidence of the association of elements of one with elements of the other. Where associations were found to exist, conclusions have been drawn about who purports to do what for whom and how that activity has been structured.

Model development constituted the final phase of this study. When the study was undertaken it was hoped that, following the analysis, sufficient patterning in social services would be found to exist to

suggest applicability of those findings beyond Missoula. While the potency of inductively generated theory does not rest on large samples, it is as susceptible to test as is any other sort. If the typologies generated in this study can stand empirical application to other communities and the rigors of logic, they may be of some utility in broadly outlining social service scenes. If they are sensitive enough to expose differences between communities, they may serve as the basis for a comparative procedure. If a pattern of association between typology elements emerges, that pattern might be compared with others discovered elsewhere and those patterns used as dependent variables to discover why differences may exist between service patterns in different locales. It was found that while the study's methods and findings may be applicable outside of Missoula, a variety of concepts not employed here must be explored before an adequate procedure for modeling social service scenes can be developed.

CHAPTER II

Notes on the Setting

In 1970, Missoula County's population stood at nearly 50,000. The City of Missoula claimed roughly three-fifths of those persons, most of the remainder living in the urban fringe. The area's economy is oriented toward timber and wood products manufacture, retail trade for surrounding communities and some tourism. Inputs of federal dollars and state support for the University of Montana heavily impact the economy. The federal government alone spent fifty million dollars (\$1,000 for each man, woman and child) in Missoula County in fiscal year 1975.⁸

Missoula boasts one of the highest physician-to-population ratios in the nation at one physician per 520 persons, a median family income of \$10,200 per annum and a somewhat less than average sized poverty population (fourteen percent of all persons). Its crime rates are not notable, yet it literally teems with social service agencies.

Until recently, little local effort has been made to examine the Missoula social service scene. Early in 1967 a "Social Services Resource Guide" was compiled by the staff of Missoula-Mineral Human Resources, the local Community Action Agency. That guide was intended for use by agency professionals in their referral work with low-income clients. The guide became dated, was not revised and fell into disuse.

⁸Office of Economic Opportunity, Summary of Federal Outlays: Montana (1975).

Since that time, a few local agencies have compiled abbreviated "resource directories" for use by their staffs and clients.

In 1972, faculty and students of the University of Montana Social Work Department began to compile and publish the Health and Welfare Resource Directory. As noted above, this document serves as a basic data source for this research. The "Resource Guide" is in common local use and has been imitated by surrounding communities.

Other notable attempts to make sense out of the social service scene include the Missoula Youth Coalition, the District Eleven Human Resources Council and the Five Valleys Council of Governments. The Missoula Youth Coalition was organized in the summer of 1973. Its membership was composed of representatives of agencies whose programs were oriented toward the perceived needs of young people. Agency representatives attempted to catalog all local youth programs, correlate staff needs, coordinate schedules and enhance their programs' collective public image. A now dated study of "youth-serving programs'" budgets, activities and staff levels was conducted for the Coalition by University researchers in the summer of 1974. By the spring of 1975, the Coalition had effectively disbanded. At the time of this study, efforts are underway by state and local agency representatives to resurrect the Coalition.

In the spring of 1974, the State of Montana assumed control of most former Community Action Agencies (CAA) in Montana. These programs were created in 1964 by the Economic Opportunity Act and were the core of President Lyndon Johnson's "War on Poverty." The State of Montana undertook an extensive reorganization of the former CAAs. Its first act was to create a series of Human Resource Develop-

ment Councils (HRDCs) to cover the state. Unlike the CAAs which had been centered in urban areas, the HRDCs were organized to operate within the confines of multi-county regions created by then governor Anderson. Montana is divided into twelve sub-state regions which are called "planning districts," designated as uniform geographical areas for state planning and development purposes.

Missoula is one of three counties assigned to Planning District Eleven, the other two counties being the rural satellites, Ravalli and Mineral. An agency called the District Eleven Human Resource Council was organized as the HRDC in this region in mid-1974. It was charged by the state to undertake a preliminary planning analysis of the "human resource situation" in District Eleven. That analysis of a variety of documentary materials, citizen comments and interviews with local officials and agency representatives was culminated by a research report and one-year plan issued in November, 1974. The report is concerned with a statement of existing conditions in the district vis á vis the economy, education, health, poverty, housing, demographics and social welfare. For each area explored, a component discussion on social service agencies concerned with that area was included. That document has become dated as well.

In the fall of 1975, the Five Valleys Council of Governments (FVCOG) was organized. This group is composed of county and city officials in the three counties. Designed as a tool for communication between member governments, the FVCOG is also undertaking an extensive planning process. The product of that process will be a comprehensive district development plan. This plan will be used as a guide for program evaluation by the Council. In recognizing the FVCOG, the governor

delegated to its powers of review over state programs within the district, state assisted (funded) programs operated by local contractors and a number of federally assisted program contracts with local groups.

The FVCOG is empowered to review and impact a wide range of publicly sponsored social service programs. It is hoped that the product of the research undertaken here might be of some utility to such local bodies in their efforts to make out and affect local social services.

CHAPTER III

Data Collection and Typology Development

Data Collection

Published accounts of social service agencies' structure, goals, operations and client orientation were assembled. The Health and Welfare Resource Guide was a primary reference. Interviews with resource specialists working in local social service agencies provided additional agency references. State and local government directories and descriptive materials were examined along with city and telephone directories. Other literature on program operations was collected whenever possible.

While every effort was made to assure location and description of all Missoula social service agencies, a very few agencies may have been overlooked in the process. Because our purpose was to generate descriptive categories of social services and then to examine gross proportions along those dimensions, a small number of excluded agencies should not affect the study's outcome.

The accumulated materials were examined for similarities in organizational form, service focus, level of service and target population. The results of that are outlined below in a discussion of the typologies generated from the study data.

Each agency's operations were again examined, this time in light of the various typology categories. A coding scheme was developed that

assigned nominal values to each category. Agencies were then coded in terms of their characteristics on each variable dimension. These new data were entered in a punch card format and machine processed to obtain distributions of agency projects on each variable dimension and cross-tabulation of project distributions between paired variables. The results of this process are examined below in a discussion of data analysis.

Coding errors in this process are possible. When questions arose about appropriate codes for particular programs, the most conservative code combinations were adopted, making the smallest number of assumptions about agency goals and operations. Controls were instituted at every step in the coding process to assure an accurate job of transposing data from one form to another.

Typology Development

In undertaking to explain a situation, one applies some set of categories to that situation. A theory of the organization of a library, for example, relies upon the possession of a number of pre-established concepts or categories of apprehension. In this study of social service agencies, it is necessary to determine the means by which some agencies might be distinguished from others.

Since the information is in documentary form and does not consist of tape recordings or observations of behavior, we recognize that we are dealing with secondary representations from which we intend to derive tertiary re-presentations. The source data are, by and large, the product of the objects of our study. We are dealing then with information in a form much akin to the data of scholars of ancient literature. With that notion in mind, let us explore the analogy of a study of a library.

If we were to come naively upon a large collection of books, presupposing in our innocence a grasp of the language but no knowledge of existing library classification schemes, we might wish to arrange these books in some way. Reference to one or another would be considerably easier if we knew where to find particular books. We would certainly first examine the outsides of the books and begin to notice similarities and differences between them. We might hit upon an arrangement based on color, size or texture.

If we examine the pages of the works in question, we may be better able to order our data. We may discover that the type employed is large in some and quite small in others; some may be illustrated or the letters of some may be deftly illuminated. Again we can devise classification schemes based upon these characteristics.

To this point, however, we know nothing about what the books "say" to us. We may want to know what features of the actual contents of these books might guide us in differentiating between them. Here our example approaches the problem of our social service agency research. Given that our library is broadly representative of the works of a language group, say English, we will encounter in our reading a vast array of topics and styles. It will undoubtedly be unsuitable to arrange the Fall of Rome, Caring for Your Cat, The Social System, The Religious Significance of Solar Eclipses to Primitive People and Magic Made Easy next to one another if the total number of volumes is very large. We must discover from the content of the works what features of the stories allow us to most readily differentiate one work from another.

We read the works with an eye toward creating a classification scheme that will allow differentiation. We might proceed on the basis

of purely personal criteria separating works with devils apart from books which often mention saints.

That arrangement would be reflective of our own, perhaps quite unique, method of ordering the world. If we allowed the books to "classify themselves," however, a more valid arrangement might be achieved. Books tend to explicitly notify the reader of the author's intentions. Certain ambiguities are evidenced, of course; some texts tend to defy classification. These works are probably among the greatest art of humankind. That issue aside, however, books tend to tell us they are about people who lived or people who might have lived, mechanical inventions, geologic phenomena, the solution of mysteries, the entertainment of children, discoveries on esoteric topics, or whatever.

The features by which books might be differentiated may be discovered through careful reading, recording observations, sifting through notes, compilation of initial categories, returning with these categories to the source and modifying the categories on the basis of further observation. The key criteria by which the validity of those categories may be determined are trust and replicability. The critic must trust that the researcher's thought is representative of his own (the critic's) temporal and tribal norms. The study must be replicable by the critic in order to test the conclusions drawn by the first observers.

How does our example relate to a study of social service agencies? First, we have noted that our basic data are primarily accounts by social service agencies about who they are and what they do. These may be treated like the books in our example. We are not interested in their type faces or trappings but in the contents of their accounts.

Most study agencies have labeled themselves by agreeing to inclusion in the "Health and Welfare Resource Guide." The others have been labeled by competent workers in the field. Unlike the books, however, they have not simply labeled themselves and then strongly hinted in their contents at their nature. The agencies that have been studied have, by and large, made public declaration of how they wish to be classified (e.g., Agency X is a public agency which provides snowshoes to persons who have newly immigrated from Florida, Texas and Louisiana).

It has been the object of this study to discover whatever social organization that may exist in the social service scheme in one community. Rather than studying persons, we have selected organizations as the appropriate level of analysis. The accounts by these organizations of their activities have been compiled and studied for features that might allow differentiation between agencies. Four primary differentiating dimensions have been isolated. It has been found that agencies distinguish themselves from others and ask other agencies and the public to do the same on the basis of: 1) who they are (under the particular formal auspices that they are organized, 2) what human needs they address, 3) how they go about addressing those needs and 4) who they serve. Along each of these dimensions a number of categories of identification has been isolated.

More formal labels for these dimensions have been assigned. "Who the agency is" has been termed Type of Organization. (The term "form" is also used to simplify some presentations.) "What needs are addressed" has been termed Social Focus. "How the needs are addressed" has been termed Service Level. "Who is served" has been termed Target Population. A typology of each has been derived.

This research is indebted to several earlier theorists in the area of typologies of complex organizations. Perrow (1970), in pointing out the utility of the "goal" concept, differentiates between five orders of goals. This study employs Perrow's notion of "product goals" (i.e., differences between the characteristics of the goods and services produced). Blau and Scott (1962), after reviewing the predominant organizational typologies of the day, devise a scheme of organization forms on the basis of qui bono (the prime beneficiary). Their four-element typology provided the basis for the logical exclusion from the study of two types of organization, namely, "mutual benefit associations" and "business concerns." The study is concerned with sub-classes of "service organizations" (client as beneficiary) and "commonweal organizations" (public-at-large as prime beneficiary). The potential utility of this distinction becomes apparent upon examination of target population data.

Typology I - Type of Organization (Form)

As noted above, the interventions of government in force on the turf of earlier charities were not occasions that passed quietly. A prime distinction between social service agencies is, then, between the public and the private. Within the context of the private sector, two sorts of organizations and a variety of informal practices may be distinguished.

Informal mutual-aid social service networks have been found to exist in a number of communities by Burns (1969). Interviews with social professionals in Missoula indicated that similar practices are commonly found in parts of that city. Further research in social service self-help would undoubtedly be fruitful, especially if focused on

class-based differences in styles. This effort has not been undertaken here, the study focus being publicly organized social service agencies.

In terms of private agencies, those which are incorporated as non-profit entities are of concern to this research. The other sort, the organization constituted for-profit, while quite prevalent and a primary source of human service, will not concern this research. We are interested solely in the "non-market" aspects of service delivery. These forms have evolved presumably because of perceptions that either the market had failed to provide adequate services or that it was not the appropriate sole provider. In the private sector we are interested in the private not-for-profit agency.

In the public sector three distinct forms of organization have been identified. These are the federal agency, the state agency and the agency of local government. Within each of these forms, agencies accountable to the legislative or executive may be found, as well as those which act as extensions of semi-autonomous boards and administrations. Distinctions between agencies within each of these three categories are discussed below.

A final form of organization has been isolated. This type of agency fits completely in neither the public nor the private sectors. Its discovery is a major finding in this research and is, consequently, discussed in some detail. It has been termed the quasi-public agency. The criteria employed to differentiate between agency forms are: 1) source of funding and 2) source of authority. A schematic representation of component forms assumed by agencies studied may be found in Figure 1.

FIGURE 1

TYPOLGY I

TYPE OF ORGANIZATION (FORM)

PUBLIC SECTOR

FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

STATE GOVERNMENT

LOCAL GOVERNMENT

PRIVATE SECTOR

QUASI-PUBLIC

NON-PROFIT AGENCY

BUSINESS

INFORMAL MUTUAL-AID PRACTICES

The federal agency

Recent decades have witnessed an explosive growth in federal government. Budgets have increased to over \$350 billion per year.⁹ Taxes to support these budgets have increased as have both the size of the bureaucracy and the range of services available. Since the "New Deal" the federal government has become increasingly involved in social program efforts. This involvement has taken the forms of: 1) federally operated programs that provide both dollars and services to categories of Americans, 2) direct federal cash payments and tax breaks to particular classes of citizens (transfer payments), 3) categorical grants (to support prescribed activities) to state governments, local governments and private agencies and 4) direct cash grants to states and local governments (revenue sharing) to support a range of programs, including social services devised by the recipients of those grants. Only the first form, direct federal programs, falls within the federal agency category in our scheme. Many federal programs benefiting Missoulians (e.g., military pensions) are, of necessity, not considered here. Both categorical grants and revenue sharing grants to the state and local governments by federal agencies help to support a large number of the programs found in all other categories. While our purpose here is not to measure the magnitude of impact that any sort of agency might have on others, it may be noted that federal program dollars are largely responsible for the maintenance of state, local and quasi-public social service programs. They also impact, in no small way, many private not-for-profit agencies.

⁹National League of Cities and the United States Conference of Mayors, *The federal Budget and the Cities*, 4th Edition (1975).

Seven federal agencies were identified as social-service related, while several others with purely environmental concerns are headquartered in Missoula. No fewer than seven direct chains-of-command stretch from either Washington, D.C., Denver, Colorado or Butte, Montana into Missoula. None of these agencies is responsible to local committees or other local groups. All, however, operate according to administrative regulations that are open to national citizen review. All operate under constitutional and/or congressional mandate. An additional office, not strictly a social service agency, deserves mention. That is the Missoula office of the Western District Representative to Congress. That office often serves as a liason between local persons and groups and federal agencies located in Missoula and/or Washington, D.C.

The state agency

Of a number of agencies of the State of Montana, the University of Montana is certainly the largest purveyor of social services. Although most services are student-directed (enrollment stood at over 8,000 in 1975), many are available to the surrounding area. The University is organized as a relatively self-sufficient community, and with its surrounding neighborhoods might itself be classed among the largest cities in the state.

State government is divided into nineteen departments. Of these, twelve may be considered social service related. In Missoula eleven departments operate local programs. Since these departments are further divided, a single department may operate a number of local programs. In the case of one department, no fewer than seven local branches account directly to the state capital in Helena for their activities.

As in the case of the federal agency, the state agency is often responsible to no local committees.

All state programs are constitutionally, legislatively or executive-ly mandated. All abide by public regulations, published in the Montana Administrative Code which are subject to citizen review. All nineteen departments are not directly accountable to the governor or the legislature however. Many are governed by citizen boards whose members are appointed by the Executive. Those boards (e.g., the Board of Regents of the University System) virtually hold sovereign sway over their agencies and budgets. Some departments are controlled by elected officials (e.g., the Attorney General, Department of Justice or the Superintendent of Public Education, Department of Education) whose policies may not be compatible with those of the Chief Executive.

As noted above, many state social service programs are funded with federal dollars. The portions that are not are funded by state monies collected through income and license taxes, taxes on extracted resources and income from state holdings. Some classes of revenue have been ear-marked for particular purposes (i.e., state land lease income to education). In addition, state funds are often used with federal support to match local dollars in local government and private non-profit programs.

