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A Catholic Communal Welfare Institution in a Changing  
Society, Montreal: 1931-1986

Francis Kun Suk Han

A Thesis

in

The Department

of

Religion

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements  
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at  
Concordia University  
Montréal, Québec, Canada

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## ABSTRACT

### A Catholic Communal Welfare Institution in a Changing Society, Montreal: 1931-1986

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Concordia University, 1987

The purpose of this thesis is to study and examine the Foundation of Catholic Community Services, an ethnic communal welfare agency that has been a part of the organized English Catholic community in Montreal during the years 1931-1986. We are concerned with the changes that occurred within the agency under the impact of developments from both inside and outside the English Catholic community of Montreal. The developments that will be examined include the changing role of the Catholic Church in charity work; the growing involvement of the government in the social welfare arena; the emergence of social welfare as an academic discipline and of social work as a profession; the rise of Quebec nationalism; the changes in the socioeconomic conditions for Catholics; and the shifts in priorities for the community over the years.

The major issue that has been investigated and examined by the study is if, and how, the Foundation of Catholic Community Services was able to carry out its functions as a Catholic ethnic institution through the changes. The study points out principally how the Foundation of Catholic



Community Services was able to accommodate to these changes by changing its roles, goals, programs, methods, priority, structure, and financial resources. The argument that the study upholds is that while from 1931 to 1986 the agency changed with regards to all of these aspects, it was still able to maintain its functions as a Catholic ethnic social welfare institution that was responsible for the dispensing of funds and/or social welfare services to Catholic organizations and individual Catholic members of the community in Montreal, as well as fostering communication and inner cohesion within the community.

In addition to maintaining its position as a vehicle for the provision of social welfare services to the Catholic community, it has still been able to maintain itself as a symbol of Catholic charity, attracting volunteers and donations, and providing a means and opportunity for Catholics to practice charity and gain social recognition in exchange for their services and contributions.

To prove the above points, the study describes the various phases in the history of the Foundation of Catholic Community Services and analyzes the changes that occurred within and outside the agency. The study examines the development of the agency from a small social welfare federation in the 1930s to a large agency in the 1970s, to a small communal agency with its primary role as a trustee of community assets and financial resources in the 1980s providing program facilities and funds for Catholic organizations

which supply educational-cultural, community development, and social welfare services.

The thesis concludes with an observation that the agency still functions as a sectarian communal welfare and ethnic institution in the 1980s.

Structurally, this thesis is divided into four parts. The first part of the study includes the introduction and theoretical background. The second part examines modern social welfare in general, and the Catholic communal organization in Montreal. Part Three concentrates on the historical perspectives of the Foundation of Catholic Community Services and the changes it went through, and Part Four ends with a conclusion on the study.

This study is dedicated to Jung Ja Lim, whose sustained interest and unfailing support inspired my mind while preparing this work.

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# ABBREVIATIONS

CCS	Catholic Community Services
Centraide	Centraide Montreal
CFCS	Catholic Family and Children Services
CWB	Catholic Welfare Bureau
COS	Charity Organization Society
ESCC	English Speaking Catholic Council
FAGM	Federated Appeal for Greater Montreal
Federation-FCCS	Federation of Catholic Charities 1931-1970
	Federation of Catholic Community Services 1970-1975
	Foundation of Catholic Community Services 1975-1986

PART A

INTRODUCTION AND THEORETICAL REFERENCE

## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

#### The Issue

This is a study of an ethnic institution -- the "Federation of Catholic Charities" -- during the period of 1931-1986. This institution assumed different names which will be explained why these changes occurred during the course of the study. At the same time, the institution will be referred to as the "Federation." The Federation is a communal social welfare agency which is a part of the organized English-speaking Catholic community.

We are concerned with the changes that the Federation underwent under the impact of developments inside and outside the English-speaking Catholic community. The major developments included the growing involvement of government in the social welfare arena; the changing role of the church in the practice of charity; the adoption of social welfare as an academic discipline and of social work as a profession; the rise of Quebec nationalism; the merger of all major private social welfare federations and social welfare councils with Centraide Montreal; and the shifts in the English-speaking Catholic community priorities along the years.

The Federation, presently known as Foundation of Catholic Community Services, as an ethnic institution has had certain objectives and functions. The first function is unique to this institution and the second is shared by all ethnic institutions:

- 1) To deliver social welfare services to the English-speaking Catholic Community of Montreal.
- 2) To foster communal ethnic identification and cohesion by facilitating communication within the ethnic population.

The first function is achieved by various community actions and promotion of social welfare programs. The second is attained through the intra-group communications which the activity of the ethnic institution creates. According to Bird, these communications result in:

- 1) the transmission of cultural symbols.
- 2) The preservation of social ties and secondary relations.
- 3) The creation of intra-group leadership.<sup>1</sup>

The issue we are going to investigate in this study is if and how the Federation continued to carry out its functions as an English-speaking Catholic institution through the changes it has been subjected to; or, in other words, how did it accommodate to changes inside and outside the English-speaking Catholic community by changing its roles, goals, programs, methods, priorities, structure, name of the agency

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<sup>1</sup>Frederick B. Bird, "Ethnic Group Institutions and Intra-Group Communications" (Unpublished paper, Concordia University, Montreal, 1979).

and financial sources.

We shall concentrate on a single communal welfare institution -- The Federation of Catholic Charities -- because it has been one of the oldest leaders of the Catholic communal welfare institutions and because it functioned to coordinate Catholic social welfare activities in general and the first finance federation established in the Catholic community. While focusing on this institution we will notice a number of changes which reflect the changing character of social welfare activities within the English Catholic community in Montreal.

We shall mainly examine the following changes:

- 1) the change in the role of the church, either initiation by individual pastors of parishes, the Episcopal office, and Religious orders in the social welfare field from that of direct service provider and service initiator to that of enabler for the lay community leaders and volunteers.
- 2) The changes in program priorities from an emphasis on simple material aid, casework and pastoral counselling to the preventative and rehabilitative approach, which resulted in the expansion of programs concerned with recreation, cultural activities, group work, community organization and social reform.
- 3) The establishment of the welfare federation as an overall agency for coordinating, planning, budgeting and fund-raising for the Catholic social welfare organizations.
- 4) The impact of professional social work methods and

activities on the quality control, structure, priority and scope of programing.

- 5) The impact of the nationalization of essential services and the expansion of public service activities from mere financial assistance to preventative and rehabilitative services.
- 6) The impact of the merger with Centraide Montreal and the changing rôle of the Federation.

We will also note the resistance that the Federation offered to these changes. Most conspicuous were the serious debates which arose over each proposed change, embracing all the major Catholic organizations, the Church or clergy members, professional social workers and lay community leaders. Other forms of resistance were less noticeable, but no less successful. Such resistance was motivated by the interest in maintaining the status quo in fulfilling its goals and objectives as an ethnic institution. In this regard we shall examine if these functions really remained the same all through the years. During the period of 1931-1986, the Federation drastically changed its priorities, programs, staff, methods, clients and funding sources and even its name three times. Were these ethnic communal functions also changed? We maintain they were not.

We shall see that at least in three ways there was persistence with regard to the institution. This persistence relates to the functions of the institution. That is, the ethnic communal functions of the Federation remained

essentially unchanged, despite the changes in its programs, priorities, structure, methods, scope, clients, funding sources and name throughout the years.

The persisting functions were:

- 1) the Federation maintained its function as an organizational instrument in providing social welfare programs in terms of funds, coordination, planning and budgeting for Catholic organizations, although its scope and priorities, programs and sources of funds changed over the years. This is a manifest function.
- 2) The Federation, as a sectarian Catholic social welfare institution, promoted Catholic charity for Catholic organizations and the community.
- 3) The Federation persisted as a means by which ethnic identification and inner cohesion were maintained.

Through active participation in the activities of the institutions, the English-speaking Catholics could gain social recognition and prestige in exchange for their services and contributions. These are latent functions.

In the course of analyses of the institution, we shall also see that the Federation was able to perpetuate these important functions because it was able to perpetuate its "Catholic charity."

The argument of this thesis is that during fifty-five years, the Federation changed its roles, priorities, programs, scope, structure, clientele, staff, financial resources, and names, but maintained a strikingly similar

role as an ethnic social welfare institution.

Our academic research and survey on the Catholic institutions has revealed that no other studies have dealt with these issues in Catholic welfare institutions, but a study has been conducted on a Jewish communal welfare institution in relation to the same issues in 1981.<sup>2</sup>

### The Quebec Background

In order to understand the role of the English-speaking Catholic communal welfare institution in the Quebec context and the rationale for maintaining private sectarian ethnic welfare institution in modern times, we will examine the early period of Quebec history and analyze the historical development of the English-speaking Catholic community of Montreal.

The English-speaking Catholic ethnic group is one of many English-speaking minority groups in the predominately French milieu. This population has been identified as an ethnic group which shares common cultural, religious and linguistic elements in the reality of a francophone majority.

The distinctive ethnic groups in Quebec are Irish, Scottish, American, Italian, Jewish, Greek, Dutch, Arabian, Chinese, Japanese, Korean, and West-Indian descent.

Above and beyond these ethnic divisions lies the

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<sup>2</sup>Yogev Tzuk, "A Jewish Communal Welfare Institution in a Changing Society: Montreal, 1920-1980" (Unpublished thesis, Concordia University, Montreal, 1981).



linguistic and national division dividing English-speaking and French-speaking residents of Quebec. Often in the past other linguistic minorities have associated with the English-speaking population. Bill 101, the French language charter of Quebec, and other recent public policies, have attempted to make these groups associate with the French-speaking population.

The role of the English language has been very important in Quebec because Quebec's social, political, educational, and economic activities have become so closely tied to linguistic usage that any change in fertility and mortality rates, immigration, emigration, and demographic changes are considered a serious issue for both linguistic groups of English and French.

In reference to the English-speaking population, the significant number of English origin immigrants began to appear in Quebec in 1759. According to Susan Schacter:

After the conquest of New France (Quebec) by Britain in 1759, a large number of British origin began to settle in Lower Canada. It was also at this time that immigrants of British origin, known as the United Empire Loyalists, began to leave the United States of America to come to Canada. This took place immediately after the American War of Independence in 1793. Another group of British immigrants who arrived in Canada were those who were suffering from the poor economic conditions in Britain after the Napoleonic Wars of 1816.

During the 19th century, immigrants of English origin who escaped the highland clearances in Scotland

and the famine in Ireland in 1840, also came to settle in several parts of North America including Lower Canada.<sup>3</sup>

The English-speaking Catholic community was being formed as early as 1817 at which time Father Richard Jackson preached sermons in English for Catholics of that language worshipping at the Bonsecours Church in Old Montreal. In 1847, the first church of St. Patrick's was built.

In 1847, the English-speaking Catholic community received a large number of Irish immigrants. The failure of Ireland's potato crop in 1847 drove thousands of Irish immigrants to seek the better life in Canada. Crammed into cargo holds, without fresh water and sanitary conditions, they became victims of typhus. In the period that followed, 80,000 Irish immigrants, predominantly Catholic, passed through the port of Montreal. Six thousand died in the hastily constructed fever sheds on that part of Montreal's shoreline known as Pointe St. Charles.

With this occasion, a number of social welfare institutions, such as St. Patrick's Orphanage, homes for children and mothers were established by the English Catholic community.

In the 1850s the English-speaking Catholic community established roots. The community witnessed the emergence of various Catholic institutions including English Catholic

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<sup>3</sup>Susan Schacter (ed.), "Working Papers on English Language Institutions in Quebec," Alliance Quebec, Montreal, 1982, p. 11.

benevolent societies, Catholic newspapers, St. Patrick Hospital, Loyola College, Marianopolis College, Sacred Heart High School and Villa Maria High School. Almost all these institutions were initiated and managed by religious communities or religious orders.

The English-speaking Catholic community was depicted as one of influence, power and prestige at that time and is still considered as such. They had gained a hold on commerce and manufacturing, were in the judiciary and legislature, on the aldermanic board, in offices of trust connected with public affairs, and in the learned professions.

The end result of this situation in Quebec Society was that the English-speaking Catholic community had substantial influence and autonomy in maintaining and exercising their rights in the crucial matters of social welfare, cultural, educational and language rights within the majority franco-phone milieu.

A sense of having power in Quebec society by the English Catholic community, especially until the late 19th century, in the City of Montreal, was when it identified with the anglophone population. According to the Canada Census Bureau, the population of Montreal in 1871 was 115,000. Of this total, the French numbered 56,856, and the English numbered 58,144 of which 28,440 were registered as Irish. Since then, the trend of population has been reversed in favor of the French population which has grown more rapidly than all the combined ethnic groups which identify with the English

population.<sup>4</sup> This phenomenal growth in the French population lasted until the early 1950s, when the numbers began once again to decrease. According to the survey conducted by J. de Vries for the period of 1951-1976, the English-speaking population increased by 2%.<sup>5</sup>

The survey indicates that there was a continued decrease in the French and English populations and an increase of other ethnic populations. In order to prevent further deterioration, the Quebec government demanded a greater say in the national immigrant policy in 1978. As a result, Quebec entered into an agreement on immigration control with the federal government. Since that time, Quebec has been the only province which controls its influx of immigrants.<sup>6</sup> During the same period, Quebec also legislated two important language policies, one aimed at increasing the population with French as the mother tongue and the other aimed at improving the position of the French language. The first, Bill 101, dictates that all immigrant children must attend French schools. The second designates French as the official language of Quebec, which obliges all public

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<sup>4</sup>Canada Census Bureau, Ottawa, 1971.

<sup>5</sup>J. de Vries, unpublished study for the Council of Quebec Minorities, Montreal, 1979.

<sup>6</sup>The Immigration Agreement between the Canadian federal and the Quebec provincial government, published by the Department of Communications, the Ministry of Immigration and Culture (Quebec: The Public Printer, 1978).

institutions and private industries to utilize French.<sup>7</sup>

Another cultural factor which persuaded the Quebec government to legislate language policy and immigration controls was directly related to the shift to the English language by non-English ethnic groups. Réjean Lachapelle describes the situation which had developed:

Due to the orientation toward English of the third group linguistic transfers, the French group in Quebec, no longer benefitting from appreciably higher fertility, faces a disturbing alternative: either the economic situation is satisfactory and immigration exceeds emigration, in which case Quebec maintains or drops slightly in demographic strength in the Canadian picture, but the proportion of francophones risks a strong drop in Quebec, or the economic situation is mediocre and emigration exceeds immigration, in which case the percentage of francophones is to rise highly in Quebec, but the strength of Quebec will decrease in the Canadian population. This undoubtedly partially explains why the Quebec government called for increased power over immigration in 1977, and adopted two very important laws designed to protect and improve the position of the French language.<sup>8</sup>

The social and language policies noted above resulted almost in a polarization of Quebec society between the French and English sectors. The power of the French sector was further increased by the government's policies of monopolizing the education, health and social welfare fields.

In the 1970s, the government nationalized all health and

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<sup>7</sup>Bill 101, The Charter of French Language C-11, Laws of Quebec, sanctioned on August 26, 1977. "Editor, official du Québec, 1977.

<sup>8</sup>Réjean Lachapelle, "Cultural Boundaries," Montreal, 1979, p. 25.

social service programs. Through the nationalization of these important programs, the government has attempted to manage the programs that are financed by it and also to create an opportunity to directly contact the Quebec population, as well as to lessen the sectarian approaches that were predominately and traditionally under the control of the Catholic Church, and other ethnic associations or institutions.

Throughout the history of Quebec, the French Catholic Church has been the largest institution to play a special role both in protecting and preserving French culture. The Church also controlled education, health and social service programs. In a political sense, the Church had substantial power which influenced all aspects of political, social and cultural life in Quebec society.

Bill 65, which nationalized the health and social service programs in 1971, has several significant features. It dictates that all health and social service fields are to be democratized in terms of meeting human needs. That is, all services are to be provided on an equal basis to all Quebec citizens, without discriminating against any service consumers regardless of their background of race, ethnicity, national origin, culture, religion, or political preferences.

The major private social welfare councils and federations followed the government's example in terms of providing services on a non-sectarian basis. In 1975, all major federations, including the Federation of Catholic Charities merged with Centraide Montreal, thereby transferring

all the major functions of the individual federations to Centraide Montreal. The underlying purposes of this amalgamation were to ensure universal service provision and to improve the efficiency of the service delivery system. Improved efficiency would save community resources, which was especially important in the areas of expenses and manpower.

Thus, due to the nature of the historical developments between the two major language groups of English and French, the English Catholic ethnic group has experienced a constant threat to its identity and communal cohesion in the French majority society. In the political arena, the English-speaking Catholic ethnic group has represented a significant minority within the francophone majority. In this difficult situation, the English-speaking Catholics have attempted to engage in the manipulation of social structures via a variety of ethnic institutions and social action groups as a way of maintaining their identity and cohesion in Quebec. To date, the results of their efforts have been both encouraging and discouraging. But in the areas of education, health, and social welfare, the English and the French Catholic churches share a common fate due to nationalization of these programs in recent history. We shall examine further the role the Catholic Church has played in these fields, especially in the context of Quebec history, as follows.

The Catholic Church and the Social Welfare System in Quebec

This section will examine the changing role of the Quebec government with respect to the initiation and development of educational, cultural, and social welfare programs. Initially, these services were largely, if not wholly, performed by the church.

Historically, educational, cultural, health and social welfare systems were developed by the Catholic Church. They were initiated and managed on a denominational or sectarian and linguistic basis. Even after the British conquest in 1759, the French Catholic Church provided leadership in the Quebec context. The system and format were modeled after those of France. In France, the Catholic Church assumed a major role in the provision of sociocultural welfare programs. As a matter of fact, the Church had the most competence in administering such work.

In regard to New France or Quebec, charitable works were not only inspired by the religious doctrines of the Catholic faith, but they also had significant social and political implications for French Canadians. The social care of the family, French culture, and education were perceived as being essential to the survival of French Canada. This political significance was even more keenly felt after New France's political institutions were taken over by the British in 1759. After this, the French Catholic Church imposed itself as the protector of sociocultural and political interests for French



Canadians. This developmental pattern resulted in the Catholic Church having almost absolute power and control over these fields. Such involvement on the part of the Church set a precedent that was significant enough to be reflected in the constitution of Canada in 1867, which gives complete jurisdiction over health and social welfare programs to the provinces. The British North America Act, Section 92, stipulates that the "Exclusive powers of Provincial Legislatures"<sup>9</sup> govern the matters of health and social welfare.

English-speaking groups, including English Catholics, followed the same pattern as the French Canadians in providing health and social welfare services for their constituents. It was under the leadership of the Episcopal office of the Diocese of Montréal that prominent benevolent societies and religious orders and communities in Montreal were invited to establish a variety of institutions for health and social services. In order to have members maintain a cultural and religious identification with Catholicism, the Church also provided leadership in the social, cultural, and educational fields. As a result of this denominational care, all educational and social welfare activities developed a sectarian flavour.

The English Catholic Church played major roles in the setting up of sociocultural communal welfare systems or

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<sup>9</sup> This is the constitution of Canada enacted on March 29, 1867, by the British Parliament for the union of Upper and Lower Canada, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick.

institutions. For example, English-speaking Catholics, who were mainly of Irish descent, allied themselves with other minority English-speaking Catholic ethnic groups as a way of maintaining their identification and cohesion in the reality of the francophone majority. To reinforce its position, the English Catholic Church expanded its community both by building more churches and by inviting various religious communities to serve in all facets of the socio-cultural, health, and social welfare fields. All religious communities were invited to manage schools, hospitals, orphanages, residential institutions, and social services, and both private and public Catholic schools were directed by religious orders.

In the field of social welfare, it became evident that the availability of resources was not enough to meet the great needs of the early 1920s. Economic and social disruption was caused by the end of the First World War, industrialization, and urbanization. As a result, demands for assistance exceeded the abilities of what church organizations could offer. At this point, the Government of Quebec passed the Quebec Public Charities Act (QPCA) in 1921.<sup>10</sup> The purpose of this Act was to assist the indigent sick who were received and treated in hospitals or kept in

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<sup>10</sup> Statutes of Quebec, 1921, Chapter 79: An Act to establish the Quebec Bureau of Public Charities. This Act was later rectified as The Public Charities Act, in Chapter 187 of The Revised Statutes of Quebec, 1941.

public charitable institutions. It regulated the division of labor and responsibilities among the government, the municipalities, private institutions, and hospitals. It created a simple and permanent statute which furnished funds to all private social welfare organizations. This Act became the springboard for the development of a number of pieces of legislation in the field of social welfare at a later date in Quebec.

Most charitable organizations and ethnic benevolent societies were supportive of this Act. However, the Catholic Church resisted the government's move because it feared the government would move into the private and sectarian field with the intention of eventually controlling the entire social welfare field.

Nevertheless, the English Catholic Church and its social welfare institutions resolved to accept the government's proposal, thereby utilizing public funds as a supplement to their own monies for helping the indigent sick and their family members. The French Catholic Church followed the lead of the English, but it allied itself with the government, particularly during the reign of the Union Nationale Party under Premier Maurice Duplessis, which had a very conservative social policy. During this period from 1936-1959, the French Catholic Church had considerable influence over the government's direction in various social policies. Because of this influence, the government maintained a conservatism in social reform. This allowed the predominantly sectarian private

sector organizations to control health and social welfare programs. However, the government legislated social welfare policies in a piecemeal fashion. According to Yogev Tzuk's historical review of the social welfare field in Quebec,<sup>11</sup> the government legislated in 1937 an act providing for the payment of allowances to the needy, followed by a cost-sharing agreement with the federal government which provided a universal pension to the elderly and the disabled, and financial assistance to all needy unemployed persons not covered by the Unemployment Insurance program. This took place in the 1950s.

In the 1960s, Jean Lesage's Liberal party came to power and launched a revolutionary social reform program, which included education, health, and social services. The philosophy and ambition of the Liberal party was to modernize Québec. It launched a progressive social reform program and demonstrated a new Quebec nationalism which is sometimes termed the "Quiet Revolution." One of its aims was to stop the ecclesiastic influence over health, education, and social welfare, or at least to weaken the power of the Catholic Church. The Quebec government transferred school administration to the public sector, which was dominated by confessional school boards. The government also initiated the CEGEP educational system and introduced a medicare program.

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<sup>11</sup>Yogev Tzuk, "A Jewish Communal Welfare Institution in a Changing Society: Montreal, 1920-1980," pp. 54-65.

In 1961, a study committee, known as the Boucher Commission, was formed to investigate all issues concerning allowance rates, collaboration between the public and private services, and financial assistance. The commission produced seventy-two recommendations. Due to the Liberals' fall from power in 1966, most of these recommendations failed to be translated into social policies. However, they became cornerstones in the foundation of the modern welfare state.

In 1966, the government appointed a commission chaired by Claude Eastoungay to investigate the entire field of health and social welfare. After five years of intensive study and survey, it produced the basis for more comprehensive legislation relating to a total overhaul of the health and social service institutions. This was, of course, Bill 65 of 1971, which became Quebec Statutes 20 Elizabeth II, Chapter 48 (1971). This legislation became the most comprehensive and modern social policy leading towards the development of a social welfare state. It obliged sectarian and religious organizations to transfer control of health and social welfare institutions to the government and ensured that these services would be supplied on a universal basis to every resident of the province.

The English Catholic Church had a rather mixed reaction to the revolutionary political process, this "Quiet Revolution." Bishop Crowley recalled that the political phenomenon was quite amazing in that:

We were happy to see the government's expansion in the health/social service field. In recent history, we have been getting tangible financial support from the public sector for our needy people, but not nearly enough. But the government's undertaking of the responsibility in health and social welfare programs gave us more space to reorganize our programs with a unique Catholic orientation. With our limited resources, we are able to concentrate on programs with a sectarian flavour which are not supplied by the public funds. From this point of view, we do not have much objection to transferring our services which require practical attention such as financial assistance and other basic services to the public sector. Our clergy and religious communities have been relieved from all these traditional functions in the health and social service field, but our lay Catholics still maintain Catholic organizations providing Catholic oriented services. Our lay leaders also participate on various boards of public and private institutions to safeguard services to our constituency.<sup>12</sup>

The attack on the ecclesiastic influence on social welfare programs and the sectarian approach in service delivery systems by the government was regarded positively by Bishop Crowley. He appeared to have certain plans to become involved in the process of social reform through the organizational structures of various institutions. This is confirmed by the record of the Diocese of Montreal:

When the provincial government reduced the number of school boards on the Island of Montreal in 1973 from 33 to 8 -- 6 Catholic and 2 Protestant -- English Catholics with a clientele of 73,000 petitioned the Ministry of Education for their own board but were refused. In the last decade, the situation for English Catholics has dramatically worsened. In 1985, there were an estimated 15,000 students off-island attending Protestant schools, through arrangements made between the French and English Protestant School Boards. In order to improve the

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<sup>12</sup> Interview with Bishop Leonard Crowley, Archdiocese of Montreal, December 29, 1986.

situation for English Catholics in the Diocese, the English-speaking Catholic Council has formed an Education Committee composed of parents, teachers, and school administrators. In the last five years, the Committee has met with each of the Island school boards and made recommendations for restructuring the system to provide improved services to the English Catholic schools.<sup>13</sup>

The Church's role, at both the Episcopal office level and the religious communities' pastors of individual parishes, has changed constantly, especially in terms of its involvement in the fields of education, health, and social services.

The final outcome of the Quebec government's reform program was that educational, health, and social welfare institutions were no longer initiated by the Catholic Church or managed by the religious community and laity. Consequently, the people of Quebec receive health and social service on a universal basis, without being subjected to discrimination against their racial or religious backgrounds.

Notwithstanding the foregoing changes which occurred both inside and outside the English Catholic community, we maintain that the Church has not changed its roles as the leader in the charity field, nor has the Federation changed its historical function as an ethnic institution for the English Catholic community. It plays a significant role in fostering intra-group communications resulting in inner cohesion and social solidarity which are very important aspects in maintaining

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<sup>13</sup> Archdiocese of Montreal, "Aperçus d'hier et d'aujourd'hui, 1830-1986 de l'Eglise Catholique au Québec" (Montreal, 1986), p. 33.

ethnic identity and survival.

At this juncture, the following questions have been raised: Do English-speaking Catholics need an ethnic institution for sectarian services? What is the nature of Catholic social service or sectarian service? Sectarian services benefit whom -- the Church, the community leaders, the volunteers, or the clientele? Are English-speaking Catholics entitled to the services offered by the public sector? If so, why is there a need for private social services? Does the English-speaking Catholic communal welfare institution require to maintain the identity and facilitate an inner cohesion of the ethnic group or community? Does the Church maintain its historical role as a leader in charity work? These questions will be addressed in the following chapters. The social and political developments in Quebec society and the current trend in the private sector for non-sectarian services have posed questions about the need for maintaining a private communal welfare institution. We will examine this issue in the course of analyzing the functions and roles of the ethnic institution.

#### Period, Sources, and Outline of the Study

Period. In choosing the period of 1931-1986 for this study, the following major events were considered:

- 1) The 1930s were a chaotic and confused period in the social welfare field. Welfare activities in the English-speaking Catholic community were characterized by duplication of services, competition for scarce resources, and poor



inter-group communication. The entire social welfare field was suffering from a lack of leadership in the service network. At this time, the Federation was established under the name of the Federation of Catholic Charities. The functions of the Federation included financing, coordination, budgeting and planning. The period of 1931-1960 was characterized by program development and expansion.

- 2) The 1960s were characterized by the professional activities in the areas of evaluation and analysis of programming and the structure of the Federation itself.
- 3) The 1970s saw drastic changes in the structure, scope, programming and financial sources of the Federation. These changes were due to public involvement and the merger with Centraide Montreal.
- 4) The 1980s were a period of adjustment during which the Federation maintained its traditional functions, albeit on a limited basis, mainly functions as fiduciary role.

The Sources. The following sources were used for this study:

- 1) Program records, annual reports of the Federation, professional research and evaluation reports, and the minutes of meetings of the Board of Directors of the Federation.
- 2) Interviews with members of the clergy, community leaders, volunteers, the staff, the former president and various board members of the Federation; the Executive Directors of Centraide Montreal, and the Director General of the Ville Marie Social Service Centre (for a complete list of

- interviewed persons, see Appendix).
- 3) Federal and provincial publications on social welfare policies, and various pieces of legislation dealing with language, education and immigration policy.
  - 4) Books, academic studies and other research data on Catholic community social welfare (for a full list of sources, see bibliography).

### Outline of the Study

#### Part A: Introduction and Theoretical References

Chapter I states the issues and the purposes of the study and describes the Quebec background.

Chapter II distinguishes and examines the different features of ethnic populations, communities and institutions.

#### Part B: Historical Background on Public Welfare and Religious Charity in Quebec

Chapter III describes public welfare systems in Quebec.

Chapter IV describes the religious basis of Christian charity.

Chapter V examines the historical development of Catholic communal welfare and professionalism in social work: 1850-1930.

#### Part C: Fédération of Catholic Charities -- A Historical Perspective: 1931-1986

Chapter VI examines the developments of the Federation of Catholic Charities, 1931-1961.

Chapter VII analyzes the impact of professional surveys on the Federation structure and programming from 1961 - 1970.

Chapter VIII analyzes public involvement (Bill 65) and

the resultant program changes for Catholic welfare institutions from 1965-1975. - -

Chapter IX analyzes the impact of the merger with Centraide Montreal and the changes made to traditional functions from 1975-1986.

Chapter X concludes the study, pointing out the changes in the Catholic welfare system during the years 1931-1986.

## CHAPTER II

### ENGLISH-SPEAKING CATHOLICS AS AN ETHNIC COMMUNITY

The Federation of Catholic Charities was instituted to facilitate funding and coordination of the services for various Catholic social welfare programs and agencies. It was established on the same model as the Allied Jewish Community Services (AJCS) for the Jewish community or various federations for communal charities in other cities, such as the charity organization societies in several American cities. Nonetheless, although this agency manifestly was concerned strictly with social welfare, it also functioned as AJCS as the centrally important institution for the English-speaking Catholic population in Montreal. This chapter will focus in particular on this latter role.

If the English-speaking Catholics in Montreal come under the category of ethnic groups, it is important to determine how they maintain their identity as an ethnic group. In clarifying the terminology, we will describe (a) the criteria for ethnicity; (b) the formation of ethnic communities, and (c) the function of ethnic institutions.

#### The Criteria of Ethnicity

What constitutes ethnicity? The numerous definitions of ethnicity differ in the elements or criteria for ethnicity

they identify. The most common criteria for ethnic definition are common descent and common cultural heritage. These are the main characteristics of an ethnic population which is different from the national or religious population. The criteria of common descent and cultural heritage define people who have been bound by common ancestors for generations and share a common cultural heritage with expressions and symbols, which vary from one ethnic group to another.

There are significant differences in the cultural identification and the social behavior or group interaction between the first and second generations of ethnic populations constituted by immigrants who have settled in new social and cultural surroundings of a city such as Montreal. The first generation's social behavior and cultural perceptions are strongly reflected by their ancestral or national backgrounds, whereas the second generation typically become more acculturated or assimilated by their new social environment.

The difference of social behaviour and cultural perception shows by the first generation's attempt to retain their cultural heritage and identity in their new environment. They promote their cultural activities and establish a variety of cultural and social centres, ethnic presses, schools, social welfare institutions, etc. They are committed to their cultural heritage, whereas the second generation is exposed to predominantly new cultural and social environment and is likely to be more influenced or

acculturated by them. As a result, the first generation tends to retain their cultural identity and preserve their cultural heritage while the second generation identify more strongly with their new culture. From such circumstances, cultural difference or perception develops which is manifested in social behaviour or conduct. "My father still thinks like old Chinese man when I enjoy Canadian style of life."

Therefore, there are distinct differences between the two generations or different cultural groups. Taking this phenomenon into consideration, an ethnic population can be defined as those who share a common ancestor and a common culture -- a common language, common beliefs, common political preferences, a common religion. This view of ethnicity has been expressed by Enloe, who says:

The ethnicity depends primarily on self-identification, that ethnic groups share clusters of beliefs and values, which find expression through associational form, and that they are networks of regular communications and interaction.<sup>1</sup>

This view is further expounded by Vallee who relates to the ancestral aspect also: "Ethnicity refers primarily to descent from ancestors who shared a common culture based on national origin, language, religion, race, or a combination of these."<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Cynthia H. Enloe, Ethnic Conflict and Political Development (Boston: Little Brown Co., 1973), p. 15.

<sup>2</sup>F. G. Vallee and E. Brown, "Ethnic Assimilation and Differentiation in Canada," The Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Sciences, 23 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1957), p. 541.

Enloe emphasizes the sharing of clusters of beliefs and values, whereas Vallee focuses on common ancestors and common cultural heritage. Based on the current social and cultural interaction and the ethnic identification among the various national and racial groups in Canada, we tend to agree with both definitions, which emphasize the sociocultural and ancestor aspects of ethnicity.

An ethnic population, then, consists of those who are from common ancestors and culturally different from the majority among whom they live, and those who have loyalty and commitment to a common culture and common beliefs.

In the context of Quebec society, cultural differences reside in language, religion and political preferences.

People can be both ethnically and racially different from the majority. For example, Canadian Indians living on reservations and following their old customs are different from most other Canadians in both race and culture. Indians living in urban areas and following the customs of the majority of Canadians are racially different but because they have a similar culture they can be considered a separate ethnic group only if they perceive themselves as such. For example, English-speaking Catholics were an identifiable population in 1930. They are, in 1986, as well. But in 1930 they were less sect-conscious of themselves as an ethnic community or population. They thought of themselves then as Irish, British, or American in national origin and Catholic in religion and English-speaking. They identified (and still do,

to a degree) with local parishes. From the beginning, the Federation attempted to create, enliven, and defend a larger sense of community and identification which crossed over national, parish and social class lines. To an extent, the Federation has succeeded, helped by friends in Quebec society as a whole, to facilitate the growth of this larger sense of community and identification.

Thus, a subjective dimension must be added to the cultural characteristics which define an ethnic population. This subjective dimension consists of a common identity, a feeling of solidarity, loyalty and belongingness, and a sense of "we-ness."

Hence, the criteria emphasized are the cultural and common descent. At certain points in time, ethnic groups are in an evolutionary process in that certain aspects of ethnic heritage have been passed on to the next generation which inherits cultural aspirations. Individual elements of ethnicity -- manifested in an intensive or passive manner -- are influenced by external factors or social structures, but they are essential components in the formation of ethnic populations.

Ethnic populations are those who share commitment, loyalty, and aspirations, regardless of their racial background. Hence, the criteria emphasized are both cultural and ancestral or racial.

According to these criteria, Quebec's English-speaking Catholics can be regarded as an ethnic population. They



view themselves as citizens of Canada and they share the same cultural elements of religion, language, and political loyalty. They are regarded as an ethnic population since they share common cultural aspirations and loyalties despite the differences in their national or racial origins. They identify themselves as English-speaking Catholics, signifying a distinct identity or group within the larger society of Quebec. They share, preserve, and identify with their traditional values and cultural heritages and celebrate cultural festivities such as annual St. Patrick's Day parade, and other religious ceremonies.

#### The Formation of Ethnic Communities

An ethnic community emerges when a certain segment of the population within the larger society defines itself, and is defined by others, as a social group which shares a common cultural heritage or ethnicity.

In order for an ethnic community to maintain its existence as an ethnic group, it must have certain ethnic elements or social issues which bind the members together. The ethnic community is maintained because of the motivation of its members to hold onto their common values or to retain their common identity. In this sense, the phenomenon of ethnic community can be psychological in nature or a real socio-cultural interaction between the ethnic group and the larger society. For example, the ethnic group may perceive a common cause in preserving its traditional values or retaining ethnic identity, thereby rallying together for the protection

of their cultural rights. This happens when the children of an ethnic group are compelled to attend a school system which emphasizes the culture of the majority only.

Other factors which contribute to the formation of an ethnic community are the desires of its members to maintain or attain social solidarity and morale, and to experience a sense of security and belongingness within a group which has common aspirations and cultural values. In the following excerpt, the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism refers to this sense of security and identity in the Canadian context:

The more secure we feel in one particular social context, the more we are free to explore our identity beyond it. Ethnic groups often provide people with a sense of belonging which can make them better able to cope with the rest of society than they would, as isolated individuals. Ethnic loyalties need not and usually do not detract from wider loyalties to community and country.<sup>3</sup>

Some of the cultural factors which function as binding forces for ethnic communities are common values, maintenance of status as an ethnic group, a sense of people-hood, and other symbolic and emotional elements. These are subjective factors attached to the idea of ethnicity which are usually expressed through cultural symbols. In other words, the ethnic community is both a subjective mental construct and a highly symbolic one. Such subjective factors serve to unite

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<sup>3</sup>Canada, Federal Government Response to Book IV of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, Document tabled in the House of Commons on October 8, 1971, by the Prime Minister, p. 3.

its members, especially when such members consist of newly arrived immigrants. For example, some of the new immigrant groups which have come to Canada have tried to develop a certain measure of institutional completeness in the realization that without this they may face rapid assimilation into the larger society. Some ethnic groups have been successful in their endeavor to preserve group viability through the development of enough institutions or community resources to preserve the group's special characteristics and delay or combat assimilative tendencies. If such an ethnic group fails in its endeavor to combat assimilation, it usually becomes militant, or develops into a society that is separate from the larger society so that almost all the needs of the ethnic group can be satisfied within it.

Another example of ethnic bonding is the ability of religious leaders to facilitate an effective leadership by developing various sociocultural religious institutions as a way of helping ethnic populations maintain their identity, and preventing them from being assimilated by other ethnic communities. To accomplish this, such an ethnic community must develop their own community structure, as well as their own resources which range from economic, social, cultural, health, and social welfare, to managerial and organizational, in order to function without outside groups or the larger society. This often involves competition for community resources as well as confrontation with social and political institutions that may pose a threat to the ethnic community's

interests.

An ethnic community also emerges when its common aspirations or its social position is victim of unequal treatment and discrimination by other ethnic groups or by the majority group in a society. Therefore, the meaning of ethnic community differs from one community to another, and binding forces for various ethnic communities are different. Milton Gordon provides a rather extensive definition of this ethnic community or group:

When I use the term "ethnic group," I shall mean by it any group which is defined or set off by race, religion, or national origin, or some combination of these categories. I do not mean to imply that these three concepts mean the same thing. They do not. Race, technically, refers to differential concentrations of gene frequencies responsible for traits which, so far as we know, are confined to physical manifestations such as skin, colour, or hair form; it has no intrinsic connection with cultural patterns and institutions. Religion and national origin, while both cultural phenomena, are distinctly different institutions which do not necessarily vary concomitantly. However, all of these categories have a common social-psychological referent, in that all of them serve to create through historical circumstances, a sense of peoplehood.<sup>4</sup>

This definition identifies a number of factors which become contributory categories in the formation of ethnic communities. In this sense, an ethnic community is a collection of people whose membership is largely determined by ancestry, culture, religion and/or a combination of these. It is a group which believes its place in society is affected by its

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<sup>4</sup>Milton M. Gordon, Assimilation in American Life: The Role of Race, Religion, and National Origins (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964), pp. 27-28.

ethnicity. The test of the difference in physical appearance (frequently referred to as racial), national origin, religion, culture, or residential and occupational concentration is not in the difference per se, but in whether this difference is considered socially significant. For example, religious diversity may simply indicate variations in the interpretation of the ultimate reality, or it may be a rigid dividing line which affects practically every aspect of life. Sometimes ethnic differences are based on variations in all three of the criteria of physical appearance, religion, and culture, although sometimes they are based on only one of the three. In any event, what matters is not the nature of the difference but the intensity of the feeling about the importance of the difference, and the way this difference is associated with economic stratification, political power, cultural sovereignty, and other elements of the social structure.

This then brings us to the question, what does social structure mean in the context of an ethnic group, and what is its impact on other social or ethnic groups? The most appropriate definition has been provided by Gordon as follows:

By the social structure of society we mean the set of crystallized social relationships which its members have with each other which places them in groups, large or small, permanent or temporary, formally organized or unorganized, and which relates them to the major institutional activities of the society, such as economic and occupational life, religion, marriage and the family, education, government, and recreation ....<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>5</sup>Ibid., pp. 30-31.

Gordon's definition focuses on social relationships, i.e. relationships which are not simply occasional and capricious, but have a pattern which can, to some degree, be predicted and which are based, to some extent, on a set of shared expectations.

Kovacs further elaborates on ethnicity and the ethnic community as transforming phenomena on a structural level when he says:

Ethnicity can be conceived of at the cognitive level as ethnic identity possessing psycho-socio-cultural attributes, while at the structural level as indicative of ethnic groups. The latter is transformation of the former, resulting through consciously organized action of the participants.<sup>6</sup>

Thus, the English Catholics are/were an ethnic population, made up of people born of American, British, Irish and Canadian parents and ancestors, sharing common language and religion, set apart by language and religion from either Protestant or secular English-speaking residents and French-speaking Catholics. Many thought of themselves primarily as Irish or British Catholics. The sense of community in 1930 was fragmented in part by parish differences, and national origins. This fragmentation has been overcome in time, both by the effects of the Roman Catholic archdioceses, by the Federation, by experience of being a "threatened" minority group.

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<sup>6</sup>Martin Kovacs, "Ethnic Canadians Synoptic Comments," Ethnic Canadians Culture and Education (Regina: University of Regina, Canadian Plains Research Centre, 1978), p. 475.

### The Functions of Ethnic Institutions

In this section we will attempt to describe how ethnic institutions emerged and indicate their functions.

In order for an ethnic community to sustain its platform or to function as a complete social entity, it must have networks of various community organizations or social groups. Community organizations are developed and managed by the members of the ethnic community. The members become the vital volunteer forces which carries out a variety of institutional functions in the domains of politics, culture, health, social welfare, recreation, education, religion, etc.

The patterns by which ethnic institutions and organizations become established vary from one ethnic group to another. But while the patterns are varied, it has been recognized that there are three major reasons for the formation of formal ethnic associations and institutions. They are:

- 1) To retain or revive their distinct ethnic boundaries;
- 2) To prevent integration or assimilation; and
- 3) To facilitate intra-group communications.

#### 1) Retaining or Reviving Distinct Ethnic Boundaries

In the Canadian context, for example, the retention of ethnic boundaries has become a common concern long before the Canadian federal government endorsed the principles of multiculturalism. Ethnic communities began to realize that they had the right to preserve their cultural heritages and to maintain their distinct cultural identities. A sense of loyalty and commitment to their ethnicity became more alive.

The underlying assumption of multiculturalism is that since ethnic diversity can be advantageous for Canadian society, ethnic groups should be encouraged to maintain their distinctiveness while still blending into the larger society. Haas and Shaffir have described this movement as follows:

Our society includes a number of ethnic groups to whom the maintenance of a distinct identity is important. These groups wish to retain their unique linguistic and cultural heritages, and have cultural institutions such as religious organizations, school, and the press to achieve this end. A recent resurgence in ethnicity in this country has resulted in both new and intensified efforts by the leaders of ethnic communities to revive and retain the essential elements of their groups' heritages, and to ensure their transmission to succeeding generations.

In this particular situation, a variety of ethnic institutions and community organizations are being established to carry out the ultimate missions and function of retaining and reviving essential cultural heritages, and of transmitting them to future generations.

Ethnic institutions are the major vehicles and instruments organized to attain and express a variety of psychosociocultural needs of ethnic groups. The ethnic institutions also facilitate intra-group communications as a means of creating or dealing with the resources, services, and social and cultural issues. Consequently, inner cohesion and solidarity are attained.

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<sup>7</sup> Jack Haas and William Shaffir, Shaping Identity in Canadian Society (Scarborough: Prentice-Hall of Canada, 1978), p. 118.



## 2) Preventing Integration or Assimilation

In the situation of newly arrived immigrants, reinforcement of their identity and cultural expression is especially important and intense. For example, a variety of ethnic institutions are being rapidly established and community resources are being developed by newly arrived immigrants in Canada who do not only find themselves in strange socio-cultural surroundings, but also find a situation that threatens their basic identity on a cognitive and psychological level.

Because individual members of these new immigrant groups are faced with the issue of cultural survival in their new surroundings, they must then make the choice of either integrating into the larger society, or of uniting into a separate group themselves. In the event that they unify their ranks, they develop various ethnic institutions as a way of meeting their needs. Usually they choose the latter, simply because associating among the same "kind" -- people who have a similar background and ethnicity -- makes for much easier social interaction than joining a strange society without being able to appreciate this new society's cultural and social characteristics. As Wardaugh notes:

Most ethnic groups that have come to Canada have tried to develop a certain measure of institutional completeness, realizing that without this they will then face rapid assimilation. Not all have been successful in this endeavor to preserve group viability through developing enough institutions to preserve the group's special characteristics, and therefore delay or combat assimilative tendencies. Some groups, however, have become not only viable, but they have also become

militant. A group becomes militant if its members feel that they are being deprived of certain advantages which other groups appear to have, and which, by uniting, they can have too.<sup>8</sup>

Assimilation and integration into the larger society becomes a sensitive issue for an ethnic group which has been identified as such for many generations. A constant effort to prevent assimilation of ethnic members into the larger society is made through a variety of cultural institutions and ethnic service organizations. Reverend John Walsh, the Director of English Affairs and Services of the Arch-Diocese of Montreal, observes:

-- We maintain our identity as English speaking Catholics in the milieu of a majority francophone society. Each and every institution in our community contributes to inner cohesion and group experience. They are attained through constant dialogue and communication between institutions and group members. From this point of view, our institutions play a significant role in helping us to stay together as English speaking Catholics.<sup>9</sup>

Through institutional activities, ethnic group members are able to maintain their ethnic identity and transmit their cultural symbols and heritage to future generations. At the same time, community leaders are groomed and volunteer participation in community affairs is encouraged.

Thus, ethnic institutions have three main functions.

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<sup>8</sup> Ronald Wardaugh, Language and Nationhood: The Canadian Experience (Vancouver: New Star Books, 1983), p. 163.

<sup>9</sup> Interview with Reverend John Walsh, the Director of English Affairs and Services, the Arch-Diocese of Montreal, November 12, 1986.

They are to:

- a) prevent an identity crisis by avoiding rapid assimilation by the larger society;
- b) unite themselves in order to enjoy the same advantages as other groups; and
- c) create a social milieu for ethnic members to experience a sense of inner security and distinct identity which can be translated as having a sense of belongingness or "we-ness."

3) To Facilitate Intra-Group Communications

Ethnic members are given the opportunity to demonstrate their loyalty and commitment to their ethnicity through active participation in various ethnic institutions. The role of the ethnic institution is to mobilize forces and provide services of many different kinds which in turn facilitates intra-group communications.

Ethnic consciousness and identification are experienced through active involvement in community development and social actions for the preservation and protection of the participants' ethnicity. The by-product of these activities is intra-group communications. Professor F. Bird elaborates further:

Ethnic populations emerge as distinctive communities to the degree that institutional arrangements promote and sustain patterns of communication that transmit widely and quickly varied symbols, signals, recognitions, and expectations among ethnic group

members, particularly between those not immediately related by kinship or personal network.<sup>10</sup>

One of the main functions of the ethnic institution is to provide services to ethnic groups. But the social structure of the larger society heavily influences the priorities, scope and significance of the nature of services that are offered by ethnic institutions. For example, at the inception of the ethnic communal welfare institution of the Federation, it emphasized programs on relief and custodial care but in the 1970s special priorities were given to cultural-recreational-camping group activities and cultural programs of Catholic family education, and family plan, etc. This is further observed by Reverend John Walsh:

Our institutions became sensitive to program initiatives and development ever since the government legislated language law in favor of the francophone majority. We are more conscious of developing institutional structures and activities encouraging active participation at all levels of social action, such as programs for minority rights in public services, especially service delivery in the English language for the English population, and programs for active representation in various private and public committees which deal with educational policies. The English language and education are major concerns for our English speaking Catholic community at this time.<sup>11</sup>

Furthermore, intra-group communications facilitated by ethnic institutions enhance inner cohesion and social solidarity. As Bird notes:

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<sup>10</sup> Frederick Bird, "Ethnic Group Institutions and Intra-Group Communications."

<sup>11</sup> Reverend John Walsh, November 12, 1986.

Ethnic communities do not directly contribute to the kinds of communication necessary for sustaining concerted group actions and communal identification. Basically, three other forms of communication are necessary:

- 1) the cultural symbols to which ethnic identifications are made, and which need to be transmitted;
- 2) several different forms of social recognition between ethnic group members' need to be communicated;
- 3) the necessity of having the means to communicate the commitment of power within and on behalf of the ethnic population.

The importance that ethnic group institutions play in the emergence of communal identifications and collective actions is that in varying degrees they facilitate these kinds of communications, at least as a latent function.<sup>12</sup>

The English-speaking Catholic ethnic community has organized various community organizations, including cultural, educational, health, and social welfare institutions, to provide services to its members. It also participates in community actions as a way of dealing with external pressures or power structures, and of protecting and developing cultural resources through the volunteer efforts of its members. This network or structure in various ethnic institutions plays a significant role in helping the ethnic group maintain its identity and in preventing its members from being assimilated by the larger society.

To summarize, the emergence of ethnic institutions is influenced by the nature of social structures within the larger society in terms of the priorities, emphasis and scope of programs. The function of an ethnic institution is to provide a variety of cultural and other services uniquely

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<sup>12</sup> Frederick Bird, "Ethnic Group Institutions and Intra-Group Communications."

related to the ethnic group's needs, through which members can experience a sense of ethnic identification and social solidarity, and engage in intra-group communications, thereby broadening social intercourse among the members, and attaining inner cohesion and social solidarity.

In conclusion, we should like to indicate that in the process of analyzing the development of the Federation of Catholic Charities, we shall utilize the concepts and analytical tools described in this chapter to explain actions, reactions, attitudes and changes of roles, scope, programs, priorities, and functions.

We shall particularly be looking at the following aspects of this communal agency:

- 1) The different ways in which this agency has served to facilitate ethnic communal identification and cohesion both by supplying social welfare services and fostering intra-group communications (of cultural symbols, recognitions and commitments) within the English-speaking Catholic population in Montreal.
- 2) The changing roles and functions of this institution as it has responded to various developments such as the increasing application of professional social work methods, the changing roles and functions in Catholic charity work, the growing involvement of government in the social welfare arena, the merging with Centraide Montreal and emergence of Catholic Community Services and English-speaking Catholic Council, and the changing needs and interests of the

PART B

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND ON PUBLIC WELFARE AND

RELIGIOUS CHARITY IN QUEBEC

### CHAPTER III

#### PUBLIC SOCIAL WELFARE IN QUEBEC

There are two distinctive views between the public and private sector in dealing with the issue of social welfare programs. The distinctive views are characterized by the basic different approach in supplying social welfare programs to the citizens of a state or the clients of a private social welfare agency. The government holds its basic concept of citizenship of the state in which citizens are entitled to public resources as a right while the private sector holds an attitude that its clients must be served by private sector on a sectarian basis, which includes varieties of ethnic elements and privileges for certain client groups. That is, the government's emphasis on universalism which is designated to provide services to all its citizens without discriminating the background of the citizen in terms of religion, ethnic, culture, political preference, and social affiliation.