The local government agency

In the Missoula urban area three sorts of local government agencies are engaged in social service delivery. These are: the County of Missoula, the City of Missoula and a variety of semi-autonomous local government boards and commissions. Roughly three-fifths of the urban

population live in the city of Missoula. The vast majority of the remainder live within ten miles of the city limits. At almost every point on that boundary an unincorporated urbanized area extends outward from the city. The jurisdiction of the city is within its limits (or in some cases, four miles outside of those limits), the county's includes the city and the boards' and the commissions' responsibilities overlap the boundaries of the city and those of other boards and commissions.

The County of Missoula operates a range of programs funded by county revenues, state and federal grants. The county also participates in a regional improvement project funded by tax dollars and foundation match. Local revenues are raised through levies on real property and earmarked shares of fees and taxes collected by the state. Several county programs are cooperatively funded by the county, state and federal governments. Some joint programs are conducted with the city of Missoula.

Outside of the county's social welfare and public health departments, both long established, the CETA manpower program is perhaps the most significant county social service project. Only Missoula and Cascade counties in Montana have assumed control of the emergency job opportunities authorized by Titles I and VI of the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA). This Act of Congress combined a number of existing manpower and employment training projects of the federal Department of Labor (DOL). The combined program budgets were then allocated to state governments and SMSA (Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas--population in excess of 50,000) to program for local needs. This reprogramming was designed to take place within relatively broad

federal guidelines. In Montana, CETA funds are controlled by the Governor's Employment and Training Council.

The CETA regulations allowed counties the size of Missoula to assume control of the emergency jobs and programs funded under the act. Because of high (by federal definition) unemployment in the county, the local jobs program has received substantial funding since 1974. The jobs program is designed to create employment in government and private non-profit agencies through funding new job slots. The county CETA program has been responsible for dramatically increasing the amount of full-time paid manpower available to social service agencies in both the public and private sectors.

Missoula County is governed by a three member board of commissioners who are paid moderate salaries and are elected for staggered six-year terms. That board is charged with overall administrative responsibility for county affairs. It also possesses limited legislative and regulatory powers. As is the case with the chief executive of the state, county government in Missoula is divided into statutory bailiwicks, administered by local elected officials outside of the control of the board of commissioners. Human service offices controlled by these officials include those of the Superintendent of Schools and the Sheriff.

The City of Missoula, as noted above, shares responsibility for some programs with the county. These include public library, comprehensive planning and public health services. A variety of other social service programs are operated exclusively by the city. The city also participates in the regional emergency services program.

City funds are collected by the County from taxes on real property within the city, fines, fees and grants. Lately the city has been hesitant to participate in federally sponsored programs. Only the City of Missoula, of all local governments in Missoula, Mineral and Ravalli counties, chose not to join the Five Valleys Council of Governments. An often cited reason for this decision is fear of loss of sovereignty by the city. Of all local government sponsored social service projects examined, the city was found to operate the most limited and specific projects. The broadly defined, heavily funded general welfare programs are not sponsored by the city.

The governing body of the city is an elected, twelve member council chaired by a mayor. Council members are paid only "pocket money" salaries and are not expected to be full-time. The mayor is paid a modest full-time salary but is vested with only limited powers. His decisions are subject to council veto. Skirmishes with county government are commonplace for the city. It must be remembered that the county commission controls CETA slots. The city has become heavily dependent upon this free labor.

The exigencies of funding and control of all city and county programs were recently a topic of study by two groups that deserve mention. These groups were the Missoula City Government Study Commission and the Missoula County Government Study Commission. Both were created by the new Montana Constitution. That document provided that each unit of local government will formally review its organization at least every ten years. In Missoula, the two local commissions met jointly for over six months. Until rifts began to emerge in that joint body in December, 1975, it was proposed that a joint city-county government

be given to the voters in late 1976. While that proposal seemed to be widely supported, a lack of concensus on the make-up of such a government and tactics for presentation to the electorate clouded the issue. In mid-1976 the proposal was defeated at the polls.

The final group of agencies found within the local government category are special purpose boards that have been established by state law. These boards operate within the geographic confines of "special districts," that may overlap city boundries within the county. Their funding may come from tax levies collected by the county, state earmarked monies and/or federal grants. Special-purpose boards are virtually sovereign and accountable only to state law rather than any other local bodies. Their significance should not be under-estimated. The Missoula schools, elementary and secondary, are controlled by special boards with multi-million dollar budgets. Members of these boards are elected by residents of their respective special districts. These members are not full-time but maintain large full-time staffs.

The private non-profit agency

The organization of charity groups and private associations to meet some social ends of the members of those groups marks a departure from the values of self-sufficiency and federal responsibility. Charity is, of course, a biblical tenet with the force of church law behind it. "Man's love of God and his neighbor, commanded as the fulfilling of the Law." (Matt. XXii). Organization of formal charitable agencies, apart from the informal giving of individuals and the parish church, indicates the rise of a perception that changing conditions had tested these earlier practices and found them wanting. In America and Missoula these organizations have grown into a formidable array. Their

causes are manifold, their volunteer resources extensive and their individual autonomy unquestioned.

Some non-profit agencies are sponsored by churches or club-related groups. Others are the instruments of secular groups whose definitions of charity are not necessarily biblical. Non church-related non-profit agencies must be formally incorporated by the State of Montana if they intend to solicit and expend money. Formal associations that do not intend to expend money in their operations need not be formally incorporated. Many of these groups do maintain small budgets however.

Non-profit agencies receive their funds from donations or gifts from individuals, from other groups, dues from members, fees for service, and grants from state and federal agencies. Before examining these sources in detail, it may be important to note some provisions of state and federal tax law that relate to non-profit corporations.

Although many persons and groups might contribute to charity even if there were no tax advantage (and in fact there is none to persons with average incomes), the benefits of certain tax rules to non-profit agencies are unquestionable. Within reasonably broad limits, contributions to certified charities have been exempted from federal and state income taxes. Within certain tax brackets, such contributions are made quite painless since the dollar contributed to charity might otherwise be claimed by government. In exchange for these incentives by government to give to charity, the charitable agencies must register with the state and federal governments and certify that they will undertake only exempt activities (i.e., promotion of health, welfare, educational and/or scientific ends).

Individual gifts are solicited on the basis of moral imperatives and tax advantage. Some agencies solicit only from their membership, others from the general public. The public solicitation may take the form of individual contract, spontaneous media appeals or full blown fund drives with organized media campaigns, personal contact and door-to door canvasses.

Support of non-profit agencies is often in group form. Some combination of groups may form a charity agency to undertake programs that the parent group(s) cannot adequately support on their own. The membership of these groups are then called upon periodically to contribute to the joint effort. In other cases a charity will find it to its advantage to contact congregations, clubs, firms and other groups to support either its general program or a special project to be added to its list of activities.

Although the question of magnitude of support for non-profit agencies is not considered in this research, it is an important issue. We cannot claim that either the individual or the established group are great givers. Group contributions tend to originate with the individual. However, a particular class of contributing groups demands greater attention than do those who may undertake a worthy charitable project as a side line. That class is the giving agency.

A number of national, state and local agencies have been organized for the specific purpose of giving money to other agencies. Much of this money is earmarked for social service programs. The tax provisions noted above, as well as public relations concerns, have prompted businesses and families to create foundations to give away money that might otherwise be taken by the government. These enterprises have

seen fit to set their own criteria for social service spending rather than leave that task up to the representatives of the body politic. The most famous "old money" foundations include Rockefeller, Carnegie and Ford. Literally thousands of these foundations routinely give away millions of dollars to charity. There are international, national, state and locally-based charitable foundations which may serve as a funding source for local charity agencies. So compelling is the line of "foundation support" that "grantsmen" who can deliver that support to an agency are paid premium salaries and fees. Several such foundations operate in Missoula and Montana.

A second type of giving agency is the "United Fund," "United Way," or "Community Chest." These agencies have been organized to solicit local contributions from individuals and firms for distribution to local charities. The logic of these agencies is that persons may avoid undue harrassment by solicitors and the mistake of giving to bogus charities by simply contributing to one "community pot." Missoula has one such organization governed primarily by business and professional persons.

Non-profit agencies may be funded totally, or in part, by membership dues and fees for service. In the first case, members of the organization periodically pay for the privilege of membership. In some cases dues are small while in others they may be considerable (as in class-based benevolent societies and orders requiring tithing). Fees may be charged to clients for the services of the agency. Provision for "ability to pay" is often made.

Finally, private charity may be supported by public funds. A large number of grants are available from state and federal agencies to

private non-profit corporations. Such grants are made through explicit contracts for service. A number of Missoula agencies are supported in part by public grants as noted above. The county-administered CETA jobs program has been responsible for increases in a paid staff available to private programs.

No discussion of finances of private social service is complete without noting the role of the volunteer worker in these programs. Charities seem to have the ability to cause large numbers of persons to give their time. In some cases this time is quite valuable when figured in market terms. A volunteer attorney may contribute the equivalent of \$50 per hour to his favorite cause. Less dramatic examples abound. The afternoon work of a volunteer housewife might require the expenditure of several hundred dollars a month to replace. Persons and groups also regularly contribute office space, transportation, equipment and other articles and services whose "in-kind" value is considerable.

In terms of authority and control in non-profit agencies, again a range of possibilities presents itself. Control may be by local, regional, state, national or international body. Most agencies are governed by boards of directors selected either by themselves or by some membership. An administrator may be in the employ of that board or some member of the board (often the chairperson) will act in that capacity. Depending on size, the agency may or may not employ additional paid staff.

The quasi-public agency

The conduct of social research often demands that the "obvious" be restated. The researcher who describes, if he/she is properly con-

ducting his/her studies, will tend to disassemble in order to then re-assemble facts of social life that are common knowledge. All that has been done to this point is in that vein. What has been said about agencies is only that which they know and say about themselves. This is not necessarily so in the case of the quasi-public agency. Its isolation as a new phenomenon warrants the serious attention of students of public policy, social welfare and complex organizations.

The quasi-public agency is relatively new in the social service scene. It defies classification in a simple public-private dicotomy since it shares characteristics of both and serves as a link between the two sectors. As will be discussed below, it is found in small numbers in Missoula and because of its legal status, we may infer elsewhere.

This type of organization can be said to be "public" because it has a statutory mandate and is largely supported by government funds. It is an animal of Congress, federal regulations and the national budget. It has often been labeled "private" because it is incorporated as a non-profit organization governed by a local board of directors.

All quasi-public agencies in Missoula originated in the late 60's. Some are related to the "War on Poverty." All are children of the 1960's wave of social consciousness that first swept the nation's ghettos and campuses and finally its homes and corporate board rooms. While Michael Harrington's (1962) publication of The Other America and Gabriel Kolko's (1962) Wealth and Power in America were certainly representative only of a single aspect of a growing awareness of social conditions in America, those works are often cited as the beginning of the revolution of the 1960's. More than twenty percent of the nation's

citizens were found to be poor (i.e., living under conditions that the average American found unacceptable). The growing opinion that a nation that could afford the highest standard of living in the world, massive foreign expenditures and a costly Asian war could afford to eradicate poverty at home stimulated federal action. "The War on Poverty" was born in 1964. As it progressed, related social conditions requiring federal action were discovered (i.e., problems of the aged, the handicapped, the mentally ill, etc.). Similar programs to address these problems were devised.

These problems were thought to necessitate federal action because of their universality and the failure of states, local governments and charity to deal with them. The problem was to devise a means of addressing them. There was a strong sentiment against the creation of new federal bureaucracies with outposts in every American community staffed by hoards of bureaucrats. The federal government could always contract for programs with local groups, a practice with a history stretching back to the revolution. State and local governments were seen as ineffective, having failed to solve the problems on their own, as were the charities. Private enterprise seemed similarly culpable. The solution to this dilemma was to create by law a set of new contractors.

The problem at this point seemed to be to find someone who was neither poor nor involved with business, state or local government or private charity. Since few cases can be found in a conceptually null set, the new contractors would have to be a balance of existing groups. Local government and private organizations, both non-profit and private, would be joined in the new groups but with an unheard of partner--the client. A key tenet of the "power to the people" 1960's was that per-

sons with problems should be intimately involved in the solution of those problems. In the "War on Poverty" programs this partnership was equal--one-third, one-third, one-third. In other programs of the era it was balanced otherwise and was variously structured in terms of policy-making, administrative and advisory roles.

Communities had the option of either forming such agencies and lining up for substantial federal support or of refusing to organize the quasi-public agency and receiving nothing. In Montana the largest cities tended to organize these groups, while the rural areas shunned them either because they failed to perceive local problems, did not know about the federal action or were not large enough to receive funds anyway.

In Missoula, the quasi-public agency is funded on a "formula" basis. The bulk of the budget is made up of grant monies while the remainder is "in-kind" (e.g., volunteer time, office space, equipment, donations, etc.) to demonstrate community support for the agency's program. In nearly all cases funds are supplied by a department of state government. The funds are federal in origin, however, and the state serves as an intermediary supervisory agency, or "pass through," in the jargon. Funding is on a contract-for-service basis. It is usually tied to some sort of work plan with associated performance standards.

All Missoula quasi-public programs are regional in character, covering either three or seven counties. All are controlled by boards of directors. All use Missoula as regional headquarters. While public, private and client representation on these boards is nearly universal, the balance of those sectors varies considerably from program to program.

Because of these agencies' regional character, one of several governing configurations may be employed. There may be a single board made up of representatives of groups in each county. County meetings may be held annually to designate representatives. There may be county boards that meet regularly and select representatives to a central board. Finally, the central board may have local advisory committees that do not influence its makeup but do review its policy.

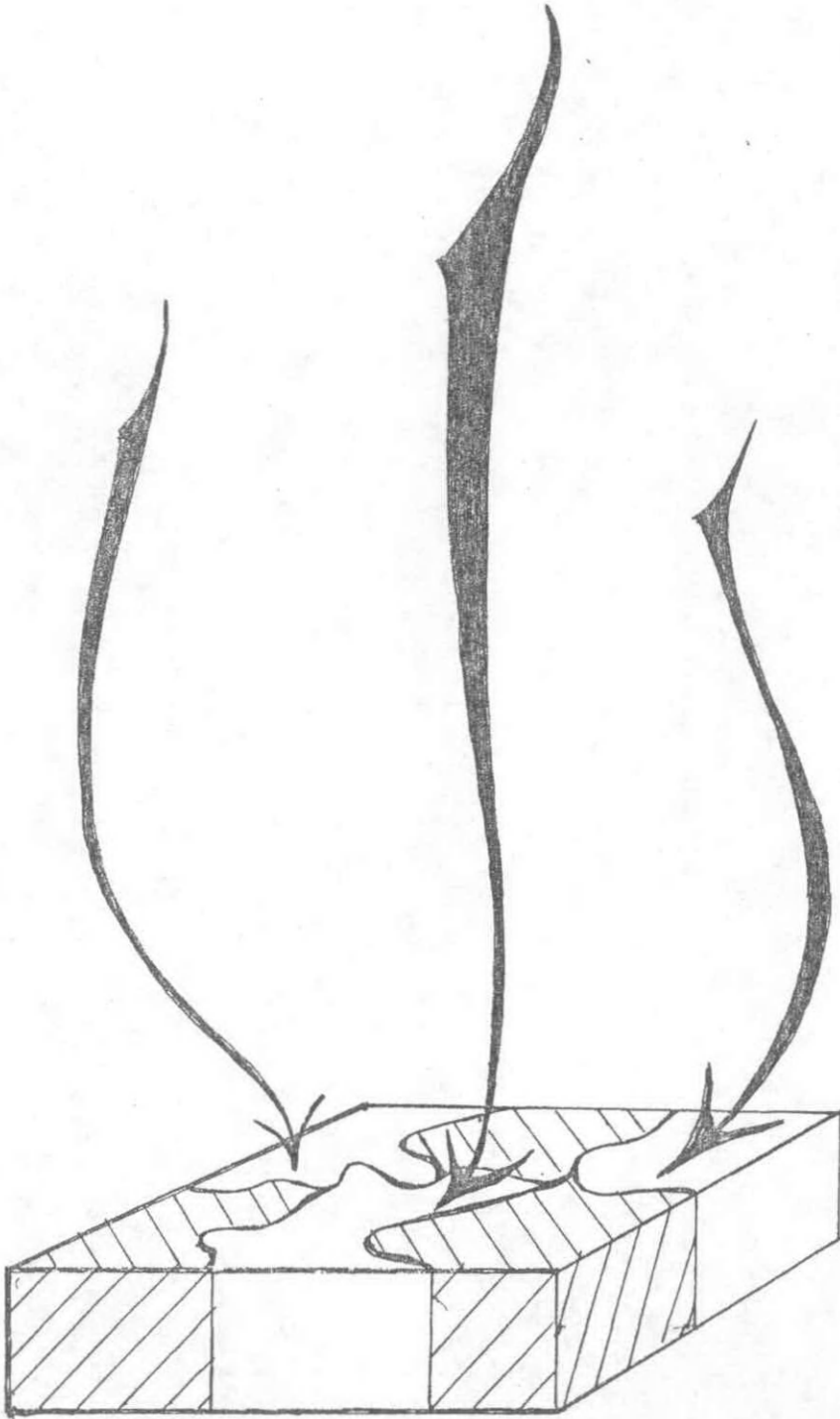
The balance of public and private sectors and the client population is accomplished in a variety of ways. Board balance may be firmly established or it may vary year to year based upon interest. The public sector may control one level (i.e., policy), the private another (i.e., advisory). The client sector may be in total control of some level of another agency. The key notion here is that regardless of relative strength, all sectors are somehow represented in the activities of the organization.