The concept of citizenship also implies that the citizen has the right to democratic processes in that he or she has access to public resources through a direct link without going through particularistic groups such as a church, the ethnic institution, or guild. The citizen is a full-fledged member of a state with rights and responsibilities. In the



field of social welfare, citizenship entitles the individual to the protection of his society as represented by the government against contingencies from which he is not able to protect himself by his own ability or resources.

The modern welfare state, such as the province of Quebec, has recognized the responsibility toward its citizens for social security and public assistance on a universal basis, particularly at the time when the private sector could not fulfill its traditional functions in terms of supplying social welfare due to the lack of adequate resources. As a result, the private agencies were faced with re-assessing their roles and functions and attitudes towards public funding.

On the other hand, the private agencies were organized mostly on denominational or ethnic basis and carried major responsibilities in the social welfare field for centuries. The private sector's approach in social welfare is based on the rationale that its client must be served by his co-religionist or ethnic member who shares common views on sociocultural-religious perspectives. Therefore, the clergy members or lay-volunteers in any denominational setting or ethnic member would appreciate and understand the problems or sufferings experienced by their clients who are part of the same ethnic community. Furthermore, the practice of charity has profound meaning for the ethnic leaders and volunteers who provide services and donations for such cause.

However, from the early 1920s on, the impact of socio-economic industrialization and urbanization had created an

uncontrolable volume of mass problems which could not be handled by private resources. Aside from all ideological and religious views on the practice of charity, the reality of the social welfare field did not allow the private sector to fulfill its traditional functions and roles in the charity field. Basically, this was because of the increasing financial costs of these programs due to increasing need. Other factors were the expansion of the services offered (and the cost of this expansion), e.g. client-centered counselling is expensive, and failure of families and parishes to care for the indigent. Consequently, the state made a rapid and progressive development in the social welfare field in recent history.

#### Social Welfare in Quebec

The evolution of social welfare in Quebec is rather unique in that the Catholic Church assumed major responsibility in the field of education, health, and social welfare. Such undertaking was followed by the traditional role of the church in France where virtually all social welfare and health care were initiated and managed by the church. The same pattern was followed in New France of Quebec. The church was also the only private institution which had sufficient management capability and competence to organize and coordinate a social welfare network from the local parish to individual diocese levels. A similar practice of social welfare was followed by other religious groups such as the Protestants, Jews, and ethnic communities. This became a basic pattern in

supplying social welfare programs on a sectarian basis.

In the French church's case, the control of education, health, and social welfare had a significant meaning in terms of its survival even after the British conquest in 1759. At this time, all New France's political institutions were eliminated but the church was the only French Canadian institution which was able to organize and protect these interests. Since then, the French Catholic Church became a dominant institution in protecting the vital interest in the areas of education, health, and social welfare. The control of these vital areas made serious contributions in maintaining the identity of the French Canadian as well as in surviving as a separate entity in the milieu of English domination at this time.

The control of these areas became so strong that the 1867 Constitution recognized the power of the church and agreed that social welfare was a jurisdiction of provincial governments.

Following the pattern of the French Catholic Church's systems, all other religious groups and ethnic communities established social welfare programs on a denominational basis. The members of the Protestant Church requiring social services had to approach their own religious charity organizations, whereas ethnic people sought assistance through their own ethnic institutions such as the Chinese Benevolent Society.

Recognition of the active part which the Catholic Church

has taken in charity work throughout the history of the province is made even in certain provisions of the Quebec Public Charities Act (legislated in 1921), e.g. in Section 19, which gives the Lieutenant-Governor in Council the power to make regulations for the carrying out of the provisions of the Act. The Act states:

In the application of such regulations, as in the operation of this Act, whenever religious communities of the Catholic faith are concerned, the rights of the bishop over such communities, as well as their religious, moral, and disciplinary interests, shall in no way be prejudiced.<sup>1</sup>

and Section 20:

From and after the 15th March, 1924, every contract made with a charitable institution directed by a religious community of the Roman Catholic faith must be approved by the Ordinary of the diocese in which such community is situated.<sup>2</sup>

The active charitable work of the Catholic Church was also encouraged by the government's heavy land grants and certain exemptions from taxation. Thus, until the end of the nineteenth century, all major educational institutions, hospitals, and social welfare institutions were organized and operated by individual religious communities or orders. On the individual parish levels, the St. Vincent de Paul Society mobilized and included volunteers from each parish. The

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<sup>1</sup>Statutes of Quebec, 1921, Chapter 79: An Act to establish the Quebec Bureau of Public Charities. This Act was later rectified as the Public Charities Act, in Chapter 187 of the Revised Statutes of Quebec, 1941.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

exclusive denominational approach began to change when the movement of the "scientific method" and professionalization in social work appeared on the scene of charity in Montreal from 1900 onwards. According to Terry Copp,<sup>3</sup> the Anglophone community of Montreal followed the new concept in social work which was adopted in many cities in North America. Consequently, in 1901, the Anglophone community formed the Charities Organization Society (COS) in Montreal. This was the first charity organization sponsored and initiated by the prominent people from both English and French communities. In other words, the charity organization was established without officially being affiliated with the church.

The ultimate purpose of the Charities Organization Society was to integrate social welfare agencies existing between the two dominant groups of Francophone and Anglophone communities. However, it did not succeed in attaining the above goal in that the Catholic Church perpetuated a denominational approach providing all basic institutional services for orphanages, insane asylums, industrial schools and reformatories, vocational schools, foster care programs, and institutional care for dependent youth. Individual parishoners and families were cared for by the St. Vincent de Paul Society.

However, at the beginning of this century, the volume of

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<sup>3</sup>Terry Copp, The Anatomy of Poverty, The Conditions of the Working Class in Montreal, 1899-1929 (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1974), pp. 114-115.

social service programs demanded on the church increased drastically; the church was not able to provide adequate services to meet all these demands. Such overwhelming drains on private resources, particularly in the Montreal area, was caused by rapid development of industrialization and urbanization after World War I. The marginal workers, unskilled laborers and rural population moved to urban cities to seek jobs. While many secured wage-paying jobs, many were able to get either only intermittent employment or no work, thus there was an increase in transients in the harbor of Montreal and other national and international terminuses. New immigrants, soldiers returned from the war, families without breadwinners, and war widows without any means to maintain themselves -- all these configured problems which were culminated rather within a short period of time, created an almost impossible situation to supply even basic social services by the church. This era was characterized as an "unmanageable confusion." Sweeney says that:

A great number of families and unemployed young people were trapped by this situation who never had recovered from it and became perpetual social welfare clients from generation to generation. The Church and other private sources could not provide effective services on an intensive basis to prevent future generations from becoming social service recipients. These generations still occupy considerable numbers in every social welfare institution today.<sup>4</sup>

At this juncture, to be specific, in 1921, the government of Quebec legislated a social welfare policy known as "The

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<sup>4</sup>Interview with Mr. W. Sweeney, July 25, 1986.

Quebec Public Charities Act" (OPCA). This is the first time that the public sector was involved in the social welfare field to provide certain portions of operative funds for private social welfare institutions. The rationale for taking such action by the government was to assist overburdened private social welfare institutions.

The OPCA is an Act to "establish a provincial bureau of public charities to assist the indigent sick who are received and treated in hospitals or kept in public charitable institutions."<sup>5</sup> This policy stipulated that the government, the municipality and the institution or the hospital share equal portions of funds for the care of the indigent sick or those who were under custodial care. This legislation was limited to the provision of funds for only the handicapped, sick persons, and dependent children in that it had considerable limitations in solving overwhelming charitable problems at this time.

Nevertheless, this initial movement of the government was a milestone in the development of social welfare programs in Quebec against constant resistance manifested by the church. This trend was a beginning of controlling the entire health and social welfare programs which occurred in 1971 under Bill 65. This was the cornerstone of what eventually became the welfare state of Quebec.

At this juncture, we may ask why these changes occurred.

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<sup>5</sup> Statutes of Quebec, 1921, Chapter 79.

It would appear that there were several major political and social forces and factors which contributed and shaped the shift in the social welfare arena from one controlled by the denominations to a largely public welfare system:

- 1) The advent of the welfare state was a cumulative result of the efforts and dedication made by individual volunteers and groups of concerned citizens, and the public demonstrations by poor people themselves. It was also the work of civic, provincial and federal committees established to investigate basic causes of poverty and pressing social issues. The active process of defining and redefining the nature of poverty and chronic dependency on social welfare systems began to take place in the early part of the twentieth century. Through these efforts, the causes of poverty were redefined; prejudicial attitudes by a certain upper economic class toward the poor were challenged.
- 2) The advent of increasing public interest in the form, content, and operation of social welfare programmes resulted in a considerable impact in an overall program development which is characterized by the coverage of large sections of the population, and social welfare benefits as of citizens' rights. The recent manifestations of social forces are: the interest in adequate appeal procedures, in citizen representation on policy and planning boards, militancy on the part of client groups calling for better service, more adequate benefits, and greater accountability by public officials. They are developments in responsible government



and participatory citizenship.

3) The advent of the concept of "social minimum" for citizens has been another important aspect in terms of minimum of conditions. This concept has been described by one Canadian scholar as "the realization that in a civilized society, there is a certain minimum of conditions without which health, decency, happiness and a 'chance in life' are impossible."<sup>6</sup> It is an idea that has evolved over the past century, reflecting changes in the public conscience, in national income and productivity, and in the breadth of economic democracy.

4) The various social welfare programs, such as the Canadian Assistance Plan, Canada Pension Plan and (Quebec Pension Plan), Family Allowances, New Horizons, Old Age Security, Guaranteed Income Supplement and Spouse's Allowance, Vocational Rehabilitation of Disabled Persons, Employment and Immigration Canada, Unemployment Insurance, and Workmen's Compensation of the federal government of Canada gave a challenge for the enactment of social security policies and helped the provinces to finance social welfare programs. The progressive concept of the cost-sharing policy of the federal government and federal-provincial agreements helped to promote new social welfare

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<sup>6</sup> Leonard C. Marsh, "The Welfare State: Is It a Threat to Canada" Proceedings of the Canadian Conference on Social Work (Ottawa: Canadian Conference on Social Work, 1950), p. 35.

programs in the provinces.

- 5) The progressive policy of the Liberal Party came to power in 1960 after a long period of the conservative Union Nationale regime under Premier Maurice Duplessis whose government was seriously influenced by education, health and social welfare programs by the French Catholic Church. The Liberal government adopted an open attitude in dealing with various modern social policies, thereby increasing its involvement in delivery of social welfare programs. It simply decided to manage all the programs which are financed by public funds.
- 6) The Quebec government made a progressive move to establish direct contact with its citizens by supplying directly welfare programs on a universal basis without discriminating against the background of service recipients in terms of their religion, ethnicity, political preference, etc. This meant that the government discouraged ecclesiastical influence over the social welfare programs. These forces played a continuous role since 1921 which resulted in progressive developments of social welfare policies especially since the early part of the 1960s.
- 7) The advent of the impact made by industrialization created serious problems on all fabrics of socioeconomic and family life. The industrialization caused substantial problems for marginal and unskilled labor, thereby causing serious problems for one segment of the population. The government has recognized the magnitude of such problems in terms

of devising various social policies for them.

- 8) The advent of the welfare state resulted in increasing demands by middle class citizens for public pensions and public subsidization of education. The public sector has assumed major responsibility in this regard.

However, it should be noted that there were four major factors militating against these trends:

- 1) The public resources were not sufficient to take giant steps toward expediting the developments of tangible social welfare programs, especially during the period of the 1920s and 1960s. It also did not have political will to undermine the power of the French Catholic Church which had a strong influence on these programs until the early 1960s. The progressive public policy on social welfare programs would mean that the position of the church in the society becomes weak.
- 2) The conservative character of traditional Quebec views on the concept of charity which was practised was based on limited approach of sectarian services.
- 3) The resistance to government involvement by the Catholic Church and lay leaders or elites who enjoyed prestige and recognition through actual control and management of welfare programs. Such involvement by community leaders symbolized as a significant power.
- 4) The influence of the BNA Act rather impeded the progress in social reform, particularly in the arena of health and social welfare. This Act gave welfare authority in the

jurisdiction of the province. Quebec began to exercise its constitutional rights in the social welfare field only in 1921 with the Quebec Public Charities Act (QPCA). In general, the province never had adequate social welfare programs until 1971 at which time it came out with Bill 65. Nevertheless, Quebec had been sensitive about the issue of the federal government trespassing on their constitutional rights. As a result, a frequent impediment had developed in establishing certain policies on a cooperative and cost-sharing basis. Such an impediment was also caused by the competitive and nationalistic attitude toward Ottawa in dealing with provincial jurisdiction.

The Great Depression of the 1930s was a time of mass unemployment and seriously depressed standards of living. At the height of the depression in 1933, nearly one-quarter of the labor force was out of work and seeking jobs unsuccessfully. Furthermore, the highly restrictive "residence" clauses of municipal relief departments, which restricted assistance to those who could prove they had resided within the municipality from which they were seeking help for a stipulated period of six months in Montreal, made leaving one's home a hazardous endeavour. The transient young men drifting from rural areas to Montreal in search of employment were mainly becoming a burden of private relief institutions and public charity. The result, according to the Royal Commission on Dominion-Provincial Relations, was that the "livelihood of hundreds of thousands of citizens

seemed to be entirely dependent upon public charity."<sup>7</sup> and meager private relief.

The Great Depression also manifested the weakness of the Quebec Public Charities Act which was legislated in 1921. It was evident that this Act alone, as a legislative instrument, was not sufficient to cover mass needs of public assistance and problems rose during the economic crisis. The government developed a transitory measure to cope with the urgent situation by adopting a policy for direct relief, but even this was not adequate.

As a way of coping with the urgent situation, the government of Quebec, in 1933, appointed a study committee which is known as the Montpetit Commission. The Commission recommended a measure of direct assistance at home under the Public Charities Act. Until then all financial assistance was given to indigent persons who were sick, dependent children who were institutionalized in hospitals and custodial care of private welfare institutions. This was an important change in the concept and practise of social welfare in the preponderantly French Catholic community of Quebec. In this respect, the Report of the Commission indicated that:

It was at this time that Catholic diocesan social agencies, similar to agencies in the Montreal Anglo-Canadian sector, were set up and gradually

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<sup>7</sup> Report of the Royal Commission on Dominion-Provincial Relations, Book I, Canada: 1867-1939 (Ottawa, 1940), p. 162.

recognized as public charitable institutions without walls which made it possible for the QPCA to extend assistance outside walled institutions.<sup>8</sup>

In April 1937, the government of Quebec legislated a policy known as "Allowances for Needy Mothers" which was financed entirely by the province. In the 1950s, cost-sharing agreements was reached between the governments of Ottawa and Quebec regarding financial coverage of a universal old age pension for those seventy years of age and over (1952), assistance for disabled persons (1955) and payments to all needy unemployed persons not covered by the UIC (1959). These federal-provincial agreements became a part of financial resources for the Quebec social welfare system.

The Boucher Report indicated that in 1957 the Quebec government authorized the City of Montreal to establish a social welfare program as a "public charitable institution." This program was designated to dispense financial assistance at home and to custodial care programs for children, sick and aged persons. The same report recorded on this development as a new era for dispensing financial assistance at home. It made a remark as "the beginning of a new era in which municipal services were gradually called upon to replace private social agencies for the distribution of financial assistance at home."<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>8</sup>Government of Quebec, Report of the Study Committee on Public Assistance, June 1963: This report is known as the J. Emile Boucher Report. (He was Chairman of this committee).

<sup>9</sup>Ibid., p. 35.

Such observation reflected that the public sector had 2 long-term envisions of financing the entire social welfare programs when it had enough financial resources.

The year 1960 made a historical impact in the political movement in this province. This year (on June 22) the Liberal Party, under the leadership of Jean Lesage, came to power. This was caused by the death of Maurice Duplessis who was the leader of the Union Nationale Party and Premier of Quebec from 1936 to 1959 (with an interim break of four years, 1940-1944). Duplessis' era was characterized as a conservatism particularly in the areas of economic and labor movements. Many capital investments were made by American industrial giants which primarily exploited the natural resources, thereby almost all industrial process was made outside the province. This left no room for the expansion of the labor market and in most cases, the French Canadian workers were resorted to low wages. Such an economic condition was also reflected in the trade union movement which was suppressed by the government.

Duplessis' regime had a close relationship with the French Catholic Church. A mutual dependence between the church and the government existed because the French Catholic Church had a strong influence on the political preference of its community and the government in turn allowed the church to participate, at least indirectly, in the process of decision making on various social policies, particularly in relation to education, health and social welfare programs. Consequently, the involvement in the social welfare field by

the Quebec government was slow in terms of overhauling the social welfare delivery system according to the modern trend while the French Catholic Church was overburdened to supply social welfare and other services with inadequate resources.

As a result, the Duplessis era was manifested as a political, social and cultural stagnation in the recent history of Quebec. At this juncture, the Liberal party landed in power which determined to bring a drastic change in the social, political and cultural endeavours in order to guide Quebec towards a modern and liberal society. The spirit of the Lesage government was to initiate a drastic social reform which led to a sense of a social-political revolution. Such movement was termed "The Quiet Revolution" which aimed to remove the ecclesiastic influence over education, health and social welfare, thereby the government would have a greatly increased role to play in these fields. The political implications in such a social reform would allow the government to establish a direct contact with its citizens particularly in supplying all social-educational-health programs and also to give direct access to the management of such programs. That is, the government began to formulate various administrative structures in order to handle and coordinate all social programs which were paid for by the government.

At this time, the government took over Hydro-Quebec, transferred educational administrations to the government which were primarily controlled by religious communities or orders



and individual confessional school boards. A new educational system of CEGEP was initiated and the Medicare program was introduced. All these social reforms and changes were characterized as the main goals of the Liberal party which aimed at modernizing Quebec society. These social reforms and political initiations for such profound changes laid a basic trend in direct control over all these programs or nationalizing such programs in due time. This move was demonstrated or characterized as the new Quebec nationalism.

In December 1961, the government of Quebec undertook a social welfare project which would entail a comprehensive study in the field of public assistance. A mandate was issued under the Order of Council, No. 2369 of the Executive Council Chamber, dated December 1961 which specified:

A committee would be instituted to carry out a study on welfare needs. This committee will investigate issues like allowance rates, collaboration between private and public services and financial assistance at home.<sup>10</sup>

In June 1963, the Committee produced thirty briefs which included seventy-two recommendations.<sup>11</sup> The recommendations highlighted the important aspects of the government, undertaking a creative role in the matter of financial assistance at home, providing the rights to the citizens of Quebec for any public assistance, whatever the cause may be for such

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<sup>10</sup> Government of Quebec, Report of the Study Committee on Public Welfare, 1963.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid., pp. 213-228.

need, the public assistance be provided to private social agencies for the work of social preventive and rehabilitative programs, and authorizing the social agencies to administer public funds for assistance at home. The Report also recognized the need to reorganize the service delivery system and establish a clear-cut relationship between various government agencies and branches, and redefine the role of the Department of Family and Social Welfare, regional administration, methods of fixing public assistance rates and collaboration between private and public welfare services.

The entire report was consistent with the spirit of the Liberal party which was pushing for an ideal social welfare state. The progressive idea on the social welfare program envisaged by the Liberal government was to eliminate one segment of the unfortunate population who were suffering from chronic socioeconomic, health, and family problems.

Boucher's recommendations largely failed the translation into laws due to political changes in 1966. The Liberal party was not re-elected to implement the recommendations.

Nevertheless, they left a profound impact on the necessity of imminent need of social reform at this time to the new Union Nationale government.

In 1966, the new Union Nationale government replaced the Liberal party government and pursued social welfare and health service reforms. On November 9, 1966 it established a Commission of Inquiry on Health and Social Welfare with the following terms of reference:

WHEREAS the health of the people is of the utmost importance, and whereas far-reaching repercussions stem from illness;

WHEREAS a health insurance system should be established;

WHEREAS hospital insurance and health insurance are two major stages in the implementation of a true health policy;

WHEREAS the two closely-related fields of health and social welfare are within the jurisdiction of Quebec;

WHEREAS it is desirable that a general inquiry be held into health and social welfare in Quebec;

THEREFORE, it has been directed, on the motion of the Minister of Health,

THAT there be instituted, pursuant to authority under the Commission of Inquiry Act (S.R.Q. s. 64, Chapter 11), a commission charged with conducting an inquiry into the entire field of health and social welfare and, without limiting the terms of reference, this commission be especially charged with exploring questions concerning:

- (a) ownership, management and medical organization of hospital and social welfare institutions;
- (b) hospital insurance, as now in effect;
- (c) establishment of health insurance;
- (d) medical practice and the evolution of medical and para-medical activity;
- (e) social assistance measures and their development;
- (f) the structure and role of diverse agencies and associations engaged in health and social welfare;
- (g) hygienic and preventive measures;
- (h) medical and para-medical personnel and equipment;
- (i) education and research;

all these matters within the framework of needs of the family and the individual.

BE IT FURTHER enacted that this commission be charged with inquiring into any other question which may be submitted by the Lieutenant-Governor in Council;

THAT this commission, as required by the Lieutenant-Governor in Council or as progress of work allows, report findings, views and recommendations to the Lieutenant-Governor in Council and submit a final report before January 1st, 1968;

THAT this commission be made up of the following persons:

Louis-Philippe Bouchard, lawyer of Quebec  
Claude Castonguay, actuary, of Quebec  
Jacques de la Chevrotiere, administrator, of Quebec  
Dr. Jacques Dinelle, of Montreal  
Rev. Father André Guillemette, O.P., of Montreal  
Dr. George A. Lachaine, of Verdun  
Mrs. Jeanne-d'Arc Lémay-Warren, lawyer, of Westmount  
William A. Dyson, social worker, of Montreal, and

THAT Claude Castonguay act as Chairman and Gérard Nepveu act as Secretary of this commission.<sup>12</sup>

After a five-year period of investigation, research, and study, the Commission produced a seven-volume report. The first volume was released in 1967; the last one in 1971 covering the following main titles:

- 1) Health Insurance
- 2) Interns and Residents
- 3) Development
- 4) Health
- 5) Income Security
- 6) Social Services
- 7) (a) profession and security  
(b) profit making institutions.

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<sup>12</sup>Government of Quebec, Report of the Commission of Inquiry on Health and Social Welfare, Vol. I (Quebec, July 1967). This report is known as the Castonguay Report.

The Report was the most comprehensive and thorough and integrative, especially in dealing with health and social service programs in the province of Quebec. It became a milestone in the development of Quebec as a welfare state in modern times. The study was submitted to the government of Quebec in the course of five years and became Québec Statutes 20th Elizabeth II, chapter 48. (1971) -- popularly known as Bill No. 65.

The Castonguay Report fulfilled its ultimate purposes of laying a foundation for the government to undertake comprehensive social legislation towards the development of a welfare state and controlling education, health and social welfare programs which were traditionally managed by sectarian agencies and religious institutions. This would allow the government to supply all these services on a universal basis to the citizens of Quebec, thereby establishing direct relationship with people. It had not only political value in demonstrating the government's active involvement for the care of its people with public funds. In the final analysis, the government called for the nationalization of most health and social welfare services which would enable it to control the services which were paid by the government. Furthermore, the Report made a special provision in devising administrative structure in such a way that local citizens and service consumers would participate in the decision making process and in decentralizing social welfare services in various regions. This approach would democratize the principle of participation in

the program delivery system and would prevent the possibility of concentrating all major services in urban areas, thereby neglecting rural areas. Such was an actual practice in the past in this province.

Specifically, Bill 65 stipulated that health and social service in Quebec should be organized on a regional basis. In each region, four public establishments (public organizations) will operate: (a) local community service centre (for first aid, information and referral); (b) hospital centre; (c) reception centre (a custodial institution); and (d) social service centre (for specific social welfare services). These centers will be controlled and supervised by the Board of Directors and through the yearly information meetings. Every citizen residing in each region will be entitled to services rendered and such service will be fully financed by the government.

The intention of Bill 65 was the most progressive and revolutionary in nature which activated the following aspects:

- 1) it removed complete authority from private social welfare agencies over the management of all basic social welfare programs.
- 2) It removed paternalistic approach from denominational services and replaced by bureaucratic services primarily managed by civil servants and professional social workers.
- 3) It changed from sectarian services to a universal approach, supplying social welfare services to the citizens of Quebec without discriminating on denominational affiliation

of service consumers.

- 4) It would provide coordinated and integrative service delivery system throughout the province covering both rural and urban centers on an equal basis rather than concentrating on urban areas.

As a result, the government of Quebec undertook major responsibility in supplying all health and social welfare programs with public funds, thereby discouraging volunteer efforts and traditional church's functions in these fields.

The questions being raised at this juncture are: Can the government of Quebec finance all these programs adequately, especially in dealing with one particular multi-problem -- families who are dependent upon private and public assistance from generation to generation? Can the government of Quebec increase social welfare resources or services as they are demanded by the general public? Can the government of Quebec supply adequate services on preventive and rehabilitative nature aside from all basic services?

Regarding the above questions, W. Sweeney, former Executive Director of the Federation of Catholic Services observed that:

Private social agencies were happy to transfer all basic services to the public sector, especially the Federation of Catholic Social Services. As a matter of fact, the private institution administered substantial amounts of funds for individual clients as well as it received large sums of grants for certain programs. But community leaders and volunteers also raised substantial funds for private initiatives or programs without committing so much public funds. With Bill 65, private social welfare institutions were relieved from financial burden and raised funds

for other programs that were keenly demanded by the community. My personal observation on Bill 65 was that the government was too ambitious and left no room for the private sector to work together for general social welfare cause including basic services. In the long run, the public might suffer because of insufficient public resources. The majority of the public do not take so kindly in allocating public funds for social welfare programs. It is an attitudinal problem which reflects the thinking of politicians or the government.<sup>13</sup>

The response on the above question from John Walker, Director General, Ville Marie Social Service Centre, which is part of Bill 65, observed as follows:

After just over a decade, Bill 65 underwent a revolutionary process in reorganizing the total service structures and program developments. We have realized that the public alone cannot meet the needs of service demand which is increasing every day. At the same time, we have had no percentage increase in funds rather we received a drastic cut thereby decreasing service volumes. Nowadays, we have to invite private sector to relieve some of our work volume. We have a long waiting list on every institutional care program and our major human resources are provided for in handling emergency programs of protection service. In overall, the state does not have enough funds to provide adequate services as it indicates in Bill 65. We therefore consciously seek out the cooperation from the private sector.<sup>14</sup>

Thus, the history of the government's involvement in social welfare began in the early part of the 1920s. The comparative slow intervention in social welfare by the public sector was caused by a number of social forces and factors.

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<sup>13</sup> Interview with W. Sweeney, July 25, 1986.

<sup>14</sup> Interview with John Walker, Director General, Ville Marie Social Service Centre, December 10, 1986.



## CHAPTER IV

### CATHOLIC COMMUNAL WELFARE IN MODERN TIMES

The philosophies of Catholic communal welfare have their roots in the traditional concept of Christian charity.

Christian charity has, however, continuously changed. We raise questions as to what are the essential elements of Catholic charity, the reason being that a number of changes have occurred in social welfare in modern times which were caused by:

- a) the government administration of most private social welfare agencies (Bill 65);
- b) the government administration of most relief programs through various Bills of 1950 and 1960;
- c) the control over all private federations and charities by Centraide Montreal; and
- d) the professionalization of charity (thus pre-empting the lay role except as a financial contributor).

Thus these developments have occasioned debates especially by those most involved with respect to the role of the Catholic Church with respect to charitable services and programs.

These conditions have caused great changes in the nature, scope, roles, program, structures and source of resources of Christian charity. We will examine how the changes have

occurred and how they are reflected in the practice of charity in the modern Catholic communal welfare institutions. This section will describe (a) the historical evolution of Christian charity, (b) Catholic social welfare in modern times, and (c) the characteristics of Catholic charity.

a) The Historical Evolution of Christian Charity

Viewing Christian charity from a historical perspective, the norms and motives have changed continuously throughout Christian history. Accordingly, the ethics of charity have also changed. According to Bird:

Primitive Christian charity ethics were assimilated to two major principles; one called for an ethic of mutual assistance among communal members, and the other called for a heroic ethic of self-sacrificing devotion.<sup>1</sup>

Bird further points out that during the Middle Ages, the ethic of charity had many meanings that ranged from ascetic and philanthropic to generous and begrudging acts. However, mutual assistance and self-sacrificing altruism were the main characteristics that defined the basic nature of Christian charity. It was "a gift and not an exchange of goods and services to benefit persons outside one's own family."<sup>2</sup>

In the religious context, it was believed that progress toward one's salvation could be made by the practice of charity. It was also believed that the act of

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<sup>1</sup>Frederick B. Bird, "A Comparative Study of Charity in Christianity and Judaism," The Journal of Religious Ethics, Fall, 1982), 144.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

self-sacrifice was directly related to the First Commandment of showing one's love for God, as well as the ~~Second~~ Commandment which states the importance of loving one's neighbour through the act of mutual assistance.

Early Christians were taught to care for those who were hungry, lonely or sick, and to be hospitable to strangers.<sup>3</sup> Hospitality and charity were linked with faith as cardinal virtues.<sup>4</sup> Bird's analysis of the parable in the last judgement is closely linked to the heart of charitable acts in the biblical description:

Humankind was judged on the basis of charitableness .... Persons were judged to enter eternal life or eternal damnation depending on whether they 'helped one of the least' or 'one of the least of these my brethren'.<sup>5</sup>

The practice of charity is also implied in the agape of the New Testament, which states that love fulfills all who practice it. Charity, agape in Greek, was used for the warm reception given to an esteemed guest and the faithful hospitality accorded to him or her. It was also used to express gratefulness, as in Christ's parable of the creditor who forgave the grateful debtor everything he owed (Luke 7:41). It was believed that one who serves in charity should approach those he or she serves in an attitude full of gratitude for the call of God, with an esteem which welcomes them as the

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<sup>3</sup>Rom. 8:35, 12:30; Matt. 10:42.

<sup>4</sup>1 Clement 10:9, 11:1, 12:1.

<sup>5</sup>Matt. 25:40, 45.

presence of Christ.

According to Haring, agape is translated as being:

Centered in a togetherness with the most intimate attraction immeasurable reverence. It is a bond which forms a union in which one allows oneself to be claimed forever.<sup>6</sup>

Haring's description of agape is most adequately summarized by Spic, who says "to have agape is to dwell in the one whom one loves."<sup>7</sup>

Thus, the acts of charity that were based on religion had varied forms and meaning from the early Christian period to the Middle Ages. These differences arose from different interpretations of the norms of the New Testament. For example, at the beginning, to obtain salvation charity was based on the norms of mutual assistance and self-sacrifice. Later on, when the deed of charity became an act of awakening the spirit of love by giving assistance to neighbours and brethren the principle of agape was still stressed.

In the Middle Ages, as the number of church members and churches grew, churches organized charitable programs that embraced aid for the poor, and care for orphans, the aged, the sick, and widows. At the same time, philanthropic forms of benevolent practice were highly valued and considered as a meritorious act. These had the effect of creating community

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<sup>6</sup> Bernard Haring, The Law of Christ (Westminster, Maryland: The Newman Press, 1963), p. 374.

<sup>7</sup> Leslaus Spic, Charity and Liberty (Staten Island, N. Y.: Alba House, 1965), p. 17.

support and cohesion, and also gave a sense of honour, prestige and religious merit to individual donors.

The forms of charitable deeds were reflected by socio-cultural-economic factors throughout the history of Christianity, but the basic concept of Christian charity remained the same. As Bird has said:

In its varied forms, Christian charitable giving was an expression of agape or self-giving love, which within the history of Christianity had been variously viewed as self-sacrificing devotion, mutual care, and philanthropic assistance.<sup>8</sup>

The ethic of charity has been consistently expressed throughout the Bible. This doctrine is based on the notion of sharing all wealth or needs among the children of God. Since the Bible decrees that God created the world as a paradise for man, if mankind descended from common parents, the logical conclusion would be that all men might claim a share in God's bounty.

If one gained wealth only with the help of God, the rich were fortunate stewards who were obliged to manage their wealth as their master wished. There are numerous precepts in the New Testament that indicate this love of Christianity through the act of sharing one's wealth with those who are less fortunate.

Christian charity added a special urgency to the importance of sharing one's common inheritance, since the

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<sup>8</sup>Frederick Bird, "A Comparative Study of Charity in Christianity and Judaism," The Journal of Religious Ethics (University of Notre Dame; Fall, 1982), p. 144.

most quoted scriptural passage (Matt. 25:34-40) prophesizes that on the day of judgement, Christ will judge those who have been generous and good in their lives. Christ says to those on his right hand:

Come, blessed of my father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you .... For I was hungered, and ye gave me food; I was thirsty, and ye gave me drink; I was a stranger, and ye took me in; I was naked, and ye clothed me; I was sick, and ye visited me; I was in prison, and ye came unto me.

This passage implies that Christian charity is not only evidence of righteousness but also an actual practice in the eyes of one's Christian brethren.

The Bible has provided the cosmic drama of the story of creation, sin, judgement, and salvation, in which suffering had a meaning, and so did the efforts to relieve and correct it. Helper and helped could believe that their actions counted for something in the very structure of the universe. This belief prevailed in the primitive Christian period, in the Middle Ages, and continues to do so even in modern times.

Thus, the practice of charity became a ritual in religious life. An active practice of charity is measured as a process of attaining salvation or religious merits. The act of charity is an expression of love, towards both God and His children. The ethics and forms of Christian charity are varied but their ultimate goals and objectives are the same: to share wealth with one's brethren which is an act of loving God.

b) Catholic Social Welfare in Modern Times

In medieval times, the Church entrusted the administration of charity to the bishops, the local priests, and the deacons. Social welfare institutions established by the old Church, i.e. monasteries, abbeys, and convents, were replaced in part by hospitals. The hospitals provided services to the sick, the old, orphans, abandoned children, and pregnant women. These institutions became the main form of medieval charity. Most of these institutions were established and managed by religious orders or communities.

In the seventeenth century, these Catholic charities underwent a type of reform. The reform was initiated by Father Vincent de Paul of France. This young priest was captured by Tunisian pirates and sold as a galley slave. He devoted his life, after he escaped, to the improvement of charities for prisoners, their dependents, orphans, illegitimate children, the sick, and the hungry.

Father Vincent de Paul organized a lay order that became known as the "Ladies of Charity,"<sup>9</sup> whose members visited the poor in their homes, as well as distributed food and clothing. In 1633, Father Vincent founded another order called the "Daughters of Charity," which was principally composed of young women who wanted to devote themselves to charitable work. This order was formed to improve the methods of nursing

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<sup>9</sup>Thomas M. Murly, "Society of St. Vincent de Paul," The Catholic Encyclopedia, Vol. XIII (New York: Robert Appleton Co., 1912), p. 389.

the sick and handicapped. It was the members of the "Daughters of Charity" who became the forerunners of the present-day social workers.

Father Vincent's idea of achieving social reform became a reform movement which substantially changed the Catholic charity system. In 1833, the Society of St. Vincent de Paul was formed to pursue the idea of replacing the traditional charitable act of giving material aid with the techniques of home visits, interviews, and support in moral and spiritual matters. The society became an international association of Catholic laymen whose duty was to provide personal service to the poor. The rules adopted by the Society were that:

It was forbidden to discuss politics or personal concerns at the meeting. It was also settled that the work should be in the service of God in providing services to the poor whom the members were to visit at their own dwellings and assist by every means in their power. The services of the members was to embrace, without distinction of creed or race, the poor, the sick, the infirm, and the unemployed.<sup>10</sup>

This society became an integral part of parish organization. It became an important social movement in that it introduced two new concepts to the social welfare field. These were the diagnostic approaches which reviewed the entire situation of the client, including the material aid aspect, and the concept of universalism in service provision regardless of creed or race. These very methods were adopted by the so-called modern case work method. The Society functions,

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<sup>10</sup>Ibid., pp. 389-90.



even today, as an integral unit of some parishes.

In the early 1900s the Church began to show its concern about social order as a way of dealing effectively with, <sup>or</sup> preventing, social problems. It was also during this time that the Church had to cope with the rapid development of a pluralistic society, which forced it to review the social role it had with the family and social problems. Consequently, the ethic of charity was one in which social justice was stressed, including the alleviation of the suffering of individual church members.

The Church's involvement in the matter of social order was explicitly demonstrated on the occasion of the formation of the National Conference of Catholic Charities in 1910 in the United States:

From the beginning this Conference stressed that charity is an awareness of the bond that unites man to God, and man to man; that our Catholic charities must do more than relieve suffering; they must strive always for a social order in which principles of social justice are basic and supreme.<sup>11</sup>

Social justice was to be attained through the reformation of social structures of society and its institutions.. Social institutions of different kinds were to be changed and improved so that individuals involved in the institutions would change. The Church has always stressed that social institutions and structures must be improved, thereby.

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<sup>11</sup>Donald Gavin, The National Conference of Catholic Charities, 1910-1960. Catholic Life Publications (Milwaukee: Bruce Press, 1962), p. vi.

positively influencing the individual members of society. The Church's emphasis has always been on society's social institutions rather than on the motivation of individuals who may mold society's institutions to the Christian conscience. Such thinking is based on the Catholic theology which:

... considers that every element in the social structure partakes of that transcendentalism. This means that all human affairs -- act service, humanism, the institutions of the social structure -- partakes of the transcendental theology of the Church. And this is the reason for the Church's involvement in the world.<sup>12</sup>

The Church's involvement in the improvement of social order is based on the theology of transcendentalism which stresses that the perfection of the human relationship is attained through the perfection of the social order and its institutions. Catholicism sees that social order and social justice are attained through charity: "The perfection of social order is based on social justice but informed by the spirit of social charity and the solidarity of all men."<sup>13</sup>

On the social-political level, the Church has aimed at dealing with the power base of social, economic and political institutions. These institutions deal with social policies especially in the area of redistributing national resources. The Church seeks for the distribution of national wealth on an equitable basis. For this, the representatives of the Church participate in the decision making levels of both

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<sup>12</sup> Bernard Coughlin, Church and State in Social Welfare (New York: Columbia University Press, 1965), p. 29.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid., p. 31.

private and public institutions. The Church's views on social issues were also communicated to its members which become influential forces in changing or reforming social orders. In this respect, Bishop Crowley has elaborated on the Church's functions as follows:

The Church is not obviously a political institution but we have an obligation and commitment to moral and ethical aspects on social and political issues, the issues which may reflect negatively on our members or on society as a whole. This is the reason why we do also have various national and provincial Catholic organizations and committees such as the Canadian Conference of Catholic Bishops, special church committees to deal and cooperate with various private and public provincial committees and institutions on economic, education, social welfare, health programs, recreational-cultural resources, particularly in connection with moral and ethical aspects reflected in the process of developing policies on the above subject matters. We also voice our concern on certain social issues or crises. For example, we expressed a strong view on ethical issues on economic crises in 1983 under the title of "Ethical Reflections on the Economic Crisis" which was directed at primarily Canadian political institutions and the general public through the Episcopal Commission for Social Affairs, Canadian Conference of Catholic Bishops, 1983. This action gave rise to considerable social controversy at this time which, we think, reflected on political institutions, especially in dealing with the economic measures for Canadians at large.<sup>14</sup>

Thus, charity is transformed into social justice. It is achieved through the effective utilization of social structures, including Catholic institutions and organizational structures. The Church's social role is to perfect social institutions which, in turn, encourage individuals and

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<sup>14</sup> Interview with the Most Reverend Leonard Crowley, Auxiliary Bishop of the Diocese of Montreal, December 29, 1986.

families to attain perfection.

Structurally, the Church achieves its social mission through active involvement in social action and the provision of its leadership to Catholic institutions. The direct involvement of the Church in social action is derived from the traditional functions and culture in dealing with charitable problems and human suffering. The Church provides a direct leadership in dealing with all major social issues and problems. This becomes one voice by one major social institution.

Bishop Crowley has expounded on the Church's role in social action, saying:

We participate actively in connection with social orders and social justice. It is a part of our social mission in terms of assisting individuals and the society as a whole. This is achieved by our involvement in our Catholic organizations which are the main instruments in teaching and guiding our Catholics. It is done through the hierarchical authority which emanates a sense of organizational and structural order. This is why our voice has certain weight in dealing with various social issues on various levels of social institutions. The issue of social justice is being dealt with by the Conference of Bishops of Canada. Through this social machine, we voice our feelings and concerns, particularly in relation to the issues of social injustice and unfair management of public resources. We also launch specific actions in such areas as poor economic conditions, minority rights, education, etc.<sup>15</sup>

In the same context as its involvement in social action, the Church provided leadership in the formation of the Catholic communal welfare institution known as the Federation for Catholic Charities in the early 1930s. In the last

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<sup>15</sup> Ibid.

fifty-five years, the Federation has been involved in the activities of preserving the traditional values and culture of the Catholic Church for the English Catholic community in Montreal. Social action programs have been centered around the advocacy of social justice for the underprivileged, social reform, and provision of social service programs for the community. Needless to say, the Church worked with lay leaders, volunteers, and other community members, but its role is that of an authoritative leader or consultative role which deals with the overall issues of social actions, social order, and social justice.

To sum up, the norms and motives of Christian charity have varied but it has maintained the same purpose in terms of promoting the attainment of salvation thereby becoming more Christ-like or more spiritually developed. However, charitable works undertaken only with the primary aim of attaining charity were not meritorious or gracious; they were egoistic and self-serving. In the early primitive Christian period, the ethics of charity were mutual assistance and self-sacrifice; in the Middle Ages, charity had ascetic connotations in that the work of charity was carried out by religious orders, monasteries, and religious organizations, and in modern times charity work has changed in form in that corporate social service programs are provided primarily by lay leaders and volunteers.

A variety of social welfare institutions have been organized to deal with much more complex problems than the

previous two eras. As the state became increasingly involved in the social welfare field, the Catholic social welfare programs have taken the preventative and rehabilitative approach, which includes the provision of a comprehensive social service program and involvement in social action aimed at ensuring social justice in small and large social issues and problems, and cultural activities. The Catholic Church has provided institutional leadership throughout its entire history, the reason being that all Catholic organizations are an integral part of the Church in which the practice of charity is a way of life.

c) The Characteristics of Catholic Charity

Catholic charity is grounded on religious principles. The act of charity is closely related to religious motivation in that communal welfare functions as corporate charity, with communal welfare activities carried out by individual Catholic communal welfare institutions. These are an integral part of the Catholic Church. But the major question of this study concerns the characteristics of Catholic charity, particularly with the development of modern non-Catholic and secular welfare practices which stress a universal approach for giving help without discrimination against the race and religion of social service consumers.

This trend is evident in the public sector. As a matter of fact, the main spirit of public involvement in Quebec has been to discourage the sectarian approach practised by individual religious groups and ethnic institutions. How,

then, is Catholic charity -- especially in the modern age when major social welfare programs are sponsored by public funds -- different from non-Catholic services and public services in dealing with the problems of psycho-socioeconomics? What are the characteristics of Catholic social welfare? Is Catholic charity designed more for the survival of the Catholic population as a separate ethnic group in the francophone majority society than for the provision of services to the Catholic needy?

These questions were not consciously asked by lay Catholic leaders, communal workers, and volunteers, although they have had the general idea of devoting themselves in charity work to the maintenance of the traditional values and culture of religious life. This pattern of participation in Catholic communal welfare work has been traditionally initiated and established by the leadership of the Church, either through the local pastors of individual parishes or the Archbishop of the Diocese of Montreal. In certain situations, a Catholic organization or social welfare program is initiated by lay leaders but still seeks a blessing from the office of the Diocese of Montreal. In this respect, John Lafferty of Associated Catholic Charities of the Archdiocese of Washington, D.C., observes that:

The first and fundamental premise is the fact that Catholic charities is an integral part of the Church, responsible not only for delivering services, or taking care of the poor, or doing the job for the

rest of the Church, but responsible primarily for contributing to and shaping the thinking and life and lifestyle of the Church.<sup>16</sup>

In the Catholic situation, the Church has tremendous influence in establishing the objectives and program policies of individual Catholic institutions. This has been the organizational culture of Catholics. With respect to this view, Fr. O'Gray stated that:

Catholic organizations, it must be remembered, are religious organizations. Their basic work is religious work .... By reason of their close association with the works of the Church, Catholic social work organizations needed the leadership of the priest.<sup>17</sup>

■ O'Gray also noted the stability lent to service groups by the Catholic Church:

It is a well recognized fact of Catholic history that no work of any single individual or group can assume any degree of stability until it becomes an integral part of the official work of the Church.<sup>18</sup>

That such a role was played by the church was recognized even by lay leaders who were considered to be partners of the church in carrying out the objectives of the Federation. In 1931, an acknowledgement was made in the annual report of the Federation to the effect that the pastors made tangible

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<sup>16</sup> John Lafferty, "The Reorganization of Catholic Charities of the Archdiocese of Washington in the Context of Parish Social Ministry," Charities U.S.A., 10 (June 1983), 12-13.

<sup>17</sup> February 1926, Catholic Charities, Washington, D.C., Vol. 10, No. 2, p. 69.

<sup>18</sup> Rev. J. O'Gray, "Lay Participation in Catholic Charity," NCCC Proceedings, Washington, D.C., 1925, pp. 253-254.



contributions. These remarks were made by the president of the Federation:

Thanks to our pastors. The pastors of the nineteen parishes were a great help and inspiration to our people. They pleaded valiantly the noble cause of charity and it is to their united efforts and splendid cooperation that much of our success is to be attributed.<sup>19</sup>

The former member of the Board of Directors of the Federation, D. Lartigue, has confirmed the traditional function of the church which prevails even today:

The Church gives direct and indirect leadership in social welfare activities to lay community leaders and/or volunteers in various ways. The role of the church changes in accordance with any social situation. For example, throughout the history of the Federation, they gave a leadership in establishing the Federation, help in fund-raising activities, advice on current direction of the Federation. The clergy members and religious orders do not manage social welfare institutions like in old days but lay leaders seek the Church's opinion and advice in dealing with any major problems or issues of any kind, including any serious matters related to the Federation. I feel, and rightly so, that the church sees all social welfare institutions as a part of the church which has major responsibility in dealing with the entire Catholic community. The Federation is only part of the totality. Therefore, the Church plays a major role in connection with the charitable work of the community.<sup>20</sup>

To review the role of the Church in relation to the lay leader of English-speaking Catholics in Montreal sought a certain leadership in initiating a social action program which would consolidate both human and material resources

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<sup>19</sup>1931 Yearbook of the Federation, Montreal, p. 12.

<sup>20</sup>D. Lartigue, former member of the Board of Directors of the Federation, December 13, 1986.

for the community. Most of the leaders consisted of those who had served various communal welfare institutions affiliated with the Federation until these were nationalized under Bill 65 in 1971, and major programs of the Federation were merged with Centraide Montreal in 1975. A special meeting was called by Bishop Crowley in 1980 which involved various segments of the community and its leaders. As a result, the English-speaking Catholic Council was established. The Council was formed to provide coordination and community development services. Bishop Crowley, who became the Honorary Chairman of the Council, delivered a speech at the first annual meeting in 1982 as follows:

One of the pleasant aspects of life is that dreams sometimes come true. This is the case with the English-speaking Catholic Council. When a group of individuals who represented various sectors of the community and community organizations met with me in April, 1980, it was with the idea of consolidating human and material resources to better answer the needs of the English-speaking Catholic people in Montreal. We had hopes but no idea of what might develop from that meeting.

I can only credit the work of the Holy Spirit in bringing into existence in such a short period of time the English-speaking Catholic Council. The dynamism of the Council is the result of the dedication and commitment of the many people who are carrying out the work of the Council. It is difficult to think of the time when the Council did not exist, such is the place it now occupies in the affairs of our community.

I ask God's blessing on all who share in this enterprise and His grace that what has been so well begun will continue to develop and serve the English-speaking Catholic people of Montreal.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> Leonard J. Crowley, Auxiliary Bishop of Montreal, The Message of the Honorary Chairman at the occasion of the first annual meeting of the English-speaking Catholic Council, 1982, Montreal.

The English Speaking Catholic Council has assumed the major functions of the Federation in terms of coordination, community organization and development.

This is the pattern of the leadership given by the Church in communal welfare activities; lay leaders and volunteers still seek the blessing from the Church in undertaking any charity work. The traditional role of the Church has not changed even in the twentieth century. Forms and method of participating in community affairs varied from direct initiation of charity work in the primitive period to organized and institutional services in the Middle Ages. In modern times, the Church is not involved in front line duty, the daily operation of agencies, but it plays a significant role in the capacity of counsel and advisor. The traditional function of the Church in terms of retaining the hierarchical authority which deals with the affairs of community and communal welfare work has not changed. The Church itself, the bishop, clergymen, and pastors of individual parishes still strives to achieve a sense of "institutional completeness" which is described by Breton in terms of communal cohesion that is measured by the number, type, strength and nature of interactions between ethnic institutions within the community.<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>22</sup>Raymond Breton, "Institutional Completeness of Communities and the Personal Relations of Immigrants," Canadian Society: Sociological Perspective, edited by Blisen, Jones, Kaspar and Porter (Toronto: McMillan of Canada, 1968).

The role of the lay apostolate in the field of charity has been increased, beginning late in the nineteenth century and expanding to the twentieth century. The Catholic hierarchy encouraged increased lay involvement in politics, social reform and social welfare, sometimes as part of Catholic action groups. But the reigning idea was that of the laity, as an apostolate subordinate to the clerical hierarchy.

The attainment of "institutional completeness" has been a very conscious effort on the Church's part, especially since the Quebec government became anti-Church in the early part of the 1960s. This government attitude resulted in the takeover of all major health, educational and social service institutions, the result of which was that the Church and its community of English-speaking Catholics has been increasingly faced with the issues of survival and identification. The status of this ethnic community became very seriously threatened. It has become a minority ethnic in a francophone majority, losing all its institutions operated by religious orders to the public sector while losing church attendance in drastic numbers.

Harold Thuringer, the Executive Director of the English Speaking Catholic Council, observes that:

During the past twenty-five years or so, the Church has gone through a revolutionary process in maintaining its position as the leading institution in Quebec society. It has lost its ground practically in every segment of the community. This is caused by the current trend of public involvement in the fields of culture, education, health, and social service. The major non-Catholic

social welfare institutions have followed the suit of the State, especially in relation to serving people on a universal basis regardless of the service recipient's background in terms of race, ethnicity, religion, etc. As a result, the entire community, including the clergy and lay people, was faced with the problems of survival and retention of identity as an English Catholic ethnic group.