Typology II - Service Focus

The focus of a service offered is roughly equivalent to the notion of need. Services are not randomly designed and directed but are focused on particular social conditions. The conditions are seen by social service agencies as somehow lacking in some critical element or other. Services are designed, therefore, to address particular perceived needs. The needs that are perceived to exist within persons and groups in the community define the foci of social services (see Figure 2). Later we will see that by measuring a community's commitment to programs focused at particular needs, we may gain some insight into how that community has implicitly drawn up a set of unplanned service priorities.

FIGURE 2

FOCUSES OF SERVICE SELECTED OUT OF ALL POSSIBLE NEEDS



The ten-element typology of service focus has been developed from the Missoula data. The data could be described by a larger number of categories. To construct a much larger typology would be to court unwieldiness, however. The largest (and therefore most specific) number of categories is the sum of all agency descriptions. The smallest number (and therefore the most general class) is the single category: social service agencies. The data seem to indicate that no fewer than ten categories can summarize the foci of agency services without submerging critical differences. A larger number runs the risk of trivializing those same distinctions.

The categories of service focus are: 1) food, 2) clothing, 3) shelter, 4) medical care, 5) child care and education, 6) transportation, 7) employment and finance, 8) protection and regulation, 9) mental health and 10) art, culture and recreation. While no claim is made that these elements constitute a hierarchy of human need, the list is roughly ordinal in a specific sense.

Each "need" that constitutes a service focus (and we must recall we are classifying services, not needs) tends to presuppose the satisfaction (or "serving") of all "needs" that precede it in the scheme. For example, successful medical care presupposes adequate food, clothing and shelter. Employment (the basis for purchase of food, clothing, etc., in many cases) often presupposes adequate child care and transportation services. Ambiguities arise if this tack is pursued to its extreme. However, the hierarchical or elaborated nature of the scheme is a topic for further research. For this study we are only concerned with description of social service foci in a nominal fashion.

One further note on focus of service is required before the scheme is examined in detail. Recalling the earlier exclusion of informal practice and profit-oriented organizations from in-depth discussion as we proceed to examine each focus of service, a problem will become obvious. The data may show a very limited involvement in a particular focus by our study agencies. Our common sense social knowledge will tell us, however, that a great deal of profit-making and informal activity goes on in that area. These cases will be discussed in a later chapter. What we discovered that study agencies do not do or do very little of will indeed constitute a significant set of findings. For by inference, that study agency service is either performed by the private sector or is not performed at all by other than informal means.

FIGURE 3

THE ELEMENTS OF SERVICE FOCUS

- 1) Food
- 2) Clothing
- 3) Shelter
- 4) Medical Care
- 5) Child Care/Education
- 6) Transportation
- 7) Employment/ Finance
- 8) Protection/Regulation
- 9) Mental Health
- 10) Art/Culture/Recreation

Food

All of us are knowledgeable about our need for food and many service agencies address that need. Study agencies provide food itself, food vouchers, information about food, studies of food consumption and nutrition and assistance with food preparation. One program delivers food to the elderly and handicapped, another to school children. Food is given away, prepared or sold at reduced prices. Advice is given on food growing and public space has been provided for community gardens. A non-profit program sponsors a public farmers' market. Most large institutions provide food for their clients or inmates. The range of food-focused service is broad.

Clothing

The range of clothing-focused service is narrow indeed. Study agencies tend to provide used clothing at a nominal cost and the proceeds often support some other program. Financial allowance (discussed below) is sometimes made for work clothing, clothing for children and/or winter clothing. Inmate clothing may be provided, but its function may not be so much a provision for human need as for institutional needs (i.e., identification of inmates from staff and others). Particular types of uniforms may be required of participants in other programs. Purchase of such clothing may be the responsibility of the participant, the program or of some set of program patrons.

Shelter

Most shelter focused services provide direct housing only for inmates and other members of near-total institutions. Some agencies provide shelter vouchers and finance shelter (discussed below) costs.

Most agency shelter programs seem to be oriented toward shelter finance, promotion of and planning for shelter needs, encouragement of home and apartment building programs and loans for such programs.

Several low-income apartment complexes exist that are subsidized by public monies. Plans are continually in the making for new subsidized complexes, but lack of funding has precluded their successful implementation to date. A cooperative study of housing conditions by the District Eleven Human Resources Council and the Missoula Planning Board was conducted in 1975. That study has been used as a basis for a number of proposals to increase and improve the housing stock. Two products of that study are a county housing rehabilitation program and a "weatherization" and alternative energy program for low-income homeowners.

Medical care

Health focused services range from family planning, health education, diagnosis and treatment of a vast range of chronic and acute conditions to preventive medical programs, physicians and nurses training, public health and sanitation. Three hospitals and the University Health Service provide a wide range of direct medical services. Two of these facilities directly employ physicians, while the others are staffed by entrepreneur doctors. The sample contained one nursing school, a continuing education program for nurses and physicians and an LPN training program. One program studies health care plans and regulates some health services. Another is concerned with preventive care, public education, disease control and environmental health. Many agencies provide financial assistance (discussed below) for health related services. Several

agencies sponsor special problem or special population clinics and services. Some provide health related equipment, aid and appliances.

Child care/education

Child care and educational services range from pre-school nurseries and kindergartens to Ph.D. programs. The bulk of these services are public with some private schools operating through the high school level. Technical education, vocational training, adult basic education and consumer public school opportunities are supplemented by special education (aimed at particular social-physical sub-classes) programs. Art, craft, hobby and life skill classes are offered by a variety of organizations. Services to schools and educators, library storage of reading materials and public colloquia and workshops are common. Several agencies offer specialized in-service training programs for their employees and those of other agencies. Pre-school programs range from babysitting to relatively sophisticated academically oriented projects.

Transportation

The range of available transportation services is narrow indeed. Travel vouchers, finance of travel (see below), emergency rides and limited travel to shopping and to keep medical appointments are available to very small segments of the population. In late 1974, the District Eleven Human Resources Council, the Missoula Planning Board and the mayor's Ad Hoc Committee on Transportation undertook a study of transportation needs and attitudes. The outcome of that study was a plan, to be presented to the local electorate in mid-1976, for the creation of a public transportation system.

Employment and finance

Rather than simply giving persons articles and services that they feel that they need or that the agencies feel are needed, many agencies provide work or money instead. The employment and finance category defines the prime interface between the study agencies and the "free market." For a variety of reasons, persons are encouraged to purchase goods and services in the market place rather than receive them directly. These reasons range from plans to stimulate the market with public inputs to a conviction that all persons should do work and purchase necessities with the proceeds of their labor.

Whatever the programs' motives, and those motives are indeed varied, food, clothing, shelter, transportation and other services are provided for through grants that enable purchase by the client. Referral to employment, job training, employment counseling and work experience are provided by several agencies as well. Others offer vouchers to merchants to provide market services.

Protection and regulation

The community possesses a range of protective services. The society protects its membership and sub-classes thereof from natural threats and from the actions of other members. Missoula is seemingly protected from fire, flood, earthquake, nuclear attack and norm-violating behavior by its citizens. Law enforcement agencies, courts, attorneys, parole and probation programs and ancillary projects make up the system charged with dealing with law breakers.

A second group of agencies is charged with other regulatory functions and in some cases may serve as an adjunct to the justice system.

Questions of the general health and safety (e.g., food quality, building soundness, sewage disposal, etc.) are routinely regulated by several study agencies. These groups are often the ones whose continual inspection prevents rule breaking and who may be first to recognize an occasion of rule breaking.

Mental health

Mental health programs vary from those proffering some sort of advice by "certified" personnel to those whose practitioners offer no such claim. For the purposes of this study, all groups whose goals are to "build character," "provide counseling," "support mental health" or "solve crises" have been considered to provide mental health services per se. Many offer similar services under different labels, however. Groups which offer a theory of life (and man's relationship to man and his world), that promise happiness, security, the power to persevere and or adjust, seem to be providing a commodity very similar to that proffered by agencies which clinically label their product. Presumably the community is continually engaged in a process of negotiating a collective version of what constitutes sanity and insanity and the services of the study agencies reflect the current state of that negotiation.

Art, culture and recreation

All sorts of arts, crafts and cultural programs were found in the study agency population. A county museum of the arts is complemented by civic music programs, a historical museum, an annual festival of the arts, dance groups, theater companies and a county fair. Several

groups provide arts/cultural exercises for specific age and class client populations.

Recreation services are provided in public parks and other facilities by both public and private groups. Recreation opportunities in the surrounding countryside are common as well. Summer, naturally, is the season of most recreation programs. A study of summer recreation programs by Joel (1974) was produced for the Missoula Youth Coalition. That study found a large number of programs employing many persons on a part-time basis costing several hundred thousand dollars per annum.

Each category can be readily seen to interpenetrate every other. Finance can buy food, counseling may be required to solve shelter problems, shelter may be related to health, crime may result from lack of work and lack of transportation may be linked to job opportunities. The social service scene is clearly confusing and as a result discourages analysis. To accept that confusion and the apparent interrelation of program goals and perceived needs begs the question of this research. On the other hand, to severely limit the definition of what a genuine social service agency does is to arbitrarily exclude from consideration a vast number of programs and to trivialize those programs' products. The ten element scheme has been generated from program goal statements as a compromise that seems to satisfy obvious objections to extremes of generality or specificity.

Not all agencies offer a single service. Many services are provided in combination, constituting a specific service treatment to particular perceived needs--needs embedded in particular circumstances. In this research each service focus of an agency is considered to constitute a single project. Agency X may be simultaneously engaged in food,

transportation and mental health projects, while Agency Y may undertake food, shelter and art/culture/recreation projects. Agency Z may be solely concerned with a clothing project.

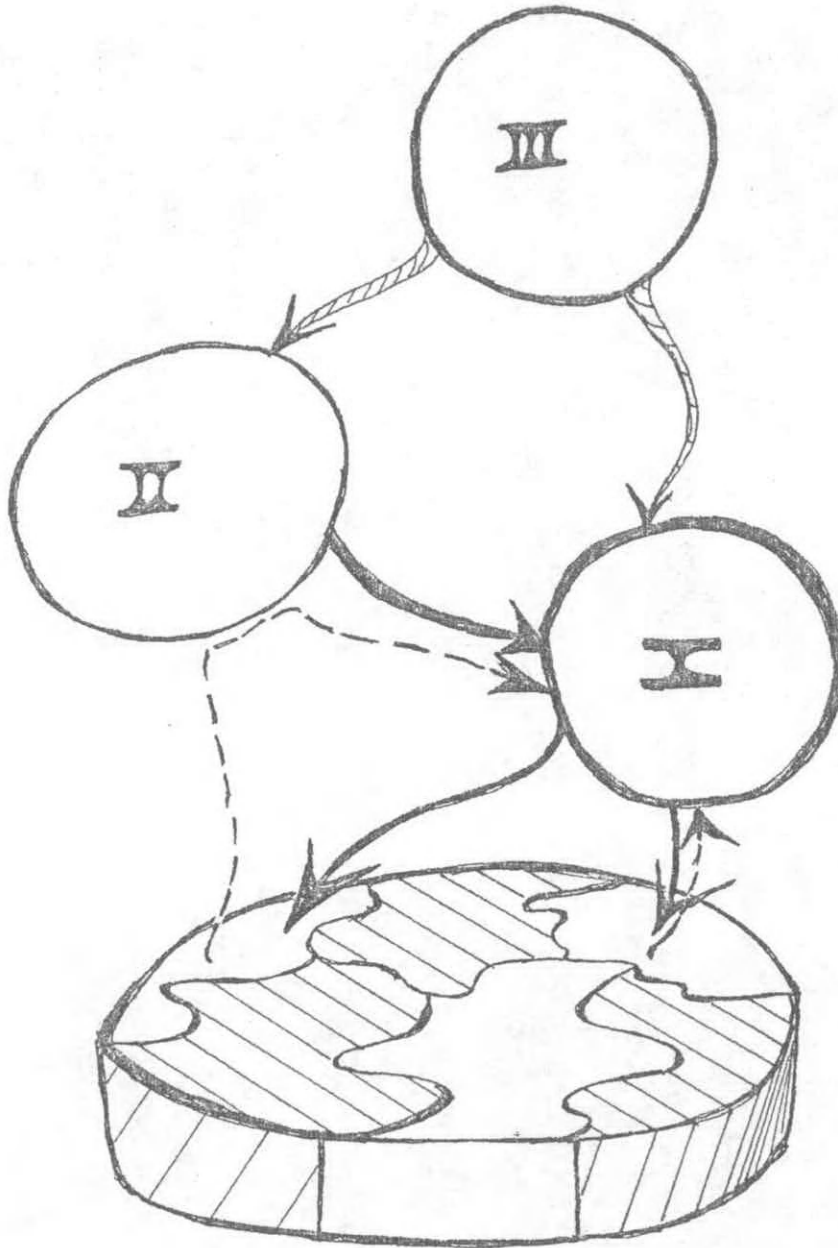
Typology III - Level of Service

Just as agencies have been found to offer different services, they have also been found to offer services in different fashions. Not all social services are directed at clients in need nor are all services designed to directly satisfy needs.

Three levels of service have been isolated. These have been termed: Level I, or primary service; Level II, or secondary service; and Level III, or tertiary service. The distinction of the level of a service is made on the basis of a primary criterion which is: "How proximate to the individual possessing a particular perceived need can the service be said to operate?" That is, how directly a service meets perceived needs. Level I is a direct contact between person and agency. Level II is a more remote contact and Level III is a still more distant relationship of person to agency (see Figure 4).

The level of service is an "adverb" sort of concept, a descriptive modifier of some service focus. The two typologies, "service focus" and "level of service," are inseparable in adequately describing an agency service program. Before dealing with each level of service in detail, it should be noted that Level I services are described by terms such as "give," "handle," "talk to," "counsel with;" Level II services, by terms like "refer," "coordinate," "facilitate," "encourage," "train;" Level III services are often labeled "plan," "arrange," "review," "comment," "develop" and "advise." As we shall see, it is very different

FIGURE 4
LEVEL OF SERVICE



to "give" a hungry person food than it is to "refer" him/her to food or to "plan" for food distribution.

Level I - primary services

Primary services tend to provide, give, grant, deal with and take from. The verbage implies some sort of familiar person-to-person transaction or exchange. A primary service provides food, clothing, shelter or medical care. Employment or finance may be directly provided to enable the recipient to function in the market place. A person may be given a ride, counsel, protection or a recreating experience. Linked with the ten service focus, a person may be provided ten sorts of direct service. A service is considered primary if it is designed to directly meet a perceived need.

Level II - secondary services

This level of service is of two sorts. A service is said to be secondary if: 1) the service is designed to interact with persons in need but refers or directs them to some primary service or 2) the service is provided to primary service agencies. Secondary services are commonplace in Missoula.

A number of agencies function, at least in part, as referral groups, directing persons to some other agency for service. Referral service is informally undertaken by workers in most agencies that come in contact, even accidentally, with persons in need. Formalized referral services do exist, however, and plans seem to be continually in process to create more special and general purpose referral projects.