This is why, maintaining Catholic institutions and organizing new projects for the Catholic community is very important in overcoming this identity crisis or in maintaining its status. Catholic organizations are the major tools for achieving the above, through which Catholics have opportunities to experience a sense of inner cohesion and security by working together for common purposes, for common feelings, and for common satisfaction. Without such a social instrument or institution, the Church itself and the community members would not have any particular reason to come together and exist as a group.<sup>23</sup>

Harold Thuringer further commented to the effect that one of the main functions of the Council is to protect the minority rights of the English Catholics and to preserve its traditional values by reinforcing a sense of English-speaking Catholic identity. This is done through programs of various Catholic organizations in the community. This is confirmed by the remarks of Patrick Rourke, the president of the Council which he made at the first annual meeting as follows:

Political action and public nominations committees have a very important role to play given the state of politics in Quebec today and the various effects of government legislation on our community. Political Action is working hard to determine "survival issues" which are major challenges facing our community. We are also involved in monitoring public appointments to various boards and

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<sup>23</sup> Interview with Harold Thuringer, Executive Director of the English Speaking Catholic Council, October 10, 1986.

institutions. This is crucial if we are to have a voice in the planning and administration of those organizations which are mandated to serve our community effectively.<sup>24</sup>

Rourke's statement indicates a sense of urgency in dealing with the "survival issues" of the community. He is conscious of the status of this particular ethnic group and the community at this time. To deal with these issues effectively and retain the identity of the community, he plans to utilize the communal welfare institutions by having his board members sit on various boards and institutions. The above objectives and activities are supported and encouraged by the Federation through its financial support. Richard McConomy points out that:

The Federation is not only supporting the efforts of social welfare activities and service delivery, but our institution endeavors to work for the protection of our values, survival in the Quebec reality, and the maintenance of our identity. This is done through organizational networks and the involvement of individual members of the community including the clergy. This is how we come together for common purposes and common feelings. This is how, I guess, we attain a group identity and cohesion. These are essential group experiences which put us together to function as an English-speaking Catholic group.<sup>25</sup>

The Catholic communal welfare institution functions, including those of the Federation, are not limited to only communal social service programs. They also play a crucial role in fostering intra-group communications, thereby

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<sup>24</sup>Patrick Rourke, President of the English Speaking Catholic Council. Remarks made on the occasion of the first annual meeting, Montreal, 1981.

<sup>25</sup>Interview with Richard McConomy, member of the Board of Directors, The Federation, November 11, 1986.

protecting the identity and enhancing the cohesion of the community, which is important for the survival of the Catholic population in Quebec and for Catholic identification.

Again, institutional projects are initiated under the leadership of the Church, either through the office of the Diocese of Montreal or through individual parishes. In modern times, most of the actual work is performed by lay leaders and volunteer workers. Until the late 1970s, this work had been accomplished through the involvement of religious orders and religious communities. However, even today, the Catholic institutions are operating through individual parishes. With respect to this phenomenon, Rourke points out:

The forty-two English-speaking parishes are the basis of our community. It is essential that the Council be in tune with the needs of the parish clergy and the parishes. One of our directors has been coordinating meetings with the various parish zones to explore ways of establishing a closer relationship between community organizations and the parish needs. The consultation is proving very fruitful and is continuing.<sup>26</sup>

Thus, one of the major roles of communal welfare is in the area of enhancing the cohesion of English-speaking Catholics and retaining their identity. This is the "raison d'être" of English-speaking Catholic communal welfare institutions. The question, then, is what are the essential elements of a Catholic communal welfare institution which make it distinctly Catholic?

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<sup>26</sup>Patrick Rourke, p. 4.

### The Essential Elements of Catholic Communal Welfare

The philosophy of Catholic communal welfare is rooted in Christian charity. All social welfare activities are derived from the central issue of serving humanity in the forms of charity which are distinctive to Catholics. They are characterized by:

- 1) Catholic values
- 2) Catholic constituency.
- 3) Catholic voluntarism

#### Catholic Values

In general, the practice of charity work is directly related to Christian values as a whole. But in the context of Catholic communal welfare services, there are certain moralities and values that are cherished and preserved through the efforts of communal welfare services. They are related to the issues of abortion, euthanasia, premarital sex, family planning, sterilization, and the Catholic milieu. The moral aspect, such as the protection of respect of human life, for example, is the primary purpose of Catholic social work. Its purpose is also to promote the teachings of the Church. For example, the Papal teachings in relation to family sanctification:

We desire above all that you dedicate your whole care to family sanctification: if it is truly that, society will be a reflection of the family, it is certainly clear that if God no longer reigns in the family, and no longer showers down his blessings with the Sacrament of Matrimony, the union is ruined, mutual duties between parents and children are diminished, public morals themselves are in danger. It is inevitable that after having put aside the



commandment of God and His Church, everything collapses and all is in confusion: justice, charity, the union of classes. Now these are precisely the virtues which you must certainly safeguard for your society.<sup>27</sup>

The Catholic position on abortion is clear and uncompromising in that human beings do not have the right to take the lives of other innocent human beings. Abortion, at whatever the stage of development of the conceptus, is the taking of innocent human life. The rationale of the Catholic position on this issue is based on the teachings of the Catholic Church which claims that God alone is the Lord of life:

Only God is Lord of the Life of a man who is not guilty of a crime punishable by death. Every human being, even the child in its mother's womb, receives its right to life directly from God.<sup>28</sup>

Therefore:

... abortion is forbidden morally because it is an abuse of human power. It is a destruction of a human being by another human being, and as such, it strikes at the heart of human dignity. The usurpation of authority which is abortion is not wrong simply because it kills an unborn child, but because it results in the villification of all men. To give moral justification to abortion is to condemn all men to the level of expendable things. Morally, the fight against abortion is not primarily to protect the human dignity of the unborn, but is above all to safeguard that dignity in all men.<sup>29</sup>

The primary function of Catholic communal welfare

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<sup>27</sup>Papal Teachings: Matrimony (selected and arranged by the Benedictine Monks of Solesmes) (Boston: St. Paul Edition, 1963), pp. 216-217.

<sup>28</sup>Norman St. John-Steves, The Right to Life (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1964), p. 10.

<sup>29</sup>David Granfield, The Abortion Decision (New York: Doubleday, 1969), pp. 15-16..

activities is to provide a variety of service programs to promote the idea of human values and safeguard life with no compromises other than those for specific medical reasons. In-depth counseling in relation to family planning and family life is a significant function of Catholic social welfare.

Thus, all personnel serving in the Catholic welfare institution are to respect the moral guidelines laid down by the Catholic communal institution. This moral aspect cannot be compromised by social or personal problems or by inconvenience in the course of life by individual Catholics or service recipients. This sectarian aspect characterizes Catholic social work in terms of promoting the values of human life, family life and family planning, and preventing abortion, divorce, premarital sex, etc. These are Catholic values which must be protected and preserved through the efforts of the Catholic communal welfare institution.

#### Catholic Constituency

A Catholic communal welfare institution is a social unit which is comprised of lay Catholic leaders, volunteers, social workers and clientele. The personnel involved in the agency have the common purpose of serving the Catholic community. The Catholic communal welfare is managed by Catholics who serve on the Board. It has the power to supervise overall operations including budgeting, planning, coordinating, and soliciting funds for and through the community Catholic lay leaders, volunteers, social workers, and clientele constitute a Catholic constituency. Through the

recruitment of volunteers and the raising of funds, constant intra-group communications are fostered, thereby bringing together all segments of the Catholic community as a whole. It is these factors that become the main elements in constituting a sense of Catholic constituency.

#### Catholic Voluntarism

In the Christian or any other social welfare institution, the essence of charity work is based on the volunteer spirit. In Catholic charity work, all communal welfare institutions are established and operated by the network of volunteer participants. The volunteer worker is known as "the symbol of charity and companionship."<sup>30</sup>

Particularly in modern times, the Catholic communal welfare institutions are predominantly initiated and managed by volunteer corps which receive help from professional social workers and moral guidance and advice from the Church or clergy members of the diocese or local parishes.

The main aspects of voluntarism embody a sense of spiritual welfare on the part of the volunteer or donor, since he donates time and money for the needy as a way of loving "your neighbour as thyself." On the other hand, the needy receives financial aid, and moral and emotional support from benevolent co-religionists. The dynamics of voluntarism result in mutual benefits in that the volunteer experiences

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<sup>30</sup>F. Sidenburg, "Catholic Lay Action," National Conference of Catholic Charities Proceedings (Washington, D. C.: NCCS Publications, 1938), p. 382.

self-satisfaction, prestige, recognition, spiritual welfare, community participation, and expansion of his social contacts, whereas the needy person receives financial aid and moral support. Through this kind of human interaction and mutual admiration and support, a sense of cohesion and consciousness inevitably develops within the Catholic community:

This is how individual volunteers identify with Catholic communal welfare institutions and experience a sense of fulfillment through active participation in the affairs of the community. We begin to become attached to the institution in that we do not hesitate to donate time and money for the cause of the institution. We therefore put up with a lot of fight or resistance against certain changes, especially those caused by external factors. The core of volunteers does have a common identity as a result of dedicating and devoting their efforts for communal causes. This is the essence of the Catholic communal welfare institution without which no charity work is being done.<sup>31</sup>

Voluntarism is also actual proof of a continual endeavor on the part of the Catholic laity, and acts as a source of inspiration. Catholic voluntarism is a major community mechanism or force which contributes to community cohesion, strengthens identification, and fosters intra-group communications.

Voluntarism functions as a social forum through which community organization is established and service resources are developed. The communal welfare agency in return gives an opportunity to volunteers to meet their needs in terms of feelings, interests, giving, and sharing via active

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<sup>31</sup> Interview with Sam Ducharme, past President and present Vice-President of the Federation, December 10, 1986.

participation in the process of solving charitable problems.

Through the communal welfare institution, volunteers also express and demonstrate their needs in education, cultural heritage, and traditional Catholic values unique to the English-speaking Catholic ethnic group in Montreal. These needs become the major motivation for initiating communal welfare programs and mobilizing energy and money for both the preservation and protection of traditional values and cultural heritage.

Voluntarism is one of the cornerstones of Catholic welfare institutions. It is a source of spiritual inspiration and personal satisfaction for volunteers, with the result that community cohesion and identification are developed in the Catholic ethnic group. Thus, voluntarism enables Catholics to have the opportunity to do the work of charity.

Christian charity began with mutual help and self-sacrificing, religious inspiration and institutional care to social reform and promotion of social justice. Accordingly, the role of the Church has changed but its essential function of promoting Catholic charity has not changed. The characteristics of Catholic charity include Catholic values, Catholic constituency, and Catholic voluntarism which components produce sectarian services.

In the course of this study, we shall examine the changing role of the Church and evaluate how the Catholic lay leaders and volunteers debate on the issue of surrendering and transferring all major functions of the Catholic communal

welfare institution to the public sector and Centraide Montreal. We shall see how these characteristics of Catholic components and the Church were used by the leaders of the English Catholic community when they defend their position in the process of negotiating with Centraide Montréal.

## CHAPTER V

### CATHOLIC COMMUNAL WELFARE AND PROFESSIONALISM IN SOCIAL WORK: 1850-1930

This chapter will examine various external forces and social factors which compelled the Catholic Church and its community to introduce or invite the corps of professional social workers for Catholic communal welfare. Until early in the 1930s, the social welfare programs were initiated by the Church, Diocese of Montreal or individual parishes, and welfare services were managed and delivered by various Catholic religious communities or orders. The major services were centered around institutional or custodial care programs for the aged, sick, dependent children, orphans, handicapped people, and homeless boys and girls.

The institutional programs were managed adequately by religious communities while relief services were supplied by lay leaders and volunteers rather than meager bases in an unorganized manner. However, during the period of 1900-1930, both religious community and parish programs were not nearly enough to meet the increasing demand on volumes and in numbers. Such demand was caused by rapid developments in industrialization, urbanization, economic depression, and the end of World War I. At this time, the community had to find

other solutions toward solving the overwhelming charitable problems. The other solution was to introduce the concept of professionalism in social work which was already utilized by other dioceses of the Catholic Church and secular institutions including Protestant institutions. The following major factors exerted tremendous pressure on the Church and its community to take a new direction in the social welfare field in terms of introducing the concept of professional methods in social work:

- 1) The absence of a coordinated network system in the social welfare field within the Catholic community. There were a number of social welfare institutions and benevolent societies which were initiated and managed by both religious communities or orders and volunteer groups. However, there was no organizational leadership which would provide coordination between various social welfare institutions, between individual agencies and community resources. As a result, individual institutions were competing for scarce community resources as well as duplicating services or programs not knowing "who is doing what" in the social welfare field. This situation created confusion and chaos, wasting community resources.
- 2) The lacking of community resources in dealing with the increasing demand on social welfare services. From the beginning of the twentieth century, a number of major socioeconomic changes and developments took place: World War I, the Great economic Depression, industrialization



and urbanization. These major events created a significant number of socioeconomic casualties including marginal labors, unskilled workers, transients (from rural areas to look for jobs), and dependent children and housewives.

- 3) The recognition of the social welfare trend in the adoption of professional social work methods by other dioceses of the Catholic Church and secular institutions including Protestant institutions. The movement of professionalism in social work began to take place actively in the early part of the twentieth century in Canada. The dioceses of the Catholic Church in Vancouver, Toronto, and Halifax adopted a professional model thereby establishing Catholic welfare bureaus on Catholic family and children services. The Protestant groups in Montreal organized the "Charity Organization Society," the main shift from primarily relief programs to counselling or casework services.
- 4) The recognition of the fact that increasing numbers of Catholic clients sought help through non-Catholic organizations, including Protestant institutions. The traditional welfare institutions and volunteer help offered by individual parishes, St. Vincent de Paul Society and other benevolent societies were not sufficient to meet the needs of Catholic clients. As a result, Catholic clients sought help through non-Catholic institutions, such as operated by Protestant groups.

The above were major forces and social factors which forced the Church and its community to change their social welfare

service systems, programs and traditional methods by introducing professional methods.

In the following section, we will analyse and review all major social welfare activities undertaken by the Church and its community during the period of 1850-1930. The reason for choosing this period is that a sense of professionalism in social work began to emerge, especially at the occasion of initiating the Society of St. Vincent de Paul in all parishes in Montreal. The St. Vincent de Paul movement provided a tangible impetus or preparation for the community to look for other social welfare methods including a professional approach. Because the society began to demonstrate a different approach from the traditional material aid type of the welfare program to a scientific method in terms of finding causal factors, diagnostic establishment and treatment plan which included home visits, interviews, counselling, and provision of relief, if needed, and provision of preventive services.

We will be particularly interested in reviewing major charitable problems and events that led to the introduction of the concept of professionalism in Catholic social welfare as follows:

1. The changing role of the church in charity work.
2. The characteristics of Catholic social service delivery systems.
3. The movement of professionalization in social work in general.

### The Role of the Church in Charity Work

An analysis of the evolution of social work from Catholic charity to professional social work methods will be made in the following sections.

Prior to 1850, the Catholic Church maintained the traditional relief programs which resources were derived from individual donors, volunteer efforts, parish based relief, and religious communities or religious orders. However, between 1866 and 1930, the charitable work of the English-speaking Catholic community in Greater Montreal included cultural, educational, recreational, health, and social welfare programs. The year of 1866 was a landmark year for the St. Vincent de Paul Society, a distinguished movement at this time was established in every parish in Montreal.

The basic foundation of the English-speaking Catholic community or the ethnic community in Montreal was established as early as 1817, when Father Richard Jackson preached sermons in English for Catholics of that language worshipping at Bonsecours Church in Old Montreal. In 1843, the cornerstone of St. Patrick's Church was laid in the presence of Bishop Bourget. Six years later, the first mass was celebrated. This was the first Church built by the English-speaking Catholic population. By the 1850s, the ethnic community had established its roots. It was depicted as one of influence, power and prestige. The English Catholic people had gained a hold on commerce and manufacturing, and were in the judiciary and the legislature, on the aldermanic

board, in offices of trust connected with public affairs, and in the learned professions. By 1930, there were 18 parishes whose predominantly Irish descent Catholics numbered 52,640.

They established a variety of social and charitable organizations, the first one being the St. Patrick's Society. The objectives of the Society were to maintain a charitable and national organization dedicated to Irish traditions and devoted to social and educational goals. One of its annual functions was to sponsor the St. Patrick's Day Parade, which has become synonymous with the name the United Irish Societies.

A number of English schools were founded by the same community. They were managed and staffed primarily by religious orders or communities. The most popular ones which still carry their original school names are Sacred Heart High School, John Paul XXIII, Loyola High School, Marianopolis College (originally known as Notre Dame Ladies College), and Loyola College, which amalgamated with Sir George Williams College and is now known as Concordia University.

Almost all social welfare programs and institutions were established by religious communities which received their overall support and general direction from the Diocese of Montreal. The religious orders made significant contributions in managing the boys' and girls' protection institutions or custodial programs, some up until the late 1970s.

The main social welfare programs which were initiated by the Church and religious communities prior to 1930 or before

the establishment of the Federation were:

Table 1

Catholic Welfare Institutions Before 1931

1. St. Patrick's Orphanage
2. Salve Regina
3. Catholic Women's League Hostel
4. Big Sister's Association
5. St. Anne's Day Nursery
6. Care of the Aged
7. Society for the Protection of Women
8. Unmarried Mothers' Service
9. Children's Aid Society
10. Catholic Day Nursery
11. Care of the Blind
12. Prisoners
13. Special Programs on Delinquency
14. Boys' Home -- Boys' Welfare Association
15. Catholic Committee on Recreation and Services
16. University Settlement
17. Iverley Settlement
18. Griffintown Clubs
19. Montreal Convalescent Home
20. Bedside Nursing Services
21. Child Welfare Clinics
22. Mental Hygiene Services
23. Murray Bay Convalescent Home.<sup>1</sup>

In the area of social welfare, the failure of Ireland's potato crop in 1847 -- known as Black '47 -- drove thousands of Irish immigrants to seek a better life in North America. Crammed into cargo holds, without fresh water or sanitary conditions, they became victims of typhus. During this time, about 80,000 Irish immigrants, predominantly Catholics, landed in the port of Montreal. Six thousand died in the hastily constructed fever sheds. Those who survived remained

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<sup>1</sup>Charlotte Whitton, The Social Welfare Services of the English Speaking Catholic Community of Montreal (Montreal: The Catholic Community Council, 1930), p. 10. (The programs and welfare institutions described in Table 1 were absorbed by the Fédération).

in Montreal or moved on to other parts of Canada and the United States. Seventeen sisters, eight priests, two ministers, and the Mayor of Montreal died while attending to the fever victims.

This tragic event left behind orphans, hundreds of children without relatives, hope or home. St. Patrick's Orphanage, which was built to accommodate these children, was opened in September 1847. It was staffed by Grey Nuns. The fever incident set the pattern for developing social resources in a speedy manner.

However, from the early part of this century, the city of Montreal began to experience a rapid increase in population which was caused by the massive influx of transients, urbanization, and industrialization. This created multi-dimensional problems and seriously taxed community resources. Despite the obvious need, there were no public resources available to supplement inadequate private social welfare programs except for a meager public program which had been created through the legislation of the Quebec Public Charity Act (QPCA) in 1921. This Act aimed to provide partial grants to private institutional or custodial care programs. Specifically, this Act provided one-third of the budget for institutional care programs, while one-third was supplied by the city of Montreal, and the final one-third came from private sources.

According to the survey conducted by the Canadian Council on Child and Family Welfare for the English-speaking Catholic Community in 1930:

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The average density of population was 21 inhabitants to the acre, and 5.3 persons per house, but the density of population varied from 3 persons per acre in one ward to 141 persons per acre in another.

Overcrowding, with its consequent lowering of the standards of life, health, decency, etc., cannot but affect the general social effort of the community, while poverty, ignorance, lack of sanitation, etc., which are inevitably interwoven, also offer problems as serious as, or even more serious, than those of actual disease and death themselves.<sup>2</sup>

A similar report was also made by the Montreal Charity Organization Society in its annual report of 1919:

A graphical analysis of cases investigated by the Society indicated that of the various "disabilities," unemployment and sickness accounted for 66 percent of the total. A random sample of the homes of the Society's clients indicated that 22 percent contained dark rooms, 15 percent damp rooms, 32 percent unsanitary plumbing, and 40 percent no bathrooms. No specific action was recommended, however. With regard to unemployment, the Report declared that 20 percent of the heads of families known to the Society were unemployed though employable.<sup>3</sup>

Although there are no materials or reports available specifically on the English Catholic population, the general situation of unemployment and its consequent problems was the same across the board. Copp also reports that:

The fundamental social problem was poverty, massive poverty, created by low wages and unemployment. For individuals, direct assistance limited hunger and starvation, but the small section of the working class which regularly came into contact with

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<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 12.

<sup>3</sup>Cited from the Montreal Charity Organization Society Annual Report of 1901 by Terry Copp in The Anatomy of Poverty, The Canadian Working Class in Montreal, 1897-1927 (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1974), pp. 119-120.

organized charity was too often confronted with the "aims of friendly advice" and too seldom helped to achieve security.<sup>4</sup>

Nevertheless, social welfare agencies, including the Catholic communal organizations, had to resort to private resources, especially for the relief of problems arising from economic need. The entire relief of fuel, clothing and food needs depended solely on the community's own resources, which were extremely limited:

This throws back upon the parish or welfare agency the responsibility of providing entirely from private funds, not only the service, but the actual maintenance for all its cases that are not committed to institutional care. This is largely due to the long history of private philanthropic efforts on the part of the religious orders who have provided a wide range of custodial care for many generations. Consequently, an unusual responsibility devolves upon the family welfare agencies, particularly since they seek primarily to adjust the case within the family group. The resultant situation is not known to exist in any other large centre in this country, namely, that the private agency must make provision entirely from voluntary funds for the elements of actual substance for the poor and needy.<sup>5</sup>

It was further reported that human services were lacking in every segment of the community. Whitton's survey commented particularly on the services for families. The Church's emphasis was upon the preservation of family life as the cornerstone of civilized society. Within the last century, the industrial revolution and the urbanization that it bred have submitted the social institution of the family

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<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 127.

<sup>5</sup>Charlotte Whitton, The Social Welfare Services of the English Speaking Catholic Community of Montreal, p. 16.



to such constant economic and social strain, that at times its survival has been threatened:

The family to survive must be able to rely on the courage, faith, and capacity for self-sacrifice of those who make the home. If these attributes do not exist within the home, or are being worn down by constant social or economic strain, they must be supplemented from without, if the family is to be saved. It is on this basic fact that the whole social science of modern casework is founded.<sup>6</sup>

Unfortunately, such a service was not available except through the Catholic Social Service Guild, which acted almost solely as a "clearing house" for the eighteen parishes with their 52,640 Catholics. It was further reported by the survey that the Guild:

Realized its purpose of avoiding the creation of a family welfare bureau which would have given continuous service and relief, according to a definite plan for each family .... The results of the absence of this organized family service are disastrous. Many homes are broken up which could be kept intact and institutions are consequently over-crowded. The English Catholic poor are neglected and besides suffering physically, they are exposed to moral danger and the risk of loss of faith through being forced to look to other sources for help. Besides all this, the Catholic Church itself with its venerable record in all works of a charitable nature is losing prestige in Montreal, on account of the continual criticism of this gap in Catholic social work. For instance, hospitals reported that "if a man who is ill and without funds is a Jew or a Protestant, his family will be looked after, but as a rule, if he is an English-speaking Catholic, it is useless to report the case."

The survey also pointed out that all services such as child protection, care programs for adolescents from 14 to

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<sup>6</sup>Ibid., p. 23.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid., pp. 26-27.

18 years of age, day nursery services for semi-dependent children, services for the unmarried mother and her child, problems in delinquency, prisoners' welfare services, problems in recreation, the care of the aged, problems in the care of the handicapped, problems in the health field, and hospital care services were characterized by a lack of knowledgeable staff, manpower, follow-up, coordination, adequate facilities, and resources or funds. As a result, no proper services were provided in an adequate manner, except institutional care services, which received some grants from the provincial and municipal governments after 1921, under the social policy of the Quebec Public Charity Act.

Most seriously affected by these inadequate service systems were unskilled labourers, clerical workers, low wage earners, unemployed family heads who were unemployed though employable, and those who migrated to Montreal from rural areas. From this particular group, those who had families suffered the most as they did not know how to obtain adequate funds for their basic needs, not to mention for their other emotional problems, child behavioral problems, marital conflicts, etc. This family group was supposedly looked after by the Catholic Social Service Guild. Unlike the Jewish Family Service agency or the Protestant Family Service institution, the Catholic Social Service Guild had decided not to provide direct family assistance in the 1920s. Instead, they assumed that such assistance ought to be provided by local parishes or by religious orders. They

functioned only as a clearing house, namely, the Guild only acted as a clearing house through which applicants were referred to individual parishes or parish priests. The secretary of the Guild explained:

It never sought the case-work approach or plan, definitely purposing to make its contact with the case as short as possible, and endeavoring, by every effort it could make, not to "carry the case" at all, unless no other solution was offered. Accordingly, it never utilized the Social Service Exchange, as it definitely avoided any responsibility itself of planning for a family and so did not require information as to other agencies working with the case. In keeping with this policy, though the city authorities provide no outdoor relief of any kind, the Guild expended apart from relief in clothing only \$1,290.88 on relief last year, and \$618.97 on special cases. Its salary item (\$3,689.92) absorbed no less than 40% of its total disbursements (\$9,064.70), in this item of \$9,064.70 there is included a balance of \$1,381.66 in the bank and administration expenses amounting to \$2,259.80, plus \$1,000.00 direct payment to the Sisters of Service. Thus its actual relief payments (\$1,909.85) amounted to only about 21% of its expenditure. While the family welfare agency definitely plans to provide service rather than relief for its families, the special conditions prevailing in Montreal require the definite provision of relief by the private agency, and the churches. For example, in this same year, the Family Welfare Association of Montreal, Protestant, and non-sectarian services, handled 631 new families and 463 old, involving 4,906 persons of whom 2,312 were under 15 years, and carried a relief item of \$110,000.00 of which nearly \$38,000.00 was by way of regular allowance to 94 mothers with young children who, because of desertion, non-support, insufficient income, etc., would otherwise have been unable to "carry on." An item of \$29,300.00 was paid for the maintenance in their own homes of 166 widows and their families. Of this, \$17,700.00 was paid to keep together 47 widows and their families, who had been so helped for several years. The sum of \$11,600.00 was carried for 119 widows and families helped for a shorter period. Thus, this item of \$29,300.00 kept the families of 166 widows from being broken up, at an average cost for the year of \$176.50, which is a small expenditure to keep a family intact.