A larger part of secondary services are those directed by agencies to other agencies engaged in primary service delivery. These services

may be in the form of training-education, overseeing of agency operations, coordination of particular kinds of programs, facilitation of common program goals or referral of agency staff to sources of assistance and/or information. Because secondary services tend to be obscure, some examples of secondary services in Missoula may be in order. Nutrition training may be provided to organizations preparing and serving food. An agency may serve as a repository of child development materials for a series of nurseries. An agency may supervise housing programs. Another may set rules for child care licensing. Yet another might coordinate a multi-agency recreation undertaking.

We may safely conjecture that the proliferation of social service activities has spawned a form of agency activity devoted solely to the workings of other agencies.

Level III - tertiary services

Yet another level of service is found in the study agency group. These projects plan, analyze, research, review, develop and/or advocate vis-à-vis particular community conditions. Tertiary service projects seem to be both the most esoteric and, at the same time, often as involved in face-to-face interaction with persons in need as are the primary service projects. Tertiary service projects are concerned with macro-scopic phenomena, groups rather than individuals and groups of agencies rather than with individual agencies. Their actions are often subject to regular citizen review.

Working with a variety of groups and other programs, the tertiary services may be directed toward study, planning and development of food, clothing and shelter distribution systems, health care delivery,

transportation systems, the justice system, the economic status of the area, general mental health and/or art, culture and recreation opportunities. Studies such as the one undertaken here are properly within the purview of tertiary service-oriented agencies. As we will see later, however, these agencies have tended to focus on particular service foci and population sub-classes.

Three levels of service have been isolated. Linked with the focus of service categories, they provide thirty service categories. The levels of service, based on proximity to client need, range from face-to-face client relations to macro-systems approaches. It should be noted that just as there may be multi-service organizations, there may also exist multi-level organizations. An agency may provide a service on several levels and even several services on several levels.

Typology IV - Target Population

The population characteristics employed by study agencies to isolate classes of persons for social service treatment are not uniform in any sense. All services are not available to all members of the community. They may be dependent upon income, ethnicity, special status and/or age. In this study, target population has been described in two dimensions. These are: 1) class membership and 2) age. Of the four typologies, target population is undoubtedly the least precise. This is due to the almost universally non-uniform nature of program eligibility requirements. These requirements may, however, be approximately distilled into two ranges of class and age categories.

Class membership

Nine service categories have been isolated based upon the sub-class of persons at whom the service is targeted. It must be noted that the class categories do not constitute an ordinal scheme. In fact, the categories are not even mutually exclusive. A listing of the categories is provided in Figure 5. An illustration of the conceptual problems of the categories' non-exclusivity is presented in Figure 6. Because of the lack of uniformity between agencies in definition of sub-classes of the community eligible for services, this dimension, along with its companion age, when treated as variable, are of uncertain value for quantitative analysis in this research. All categories of target population are not treated in subsequent chapters, then, as equally potent.

All average

This includes all members of the community and members of all other target classes. Services that are directed at the general public may not be appropriate for all members of all classes, however. Such services may be oriented toward the needs of members of the community who are not members of any other target class.

The poor

The poor are those unable to compete equally in the market with the average citizen. Measures of poverty vary from agency but usually fall around eighty percent of the area's median income.

Ethnic groups

These groups, including native Americans and blacks, are treated separately for common services and specially for problems peculiar to those groups.

FIGURE 5
TARGET CLASSES

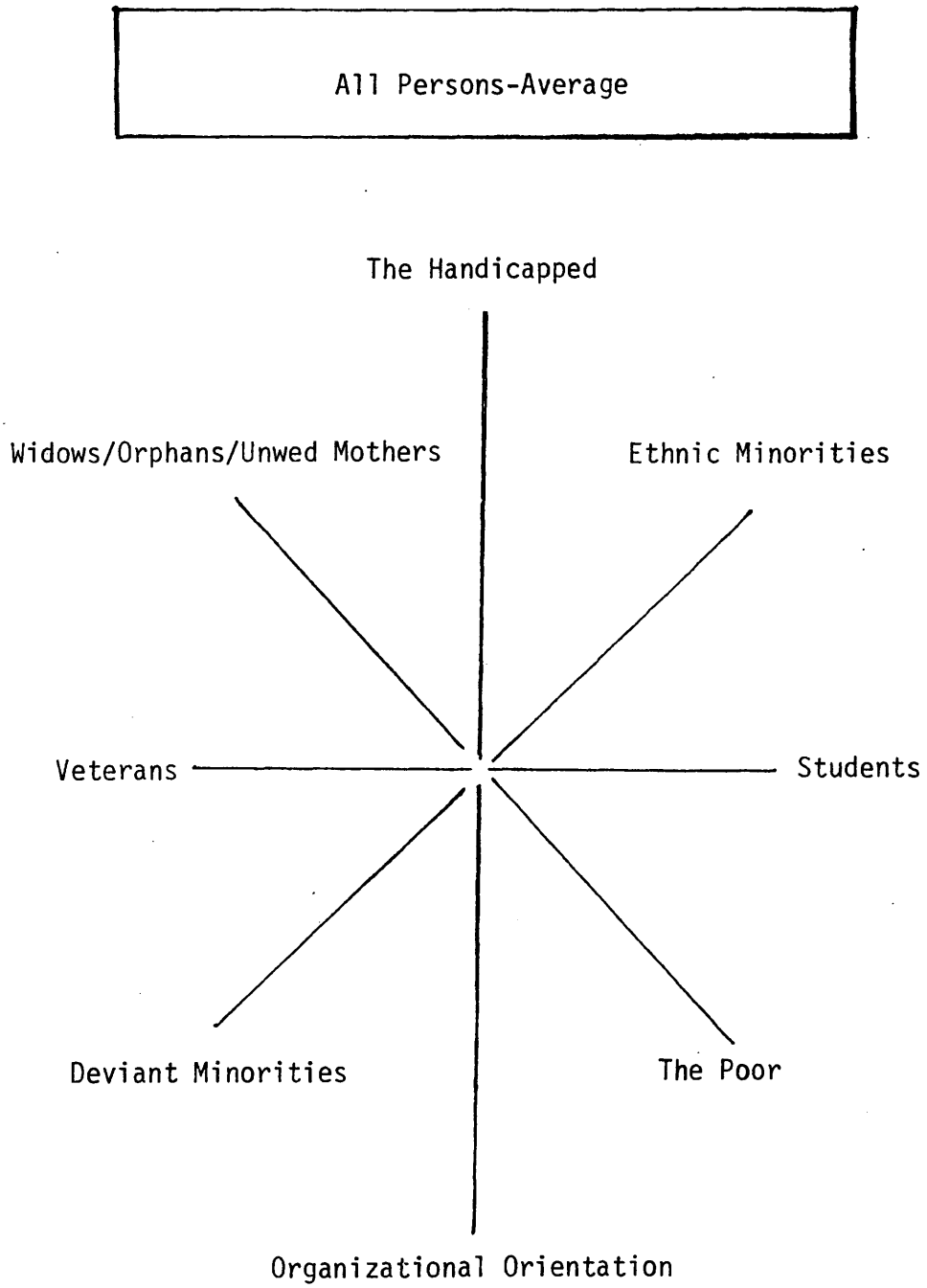
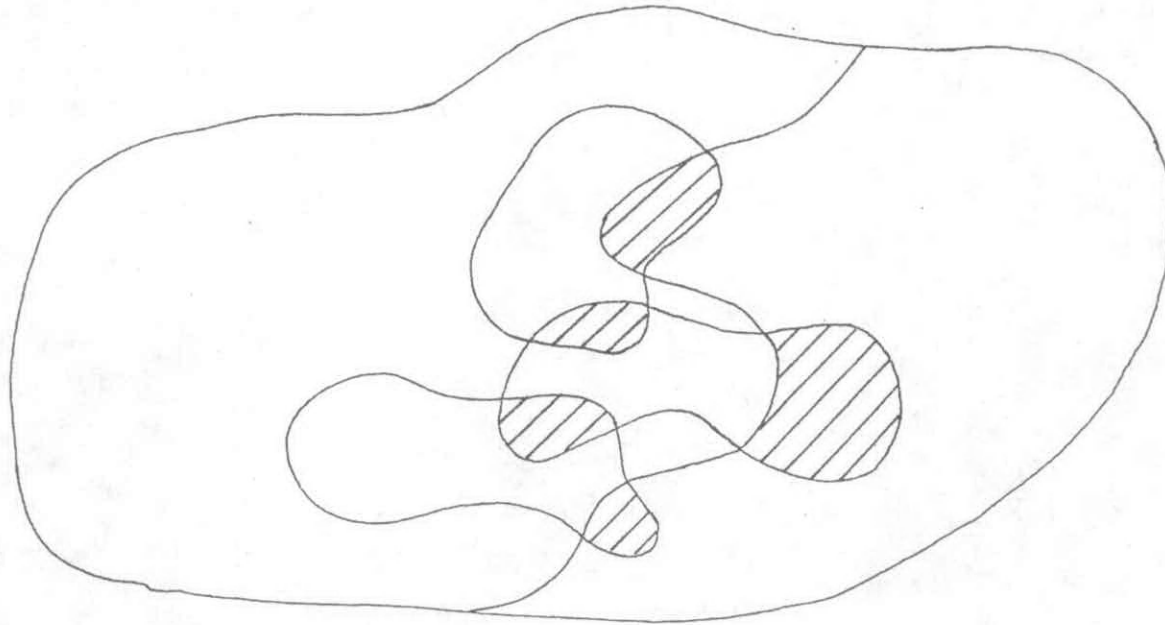


FIGURE 6

NON-EXCLUSIVITY OF TARGET CLASSES



The handicapped

These are persons who are physically, mentally and/or socially impaired, the focus of projects designed to rehabilitate, educate and accommodate the community to members of this class.

Veterans

Veterans of military service are the focus of several programs offering a wide variety of services.

Students

Enrolled both in the University and in other schools, this contingent is the target of special benefits.

Deviant minorities

This group is the object of some service projects. Members include persons on probation or parole from the criminal justice system.

Widows, orphans and unwed mothers

These are targets of social services by virtue of their non-normal family status.

Organizational orientation

This is a residual category made up of those service projects which can be said not to target any group of persons but to target other organizations. We would be in error to assume that this class includes all tertiary service projects. Many of those projects do indeed target a particular population class, albeit in an indirect fashion.

Age

Many agencies target social services on the basis of age. For this study four basic age classes were found to be descriptive of agency service targeting. While non-uniform regulations make the definition of age categories troublesome, we find, at least, that persons may occupy only one age status at a time (unlike the social status outlined above). The following age categories are employed in this study.

0-13 years

The upper limits of 13 years were selected because it is a common, though not universal, program cut-off age (e.g., high school freshmen are usually 14 years of age).

14-17 years

This includes youths, teenagers, adolescents.

18-64 years

In Montana, the age of adult status is 18 years.

65+ years

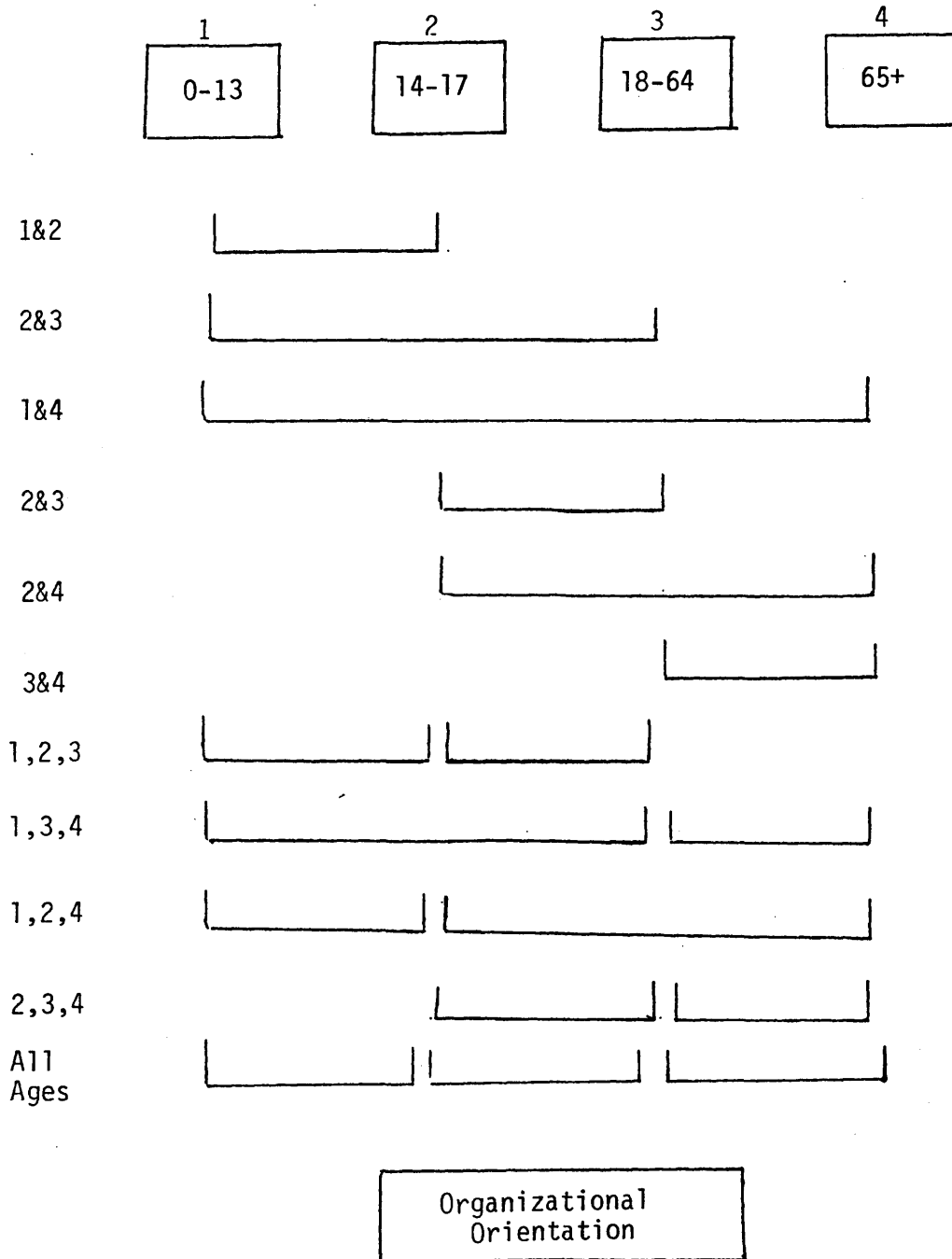
Several programs for older members of the community target at or around 65 years of age.

All age categories correspond with standard Bureau of the Census age classes.

Because most programs are not targeted at a single age group but at a combination of age categories, each age class is combined with each other age class in this study. Fifteen possible target age "clusters" are obtained along with the organizational orientation category outlined above. A graphic display of these clusters may be found in Figure 7.

FIGURE 7

TARGET AGE TYPOLOGY



CHAPTER IV

Analysis

Quantitative analysis of the data collected proceeded in two phases: 1) basic project distributions and 2) variable relationships. Each agency activity was identified and assigned an appropriate category for each typology. We recall that each unique combination of service focus, level of service, target age and target class, is taken to describe a particular project form operant within each agency. This is because all agencies do not specialize in a particular service, level, class or age. Many agencies are multi-functional.

The utility of the "project" concept becomes evident when the number of agencies in the study population is compared to the number of projects operated by those agencies. This comparison and others are undertaken in the first phase of analysis, namely examination of distributions of projects along each typology, with the typologies treated as variable dimensions.

The second phase of analysis is concerned with relationships between variable dimensions (e.g., which types of organization tend to operate projects with particular service foci). This phase of analysis is divided into four sections. These are: 1) the relationship of type of organization and service focus, 2) the relationship of type of organization to level of service and target population, 3) the relationship

of service focus to level of service and target population and 4) the relationship of target class to target age.

Basic Project Distributions

The population of social service agencies in Missoula included 272 agencies. While several agencies which no longer exist were included in the study and several were excluded which were organized after the data were collected, the study population seems to be representative, if not exhaustive. These agencies were found to operate 630 projects. The population of project cases constitutes the unit of analysis of this study.

Type of organization

Federal agencies accounted for seven (2.5%) of all agencies, state agencies, twenty-eight (10.3%), local government, thirty-six (13.3%), quasi-public, nine (3.3%) and private non-profit groups, 192 (70.6%). The share of private non-profit agencies can be seen to be by far the largest. When compared to project distributions, however, as seen in Table 1, the private share is seen to decrease in importance. Here we find that the private agency accounts for little more than half of all project efforts, with the remainder shared largely by state and local government. In both cases (agency and project distributions) the federal and quasi-public agencies share 5.8% and 11% of the agency and project totals. Figure 8 provides a graphic representation of the balances between types of organizations.

The dramatic shift in proportion of the private agency becomes evident when the project/agency ratios are examined (see Table 2). Here we find that while each private agency operates an average of 1.8

TABLE 1
TYPE OF ORGANIZATION AND AGENCY-PROJECT DISTRIBUTIONS

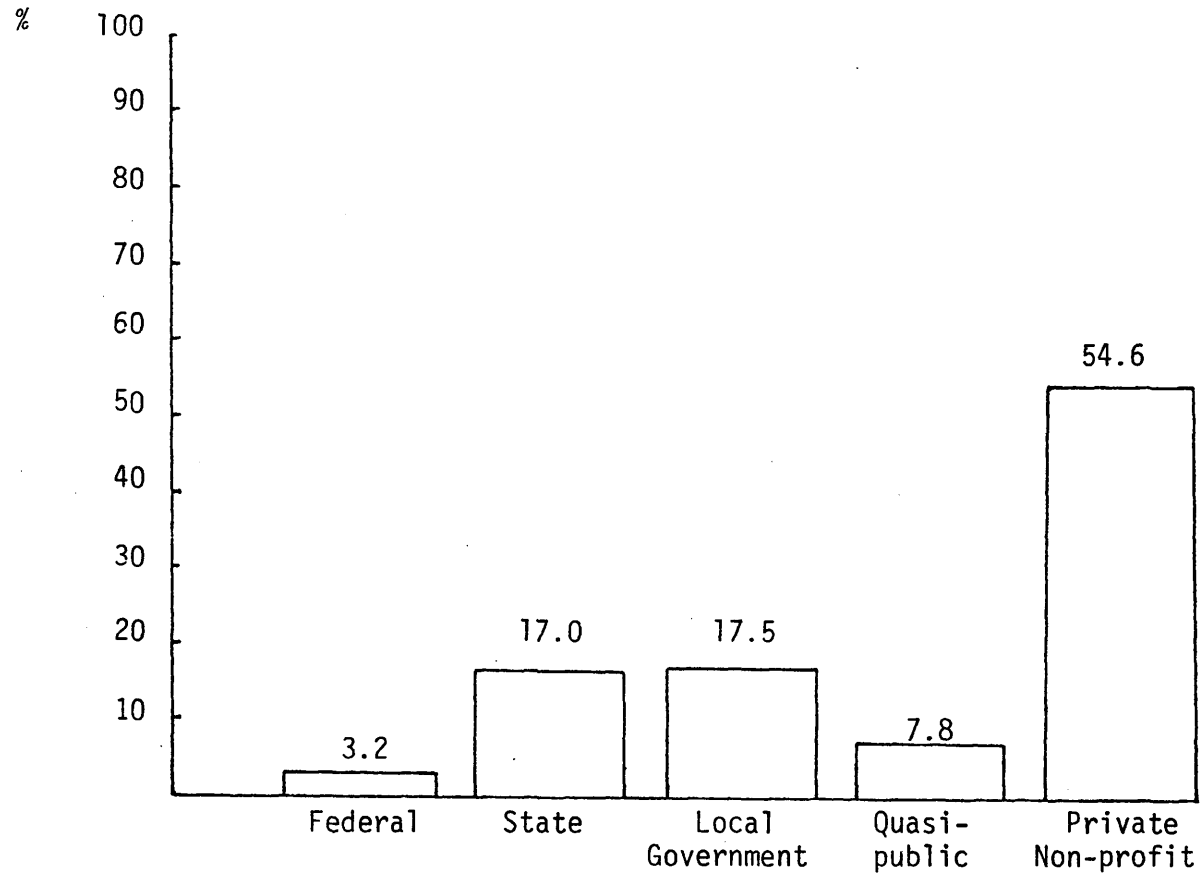
Organization	Agency Frequency	Percent	Project Frequency	Percent
Federal	7	2.5	20	3.2
State	28	10.3	107	17.0
Local	36	13.3	110	17.5
Quasi-public	9	3.3	49	7.8
Private Non-profit	192	70.6	344	54.6
Total	272	100.0	630	100.0

TABLE 2
TYPE OF ORGANIZATION AND PROJECT-AGENCY RATIOS

Organization	Project-Agency Ratios
Federal	2.8
State	3.8
Local	3.0
Quasi-public	5.4
Private Non-profit	1.8
Overall Average	2.2

FIGURE 8

PROJECT DISTRIBUTION BY TYPE OF ORGANIZATION



projects, the averages for other forms are much higher: federal--2.8 projects, state--3.8, local government--3.0 and quasi-public--5.4 Overall, each study agency, regardless of form, operates an average of 2.2 projects. The ability of the "project" concept to more adequately describe agency function seems clear.

Service focus

Figure 9 displays project distribution for each class of service focus. Here we see that projects are not evenly distributed across the range of service foci. Of the 630 projects, 135 (21.4%) are concerned with mental health. Other areas of heavy project commitment include art, culture and recreation (14.8%), employment and finance (14.1%) and medical care (11.1%). The areas of least project allocation are clothing (2.9%) and shelter (5.4%). Seven times as many projects are oriented to mental health as are to clothing and four times as many as are to shelter. Over thirty-six percent of all social service projects are focused on mental health, art, culture and recreation.

Level of service

In the typology development phase of this research, it was found that all agencies do not provide services on the same level. Analysis of actual project distribution indicates that in fact the preponderance of social services offered in Missoula is not direct, or primary, services to clients. Services are nearly equally divided between primary and other services (see Figure 10). Direct, person-to-person provision of social service was found to constitute forty-nine percent of all service projects. Secondary services, referral to primary service and/or service to primary service agencies, account for 37.8% of the

FIGURE 9

PROJECT DISTRIBUTION BY SERVICE FOCUS

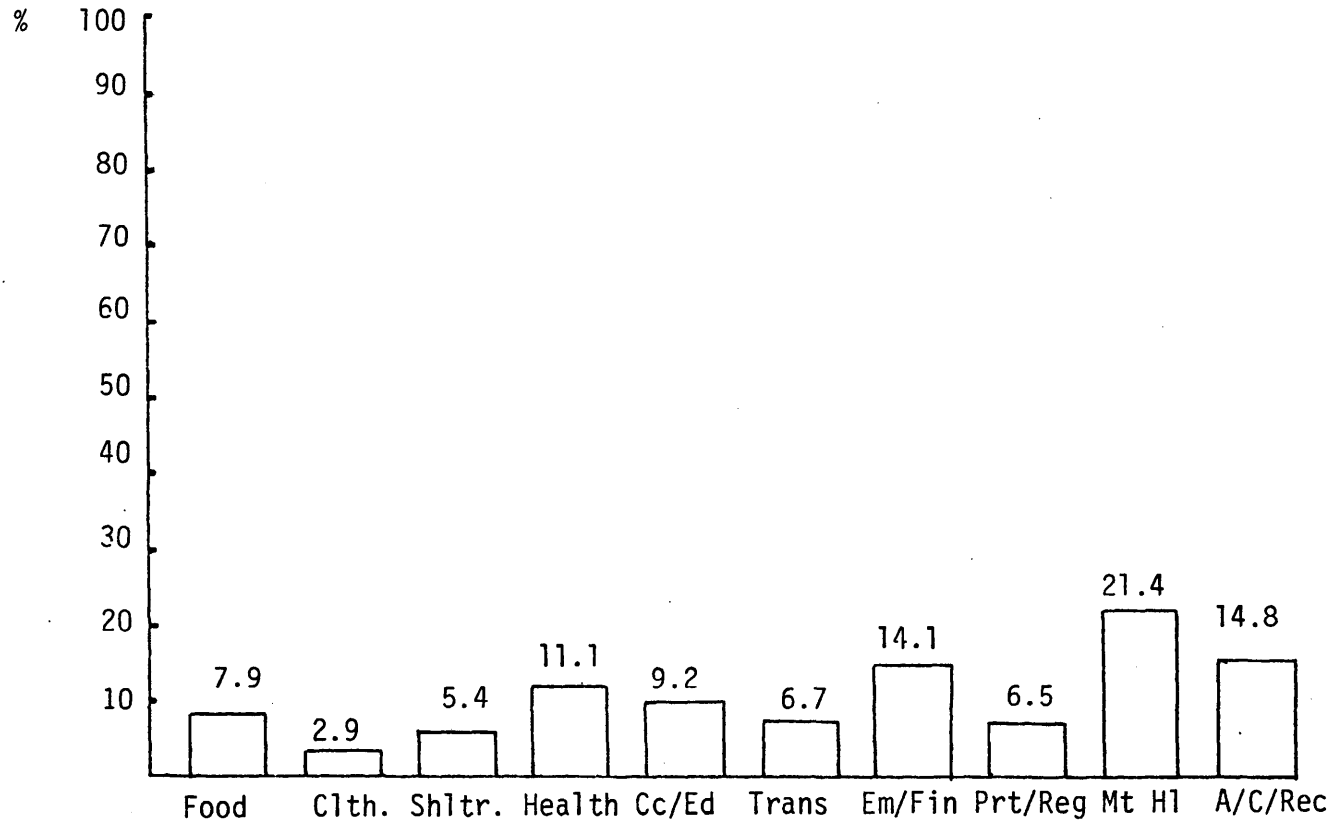
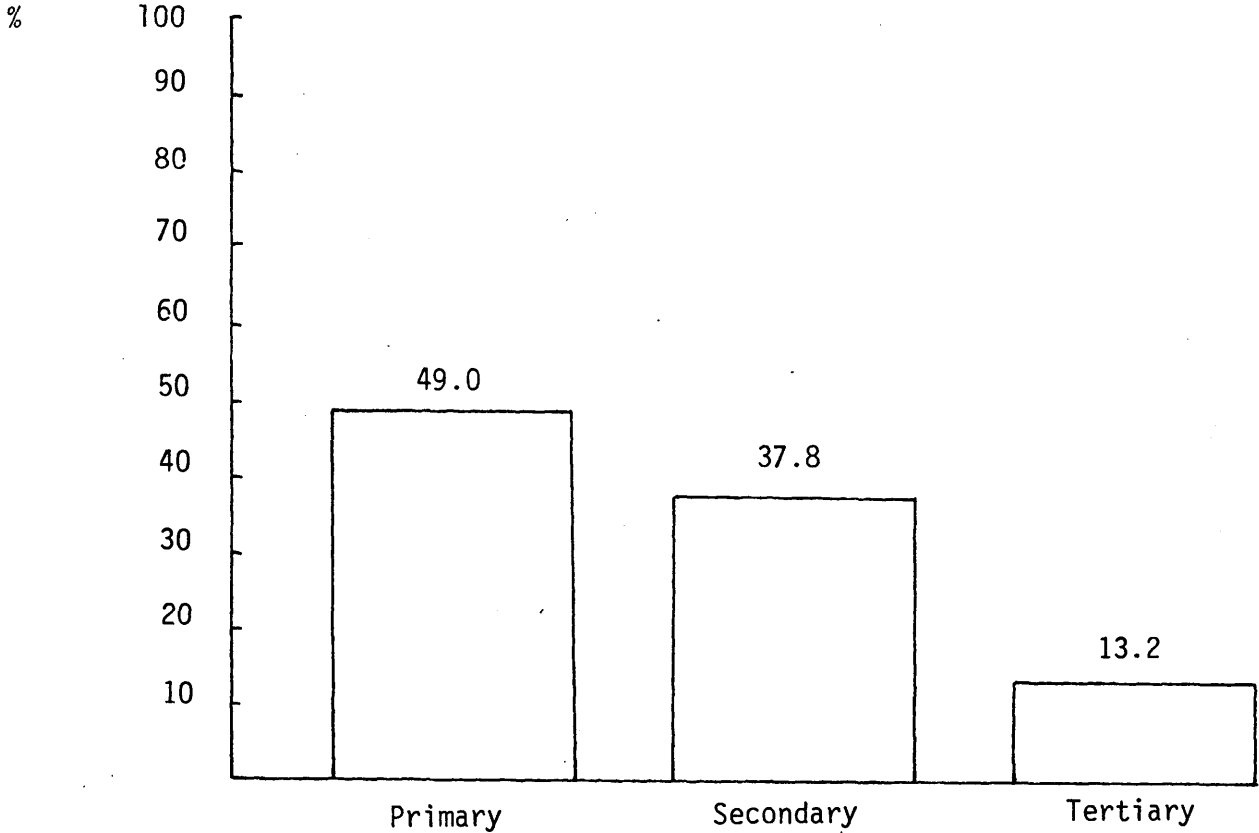


FIGURE 10
PROJECT DISTRIBUTION BY LEVEL OF SERVICE



total. The remainder 13.2% of all projects offered tertiary, or planning and development, services.

Target populations

Target population is broken down into target class and target age. While these two dimensions, treated together, constitute the bulk of routine criteria for social services in Missoula, their relationship to one another is at best obscure. Here, and in most of the following analysis, these two variables are treated separately.

Target class

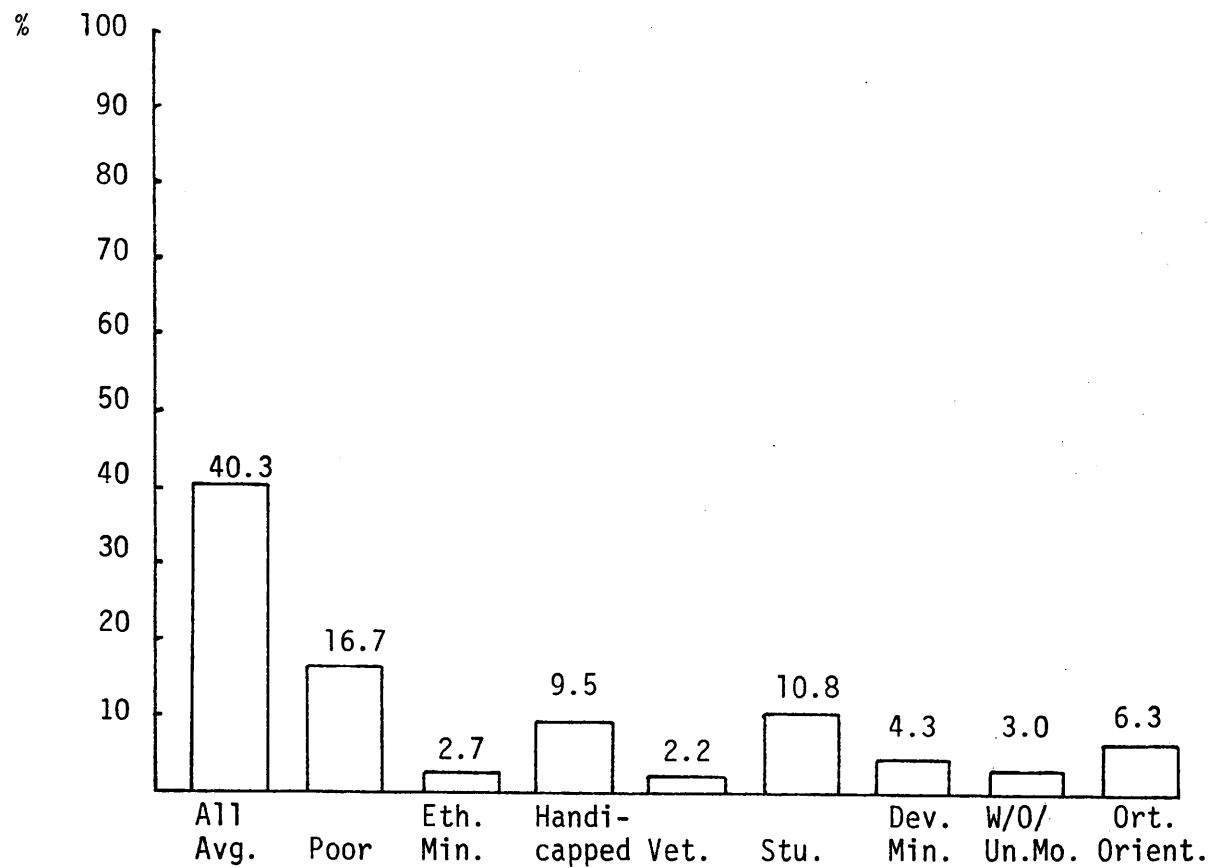
The bulk of service projects is targeted at all citizens or the average person (40.3%). While these services may be available to all, they are clearly not appropriate to all classes of persons. Therefore a range of other services exists which is targeted at special classes. In Figure 11 we see that the poor are the targets of 16.7% of all projects and that the next largest groups are students (10.8%) and the handicapped (9.5%). The remaining groups of projects which targeted special classes of persons are all of roughly equal size: ethnic minorities (2.7%), veterans (2.2%), deviant minorities (4.3%) and widows, orphans and unwed mothers (3.0%). The remaining 6.3% of all projects are said to be "organizationally oriented" or concerned solely with relationships with other agencies, regardless of any target class orientation.