... The Association maintains four offices in different parts of the city, but its total service charge is less than 25% of its whole budget while its actual relief payments alone amount to practically 69%, quite apart from its clothing and employment service bureau. Quite outside the Association's budget, an item of \$3,510.45 was spent last year (1929) on emergency relief through the Employment Committee, with no extra overhead cost and \$5,700.00 was carried over for 1929-30.

The Baron de Hirsch Institute Family Department (Jewish) with a load of some 1,200 cases a year, expends over \$25,000.00 a year on food and rent alone.

These comparative facts made it quite obvious that, as it claimed, the Guild had sought to act almost solely as a 'clearing house' for the eighteen parishes, and had realized its purpose of avoiding the creation of a family welfare bureau which would have given continuous service and relief, according to a definite plan for each family.<sup>8</sup>

#### The Characteristics of Catholic Social Service Delivery Systems

The Catholic social service delivery system was characterized by institutional care, Catholic benevolent societies, and services offered by religious communities. The main emphasis of social service program developments was centered around institutional care for dependent children, homeless boys and girls, unmarried mothers, deserted mothers with children, and orphans.

In reference to organized health and social services, the religious communities initiated a number of health centres and social service institutions. According to Appercus d'hier et d'aujourd'hui, 1830-1986,<sup>9</sup> St. Mary's Hospital was initially sponsored and funded by St. Patrick's Church and was staffed

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<sup>8</sup> Ibid., pp. 25-26.

<sup>9</sup> Appercus d'hier et d'aujourd'hui, 1830-1986 de l'Eglise Catholique au Québec (Montreal: 1986).

by the nursing sisters of St. Joseph and the Grey Nuns. The Grey Nuns operated the Father Dowd Home for Irish immigrants, St. Patrick's Orphanage, and St. Bridget's Refuge and Asylum.

In 1914, St. Ann's Kindergarten was established and the Sisters of Providence were invited to manage the institution. In 1933, the Sisters of Service established the SOS Residence for young women in Montreal. The Catholic Men's Hostel was founded in the early 1930s. In the later period, this institution was operated by the Little Brothers of the Good Shepherd.

Concerning individual institution's policies and service delivery, the Church or the office of the Archdiocese of Montreal and individual pastors of parishes provided active guidance and direction which it continues to do even today. The Diocese office identified problems, developed resources, and then invited religious orders to manage the projects. The Church also worked with lay leaders and volunteers who received general direction from the Church. The effect of such coordinated efforts within the Church permeated the entire Catholic community in that the Church maintained its hierarchical authority or leadership role in dealing with the overall community affairs:

The authority of the Church has become our cultural heritage. Because of this historical development, both the clergy and lay Catholics accept Church authority as a symbol which influences our daily operation and behavior when Catholics are involved in charity work or the organizational structure. This is the reason why the Church has been able to mobilize human resources and funds for many community projects. This practice has been demonstrated even

in the recent history of Catholic social services. At the same time, because of such an organizational structure, sometimes it takes much more time than secular institutions to take action. Externally, it appears that the Catholic Church is being very conservative in keeping up with current trends of social movement, i.e. in social welfare or other social reformation, but in reality, it takes considerable time to ratify any motion by all organizational structures.<sup>10</sup>

Until the early part of the 1900s, all the charitable ventures undertaken by benevolent societies, lay leaders and volunteers, individual parishes, religious communities and the St. Vincent de Paul movement were fairly successful. The Society provided other dimensions of social and family needs. Its members organized programs in such a manner as to visit homes and interview family members. Such an approach was designed to investigate the basic cause of problems, rather than concentrate on material aid only. The Church, the Episcopal office, also provided functions between and among all these Catholic organizations.

From the 1900s, all communal welfare institutions began to experience a serious service problem. Individual agencies and parishes were demanded with an unprecedented volume of services and relief. At this, the social welfare delivery systems in the community became non-committal, especially in dealing with the special client category of unskilled labourers, low wage workers, the chronically unemployed, troubled family, etc. Due to an overwhelming service demand,

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<sup>10</sup> Interview with Reverend John Walsh, Assistant Director, English Services, Archdiocese of Montreal, November 12, 1986.

there were no organized programs with definite plans and services. The social welfare crisis became more serious by not having adequate coordination between social welfare institutions. Individual welfare institutions were not only duplicating programs but also competing for community resources. There was no active community organization which would provide overall leadership and coordination for social welfare networks within the community and outside the community.

All these charitable problems were contributed by a number of socioeconomic and political factors. They were World War I, the great economic depression, rapid urbanization, and industrialization. At this point, the Catholic communal welfare institutions began to seek out services from secular institutions including Protestant communal organizations. In respect to this, Whitton's survey recorded that:

... There are many other services, some of which have not been developed by the English speaking Catholics, and some of which this group has been drawing on from the community services financed altogether through the Protestant and non-sectarian financial federation. The survey sets forth in detail proposals whereby the English speaking Catholic group should plan to provide for these services by developing them itself, or evolving co-operative working arrangements. The survey estimates that ultimately a well developed comprehensive plan of services covering health, recreation, etc., would cost roughly \$135,000 per annum.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> Charlotte Whitton, The Social Welfare Services of the English Speaking Catholic Community of Montreal, p. 7.

This has revealed that the Catholic group was heavily taxing Protestant and non-sectarian communal welfare resources, clearly demonstrating its desperate need for more social welfare resources. Thus, until the 1900s, the social welfare programs of various types were adequately provided by Catholic benevolent societies, religious communities, individual parishes, particularly the Society of St. Vincent de Paul. The Catholic communal welfare institutions were faced with unprecedented increasing of welfare clients who were suffering with much more complicated and complex psychosocioeconomic problems. The charitable problem deteriorated increasingly due to a waste of social welfare resources by duplicating social service programs among various social welfare institutions, by not having coordination -- not knowing who is doing what -- thereby creating complete confusion and chaos. All these negative developments contributed to the creation of a social welfare crisis in the community.

The situation became so critical up to the point of seeking help through secular-non-Catholic organizations including Protestant communal welfare institutions. This particular dependence upon secular and Protestant institutions for social service caused another dimension of an organizational crisis or threat to the Catholic Church. The Catholic Church feared that it would lose its members to other institutions of various kinds, particularly other religious denominations.

At this point, the Catholic community, particularly the



clerical leadership began to become aware of, although much slower than other communities, of movement of professionalism in social work. The following sections will examine the movement of professionalism in social work and its impact made on the Catholic Church and its community. The charitable activities and social welfare institutions had always been the integral part of the Church.

The Movement of Professionalization  
of Social Work

Throughout the history of Catholic social welfare activities, there has been a consistent pattern of program initiation and management by Church authority, i.e. directly from the office of the Diocese of Montreal, or from individual clergy members in conjunction with lay leaders and volunteers, with the essential leadership derived from the Church itself. But from the early part of this century, the Church began to face the new reality of more complex and complicated socio-economic and family problems. These problems in turn demanded a new approach in terms of an organized, coordinated, and objective management at individual, group, and community levels. To manage and provide effective charitable services, the whole issue of charity had to be reflected by:

A managerial technique both scientific and business-like, an attempt to do in charity what is done in commerce and industry -- so to arrange its different agencies, and so to coordinate its different forces as to attain a certain end with the least possible waste of energy.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>12</sup>Roy Lubove, The Professional Altruist: The Emergence of Social Work as a Career, 1880-1930 (Cambridge, Mass.: 1965), p. 7.

For social welfare to be handled in a scientific and business-like manner, strict allegiance to scientific theory and practice is necessary. For this,

charity must be divorced from mere sentimentality and self-gratification and the permanent welfare of the supplicant regarded as the true goal of benevolence. How could charity be love if lacking in wisdom? And how could it be wise, if lacking a thorough knowledge of all component facts?<sup>13</sup>

Actually, the motive of volunteer workers was more than sentimentality and self-gratification. Their charity was based on voluntarism, be it for personal reasons or out of religious compassion. The change of guard from volunteers to professional social workers was caused by a realistic confrontation of the socioeconomic forces which were more complex than those of the previous century. A thoughtful and comprehensive view of the situation was expressed by Lubove:

During the nineteenth century, private organizations bore much of the burden of support for dependency. Unpaid laymen, equipped with the desire to do good and with the compelling urge to shape the value system of the poor, mobilized important philanthropic resources. As urbanization and industrialization intensified problems of social control, however, complaints about the inadequacy of voluntary philanthropic efforts became increasingly vocal. The magnitude of the task seemed to call for more efficient organization, more highly developed technical skills, and greater monetary support than agencies controlled by volunteers could command. Ultimately, the emergence of a professional corps of social workers, bureaucratically administered, changed the character of the private charitable association and altered the status and role of the volunteer.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>13</sup>Ibid., p. 6.

<sup>14</sup>Ibid., pp. vii-viii.

The concept of skilled professional service, rooted in medical, psychological, social and managerial science and performed in a specific setting, eroded the older friendly visiting and relief aid methods, and forced a re-evaluation of the volunteer's role in social work:

The view of charity as "simple friendliness" had become outmoded. It savored too much of paternalism, moral righteousness, and class distinction. The only valid form of superiority in a democracy was the superior knowledge of expert, which involved not a particle of a sense of shame on the one side or of condescension on the other.<sup>15</sup>

Scientific philanthropy helped shift the focus from the friendly visitors approach to social diagnosis, which implied "a quest for functional and organizational relationships, skills and techniques, and a scientific knowledge-base, within specific institutional settings."<sup>16</sup> The specific settings implied that a professional social worker provided his or her expertise in case-work, social group, or community organization, respecting certain ideological concepts or the policy of the institution by whom he or she was engaged. Catholic institutions naturally emphasized the elements of Catholicism in family planning, family life, etc. As described in detail in Chapter VII, the professional social worker does have certain ethics and an allegiance to the people he or she served, but he or she also had an obligation to respect a certain ideological philosophy and the

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<sup>15</sup>Ibid., p. 35.

<sup>16</sup>Ibid., p. 35.

objectives of his or her employer or institution.

In the course of the professionalization of social work, the status of volunteers became unclear and unstable. The result was a slow process of change, with volunteers still providing a major contribution to fund raising, management, allocation of funds, and community development. The volunteers became superior in the administration and decision making process, but actual policies were implemented by professional social workers using so-called scientific observations and professional know-how as tools:

The charity organization societies in the nineteenth century had inaugurated a new era in philanthropy when they defined benevolence as intelligent, efficient service meant to restore the poor to self-sufficiency, and not an opportunity for the rich and well-born to store up credits in heaven or to exercise their altruistic instinct. Yet they had not doubted that scientific philanthropy could be reconciled with voluntarism. As questions of skill and technique influenced the thinking of social workers after 1900, the status of volunteers became insecure and ambiguous although they continued to exercise important responsibilities. The value of voluntary service was seriously questioned in a period of functional specialization and presumptions of expertise.<sup>17</sup>

As indicated in Chapter VII, the emergence of social work as a profession resulted in a chronic tension between the social workers and the volunteers. The creation of tension between voluntarism and professionalism in social work was primarily caused by an ideological perception. The volunteers, including clergy members, held the view that a traditional approach in Christian charitable work, mainly

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<sup>17</sup> Ibid., p. 49.

relief and home visiting, with brotherly concern and dedication proved to be effective. For such charity, the volunteers contributed monies and time, whereas the professional approach in social work was to be preventive and rehabilitative. The overall suspective and conservative attitude of the volunteers toward professionalization of social welfare activities contributed to a slower introduction of the new approach to the Catholic social welfare field than other non-Catholic and Protestant communities.

For example, the trend of professionalism in social work influenced the private social welfare institutions in 1900, at which time the Montreal Charity Organization Society (MCOS) was established. According to Terry Copp:

From 1900 onwards, agitation for the application of "scientific methods" and the professionalization of social work developed rapidly throughout North America, including the anglophone community of Montreal. The formation of a Charities Organization Society in Montreal was the first sign of this new direction in charity work .... The Society attempted to integrate the work of a number of agencies, including some French Canadian institutions, and its Board of Directors was drawn from socially prominent members of both linguistic communities. But the C.O.S. operated in English and its efforts to be the "Office Centrale de la Charité de Montréal" had little practical consequences for French Canadian institutions.<sup>18</sup>

The first annual report of the C.O.S. spelled out its aims as follows:

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<sup>18</sup>Terry Copp, The Anatomy of Poverty, The Canadian Working Class in Montreal, 1897-1927 (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1974), pp. 114-115.

The Charity Organization Society first and foremost represents the cooperative movement in charities -- its aim is to form a common centre and means of intercommunication for all those interested in the welfare of the poor -- not only for the exchanging of information, but also for the discussing of right methods and for the planning of those definite positive reforms which work towards the prevention of pauperism rather than its cure. For it is peculiarly the ideal of the charity organization movement to devote more attention to this higher kind of charity; the charity which is far and away above mere relief, the charity which means an uplifting of the whole tone of life.

As more and more societies and individuals cooperate with this central society, and use the additional moral strength which comes through united knowledge and effort, more firmly insist that relief shall be given only when it does good and not harm, and that the welfare of souls and characters is of more concern than freedom from physical suffering, then more and more the possibilities for ultimately decreasing suffering and for making the lives of the poor richer and fairer will ultimately increase.<sup>19</sup>

The C.O.S. report further indicated that one of its major functions was to be a clearing house for information about poor families in the city and it requested that everyone cooperate in the movement for the repression of street and house begging. Ninety percent of the city's beggars were said to be out and out frauds and the remaining ten percent required care and thought and visitation, not demoralizing aims.

Individuals and organizations who were assisting poor families were urged to make employment the basis of relief.

Conferences of the Society had been established in two parts of the city, Pointe St. Charles and the St. Henri-St. Cunegonde-Westmount area.

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<sup>19</sup> Cited by Terry Copp, from the First Annual Report of M.C.O.S., Montreal, 1901, p. 3.

The next year the C.O.S. undertook a further study of its clientele and reported:

The plain fact is that so far as the dependent poor are concerned, the sufferings of the poor themselves and the economic loss to the community are occasioned in great measure by conditions outside the control of the individual, conditions that only an intelligent and aroused public opinion can affect.<sup>20</sup>

It had taken the C.O.S. twenty years to recognize the "plain fact" that basic problems were caused by poor socioeconomic conditions. Copp further reported that:

Catholic charitable institutions continued to operate on traditional lines providing whatever assistance their finances would allow. The Catholic elite was not isolated from contemporary notions of social reform but in the area of charitable work the Church had pre-empted the activist role.<sup>21</sup>

As a matter of fact, the English-speaking Catholic Church and its community took almost thirty years to respond to the pressure exerted by its counterpart in the non-Catholic communities but it did finally adopt the concept of professionalism in social work. Such decision was made thirty years after the establishment of the M.C.O.S. by the Protestant group in Montreal. That is, the Catholic Church initiated a leadership role in introducing a professional approach after it had structurally or sociologically been pressured by non-Catholic groups as well as by the reality of not being able to tackle the overwhelming charitable

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<sup>20</sup>Cited by Terry Copp in the Annual Report of the M.C.O.S., Montreal, 1920, p. 12.

<sup>21</sup>Ibid., p. 126.

problems prevailed at this time.

The reason for the delay in <sup>adopting</sup> a professional approach in social work by the Catholic Church was that it had tangible, human resources of various religious orders, St. Vincent de Paul Society and dedicated Catholic volunteer workers who had and have built the basic foundation in all facets of cultural, educational, health, and social welfare programs. These resources were absent in Jewish and Protestant communities because they were able to involve readily in new ventures in terms of professionalism in social work.

As a result, the Catholic Church and its members, both clergy and lay leaders, were conservative in undertaking a new approach or in inviting unknown elements into an established social welfare delivery system in the Catholic community.

Historically, the Catholic Church and its leadership have proven that their umbrella religious institutions and religious communities had and have successfully delivered charitable programs.

Nevertheless, the office of the Diocese of Montreal initiated an action, inviting the professional body of the Canadian Council on Child and Family Welfare to conduct a survey in 1930. The purpose of this survey was to find ways and means to provide the English-speaking Catholic community of Montreal with a plan and program of work towards which it might advance over a period of years:



Consequently, the report, the survey, offered herewith projects a line of action and attainment extending a considerable period into the future, but looking towards a gradual development of provisions more nearly adequate for the care of the poor and unfortunate of that community than those which prevail today.

The welfare problems of the English speaking Catholics of Montreal must ultimately be solved by the English speaking Catholics themselves, under the leadership of their clergy and representative laymen. A survey can only diagnose and prescribe; the remedies and treatment must be applied within the community itself.<sup>22</sup>

Thus, the survey report, the Whitton report, has revealed that it had mainly dealt with institutional relationships among various Catholic communal welfare institutions and service delivery systems. Survey on these aspects produced only a superficial report which was characterized by describing or reporting negative aspects in terms of not being able to better care for "the poor and unfortunate." The survey failed to recognize or study in depth in connection with the most tangible and practical resources that were developed and managed by religious communities and the St. Vincent de Paul Society. In particular, the survey somehow did not include major human resources in the social welfare field in terms of various religious orders, lay leaders, volunteer workers, and the St. Vincent de Paul Society.

Failing to point out or survey the potential resources

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<sup>22</sup> Charlotte Whitton, The Social Welfare Services of the English Speaking Catholic Community of Montreal, p. 3.

described above, the report only produced a limited scope in terms of setting up a Federation for Catholic Charities which involved coordination, planning, budgeting, and fund raising for Catholic organizations. This left out almost entirely the possibility of integrating major resources into an overall program development. Furthermore, it also failed to invite ideas and perception on social welfare from contributors or donors of funds and other resources. Without having basic knowledge and an attitude towards the prevailing social welfare situation from contributors, it would be most difficult to develop sound and effective welfare programs, even with professional knowledge or methods.

As a result, the survey report had made a limited impact in assisting the process of developing a financial federation without having an active participation from all major human resources and institutions. Such limitations will also create serious tension between the lay leaders and professional social workers in the future. In any event, the survey report was accepted by the Diocese of Montreal which, in turn, translated it into action in terms of forming a federation for Catholic charities. That is, the report encouraged the establishment of various service programs, ranging from the Catholic Welfare Bureau for Child and Family Care, to care for the aged; services for prisoners and the handicapped, and community organization programs. Individual agencies and projects were to be led by professional social workers. To accommodate individual Catholic organizations and to provide

adequate resources, the survey recommended the establishment of a federation method of financing. This would entail program activities based on the team work concept -- coordination and cooperation, social planning, budgeting and fund raising. To emphasize this method, the survey indicated the application of such methods by 316 cities in the United States and Canada. Such a method was employed in Montreal by the Protestant and non-sectarian agencies, and by the Jewish Federation, in Toronto in three separate federations, the Catholic, Protestant and Jewish, and in Halifax, Hamilton and Winnipeg, by one interdenominational community movement. Vancouver would launch its first federated "drive" in February 1931.

The survey report became another reference which enabled the English Catholic Church to accept the professional model and its implications in terms of professional program development and service delivery systems. As a result, in 1931, the English-speaking Catholic community incorporated a professional social welfare institution under the name of the Federation of Catholic Charities Inc. The Archbishop of Montreal became the Honorary President of the Federation.

We witness that during the period of 1850-1930, the English Catholic Church and religious communities assumed major responsibility for providing social welfare programs. With a base in the traditional ideology of Christian charity, the clergy, religious orders, and Catholic laymen had a common purpose in endeavoring to provide services to the

poor. The St. Vincent de Paul Society movement, in dealing with the destitutes by providing practical material aid and adopting the friendly visitation concept, had considerable impact. However, the traditional approach was not adequate to overcome the problems created by industrialization and rapid urbanization, poor housing, poor health, chronic unemployment and family conflict. Under the circumstances, the concept of professionalism in social work began to emerge in Montreal in 1900. But the community adopted a conservative attitude and waited thirty years to accept the professional approach. Even then, the community was forced to accept this method because of the popular trend towards professionalization in social work among the Protestant and non-sectarian groups, the Jewish community, and Catholic groups in other provinces. This prompted the Catholic Church and its elite to undertake a new approach which would require the change from voluntarism to professionalism in charitable work, giving the leadership to professional social workers to deal with overall program development and service delivery. The acceptance of the new approach by the community also meant that traditional methods of relief and institutional care for relieving or curing immediate suffering be shifted to the prevention of poverty and the attainment of self-sufficiency.

We will examine these points and the impact made by the involvement of professional social workers in terms of overall operations of the Federation in program development,

evaluation of service structures and service standard or quality, planning, budgeting, fund raising, and coordination, and attitude manifested by volunteers towards professional implementation of the Federation's policies; this would also include the functions of the Church in connection with the Federation.

PART C

THE FEDERATION OF CATHOLIC CHARITIES:  
AN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE, 1931-1986

## CHAPTER VI

### THE FEDERATION OF CATHOLIC CHARITIES: AN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE, 1931-1986

#### Introduction

The Federation of Catholic Charities is a communal welfare institution of the English Catholic community in Montreal, established under the concept of professional social work methods. It has played an important leadership in the area of social welfare. The major functions of the Federation have been planning, budgeting, fund-raising, coordination, and program development for and with Catholic organizations in the community. It has been managed and supervised by the clergy members and lay leaders, mostly on the Board of Directors, and its policies were executed by the corps of professional social workers. There were a number of untrained workers and volunteers who received overall supervision and direction from professional social workers.

During the course of its operation its name has changed three times. In 1931, the Federation was known as The Federation of Catholic Charities; in 1970, it became The Federation of Catholic Community Services, and in 1975, it took the name it is known by today, The Foundation of

Catholic Community Services. Its functions, scope, program, structure, funding sources, and priorities have changed correspondingly with each change of name. The reasons for these changes will be examined as we trace the historical development of the Federation.

The analysis of the Federation will be divided into four major periods. Each period is defined by an important development, both inside and outside the community, which caused multidimensional changes. These periods will be examined in this and following chapters.

1931-1986: The involvement of the church in the Federation.

1931-1960: The functions of the Federation and program expansion.

1961-1970: The impact of professional surveys and multi-dimensional changes.

1971-1974: The transition period, public involvement (Bill 65), and the merger with Centraide Montreal.

1975-1986: Post-merger period.

1931-1986: Involvement of the Institutional Church

Historically, the Church has considered that Catholic charities as an integral part of the Church, and assumed responsibility for initiating charitable work and delivering services. The practice of charity in accordance with the teachings of Jesus Christ in which the Church has attempted to witness charitable deeds or undertake charity work as a social mission. In achieving the above, the role of the Church has been varied starting with actual practice in alms



giving, mobilization of community resources for charity purposes, encouragement of lay leaders and volunteers to initiate and manage corporate charity work, consultative functions for lay leaders and religious orders, and direct involvement in the social reformations and social actions on parish, local community, provincial and national levels.

For example, on national and political levels, the Canadian Conference of Catholic Bishops voiced its view on economic situations and human resources under the titles of "Ethical Reflections on the Economic Crisis," in 1983, and "Unemployment -- Human Costs" in 1980. On the local level, the Church displayed its leadership role in the initiation or establishment of the English-speaking Catholic Council in 1980, and plays a consultative role for all Catholic organizations in Montréal.

In 1930, the Church, the Episcopal office of the Montreal Diocese, displayed its leadership role in the initiation of inviting a professional survey on Catholic communal welfare organizations and community resources and in the creation of the Federation of Catholic Charities. Based on the recommendations of the survey which was conducted by the Canadian Council on Child and Family Welfare, the Federation was founded on May 23, 1931 under the auspices of His Excellency, Reverend George Gauthier, Archbishop of the Diocese of Montreal.

After the Federation was founded, the Church participated in the operation of the Federation on four levels. The

Episcopal office of the Montreal diocese, participated in an overall planning level and operation of the Federation. It involved dealing with various policies and budgetary allocations for Catholic organizations. The individual pastors from parishes were involved in the actual operation of the Federation. They coordinated social welfare activities between their parishes and the Federation. They also participated in the operation of the Federation's constituent agencies. For example, the Board of Directors for one of the largest constituent agencies of Catholic Family and Children's Services was represented only by pastors from all Catholic parishes in Greater Montreal.

Religious communities or religious orders participated in the operation of the Federation through actual management of the Federation's agencies. The Sisters of Services operated and supervised the Catholic Girls Residential Centre, and Brothers of the Good Shepherd operated the Catholic men's hostel. Grey Nuns also managed St. Patrick's Orphanage. Finally, all Catholic clergy members from the office of the Montreal Diocese, individual pastors, and religious orders participated in annual fund-raising campaigns. Such active participation is shown in the following table.

From the inception of the Federation, the Church, from all levels, has been consistent and has given overall leadership in the operation of the Federation. Bishop Crowley of the Diocese of Montreal, has noted:

Table 2  
Church's Participation in Annual Campaigns

<u>Year</u>	<u>Campaign Objectives</u>	<u>Amount Raised Through Pastors and Parishes</u>
1932	\$107,722	\$58,870
1934	185,143	67,225
1944	227,778	90,472
1954	352,906 <sup>Q</sup>	209,106
1964	560,140	250,300

Source: Annual Financial Reports of the Federation,  
1932-1964

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The Church stands by the work of God which happens to be conscious deed of all charitable work. Our basic philosophy and attitude toward Christian charity has not changed ever since Jesus Christ demonstrated noble deed to us. Because of which, we give a sense of permanence and stability in our work of God in terms of giving help to our brothers and sisters. Charity is an act of love. Love needs someone to receive. This tradition or religious life has not and will not change. Charity is an active expression of religious life which concerns all Catholics or Catholic organizations. Throughout the history of the church, the methods of service delivery manifested in many different forms, but they were all stemmed from the idea of "Love" in terms of caring for our brethren. From this very point of view, the work of the Federation is part of the Church and we are always involved with the "noble cause" of the Federation because the Federation is an "expression of love."<sup>1</sup>

In reference to the involvement of the clergy members and religious orders in actual management and service delivery activities, Bishop Crowley has said:

Our actual physical presence in service delivery and program development has been drastically decreased.