Target age

As noted earlier, the target age typology is a combination of the age classes of a simpler typology. If we take class "1" to be all

FIGURE 11

PROJECT DISTRIBUTION BY TARGET CLASS



persons ages 0 to 13, class "2," ages 14 to 17, class "3," ages 18 to 64 and class "4," all persons aged 64 and above, then class "5" becomes the members of classes 1 and 2 taken together, "6" equals 1 and 3, etc. This technique results in a 16 class scheme, including a category for programs with "organization orientations." Figure 12 displays the project distributions on the target age dimension.

Over one-third of all projects, 36.7%, are focused at persons of all ages. The next largest proportion, 17.1%, is focused at persons aged 18 to 64 (the adult citizen). Together with the organizational orientation category (6.3%), these projects constitute 60.1% of all projects. The remaining 40% are roughly equally distributed over all categories with six exceptions. These exceptions are outlined in Table 3. Here we see that four age categories have no projects targeted at them. These classes are those that include children and/or teenagers in combination with senior citizens (to the exclusion of other adults) or, as in the case of class 13, excluding one class of youngsters. Two classes have very few projects targeted at them (a total of 2.5% of all projects). These classes may both be termed descriptive of the modern nuclear family (ages 14-64 and 0-64).

Variable Relationships

The project-coded data were processed through an automated system to produce cross tabulations of variable pairs. In this way it became possible to examine the relationships of values on a given dimension to corresponding value ranges on another dimension. In this phase of the analysis, the relationships of type of organizations to service focus is examined in an effort to answer the questions: "Which agency forms (federal, state, etc.) predominate in which service fields (food, cloth-

FIGURE 12

PROJECT DISTRIBUTION BY TARGET AGE

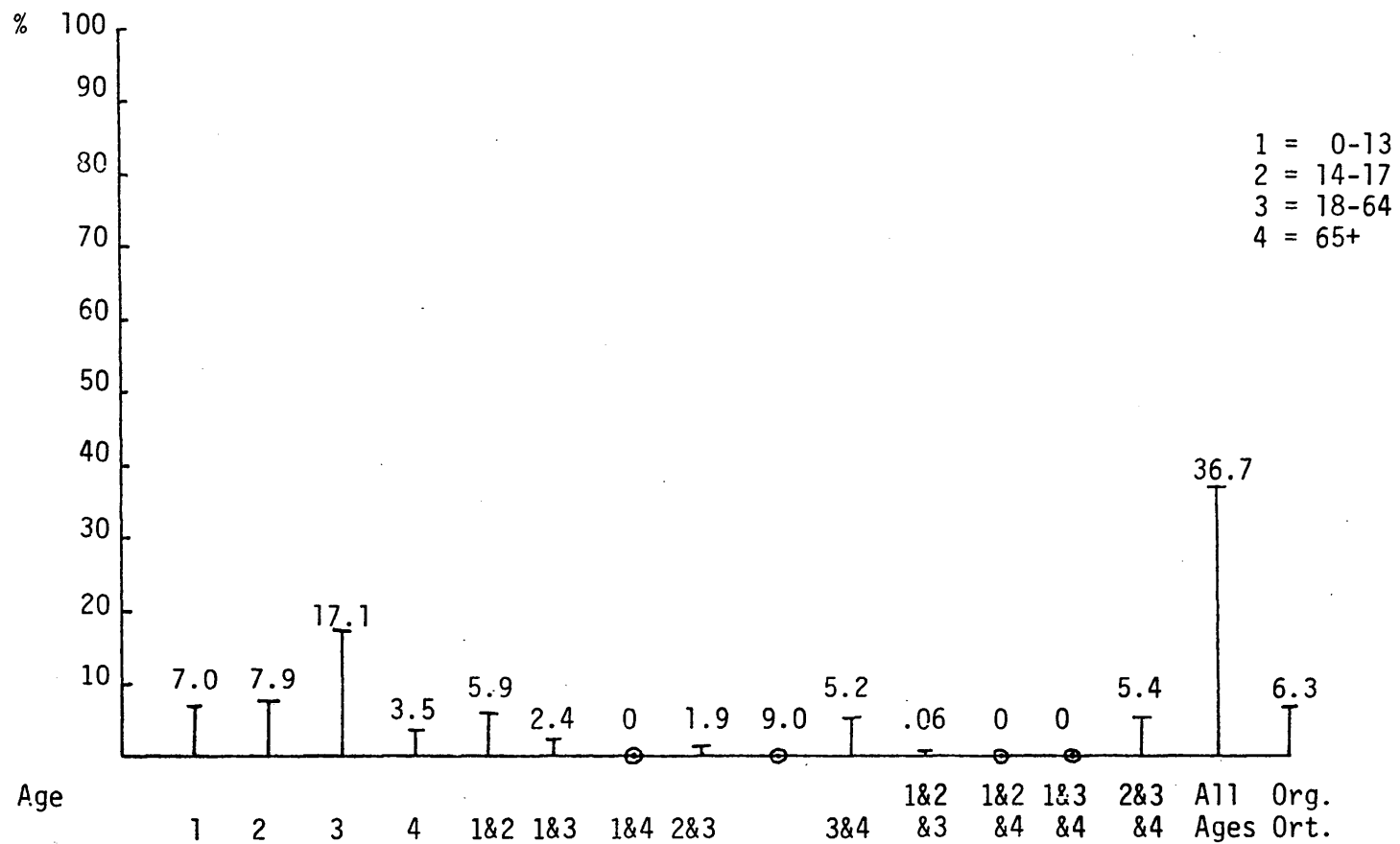


TABLE 3
 TARGET AGE CATAGORIES HAVING NO AND FEW CASES

Catagory Number	Target Age	Value (% of all projects)*
7.0	1 & 4 (0-13, 65+)	0.00
9.0	2 & 4 (14-17, 65+)	0.00
12.0	1 & 2 & 4 (0-17, 65+)	0.00
13.0	1 & 2 & 4 (0-13, 18-65+)	0.00
8.0	2 & 3 (14-64)	1.90
11.0	1 & 2 & 3 (0-65)	0.60

* Total for all projects - 630.

ing, etc.)?" and "Which service fields are preferred by which agency forms?" In subsequent sections, analysis of the relationship of form and focus as independent variables to our remaining three variable dimensions (level, age and class) is undertaken. Finally, the question of age and class relationships, in terms of project distribution, is examined.

Type of organization and focus

As outlined in Table 4, employment/finance (20%) and protection/regulation (20%) are the largest service foci of federal agencies. The least is clothing (0%). A similar balance of focus is found in state and quasi-public agencies (employment/finance--17.8% and 20.4%, respectively and clothing--9% and 4.1%, respectively). Local government, while similarly unconcerned with the clothing focus (3.6%), is primarily oriented to the art, culture and recreation focus (15.5%). In all of these cases the efforts of the various types of organizations are otherwise fairly evenly distributed over focus categories. This is not the case of private non-profit agencies. The bulk of their attention is focused on mental health (30.5%) and art, culture and recreation (15.4%), together accounting for 45.9% of all private non-profit projects. This body of agencies is least concerned with clothing (3.2%), shelter (4.7%), transportation (4.9%) and protection/regulation (1.5%).

In terms of agency forms distributed across the range of service focus, the private non-profit agency is found to dominate all categories but one. Even in the areas where the private non-profit class has allocated the number of projects (clothing, shelter, etc.) that

TABLE 4
 TYPE OF ORGANIZATION AND SERVICE FOCUS

Organization	Focus (as % of type of organization)									
	Food	Clothing	Shelter	Health	Child Care/ Education	Transportation	Employment/ Finance	Protection/ Regulation	Mental Health	Art/Culture/ Recreation
Federal	5.0	0.0	15.0	10.0	10.0	5.0	20.0	20.0	0.0	15.0
State	3.7	0.9	5.6	10.3	12.1	6.5	17.8	14.0	14.0	15.0
Local	12.7	3.6	5.5	12.7	9.1	10.9	9.1	13.6	7.3	15.5
Quasi-public	8.2	4.1	6.1	10.2	14.3	10.2	20.4	4.1	14.3	8.2
Private Non-profit	7.8	3.2	4.7	11.0	7.6	4.9	13.4	1.5	30.5	15.4

class is dominant. The following is an accounting of private non-profit agency shares of project totals along the service focus dimension (see Table 5): Food 54%, clothing 51.1%, shelter 47.1%, medical care 54.3%, child care/education 44.8%, transportation 40.5%, employment/finance 51.7%, protection/regulation 12.2%, mental health 77.8% and art/culture/recreation 57%. Only in the area of protection and regulation is any project distribution dominance found in any other organizational form. Here the state and local governments (36.6% each) join to conduct the bulk of protective/regulatory services (73.2%).

In the following, level of service, target class and target age are examined in relationship with type of organization (form). In this way the questions of which levels, target classes and ages are addressed by which types of organizations are examined.

Type of organization and level

The examination of the relationship of agency form to level of service revealed that four distinct patterns of "level preference" might be isolated (see Figure 13). As seen in Table 6, federal and state agencies share a greater commitment to secondary services than to either primary or tertiary (25%-40%-35% for federal agencies and 35%-53%-8% for state agencies). Local government services follow a flat pattern (34%-37%-28%). The quasi-public agencies and private non-profit corporation have roughly opposite patterns of level preference with the former group, preferring planning and development services (22%-24%-53%) and the latter preferring direct service delivery (62%-34%-3%).

It is interesting to note that once again the private non-profit agencies (probably due to their relative numbers) provide the bulk of

TABLE 5
SERVICE FOCUS AND TYPE OF ORGANIZATION

Service Focus	Organization (as % of service focus)				
	Federal	State	Local	Quasi-public	Private Non-profit
Food	2.0	8.0	28.0	8.0	54.0
Clothing	0.0	5.6	22.2	11.1	61.1
Shelter	8.8	17.6	17.6	8.8	47.1
Health	2.9	15.7	20.0	7.1	54.3
Child Care/ Education	3.4	22.4	17.2	12.1	44.8
Transportation	2.4	16.7	28.6	11.9	40.5
Employment/ Finance	4.5	21.3	11.2	11.2	51.7
Protection/ Regulation	9.8	36.6	36.6	4.9	12.2
Mental Health	0.0	11.1	5.9	5.2	77.8
Art/Culture Recreation	3.2	17.2	18.3	4.3	57.0

FIGURE 13

Level of Service Preferences of Types of Organizations

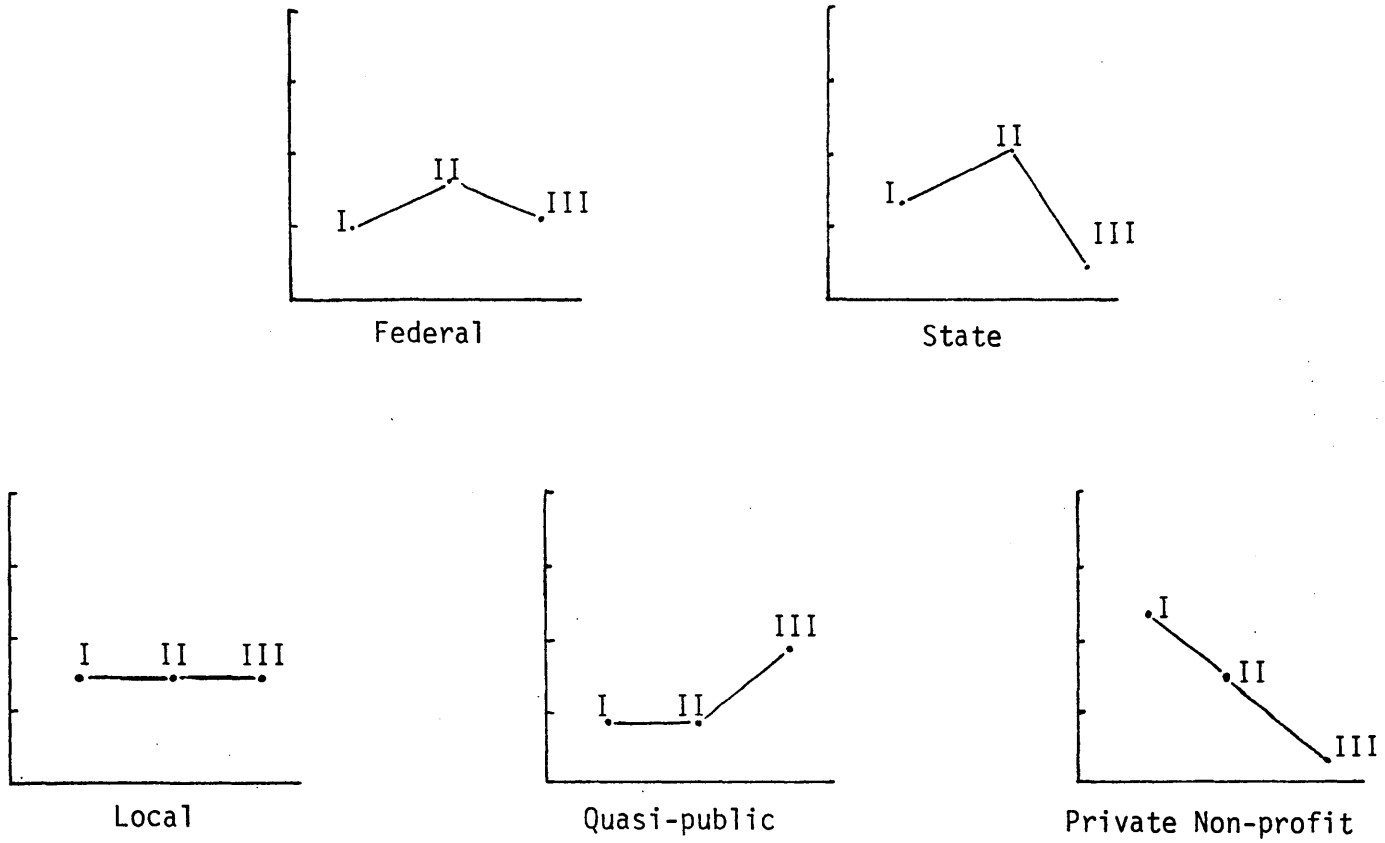


TABLE 6
TYPE OF ORGANIZATION AND LEVEL OF SERVICE

Organization	Level (as % of type of organization)		
	Primary	Secondary	Tertiary
Federal	25.0	40.0	35.0
State	38.3	53.3	8.4
Local	34.5	37.3	28.2
Quasi-public	22.4	24.5	53.1
Private Non-profit	62.2	34.9	2.9

primary and secondary services, while local government and the quasi-public agencies provide most tertiary services.

Type of organization and class

In the case of all cross tabulations with target class and age a number of null cells are found. These cells may prove interesting in describing potential agency-service-target population combinations that have not, presumably, been sufficiently compelling to cause project development for them. In the form-class cross-tabulations we find federal agencies serving neither ethnic minorities, veterans nor students in Missoula (see Table 7). The greatest part of federal class orientation is to all or the average citizen (70%). Services by federal agencies are otherwise evenly divided between the remaining categories. State services are relatively evenly divided across all categories with the exceptions of ethnic groups (7.5%), veterans (1.9%) and widows, orphans and unwed mothers (1%).

Local government services are targeted at all-average (43%), the poor (15%), students (19%) and organizations (13%). Local government provides no services specifically targeted at ethnic groups, handicapped, veterans or widows, orphans and unwed mothers.

The quasi-public agencies provide no services for target classes other than all-average (38%) and the poor (62%). The private non-profit agency category targets services at all classes with the largest commitments directed at all average (44%), the poor (11%) and the handicapped (14%).

TABLE 7
TYPE OF ORGANIZATION AND TARGET CLASS

Organi- zation	Class (as % of type of organization)								
	All- average	Poor	Ethnic Groups	Handi- capped	Vet- erans	Stu- dents	Deviant Minori- ties	Widows Orphans Uw. Mo.	Organiza- tion Ori- entation
Federal	70.0	5.0	0.0	5.0	0.0	0.0	5.0	5.0	10.0
State	18.7	15.9	7.5	9.3	1.9	15.9	11.2	0.0	19.6
Local	43.6	15.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	19.1	8.2	0.0	13.6
Quasi- public	38.8	61.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Private Non-profit	48.0	12.5	2.8	15.4	3.7	9.4	1.5	5.6	0.6

Type of organization and age

Federal projects tend to address all ages (55%) with target projects for groups "3" (18-64 years), "4" (65+ years) and organizations, each at 10% of total federal projects (see Table 8). State projects address ages 14-17 (13%), 18-64 (30%), all ages (17%) and organizations.

Local government's greatest age target commitment is to 0-13 (10%), 14-17 (11%) and all ages (45%). Quasi-public agencies distribute their orientation over all of the first four age classes with 9-13 (10%), 14-17 (10%), 18-64 (10%), 65+ (24%) and all ages (32%).

Private non-profit agencies target all classes (with the exceptions noted above) with more projects addressing ages 18-64 (17%), 0-18 (10%) and all ages (39%) than other categories. There are, for all form classes, relatively few projects addressed at any age class other than the primary form and all ages.

In the following, the relationship of service focus (food, clothing, etc.) to level of service and target population is considered. Questions addressed include, then: "On what levels are services focused?" and "To which population groups are particularly focused services targeted?"

Focus and level

As might be expected from the analysis of level of service above, direct services are not the preponderance of services for all foci. Food focused projects (Table 9) are largely operated as primary services (62%), as are clothing (50%, direct), mental health (87%) and art, culture and recreation (63%). Shelter is nearly evenly divided between primary and secondary levels (41% and 44%, respectively). The

TABLE 8
TYPE OF ORGANIZATION AND TARGET AGE

Organization	Age (as % of type of organization)											Org. Ori- ent.
	1	2	3	4	1&2	1&3	2&3	3&4	1&2&3	2&3&4	All Ages	
Federal	0.0	0.0	10.0	10.0	5.0	0.0	0.0	5.0	0.0	5.0	55.0	10.0
State	2.8	13.1	30.8	0.0	1.9	0.9	4.7	3.7	0.0	4.7	17.8	19.6
Local	10.9	11.8	7.3	0.0	0.9	2.7	0.0	3.6	0.0	4.5	44.5	13.6
Quasi-public	10.2	10.2	10.2	24.5	0.0	2.0	0.0	0.0	2.0	8.2	32.7	0.0
Private Non-profit	7.0	5.2	17.4	2.3	9.6	2.9	2.0	7.0	0.9	5.5	39.5	0.6

TABLE 9
SERVICE FOCUS AND LEVEL OF SERVICE

Level	Focus (%)									
	Food	Clothing	Shelter	Health	Child Care/ Education	Transportation	Employment/ Finance	Protection/ Regulation	Mental Health	Art/Culture/ Recreation
Primary (I)	62.0	50.0	41.2	14.3	37.9	28.6	25.8	26.8	87.4	63.4
Secondary (II)	32.0	33.3	44.1	65.7	48.3	47.6	60.7	51.2	7.4	23.7
Planning Development (III)	6.0	16.7	14.7	20.0	13.8	23.8	13.5	22.0	5.2	12.9

remainder, medical care (65%), child care and education (48%), transportation (47%), employment and finance (47%) and protection and regulation (51%), are preponderant by secondary services.

Planning and development services make up 13% of all services and range from 6% for food focused services to around 20% for medical care, transportation and protection/regulation. A brief examination of focus of service as a percent of level of service exposes the fact that 177 projects focused on mental health and art/culture/recreation make up 57% of all direct service projects.

Focus and target class

In the cases of three focus categories--medical care, employment/finance and mental health--projects exist for each target class. In the cases of the clothing and protection/regulation categories, services are targeted at few specific classes of persons. Table 10 outlines the relationship of these variables.

The largest class orientations of food services are all-average (24%), the poor (28%) and students (24%). No special food services for ethnic minorities exist.

Half of all clothing focused services are directed at all-average, while 33% target the poor. None targets ethnic minorities, the handicapped, veterans or widows, orphans and unwed mothers.

Medical care targets all classes with its greatest attention going to all-average (41%) and the poor (14%).

Child care and education target all-average (29%), the poor (19%) and, predictably, students (24%).

Transportation services are not specifically targeted at ethnic minorities, deviant minorities and widows, orphans and unwed mothers.

TABLE 10
Service Focus and Target Class

Focus	Class (%)								
	All- average	Poor	Ethnic Groups	Handi- capped	Vet- erans	Stu- dents	Deviant Minori- ties	Widows Orphans Uw. Mo.	Organiza- tion Ori- entation
Food	24.0	28.0	0.0	10.0	4.0	24.0	5.0	2.0	2.0
Clothing	50.0	33.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	11.1	5.6	0.0	0.0
Shelter	35.3	29.4	0.0	8.8	5.9	8.8	2.9	2.9	5.9
Health	41.4	14.3	2.9	14.3	4.3	7.1	2.9	2.9	10.0
Child Care/ Education	29.3	19.0	5.2	8.6	0.0	24.1	0.0	5.2	6.9
Transportation	31.0	28.6	0.0	11.9	4.8	11.9	0.0	0.0	11.9
Employment/ Finance	0.3	16.3	6.2	13.8	6.2	7.6	1.5	4.6	9.2
Protection/ Regulation	36.6	12.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	34.1	0.0	17.1
Mental Health	57.8	10.4	3.7	9.6	0.7	8.1	3.0	5.2	1.5
Art/Cult/Rec.	50.5	12.9	3.2	10.8	0.0	11.8	1.1	2.2	6.5

It is interesting to note that while the majority of all transportation services are oriented to all-average (31%) and the poor (29%), there is a relatively large proportion targeted at the handicapped (12%) and students (12%).

Employment/finance and mental health target all groups. Both are largely concerned with all-average (33% and 57%) and with the poor (16% and 10%), however.

Protection and regulation services are not specifically offered to four classes. These are ethnic minorities, the handicapped, veterans and widows, orphans and unwed mothers. The classes targeted for these services include all-average (36%), the poor (12%), organizations (17%) and, not surprisingly, deviant minorities (34%).

Finally, art/culture/recreation services target all groups but veterans. The greatest number of projects with this focus is aimed at all-average (50%) with 12% oriented to the poor, 10% to the handicapped and 11% to students.

Over one-half of all projects, regardless of focus, target all-average and the poor for services.

Focus and target age

With the exception of the age categories that were found to contain no projects (discussed above) most service foci cover most age categories (see Table 11). Food services exclude special projects for ages 0-64 and 14-65+. Nearly one-third (32%) is targeted at all-average. Clothing services exclude all but age groups 2, 3, 4 and "all." All-average accounts for 77% of such services.

Shelter excludes all but groups 2, 3, 4, 3 and 4, and all. All-average accounts for 53% of shelter services with 24% targeted at

TABLE 11
SERVICE FOCUS AND TARGET AGE

Focus	Age (as % of service focus)										All Ages	Org. Orient.
	,1	2	3	4	1&2	1&3	2&3	3&4	1&2&3	2&3&4		
Food	14.0	14.0	18.0	2.0	2.0	8.0	2.0	6.0	0.0	0.0	32.0	2.0
Clothing	0.0	5.6	5.6	11.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	77.8	0.0
Shelter	0.0	8.8	23.5	2.9	0.0	0.0	0.0	5.9	0.0	0.0	52.9	5.9
Health	5.7	4.3	12.9	2.9	2.9	0.0	2.9	5.7	0.0	7.1	45.7	10.0
Child Care/ Education	15.5	12.1	24.1	1.7	5.2	8.6	3.4	3.4	1.7	1.7	15.5	6.9
Transportation	14.3	4.8	4.8	11.9	2.4	0.0	0.0	4.8	0.0	11.9	33.3	11.9
Employment/ Finance	0.0	9.0	42.7	5.6	3.4	0.0	3.4	10.1	0.0	5.6	13.5	6.7
Protection/ Regulation	0.0	2.4	4.9	2.4	4.9	2.4	0.0	7.3	2.4	12.2	43.9	17.1
Mental Health	5.9	7.4	11.1	0.7	7.4	0.7	2.2	3.0	1.5	6.7	51.9	1.5
Art/Cul/Rec.	10.8	8.6	10.8	3.2	16.1	4.3	1.1	4.3	0.0	4.3	30.1	6.5

ages 18-64. Health care excludes only groups 1 and 3, and 1, 2 and 3. All-average accounts for 46% and ages 18-64 accounts for 13%.

Child care/education excludes no groups, focusing on ages 0-13 (15%), 14-17 (12%), 18-64 (24%) and all-average (15%).

Transportation targets 42% of all projects at age group 3 (18-64). Excluded are groups 1 and 3 and 1, 2 and 3.

Protection/regulation is largely all-average oriented (43%) with no concern for children (0-13) and teenagers with adults (14-64) as specific target groups.

Mental health excludes no age category with 52% of all projects targeted for all-average and 11% for ages 18-64. Art/culture/recreation specifically excludes only the unique combination of groups 1, 2 and 3 (again, the nuclear family). All-average accounts for 30% of all projects of this focus with 11% for group 1, 11% for group 3 and 16% for group 5 (ages 0-17).

A cautionary note must be included at this point. By reference to "excluded" age groups we do not mean to imply that services are not available for those groups. Instead, services are not available apart from the all-average category. As in the case of focus and class, the greatest part of services for each category of service focus is oriented to all-average except in the cases of food, child care/education, employment/finance and art/culture/recreation.

Age and class

The matrix created by cross-tabulation of target age and target class is quite complex (see Table 12). Of the 120 cells generated, exactly one-half (60 cells) are vacant categories. The organization by organization axes are predictably void. The veteran category is void

except for age classes 3 and 4 (18-65+). Again, this is predictable on the basis of common sense. Less predictable is the treatment of student members of discreet age categories apart from other social groupings.

Services targeted at widows, orphans and unwed mothers and deviant minorities seem to be age/class specific and oriented to the young and family groups. Handicapped services seem to be generally targeted, excluding services specifically oriented to senior citizens. Services for ethnic minorities seem to be targeted at very broad and inclusive age groupings.

Services for the poor range across all age classes. They seem to be targeted in the broadest possible fashion. As noted for other variable combinations, the all-average categories on both dimensions contain a large number of projects. The point of intersection of the all-average classes on both age and class dimensions contains 27% of all projects.

On the age dimension, more classes of persons seem to be eligible for programs directed at the basic age groups (1, 2, 3 and 4) and the all-average group than for other age combinations. These projects constitute 72% of the total. Again, opportunities seem most limited for those seeking parent-child or nuclear family oriented projects.

CHAPTER 5

Conclusions

As noted earlier, the aim of this study is not to test particular notions nor is it to generate particularly enduring theories of complex organizations. The environments of social service agencies are in a state of flux with development pressures and urbanization proceeding at a fast pace in the Mountain West. It is the fact that a relatively explosive proliferation of social services has occurred and is occurring that justifies this study. If the study is timely, it stands to reason that its results (generated from agencies in context) will be timebound.

This study has examined agencies in place and in time. The agencies' own accounts have told us what their most likely common features are. The typological differentiating tools have been generated from those accounts. Agency projects have been identified, coded and manipulated. A number of interesting service patterns have emerged. The social service scene is not an integrated whole, however. It is emergent and unintegrated, if not dis-integrated. The format and contents of the study's conclusion reflect that lack of integration.

What follows is a set of statements that summarizes the findings of this research. These conclusions flow out of the research process and will, of necessity, be reflective of both strengths and weaknesses in that process. The reader may, depending on his or her own theoretical/political bent, choose to call them theories, descriptions,

propositions, hypotheses, critiques and/or policy guides. It would be an error for this study to try to defend any or all of these labels.

The conclusions are organized first with consideration of types of organization, followed by service focus and target population. In all cases, conclusions are drawn from theoretical findings, simple distributions of services and, finally, from variable dimensions in relationship to one another.

Type of Organization

The types of organization found in the study population routinely operate in context of law, written rules (enwebbed on all levels) and geographic and community realities. The study takes the agencies out of context. For-profit enterprises (businesses) and informal practices account for much of the social service provided in Missoula.

The relative number of federal agency-operated social service projects is small. No local groups routinely oversee federal operations. Federal decisions are predominately made outside of the state.

State of Montana projects account for a small part of total projects.

There is little routine local review of state programs. Decisions are made, for the most part, in Helena by a variety of quasi-independent boards and administrative structures. The University of Montana accounts for the bulk of all Missoula-based state social service projects. The University's services are largely available only to enrolled students.

Local government services are operated by two primary general-purpose political subdivisions and by a number of semi-autonomous boards and commissions. A number of local programs operate under

shared and unclear auspices. A significant amount of federal and state revenue, unexamined by this study, supports routine social services provided by local governments. The number of local government projects is relatively small.

The private non-profit form of organization is by far the most prevalent. The sources and amounts of financial support for private non-profit agencies are relatively obscure. Their funding mechanisms are complex and varied. Federal and state law encourages contribution to these groups.

Private non-profit agencies rely heavily on volunteer staff. The impact of that form of contribution was not studied. Control of non-profit enterprises varies considerably and is not published as a matter of course.

Isolation of the quasi-public agency is potentially the most theoretically potent finding of the study. The quasi-public agency is a relative newcomer to the social service scene. Quasi-public agencies are organized as private non-profit entities with controlling boards made up of representatives of special classes of citizens and groups. The quasi-public agency tends to have formal relationships with members of all other classes of organization.

The bulk of financial support for the quasi-public agency is federal in origin. The quasi-public agency is conceived of as a joint enterprise by members of other classes of organization. This type of agency is a unique and new form, designed through public study to address some problem and/or population that has not been successfully treated by the earlier forms of organization.

Private non-profit agencies, while the largest in number, operate the smallest number of projects per agency of any form. Quasi-public agencies, while they nearly tied for the smallest absolute number, operate the largest number of projects per agency of any form.

The bulk of federal projects is oriented toward employment/finance and protection/regulation. The state agency class tends to address all service foci equally with a slightly heavier focus on employment/finance. The local government agency class tends to address all focus areas equally with the heaviest focus on art/culture/recreation.

The quasi-public form addresses all focus areas with emphasis on employment/finance and little attention to protection/regulation. The private non-profit class addresses all focus areas. The heaviest commitment of this class seems to be in the areas of mental health and art/culture/recreation. These pursuits, which are more esoteric than food, clothing, shelter, etc., account for nearly half of all private non-profit projects. Since dollar allocations to focus areas were not examined, focus distributions represent numbers of constituencies rather than real priorities.

Federal and state agencies tend to provide more secondary services (referral and services to agencies) than they do primary or tertiary services. Local government tends to operate projects with equal amounts of services on each level. Quasi-public agencies tend to specialize in planning and development services. This finding correlates with those agencies' purposes (i.e., as combinations of pre-existing agency and client group representatives).

The private non-profit class tends to favor direct-primary services. The involvement of this class in tertiary services is minimal.

Private non-profit classes tend to favor direct-primary services. The involvement of this class in tertiary services is minimal. Private non-profit projects offer the bulk of both primary and secondary level services. The quasi-public agency and local government together operate the majority of tertiary (planning and development) services.

The quasi-public agency serves the narrowest range of special target classes. The private non-profit agency serves the widest range of special target classes. All types of organizations favor the all or average citizen class with the exception of the quasi-public agency.

The quasi-public agency tends to orient its services to the poor. If we postulate that the quasi-public agency is an emergent form, designed to address problems in populations that have not been adequately addressed by earlier forms, it may follow that the problems of the poor have proven the most difficult for the society to solve.

With the exception of services for adult students by the state university, all forms tend to favor the all-average age category. The quasi-public form tends more to target the basic age categories (i.e., 0-13, 14-17, 18-64, 65+).

The sort of research undertaken does not posit the durability of the classes of organization discovered. Neither does it suppose that the notion of "type of organization" will maintain its potency. The scheme is certainly not applicable to a society with a single dominant form of organization. Recent federal moves to establish "regional" offices have been interpreted both as a decentralization and redistribution of federal power and as a move to establish tighter federal control by decreasing the autonomy of state and local government.