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<sup>1</sup> Interview with Bishop L. Crowley, December 29, 1986.

Due to the public policies and community resources, we are not any longer involved in direct services. Our scarce resources are being used elsewhere. But our clergy members, including myself, attempt to assist the work of the Federation in various manners: moral support, encouragement, spiritual inspiration and moral guidance, and sometimes direct guidance on decision making processes. We are witnessing the work of God through the Federation.<sup>2</sup>

We witness that the traditional values and philosophy of the Church have been consistently reflected in its functions. The practice of helping brothers and sisters is seen as active charity, an important part of religious life. The methods of achieving such goals have been varied. In this regard, the Church sees the Federation as one of its instruments for carrying out the social mission of the Church. Because the Church sees the work of the Federation as active work of the Church, it has given assistance ranging from direct leadership to assistance for lay leaders to become involved in charity work. Currently, the Church provides a silent leadership in the decision making level of the Federation without participating in actual day-to-day operation activities. The Church still has a substantial influence on the overall direction of the Federation.

Thus we witness that the role of the Church has a sense of permanence in dealing with Catholic charity and its role has been varied in accordance with any given circumstance or charitable problems. In connection with the Federation, the Church displayed a distinctive role as an initiator or

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<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

enabler for the establishment of a professional social welfare institution. It has assisted and supported tangibly the Federation through annual campaigns and on the Board of Directors' level. In the 1980s, the Church played its role as a consultant for the Federation. On the service level, religious communities participated in the operation of Catholic institutions such as Sisters of Services for Girls' Information Centre, Grey Nuns for St. Patrick Orphanage, etc. The St. Vincent de Paul Society was invited by the Diocese of Montreal to give direct leadership and service individual parishes.

In relation to the Federation, the Church views the Federation as an integral part of the Church in which the Church's social mission is accomplished through charitable activities performed by the Federation. In terms of the Church's involvement in the current operation of the Federation, Bishop Crowley states:

We do not involve ourselves in the daily activities of the Federation, but we are consulted by the members of the Board of Directors of the Federation whenever there are serious matters on decisions to be made. From this point of view, we see the Catholic communal welfare institution (the Federation) as part of the Church.<sup>3</sup>

It appears that the Episcopal office still maintains its power or influence on matters dealing with the Federation. In this respect, we will further examine the role of the clerical hierarchy in the course analysing the impact and

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<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

changes made by professional and public involvement and the merger with Centraide Montreal.

1931-1960: The Functions of the Federation  
and Program Expansion

The structure, service delivery systems, and functions of the Federation were based on the format recommended by the professional survey of 1930.

The structure. The main structure of the Federation consisted of a central body of administration (the Board of Directors) under which various functional committees were established. The committees were composed of the members of the Board of Directors and were assisted by professional social workers, i.e. the committee for dealing with a special project such as unemployment or fund-raising and budgeting.

The number of the Board of Directors was twenty-one. Eighteen lay leaders were selected or appointed by 18 parishes, one from each parish, and three clergy members were appointed by the Episcopal office. One of the clergy functioned as a coordinator between the Episcopal office and the Federation. All important issues of charitable problems and new projects undertaken by the Federation were closely consulted and shared by the Episcopal office.

The second clergy attached to the Federation as a chaplain and spiritual leader. He was also responsible for all service delivery systems which were related to Catholic values and precepts or Catholic teachings in the provision

of services for Catholic clients.

The third clergy was responsible for coordination between the pastors in each parish and the Federation. The involvement of clergy members in individual agencies was crucial in the development of social service programs and supervision of service delivery systems. For example, one of the biggest constituent agencies of the Catholic Welfare Bureau was managed and supervised by the Board of Directors who were composed of only the pastors from all parishes. The agency carried a major function in caring for Catholic families and children, unmarried mother and child, and the aged and received the largest grants among all constituent agencies from the Federation, according to the allocations made to the Catholic Welfare Bureau from 1931 to 1956.

Table 3

Allocation of Funds to C.W.B.  
From Federation Grants Received

<u>Year</u>	<u>Federation's Income</u>	<u>C.W.B. Budget</u>
1931	\$39,249	\$17,977
1941	190,116	86,852
1951	351,818	118,000
1956	524,025	86,117

Source: Annual Reports of the Federation, 1931-1956

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The grants to the Catholic Welfare Bureau began to decrease in 1956 because its annual budgetary expenditure was supplemented by public sources of the Quebec Public Charities

Act, the Needy Mothers' Allowance, Family Allowance.

From the inception of the Federation, we witness that the Church, including the Episcopal office and individual clergy members from local parishes, made substantial contributions and influence in an overall operation of the Federation and its constituent agencies. The religious communities also made tangible contribution in managing St. Patrick's Orphanage, Sisters of Services for Girls' Residential and Information Centre, the Brothers of the Good Shepherd for the Catholic Men's Hostel and other health institutions.

The Church also made significant contribution in this period of program development and expansion through active participation in annual fund-raising campaigns of the Federation.

From the Board, various functional committees of planning, budgeting, fund-raising and coordination were formed. These committees were assisted by the Executive and Assistant Directors who were trained in professional social work. Trained social workers were also responsible for assisting these committees on a permanent basis. Other major service departments of planning, budgeting, coordination and campaigns which were under the direct control of the Federation and Executive Directors of all constituent agencies were headed by professional social workers. For example, the Catholic Welfare Bureau was headed by senior professional social workers under whom a



corps of case workers were employed.

Service delivery systems were divided into two divisions: one division was under direct control or supervision of the Federation: planning, budgeting, fund-raising, and coordination; the other division consisted of all constituent and affiliated agencies of the Federation. These agencies provided various social services to individuals, groups, parishes, and the Catholic community as a whole.

The major sources of funds for service programs were raised through annual fund-raising campaigns. This was mainly supported by the English-speaking Catholic community of Montreal.

According to the charter of the Federation, the major functions were: (a) financing, (b) budgeting, (c) coordination, and (d) planning.

a) Financing

Insofar as member agencies do not raise money or do not receive funds from other sources (such as government grants, individual donations, and fees), the Federation is responsible for their adequate financing. This function includes as a major part the annual campaign for the operating needs of these agencies and for their capital needs insofar as this latter is possible.

The records of annual campaigns throughout 1932-1964 indicate that more than half of the funds were raised by pastors and parishes, and the rest was raised through corporate donations and the Catholic community as a whole.

The records also indicate that the Federation succeeded in achieving its annual fund-raising objectives which was evidence of active support and participation in the operation of the Federation by the Catholic community as a whole.

b) Budgeting

The Federation as the trustee of funds received from the English Catholics and general public is responsible for the distribution and supervision of these funds. This requires adequate knowledge of the complete financial position of all its member agencies, adequate supervision of the funds allocated to and spent by these agencies, and adequate channels so that all member agencies might regularly discuss their financial needs with the Federation. In budgeting, it is obvious that decisions on these important financial matters can be made only if continuous consideration is also given in the same detail to the programs and the quality of the programs on which these sums will be spent.

c) Coordination

As the Federation is responsible for a series of different kinds of social welfare services, and not for just any one, it has a coordinating function to fulfill to see not only that each service is operating well but that it is operating well in relation with fellow services within its own network and in relation with the other public and private services in the general community. As the member agencies constitute the many parts of the network, their effectiveness lies very much in the quality of the relationships which exist among them.

d) Planning

The Federation also is a parent organization responsible for the establishment, promotion and development of programs and services for its people. It is responsible for the continuous evaluation of its present services to learn whether they need expansion, modification, or elimination for study of the needs of the English Catholic community to learn of the gaps in service or the new needs that arise, so that they might be realistically planned for, for study of the various relationships among the agencies, for the establishment of priorities, so as to apply its resources in an orderly and effective manner.

The Federation had two major categories of agencies known as constituent agency or member agency and affiliated agency. The constituent agencies were totally financed and managed by the Federation. Some agencies in this category had a Board of Trustees who supervised daily operational activities, while other agencies were directly managed by the staff of the Federation.

Affiliated agencies were those institutions which were partially financed by the Federation in the form of outright grants. Communal health and social welfare institutions included in this category were initiated and operated by local Catholic volunteer groups and non-Catholic populations. Funds or grants were provided to these agencies for exchange of services for Catholic clients, such as services from the Montreal Mental Hygiene Institute or the Victorian Order of

Nurses.

The following table will illustrate the type of services and pattern of increase in numbers of agencies and services.

Table 4

Increases in the Number of Agencies

<u>Constituent Agencies</u>		<u>Affiliated Agencies</u>		<u>Total</u>
<u>Year</u>	<u>No. of Agencies</u>	<u>Year</u>	<u>No. of Agencies</u>	
1931	9	1931	4	13
1951	13	1951	10	23
1961	22	1961	13	35
1976	4	1976	0	4

Source: Annual Reports of the Federation, 1931-1976

Table 4 indicates that the period of 1931-1965 is characterized by program development and expansion in terms of increasing the number of agencies both constituent and affiliated. Such trend of expansion shows that the Federation received continuous support in terms of funds from both the public sector and the Catholic community.

The drastic change or decrease in number in 1976 for both categories of agencies was caused by both public involvement and merger with Centraide Montreal. At the occasion of implementing the public policy of Bill 65 and the merger with Centraide Montreal, all major programs and agencies were transferred to the above institutions. This shall be elaborated on when we examine in detail the major changes of the Federation that affected the nature of program, structure,

scope, priorities and decrease of number of agencies.

Table 5 indicates a number of program characteristics which were largely reflective of socioeconomic-political factors in various periods. Table 5 also indicates the substantial increase of the annual budget, which was caused by inflation and population growth. This is also evidence of the English-speaking Catholic community's active support of the Federation, and increase of grants from governments. For this particular aspect, we will examine the pattern of program development and expansion in relation to budget allocations and program categories.

The summary of budget allocations for programs of different types are shown in Table 5. The program categories shown on the table are:

Type A: Direct relief and contingent funds for needy or unemployed.

Type B: Services for protection, institutional care, for boys and girls, foster home, care for the aged, etc.

Type C: Camp programs, recreation, and group work activities.

Type D: Education and culture.

Type E: Professional counselling services, community organization activities.

Type F: Grants to outside agencies, mainly health care programs and mental hygiene services.

We can see from Table 5 that the budget allocations for programs were directly related to socioeconomic, political and professional factors.

During 1931-1961, the Federation maintained direct relief, or Type A programs for unemployed people and families. This program was characterized by material aid and financial assistance for those who were adversely affected by the Depression of the 1930s, socially and economically dislocated families, and new immigrants.

This program was also provided for families whose principal breadwinners lost marginal jobs as a result of rapid industrial development, and those who moved to metropolitan cities from rural areas or suburbs to seek employment. The people included in this category were not adequately benefiting from public assistance programs because their problems were temporary and required direct relief on an urgent basis. The spirit of this particular program was emphasized by the president of the Federation in his address in the 1961 annual report:

We must have direct relief service for those who are healthy and motivated to earn their bread, but the current socio-economic situation does not absorb some of them readily. Besides, they want work. They do not wish to reveal all personal problems which are temporary in nature to strangers for social welfare or a handout.<sup>4</sup>

The substantial increase in direct relief in 1951 was caused by new immigrants. Nevertheless, the direct relief program was completely eliminated after the early 1960s. Table 5 shows that no allocations were made from 1971 through to 1976. This was primarily caused by the drastic expansion

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<sup>4</sup>Annual Report of 1961 of the Federation.

of public welfare and other public programs. The public assistance programs cover practically all basic needs, including emergency funds for certain types of problems or needs of a temporary nature. The elimination of the Federation's direct relief program was also initiated by professional social workers who intervened in program assessment and evaluation in 1965. The professional survey team had recommended that all material aid types of programs be transferred to the public sector, thereby releasing such funds for professional service.<sup>5</sup> The elimination of the direct relief program also resulted in a reordering of program priorities within the Federation.

In relation to budget allocations for institutional care services for protection, foster homes, and care for the aged, the Federation provided the largest amount of funds for protection services for young boys and girls in a variety of social, employment information, residential, and occupational centres. The majority of these youngsters were homeless. These services were essential in protecting youth from becoming delinquent as well as in providing them with vocational and other professional counselling services for their future life. The program also included services for unmarried mothers and their children, foster homes, and custodial care for the aged.

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<sup>5</sup> Social Services for English speaking Catholics in Montreal, reported by the National Study Service, 1965.

TABLE 5

## BUDGET ALLOCATIONS AND PROGRAM CATEGORIES

	Direct Relief		Protection or Institutional Care Services		Camps Program & Recreation		Education & Culture		Professional Services/ C.O. Activities		Grants		Administration & Campaign		TOTAL
	A		B		C		D		E		F		G		
TYPE															
YEAR	\$	%	\$	%	\$	%	\$	%	\$	%	\$	%	\$	%	
1931	19,476	21.3	60,314	66.2	2,101	2.3	0	0	3,108	3.4	2,108	2.3	4,000	4.3	91,107
1941	305	0.2	111,696	67.6	3,000	2.0	0	0	8,600	5.2	20,160	12.2	21,353	12.9	469,809
1951	53,998	15.6	160,933	46.9	9,605	2.7	0	0	57,363	6.6	25,243	7.3	37,695	10.9	344,837
1961	14,282	2.5	303,291	53.3	86,835	15.3	0	0	75,556	13.3	42,199	7.4	42,300	7.5	564,547
1971	0	0	0	0	55,000	3.2	50,000	2.9	139,921	81.1	140,740	8.4	70,477	4.2	1,715,428
1975	0	0	0	0	179,557	19.1	67,755	7.1	402,753	42.4	110,375	11.6	187,870	19.8	948,310
1976	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	18,700	16.2	96,300	83.7	115,000

Source: Annual Reports of the Federation: 1931-1976



The majority of these institutions were serviced and managed by religious communities or religious orders who provided a Catholic environment for Catholic youth, aged, etc. Spiritual and moral development in a Catholic milieu was an important aspect for the Church and the Catholic community as a whole in overall program development.

Some other programs for unmarried mothers and their children, foster homes, were serviced by the Catholic Welfare Bureau. The Bureau was the largest constituent agency of the Federation at this time.

From 1931 to 1961, the Federation spent a major portion of the budget for institutional care services. The major sources of such funds were received from the public sector. The trend transferring all such programs started in 1965 following the recommendation of the National Study Services, the professional survey. The budget allocations for programs for camps, recreation and group work activities had a slow start, but developed and expanded rapidly during the 1960s and 1970s. These programs were preventative in nature, in that children were sent to summer camps for social and group life skills, thereby developing sound personalities in a Catholic milieu. Another aim of this program was to prevent children from becoming involved in delinquent activities during summer vacation.

To accommodate young adults or teenagers, the Federation initiated a number of group activities in various areas in Montreal. This program was aimed at helping youngsters to a

proper social adjustment. Professional group work and counselling services were provided through group work processes.

The value of these programs was expressed by the former Director of Camps and Youth Service of the Federation, who said:

Our youngsters learned many facts about their life. This was preparation for them to face social reality in a proper manner. We also taught them to appreciate the value of Catholic life in an actual group situation. Experiencing group life among their own kind in terms of the same religious background gave the youngster a sense of security and confidence. This was very important in establishing their proper self-identity. I am sure such a program will benefit our youngsters in the same manner, even now.<sup>6</sup>

This program received a good proportion of the budget after all basic programs were absorbed by the public sector. The camp's program for youngsters and needy families became much more popular after 1974, when Bill '65 was implemented. These programs became the jurisdiction of the private sector.

The establishment of high priority for this program was indirectly caused by the public involvement in other programs. The Federation redirected funds for programs such as camp and group work programs which were not handled by the public. The programs for recreation, education, and culture were originally directed to lower class families but in practice, they became directed at all Catholic youth, many of whom were middle class. Beginning with the 1950s, they became

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<sup>6</sup>Interview with Jo Berlettano, December 23, 1986.

increasingly important even after they were transferred to Catholic community services. The public sector also absorbed all the expenses for such programs in 1973. At this time, the Federation needed to develop other programs that were not covered by the public sector which forced it to make drastic changes in all aspects of program development and service delivery. It had to create services that were not provided by government sources. Educational and cultural activities related to Catholic values and life became very significant at this time. The external factor of the public policy became an instrument in creating new programs of education and culture for the Federation. Catholic family life, Catholic marriage, and conferences were considered to be the private domain. Such programs were also closely related to the reinforcing and retention of Catholic identity, in this case, through the private sector services of the Federation.

Professional services, included individual counselling, casework, group work and community organization activities. Professional social workers were to be employed by constituent agencies and the Federation was to provide overall professional leadership in the social welfare field. The Canadian Council on Child and Family Welfare survey of 1930 had recommended a professional arm in the original Federation. However, the report has revealed that the size of budget allocations until 1961 did not allow very full professional participation in service delivery systems and program development. The budget allocation during the period of 1931-1960

indicates that substantial resources were allocated to direct relief and institutional services. This report also confirms that professional social service was not high on the priority list of the Federation. Regarding this, Berlettano stated:

The Board of Directors of the Federation were accustomed to dealing with traditional services and material aid. Therefore, the non-material aid type of programs, recommended by professional social workers, did not effectively register to the Board. This is why professional surveys and evaluations of the structure and service delivery were made in 1961 and 1965.<sup>7</sup>

Berlettano's statement is confirmed by the budget allocation in 1971 of \$1,399,211, a dramatic increase of \$1,323,655 from the \$75,556 in 1961. Such increased budget was caused by government grants in 1971. This budget decreased once again in 1975 to \$402,753 as a result of the transfer of Catholic Family and Children Services to the Ville Marie Social Service Centre in 1974 of public welfare institutions.

The involvement of professional services in the Federation was gradual in nature and evolved as follows:

- 1) in spite of the call for professional planning, budgeting, and coordination, the Federation provided only minimal services until after World War II. The volunteer Board rather than professional staff had charge of an overall operation and policy developments. The Federation largely served as a coordinating and budgeting agency;
- 2) beginning after World War II (in the 1950s) decisions were made to increase the professional staff and to offer

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<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

direct counselling services in case work, group work, and community organization;

- 3) this increase continued into 1975. The professional staff of the agency began to assume a more important role. In order to strengthen their role, the professional staff called for evaluations of the Federation itself and its member agencies in relation to service delivery systems and program and quality standard in the 1960s;
- 4) there was a great increase in the professional service budget in the early 1970s. They were caused by; (a) the Federation started to undertake case work and group work services previously undertaken by members of affiliated agencies which had not emerged with the public system; (b) because the Federation responded to the professional surveys, and because substantial amounts of monies was transferred from institutional care programs.

The reason for increasing Federation's budget in 1961-1971 was caused by receiving grants from the Federal government under the program of "Local Initiative Project" and other public programs.

Table 5 indicates the drastic increase of administration and campaign efforts between the years 1971-1975. This was caused by the Federation's attempt to create a rationale for maintaining its program or the Federation itself, thereby enlarging various programs under direct control of the Federation; programs such as financial counselling, Christian family plan and public relations. This was a transition

period merging with Centraide Monteval.

Furthermore, the increases in budget in the period of 1931-1961 was mainly caused by the greater public concern with poverty, more of public grants for various programs, and increased use of salaried social workers, particularly from the latter part of the 1960s.

Regarding grants, according to Table 5 the Federation had considerable strength in the areas of community development and coordination. All available annual reports and program records indicate that the Federation provided substantial budget allocations to outside agencies which supplied health services and mental hygiene and nursing care services. These programs were essential in providing comprehensive health services and social services for the Catholic community. The amounts of the grants were continuously increased as were the number of health institutions receiving monies. This demonstrates the Federation's professional input in expanding its programs by utilizing other community resources for its clientele. This adjustment and coordination of community resources made possible the development of a comprehensive communal welfare and social service for the Catholic community.

Included in the programs for operation were expenditures for administration, central support services, pension and social benefits, and expenses for annual campaigns. Table 5 illustrates the continuous increases of budget allocations for the operational programs, which is correspondent to the

overall budget increment of the Federation.

Table 5 indicates that in 1976, the Federation had a total income of \$115,000, of which \$18,700 was allocated for grants and \$96,300 for administration. This was the first year of budgetary activities after the Federation surrendered its major programs to the public sector in 1974 under Bill 65, and transferred all major functions of fund raising, budgeting, social planning to Centraide Montreal under the merger agreement of 1975. All direct service activities and programming were transferred to Catholic Community Services in 1975. With respect to the public involvement of Bill 65 and merger with Centraide Montreal, we will examine the changes made on the Federation in the following chapters. Meanwhile, it must be noted that the functions of the Federation have changed drastically in terms of programs, scope, structure, and priorities.

To sum up, the period 1931-1961 was characterized by the following aspects: (a) structure, (b) the involvement of the Church, and (c) program expansion.

a) Structurally, the Federation was managed and supervised by both clergy members and community leaders. The clergy members were appointed by the Episcopal office and local parishes. Religious communities were involved in the actual management and supervision of various institutions. As the public sector and lay leaders became active, the clerical hierarchy became inactive in day-to-day operations of the Federation and its constituent agencies. Instead,

the presence of the Church in connection with the operation of the Federation limited to the Episcopal office, namely, the diocese of Montreal and local parish pastors do play their roles as advisors and consultants.

The lay leaders became active in day-to-day operations in which the power of everyday operations was shifted from the clerical hierarchy to lay leaders.

b) In reference to program development and expansion, Tables 4 and 5 illustrate a substantial increase in the number of programs and expand toward covering leisure time, cultural programs, health care, and professional case work and group work services. Such changes in programs were reflected by the change of economic statutes of Catholic population in general and increased involvement of the public sector in the social welfare field.

Leisure time and cultural programs centering around recreational activities and camp programs were expanded substantially. This particular movement seemed to be made by the Catholic leaders consciously to enhance the sense of Catholic identity and solidarity by providing cultural programs for young Catholics in the Catholic milieu.

c) Program Expansion. A considerable sum of the budget was allocated for program expansion, particularly in introducing professional approaches. They were case work oriented programs for counselling on a one-to-one basis. This is to deal with causal factors and treatment on a broad spectrum in terms of psychosocio and family problems.



Another professional social work method of group work was introduced in various recreation and cultural activities in clubs, i.e. Victoria Town Boys' Club, Holy Cross Boys' Club, and Trails End Camp.

The activities on program expansion and diversification were made actively which were confirmed by the nature of annual budgets. In 1931, the total budget was \$86,055.02 with the English-speaking population \$52,000 whereas in 1961 the total budget was \$571,339.88 with just over 100,000 English Catholics in Greater Montreal. Namely, the Federation received continuous support from the community which was translated into the program development and expansion in this period. The application of the professional method in the service delivery system demonstrated the change of basic philosophy in Catholic Social Welfare in terms of the relief type of services to non-material aid type of services.

In reference to professional involvement in the Federation, we shall examine it in the next chapter.

• Table 6

Program Development and Expansion, 1931

Catholic Girls Association  
Catholic Women's League Hostel  
Catholic Community Council  
St. Patrick's Orphanage  
Care of the Aged  
St. Ann's Day Nursery  
Catholic Welfare Bureau  
Summer Camp for Needy Children  
Free Employment Bureau  
Unemployment Relief  
Catholic Social Service Guild  
Montreal Social Service Exchange  
Catholic Men's Hostel

Note: The above programs were solely provided by the Federation

Source: Annual Report of the Federation, 1931.

Table 7

Program Development and Expansion, 1961

Catholic Welfare Bureau  
Catholic Boys' Services  
St. John's Berchmans Boys' Home  
Victoria Town Boys' Club  
Holy Cross Boys' Club  
Trails End Camp  
St. Marth's Home  
Catholic Men's Hostel  
Catholic Girls Community Centre  
Catholic Clothing Committee  
Catholic Rehabilitation Centre  
Catholic Girls' Information Bureau  
St. Ann's Day Nursery  
St. Patrick's Orphanage  
Marian Hall  
Campaign Department  
Sisters of Services, Residential Club  
Camps Orelida and Marian  
White Collar and Contingencies  
Marian Hall Ladies Committee  
Pension Funds  
Administration

Affiliated Agencies

Victorian Order of Nurses, Montreal  
Victorian Order of Nurses, LaSalle  
Child Welfare Association  
Montreal Hygiene Institute  
Shawbridge Boys' Farm  
Social Service Exchange  
Canadian Welfare Council  
Montreal Catholic School Commission, Milk Fund  
Verdun Catholic School Commission, Milk Fund  
Montreal Convalescent Hospital  
Murray Bay Convalescent Hospital  
Social Welfare Court  
Travelers' Aid Society

Source: Annual Report of the Federation, 1961.

## CHAPTER VII

### THE IMPACT OF PROFESSIONAL SURVEYS ON THE STRUCTURE AND PROGRAMS OF THE FEDERATION: 1961-1970

In this chapter we will examine (a) the role of the professional social workers, and (b) professional evaluations on the structure and programs of the Federation, 1961-1965.

#### The Role of Professional Social Workers

In this section we will examine the role of professional social workers since the inception of the Federation of Catholic Community Services. The Federation was founded on the professional model which was outlined by the professional survey of 1930.<sup>1</sup> This was the first professional involvement in the communal welfare activities of the English-speaking Catholic community in Montreal. It was followed by a second professional survey<sup>2</sup> of the Federation structure in 1961 and a third survey of the programs and service delivery systems in 1965.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Charlotte Whitton, "The Social Welfare Services of the English Speaking Catholic Community of Montreal."

<sup>2</sup>W. A. Dyson, "Confidential Survey Report on the Federation of Catholic Charities of Montreal, 1961," published by Canadian Welfare Council, Ottawa, 1961.