If, however, the quasi-public form of social service agency is an emergent phenomena (a response by a semi-self-aware society to meet stubborn needs) we are led to conjecture about the possibility of "evolution" of social service forms. As a mere speculation, we might place the quasi-public form before the federal form on our scale and then reverse the scale (see Figure 14). This is not a measured time sequence describing the emergence of the forms but rather a possible sequence of forms as important sponsors of social services. We speculate no further, not wishing to commit ourselves too seriously to the error of assuming a necessary orderliness in change.

Focus of Service

The service focus areas discovered have been arranged in a ten category scheme from the most basic (survival) to the least basic. We make no claims for the ordinal or hierarchical character of the typology. It serves its purpose as a nominal level tool.

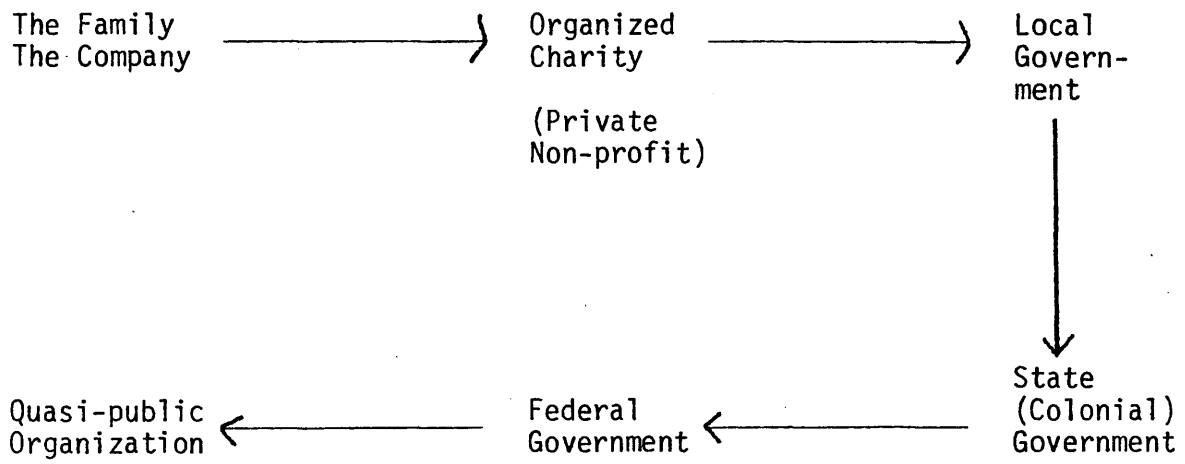
Of the ten service focus areas, more projects are oriented to mental health services (counsel, advise, spiritual guidance, etc.) than to any other. The smallest number of projects is focused on clothing related services. The bulk of all services in all focus categories but one are provided by private non-profit projects.

In the area of protection/regulation, state and local government sponsor the majority of projects. Together, mental health and art/culture/recreation make up over one-third of all projects. Together, food, clothing, shelter and medical care make up a little over one-fourth of all projects.

One-half of all services are delivered on a primary level. Of these, mental health and art/culture/recreation taken together account

FIGURE 14

TYPE OF ORGANIZATION IN HUMAN SERVICES
HYPOTHETICALLY INVERTED



for nearly 60% of the primary project total. The majority of food, clothing, mental health and art/culture/recreation services are delivered on a primary level.

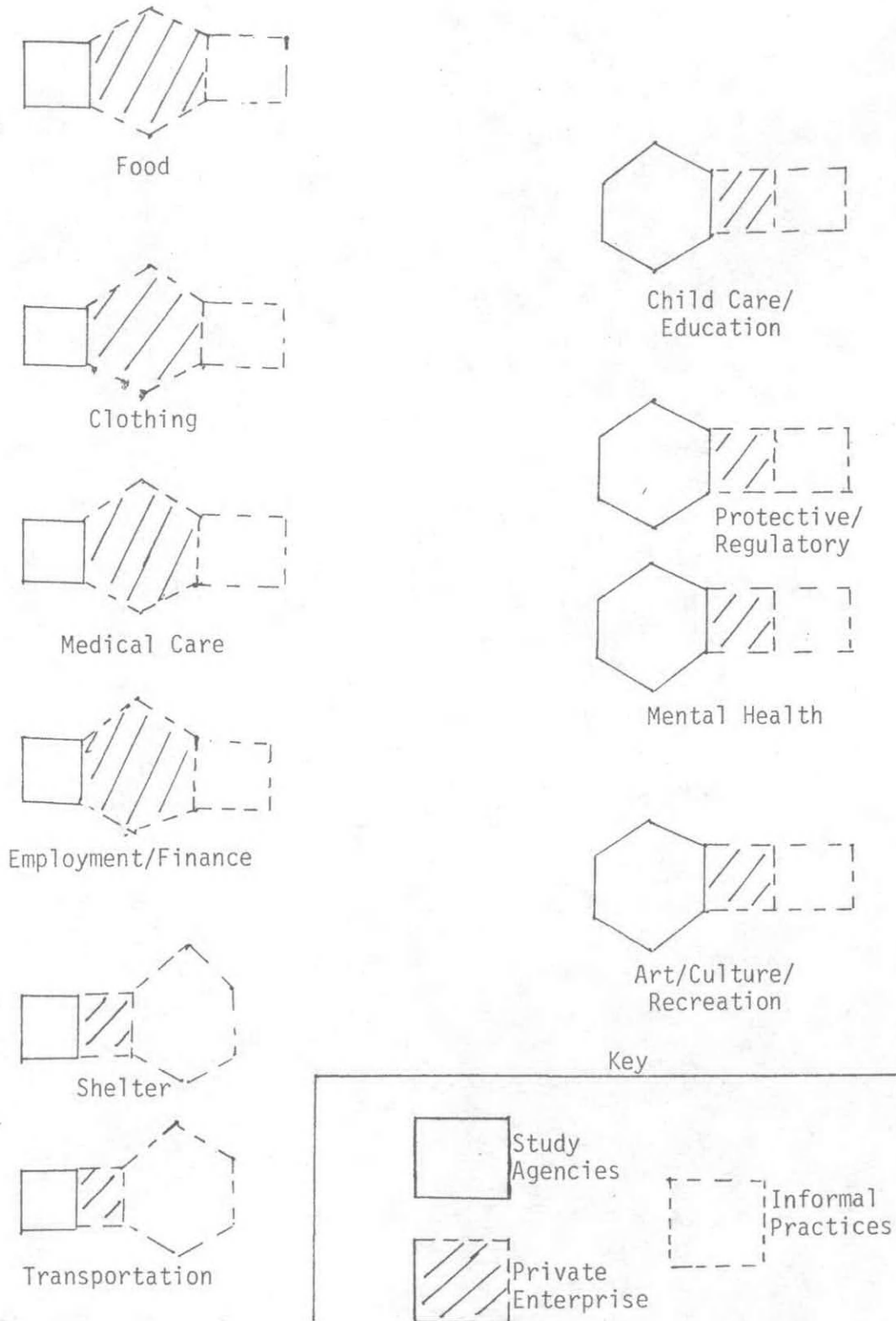
The unstudied roles of private enterprise and informal practices of persons and groups come into play when the predominately non-primary service foci are examined. We cannot measure their magnitude, but the influence of business and self-help activities must be substantial in some areas. From common sense experience in the area, we know that the food, clothing, medical care and employment/finance areas are dominated by private enterprise.

Shelter and transportation are areas which are primarily governed by individual actions and exchanges. In Missoula, housing and rides are largely the citizen's personal responsibility to provide for himself, with the exchange facilitated, shaped and managed by public and free enterprise agencies. The exchange of a house is a largely private transfer, either through purchase, inheritance or rent. Getting from one place to another is primarily the responsibility of the individual in his private car. Both sets of activity are regulated in part by public agencies and are supported in a secondary fashion by realtors, banks, title companies, gas stations, car dealers and mechanics.

The remaining service focus areas (child care/education, protection/regulation, mental health and art/culture/recreation) seem to be the primary responsibilities of the study agencies, in support or supported by, informal private practices (see Figure 15). The only areas where the planning and development level constitute relatively large proportions of total projects are medical care and transportation.

FIGURE 15

STUDY AGENCY SERVICES AND COMPLIMENTARY
BUSINESS AND INFORMAL PRACTICES



If we assume that the proportions of projects committed to different areas of service focus provide a clue to historical priority decisions about social services (which is a potentially erroneous assumption to make without actual dollar figures associated with each focus area), we can say that the community has somehow collectively prioritized public and private non-profit social services as follows (from most to least important):

- 1) Mental Health
- 2) Art/Culture/Recreation
- 3) Employment/Finance
- 4) Medical Care
- 5) Child Care/Education
- 6) Food
- 7) Transportation
- 8) Protection/Regulation
- 9) Shelter
- 10) Clothing

Even if dollar allocation by focus area were obtained, the resulting priority scheme would also be a function of: 1) community perceptions of the proper roles of individuals, families and private enterprise and 2) would reflect pressures by federal and state governments and by national charity agency goals for particular service foci.

The service focus balance has certainly not always been the same and certainly will change in the future. Certain focus areas may fall to the private sector and others may be added. An area gaining prominence as these remarks are written is concern for human energy use patterns and alternatives--a peripheral social service area to be sure, but a growing national focus nonetheless.

Food, shelter, medical care, child care/education, employment/finance, mental health and art/culture/recreation are targeted at the most diverse classes of persons. Clothing, transportation and protection/regulation projects are targeted at the smallest number of social

classes. The majority of projects in all service categories is targeted at all-average and the poor.

A large number of protection/regulation projects are targeted at deviant minorities as a class apart from all citizens. Similarly and expectedly, a large number of child care/education projects are targeted at persons with a special status as "student." Projects of most service focus categories tend to target all-average age classes. Exceptions are food and child care/education (primary age classes targeted separately) and employment/finance (targeting ages 18-64).

Age and Class

The matrix created through cross-tabulation of age and class is too large and cumbersome to be of great utility. While a large number of projects are oriented to age classes that are combinations of the four basic classes (1 = 0-13 years, 2 = 14-17 years, 3 = 18-64 years and 4 = 65+ years), the intersections of age (1, 2, 3, 4 and all ages) and classes (all-average and poor) consist of ten cells containing 46.7% of all projects. Projects oriented to all persons are, in reality, often oriented to some composite average person. These projects cannot be construed a priori to be appropriate to all target class and age categories. Services to persons possessing special student status tend to be provided along strict age lines.

Two sorts of age/class combinations are provided no services by the study agencies. These are ages:

- 1) 0-13 and 65+
14-17 and 65+
0-17 and 65+ and
- 2) 0-13, 18-64 and 65+.

The first cases represent combinations of children and youth and senior citizens. We might predict this condition based on the pre-eminence of the nuclear family and the separation of the elderly from that family. Presumably children-senior citizen contact is not formalized. The second group represents an unusual exclusion of teenagers, not unknown in other cultures but presumably rare in Missoula.

A final set of age combinations, 0-64 and 13-64, is not targeted for the all-average class. Special projects to exist for the poor, the handicapped, deviant minorities and widows, orphans and unwed mothers who fall into this age group situation. Obviously, the nuclear family is described by this age combination. Presumably, public and private non-profit services are not considered appropriately focused at the average nuclear family (as a class apart from senior citizens) unless some mitigating circumstance is present (poverty, family instability, etc.).

CHAPTER VI

Modeling the Social Service Scene

To create a model of an object or situation implies that a representation of a structure is somehow devised. Rejecting essential structure in inter-relationships of projects in the social service scene, none were found. Perhaps by positing order, structure would have emerged. The issue of whether or not a model of the structure of the social service scene or a representation of classes of structures that compose the scene is possible cannot now be resolved.

We know now who is providing what sorts of services on several levels. We know in a vague sense who is being served. With this start, additional data may be collected and related to the core concepts. Then, perhaps, a model of social service scenes may be possible. The following discussion considers deficiencies in the present research design. In addition, several studies that might supplement this research are suggested.

Deficiencies

The necessary exclusion of private enterprise operations and informal practices served to limit the study. The presence of these phenomena is felt in the data. The relative importance of each of these service forms is hinted at above but can only be adequately described through further work. Both business and informal practices constitute important social service scene elements and do in fact serve to context the study agency population.

Multi-variate analysis of the simultaneous relationships of three or more variables might expose further service patterns. In fact, several clusters of projects were seen in the coding process to be recurring phenomena with certain classes of agencies. A complex analysis of project clustering in relationship to agency form would certainly provide further insights.

An obvious weakness of the study is the use of "projects" as cases. While counting projects seems to be a useful exercise, some comparative measures of magnitude of effort should be employed in further research. One agency's commitment to food may appear identical to another's on the basis of project distributions. The relative quantity of commitment may vary considerably when measured in terms of dollar outlay and staff and volunteer time devoted to seemingly identical projects.

The combination of age and class target groups employed was found to be cumbersome. Still, a significant number of projects were found to be oriented to the needs of complex age categories. Perhaps the maze of age and class characteristics employed by social service agencies that served as the data base for generation of the age-class categories forces a cumbersome set of target population typologies. Further research should explore the age-class characteristics of persons actually served and measure the actual size of target age-class groups in the general population.

Supplementary Research

If any structure of interrelationships of agencies does exist in the social service scene (and we assert from experience that a limited interagency structure is present in the scene), this phenomena should

be examined. The reader will recall the two criteria employed in defining differences between types of organization, namely, sources of power and funding and organization of decision-making. A thorough examination of agency funding sources will undoubtedly expose complex relationships between agencies of different types. Federal funding may prove particularly important. The other criterion, decision-making form, may be important in describing intra- and inter-type relationships. Interlocking boards of directors and family-friend staff relationships may serve to define both formal and informal systems of agency relations.

The Client Perspective

A complete study of the social service scene must consider two related questions: "Of what quality are the services offered?" and "How appropriate are the services offered?" Clearly, social service workers will have opinions on these topics. But the group most able to judge whether or not the services that are needed are being offered and whether those services are satisfactory and timely is the client population. Further study should include contact with the various client populations that are the targets of social programs.

While a lack of client-based information severely cuts social service projects out of context for any study, that information is difficult to obtain. A study of services offered by Missoula County was conducted by the County's Human Service Liaison worker late in 1975. At the direction of the county's governing board, questionnaires covering awareness of available social services were made available to all county program participants. Only a handful were completed. This example is not included to cast aspersions upon client groups. Persons

who receive social services may be wisely hesitant to criticize the agencies delivering those services. Fear of reprisal is very real.

The lack of organized client groups of any size often eliminates the possibility of even politically-biased service critiques. The client view of the social service scene is an integral part of any complete analysis, however. Mechanisms for client feedback and advocacy would similarly seem to be integral elements of social service agency operation. Sadly, that advocacy is often lacking.

Comparative Dimensions

In order to undertake any comparative study of social service scenes in different localities, an understanding of differentiating characteristics is necessary. Urban/rural differences, varied geographic features, economic exigencies and local socio-cultural, ethnic and historical conditions should be taken into account. If future comparative studies are undertaken, all of these factors must be examined and where indicated used as independent factors which may explain differences between local social service scenes. All such studies should, of course, take into account the regional or local character of the study agencies. Many Missoula-based programs have regional responsibilities. Those responsibilities should be noted in describing scenes within that region.

The typologies of service-agency-population classes isolated in this study might become the core of a model of social service scenes. This would, of course, require future studies designed to supplement and modify those typologies. A growing awareness of the complexity and pervasiveness of those scenes may stimulate further research.

Practical Applications

This research has three immediately apparent applications beyond providing the basis of future research and modeling efforts. The first is as a reflective tool for agency staffs, officials and board members. Interest may be stimulated to impact the social service scene in some way. The second application is a basis for a community study process for local citizens. In Small Town Renaissance, Richard Poston (1950) outlines the "Montana Study" process employed in the 1940's to examine the workings of rural communities in Montana. A similar urban study process might be designed around the theme of study of social service scenes and their contexts. Finally, an automated application, information and referral system could be designed that would read out available services by providing the system with information about the potential client's needs, age and special class characteristics.

During the course of this study, the needs of students of community organization to understand more and more about social service delivery became apparent. It is hoped that the need to understand this multi-million dollar business--the giving business--becomes apparent to more and more persons.

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