<sup>3</sup>Maurice O. Hunt, "Report of a Study of the Social Welfare Needs of the English Speaking Catholics of Montreal, published by National Study Service, Montreal, 1965.

The purposes common to all professional surveys were the improvement of the service standard and quality of services in accordance with the professional standard. With regard to the professional standard, it may be worthwhile to describe briefly the philosophy of professionalism in social work. The concept of professionalism in social welfare emerged in the early part of the 1900s. Its main objective is to establish scientific methods for dealing with complex psycho-social, economic, family and individual emotional and personality problems. The body of knowledge is drawn from social science, medicine, psychology, and health and behavioral sciences. The knowledge drawn from these disciplines is applied in specific treatment methods and in the conscious utilization of a professional relationship with clients.

The ultimate goal of the professional social work method is to investigate the basic causes of psycho-social, emotional and personality problems to determine effective solutions and preventative measures. The same method is applied to group work situations and community organizations, although it has a different emphasis and scope, particularly in dealing with community organization techniques and resources. Program development and service delivery systems are developed based on the findings of professional surveys or investigations of individual clients, families, or communities.

Violet Sieder elaborates on the basic concept of the

professional social work method as:

A disciplined use of self in working with people; a common working philosophy; a continuous emphasis on working with (not for) clients; the use of social diagnosis based on analysis and articulation of the problem and the facts; formulation of a plan toward a solution or social action; evaluation; and involvement in varying degrees of each area of specialization with interpersonal group and inter-group process.<sup>4</sup>

There are four professional methods which are divided into four main categories: casework, group work, community organization, and research and development.

#### Casework

Casework is a professional social work method which is characterized by the process of working with individual clients primarily on a one-to-one basis. It is a conscious use of human relationship which is developed between the case worker and client. Perlman defines casework which:

Consists of a series of problem-solving operations carried on within a meaningful relationship. The end of this process is contained in its means: to so influence the client-person that he develops effectiveness in coping with his problem and/or to so influence the problem as to solve it or vitiate its effects.<sup>5</sup>

The emphasis of this approach is centered around the problem-solving process. It is concerned with a problem which:

Arises from some need or obstacle or accumulation of frustration or maladjustments, and sometimes all of these together which threatens or has

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<sup>4</sup>Violet Sieder, "What Is Community Organization In Social Work?" Community Organization in Social Action (New York: Family Service Association, 1956), p. 5.

<sup>5</sup>Helen Perlman, Social Casework, A Problem Solving Process (Chicago: The Chicago University Press, 1957), p. 4.

already attacked the adequacy of the person's living situation or the effectiveness of his efforts to deal with it.<sup>6</sup>

There are two schools of thought in terms of emphasis in dealing with the problem of individual clients. One school of social work stresses a basic analytical approach, primarily based on the Freudian concept which delves into the analysis of personality problems, whereas the other school of thought is based on dealing with the problem solving process. Both schools, however, are in agreement with the approach of helping individual clients through a conscious use of the professional relationship between the case worker and client.

Thus, the ultimate purpose of the case work method is to help individual clients with the particular social problems or handicaps which hamper a good personal or family life, and with the problems created by faulty person-to-person, person-to-group, or person-to-situation or relationships.

In the case of the Federation, the case work approach was applied in its constituent agencies of the Catholic Welfare Bureau and Catholic Boys' Services. Case work service was provided for individual clients, families, delinquent adolescents and teenagers, foster-home children, and the aged.

Group Work

Group work is a professional social work method which is characterized by the utilization of professional relationships in working with a group; group is a primary instrument in

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<sup>6</sup>Ibid., p. 4.

helping both individual group members and the group itself. The professional activity is centered around the conscious use of group interaction and dynamics. Cogan defines group work as:

The social group work process emphasizes the possibilities for the development and social adjustment of the individual through voluntary group action and the use of an association with others in a group as a means of furthering socially desirable objectives. This process is determined by the objectives of the agency, the dynamic forces and adjustment forces within the group itself.<sup>7</sup>

Group work is a distinctive professional social work method which functions and aims toward:

Personal growth according to individual capacity and need, the adjustment of the individual to other persons, to groups and to society, and the motivation of the individual toward the improvement of society; the recognition by the individual of his own rights, limitations and abilities as well as acceptance of the rights, abilities and differences of others .... Through group experience he aims to provide those relations with other groups and the wider community which contribute to responsible citizenship, mutual understanding between cultural, religious, economic or social groupings in the community and a participation in the constant improvement of our society toward democratic goals.<sup>8</sup>

Furthermore, certain individuals' psychological needs are met only in a group situation, i.e. the need of being accepted; of belonging, of a sense of worth, and of achieving goals. Participation in a group permits a healthy degree of dependence, and fosters in the individual capacity to accept the

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<sup>7</sup>Janita Cogan, "Social Group Work," Social Work Yearbook (New York: Associated Press, 1960), p. 540.

<sup>8</sup>Helen U. Phillips, Essentials of Group Work Skills (New York: Association Press, 1957), p. 16.



dependence of others.

The group work method is being utilized independently as well as jointly with the case work process. It is practised in the group agencies of settlement houses, residential and institutional settings, summer camps, recreation centres, etc. The emphasis on and objective of group work service is reflected by the policy of the social agency but the process of social group is the same, namely, utilization of group dynamics and group situations in a conscious and disciplined manner by a professional group worker to help individual group members and the group itself. The Federation established a basic pattern of professional group work programs in residential centres for girls, for the aged, for camp programs, and for Catholic Boys' Services, foster home care programs, etc.

#### Community Organization

Community organization is a special method which is being utilized in the social welfare field in dealing with community welfare institutions, community development, community planning, community resources and adjustment in any given geographic area. According to Stroup:

Community organization is the social work process of establishing a progressively more effective adjustment between community resources within a geographic area.<sup>9</sup>

Its main objectives are also to determine the social

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<sup>9</sup> Herbert H. Stroup, Community Welfare Organization (New York: Harper, 1952), p. 138.

needs, to arrange for careful and conscious planning to meet the needs of the population, and to mobilize the forces of the community and social groups in the way best suited to achieve these goals.

In reference to the function of community organization and its application by social welfare federations and social welfare councils, Murphy describes community organization as follows:

Charity organization societies, in the past, recognized that their principal goal was to coordinate the existing charities and relief societies, to avoid overlapping and duplication of services, and to encourage cooperation between social agencies instead of rivalry and competition.<sup>10</sup>

In today's practice of community organization it has been expanded considerably in that the process is being used in the areas of inter-group relationships, social institutions, community actions, and social planning on a local and national level.

In the situation of the Federation, the principles of community organization were applied in overall community development and resource adjustments, planning, fund raising, coordination and community actions. Such techniques were applied within the Federation in program coordination, and between the Federation and its constituents and affiliated agencies, and between the Federation and the community as a whole.

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<sup>10</sup> Campbell G. Murphy, "Community Organization for Social Welfare," Social Work Yearbook, 1960, p. 186.

### Research and Development

Research and development entails conducting research on various individual client groups, social welfare institutions, community organizations and the community as a whole. Based on the results of the research or survey, a variety of programs and service delivery systems are instituted by individual organizations.

In the Federation's situations, surveys were conducted on three occasions, one in 1930 for a general survey on community resources and community social welfare institutions; the second one being in 1961 on the structure itself, and the third in 1965, on the service standard and service modification. With respect to the above, we shall examine the impact made on the Federation and the programs and service delivery systems of its constituent agencies.

It is further noted that the main thrust of the professional approach had been to introduce the basic concept of a non-material aid type of services for individual clients, groups, and the community as a whole. The reaction to this approach by the lay leaders had been rather resistant and uncompromising in which non-material aid types of programs had been substantially sustained as late as the 1970s. Such resistance had been shown by the nature of relief programs and the constant absence of professional leadership, particularly on the executive level. With respect to this particular issue, further analysis shall be made in the next section.

The Second and Third Professional Surveys  
on the Structure of the Federation and  
Programs: 1961-1965

In 1961, a second professional survey of the Catholic social welfare was conducted by the Canadian Welfare Council. This was initiated by the Board of Directors of the Federation and senior professional social workers which invited the professional team to evaluate the structure of the Federation itself and its relationship with its constituent agencies and the community as a whole.

The origin and a description of the survey was contained in the survey report of 1961:

For some years the Federation of Catholic Charities considered whether the time had come to re-survey the Federation and its agencies, for thirty years had elapsed since the first survey, on which the Federation was founded, was carried out by Dr. Charlotte Whitton for the Canadian Welfare Council in 1930. A survey, it was felt, would permit the Federation to take a new look at itself, to see how far it had come over the years, and consider its future direction. After discussions with the Canadian Welfare Council, the Board of Directors in June of this year requested another survey, which the Canadian Welfare Council has been happy to carry out.<sup>11</sup>

This survey was considered by both the Federation and the Canadian Welfare Council to be the first comprehensive survey dealing with the Federation's structure, scope and relationship with the community and constituent agencies. Another survey on service delivery systems and program evaluation would follow separately.

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<sup>11</sup>W. A. Dyson, "Confidential Survey Report on the Federation of Catholic Charities of Montreal," reported by Canadian Welfare Council, Ottawa, 1961, p. 2.

Thus the terms of reference for this survey were established:

- 1) to limit the survey to the Federation itself and to consider the member agencies, constituent agencies only insofar as relationships are concerned;
- 2) to study the Federation's functions and organization, excluding an evaluation and detailed study of the campaign structure.<sup>12</sup>

The survey reported that the basic strengths and problems of the Federation were as follows:

The Federation possesses a number of strengths which provide it with an excellent base for its future growth and development. The Federation is known and accepted in Montreal as the basic instrument to meet the social welfare needs of English speaking Catholics. It enjoys the general moral and financial support of the English Catholic community, particularly the parishes, assisted by the general community of Montreal. Over the years the Federation has been responsible for the development of a network of social welfare services which cover all of the essential social welfare needs of its people. These services are a monument to the efforts of English speaking Catholics in Montreal. The Federation has had and still enjoys the active support and assistance of a dedicated board and staff. These strengths provide the building blocks on which the Federation can safely build soundly.

At the same time, the main problems facing the Federation are internal and external. Of the internal problems, the most serious is, of course, the lack of executive leadership, most particularly felt through the vacancy in the executive directorship, which has not been filled for some years, even on an acting basis. Several major problems exist in the Board itself. Within these two aspects of administration -- board and executive -- lie the heart of the problems to follow, whether internal or external. In any voluntary welfare organization these two elements constitute an essential complementary partnership; if either element is missing or weak, the partnership suffers accordingly.<sup>13</sup>

The observation of the above survey confirmed that:

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<sup>12</sup> Ibid.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid., pp. 2-3.

(a) the Federation had future growth, (b) had community support, (c) had problems with the lack of executive leadership, and (d) major problems exist in the Board itself.

#### Federation Had Future Growth

The survey confirmed that the Federation had an excellent base or potential to grow continuously. Ever since the Federation was established, the motives of all major participants, the clergy members, lay leaders, volunteer workers, and social workers, demonstrated a dedicated and devoted effort for the cause of the Federation. The soul of the Federation had been based on the spirit of voluntarism. The spirit itself derived from the value of Christian charity which gave a sense of religious or social mission for these participants. Such spirit and dedication had been translated into social action which was demonstrated in the work of the Federation for the past thirty years. For example, the period of 1931-1961 was characterized by program development and expansion in which the Federation started with 13 agencies in 1931 and increased to 34 agencies in 1961.

#### Community Support

The survey also confirmed that the Federation received tangible support from the community. The annual reports of the Federation have revealed that the Federation achieved its annual objectives in every annual fund raising campaign. This was a sign of active support shown by the community as a whole.

### Lack of Executive Leadership

The survey report confirmed that the Federation experienced a serious problem which stemmed from the lack of executive leadership. The annual reports of the Federation and the pattern of program development indicated that the Federation was not able to maintain a stable executive leadership. The basic problem was caused by the difference in ideology between the Board of Directors, mainly consisting with dedicated and devoted community leaders, and professional social workers. The first group tended to focus more on the traditional approach of Catholic charity which was based on a relief program. On the other hand, the second group of professional executives tended to focus more on non-material oriented professional approaches of various methods including counselling services. This created a tremendous tension between the two groups which was shown by constant vacancy of executive leadership and was not able to fill such position. The latter was particularly caused by the notorious name of the Federation which did not respect an overall professional approach in program development and design.

The professional attitude was to save community resources and time by providing professional social services which may eliminate or prevent socioeconomic family problems, whereas the lay leaders and volunteer workers found their basic value in charity was to provide sound economic foundation and then work on other problems. The latter attitude was reflected in the pattern of program development

in that a number of relief programs were retained even in the 1970s.

The basic problem between the two groups developed from a lack of understanding of each other's potential and basic perception of social welfare programs. That is, the Whitton's survey failed to include the human resources and devotion of lay leaders and volunteer workers, especially their traditional value systems and helping methods in terms of Christian charity. At the same time, the professional executives failed to recognize or integrate such human resources or contribution in the implementation or application of professional social work methods.

As a result, the lay leaders or the Board of Directors tended to exercise their power in overall operations of the Federation which was resisted by the professional leadership; such resistance was shown by resigning from executive positions.

Mr. W. Sweeney observes that:

Traditionally all community work and social welfare problems were handled by the clergy, religious communities or religious orders, and dedicated and devoted lay leaders and volunteer workers. They have been doing excellent jobs in initiating and managing all sorts of social welfare programs. However, the professional social workers attempted to change the traditional concept without proper orientation or appreciation by the lay leaders. Consequently, constant open conflict took place between the two groups. At the end, the Federation suffered -- losing executive leadership and thereby delaying of implementing professional approaches in all facets of operation. The lack of professional leadership caused hardship on the Federation (tremendously) in overall program development and replacing or recruiting competent senior professional social workers. This was the reason why the by-law of the

*Procedural*



Federation was changed in 1969 to establish a scholarship program for social work students. I still claim that professional social workers underestimated the human resources and potential power maintained by lay Board of Directors.<sup>14</sup>

Both the survey report and Sweeney's observation confirmed that due to the conflict between the Board of Directors and the professional executive, it caused considerable suffering in the program development. This particular aspect was shown by the lack of integration on available or current trends on the social welfare movement which included a tangible public program in all the social welfare fields. By the end of the 1950s, the public sector undertook programs on custodial care, recreation, and community initiative projects which may be integrated into the Federation's programs or transfer to the public sector, thereby saving private resources for those programs that were not provided by the public sector.

#### Problems Existing in the Board

From the inception of the Federation, the members of the Board of Directors consisted of the clergy members, appointed by the Episcopal office and lay leaders from 18 local parishes. Traditionally, this group functions as the main body of a voluntary group which provided tangible services as well as donations and dedication for the cause of Christian charity.

Along with religious communities or religious orders, the

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<sup>14</sup> Interview with W. Sweeney, July 25, 1986.

above group undertook all social welfare programs which had a sense of permanence and stability. This had been demonstrated by their achievements in the social welfare field even before the Federation was established. The major programs initiated and managed by this group were St. Patrick's Orphanage, Catholic Welfare Bureau, Senior Citizens Homes of various kinds, St. Mary's Hospital, St. Vincent de Paul Society, and educational institutions of various private and public high schools including Loyola College and were initiated and managed by religious communities.

Consequently, the members of the Board of Directors demonstrated their determination to continue their style of operation and dedication through the network of the Federation. At the same time, the Board perceived the professional social workers as their employees who had to comply with the decision or policy formulated by the Board on programs and service delivery. Program development and service delivery systems were characterized or reflected by traditional practice in terms of providing relief-oriented programs.

In addition, the Board practiced an unconventional system of selecting the members of the Board. The same Board appointed new members or rotated their position on the Board without inviting new members on a democratic principle, electing the members from the community at large. As a result, the same members of the Board perpetuated their position in the operation of the Federation with the same concept in

social welfare that they had been applying for years. This resulted in two problems: one was protestation made by senior professional social workers by resigning from their posts and the other one being permanent stagnation on the function of the Board. No new blood or participation from the community created a vacuum between the Federation and the community as a whole. The overall support was gained, particularly in relation to annual fund-raising campaigns, from the community but on the policy level, there was severe lack of participation by the community.

With respect to the problem of the Board mentioned above, the survey demonstrated a biased observation in favor of professional social workers' behavior. It failed to point out the professional obligation towards its client which in a broad sense included the lay leaders and volunteer workers dedicated in the social welfare field including for the cause of the Federation. The professional role in this particular aspect failed to take the lay leaders as a community resource or human resource which required constant assistance in understanding overall objectives of social welfare programs that change quite regularly. Instead, the professional executives confronted the lay Board as a power basis and challenged their power without educating or orientating them in a professional manner for a common purpose: serving the community.

With respect to this point, the survey identified, uncritically, with professional social workers thereby

pointing out mainly the weaknesses or problems of the Board. This is shown by the survey report which recommended only to change the selecting system of the members of the Board of Directors without listing the potential implication of human resources and dedication. The survey also failed to analyse one major factor which related to the major functions of private social welfare institutions, such as the Federation. That is, the lay leaders and their dedication functioned as main resources for the Federation without which there would not be program developments nor expansion of any kind including professional services. From this point of view, the survey in 1961 was biased and manipulative in favor of the position of the professional social workers.

In reference to the external problems, the survey reported that the most serious was the relationship between the Federation and its agencies. This was shown by the lack of leadership and coordination between the Federation and its constituent agencies. The original role the Federation assumed was reflected by the constant absence of executive leadership in the Federation.

The survey team concluded its report with an examination of the structure, function, and staff of the Federation. It observed that high quality social services could be developed:

... if the federation itself has a strong board, staff, and internal administration, and if as the parent or headquarters body it is thoroughly in touch with the English Catholic community and agencies.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>15</sup>W. A. Dyson, "Confidential Survey Report," p. 82.

The survey made a total of 77 recommendations for improvements, of which the Board of Directors agreed to give special consideration or implementation to 6. The remaining 71 recommendations were to be reviewed at a future date, the reason being that the Board was not in a position to implement or consider all these recommendations at that time due to lack of resources. The Board of Directors determined this at their meeting of October 5, 1961:

- 1) It is most important an Executive Director be appointed as soon as possible.
- 2) That the Board of Trustees be abolished and replaced by an Advisory Council.
- 3) That a limit be put on the terms a member of the Board may serve and that a rotation system be established.
- 4) That agreements be made with constituent agencies and policy statements be agreed upon for the outside agencies.
- 5) That all standing and proposed committees be listed in a new by-law.
- 6) That consideration be given to changing the name to the Federation of Catholic Community Services.<sup>16</sup>

The Board of Directors implemented all the above recommendations in the early 1970s. However, the Board demonstrated considerable resistance to implementing the rotation system for Board members. The rationale for recommending a rotation system was based on the democratic principle that a broader representation in terms of vocation, sex, geography, and age would better reflect the needs of the community as a whole.

The rotation system would also guarantee the introduction of new members to the Board, who would have a fresh outlook regarding current community situations and needs. Such a

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<sup>16</sup> Minutes of the Federation, October 5, 1961.

system would also prevent further stagnation of the operation of the Federation. No longer would the same actors control the management year after year, without adequate input of fresh knowledge and an understanding of the affairs of the community.

This problem was solved by the active protest of the professional social workers in the Federation. The professional social workers made their protestation in order to improve the quality of services and to secure adequate community representation. For these causes, the majority of the professional social workers resigned from their posts in 1971.

The rationale for delaying the implementation of the rotation system cited by the members of the Board was that adequate time was necessary to adjust to the new system as well as to select competent community leaders to replace active members who were dedicated and devoted community leaders. They donated countless hours and monies for the cause of the Federation. On the other hand, the professional staff voiced their concern over the Board's delaying tactics and their interference in overall program development and policy implementation. Jo Berlettano, the former director of the camp services and youth programs, recalled that:

The Board members had enough time to adjust to the new idea of the rotation system, but they had to wait until professional social workers made a formal protestation. Consequently, an open confrontation between the Board and the professional staff developed. As a result, the widest search in the history of the Federation was made on a community-wide basis to select new Board members.

Several thousand community members of the English Catholic community participated in this process and selected the majority of the new board members, including a female director, which was the first time in the history of the Federation.<sup>17</sup>

On this occasion, intensive intra-group communication was fostered, mobilizing substantial members of community members to participate in the process of changing the Federation Board structure. Inner cohesion and community solidarity was a direct result of the community's active participation in the process of improving or changing the essential institutional structure of the Federation. This marked the end of the closed door system or structure of the Federation Board.

Regarding the change of the name from the Federation of Catholic Charities to the Federation of Catholic Community Services, the following rationale was submitted to the Board by the survey team:

Unfortunately, in our present culture the word charity has been severely abused and has come to connote basic material assistance to people. The word has gained a derogatory flavour. The present overtones of the word, though they do not accord with the Christian view of charity, have made it unattractive to and misunderstood by much of the general public. The term charity or charities indicates to the general community, including the English speaking Catholic community, that the Federation is engaged mainly in a form of service (public assistance) which largely it is not. The Federation and its agencies, on the other hand, provide services to help people with problems, many of the problems being non-financial in nature. Increasingly, people from all levels of society are coming to its agencies for help with personal and family problems. But the unpleasant conception of charities prevents many people, we would guess, from seeking help or being referred for help. While the matter of name is not of

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<sup>17</sup> Interview with Jo Berlettano.

paramount importance, we feel that the Federation might do well to consider a change in its name which would portray the actual role of the Federation and its services and thereby attract more people of all levels to come to it for help. Such a name might be something like "The Federation of Catholic Community Services."<sup>18</sup>

On June 2, 1970, the Board of Directors accepted the survey team's recommendation and changed its name, which was then legally registered as the "Federation of Catholic Community Services."<sup>19</sup>

Through the involvement of the professional survey team, the concepts of professional methods in overall operation were reinforced. This involvement made an effective impact on the Federation: changes in the structure of the Federation itself were brought about, the principle of a rotation system was adopted, the name of the institution was changed, and the engagement of an Executive Director, a trained professional senior social worker, was declared a first priority. The Executive Director plays a crucial role in executing the decisions made by the Board as well as in implementing the policies of the Federation. Regarding the role of the Executive Directors, the survey made the following observation:

The position of the Executive Director is very important since the authority in the operation of the Federation lies in the hands of the Board, its basic functions are decision making and supervision ... that decision making involves the use of adequate facts and opinions, well gathered, well presented, and well considered by the Board as a whole before a decision is made. After a

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<sup>18</sup>W. A. Dyson, "Confidential Survey Report," p. 81.

<sup>19</sup>Acts of Incorporation, change of by-laws on June 2, 1970.



decision is made it is necessary to follow through (with supervision) to see that decisions are implemented and acted upon .... The Board has been hampered in its fact-gathering and implementation of decisions by having no Executive Director. His selection and employment is urgent.<sup>20</sup>

Thus we see that with the involvement of professionals, the Federation was able to change the structure, staff, name, functions, and the election system for Board members. Participation in the operation of the Federation by the community at large was thus encouraged.

The end result of such changes costed tremendously on the Federation. The basic assets of human resources of active lay leaders left their position or resigned from the Board of Directors. For many years, these leaders provided the most tangible leadership in terms of donation, time, and dedication for the cause of the Federation. Nevertheless, the survey failed to recognize this crucial aspect, particularly in private social welfare institutions. The survey speculated only the values of professional involvement, thereby stressing only the importance of professional roles in the operation of the Federation. The survey failed to include the most vital element of voluntary role in the private social welfare institution.

The Professional Evaluation on Programs  
and Service Delivery Systems in 1965

In 1965, a third professional survey was conducted. This time the focus of the study was on program evaluation and

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<sup>20</sup>W. A. Dyson, "Confidential Survey Report," p. 8.

service delivery systems. As a matter of fact this survey was a follow-up to the survey of 1961 whose emphasis was on the structure, staff, and functions of the Federation.

Since its inception, the Federation had demonstrated considerable strength in the areas of program development and expansion. However, the question of the quality of programs and services was never raised. Regarding the question of quality programming and services, A. W. Hennessey, Jr., the Executive Director of the Federation, presented a report entitled "Comments and Observations" to the Board of Directors. The purpose of the report was to bring attention to the Board of Directors on a deteriorating situation on programs managed and supervised by the constituent agencies of the Federation. In a way, the Executive Director who prepared the report presented it to the Board for action, particularly for improvement on the quality of programs and service delivery systems. The report reads as follows:

Special Report to the Board of Directors

Our remarks are based on our observations, our contact with people who have made the Federation and with people who would face the future for the Federation. Our observations are based on many hours of living with the Federation -- its work, its people, its community. They are not meant to be criticism, but observations of an organization -- a service -- a charity -- constructive, so that from them we may find new direction. From a professional standpoint we have been astounded at some of our operations. Since this is to be a brief, we will only highlight some:

1. Possible duplications of services; our casework services have spread a bit. We need direction as to their proper organization and assignment. We need direction as to areas of work in which we should be occupied.
2. Duplications in service between our own agencies are spoken of and hinted at.

3. An overstructure in administration which loses sight of objectives (e.g. Catholic Boys' Services with both group work and case work functions now going hand in hand).

4. Our camps (3); a tremendous investment with no clear-cut policy as to what we want from our camps and where we intend to go.

5. The need to determine the role of the Federation Board and its agencies. Authorities and responsibilities must be spelled out.

6. The need to nourish and strengthen the heart of our existence -- the volunteers -- who are now confused, frustrated and given little opportunity to strive for success in areas where we need their strength and guidance.

In our work with the Budget Review Committee, we have seen evidence of mixed projection:

1. A belief that the only way to move ahead is to ask for more.

2. A reluctance to tell the whole story and thus create doubts, confusion, and pull us away from basic programs.

3. A belief that budgets are a never-ending spiral -- that if we demand enough we will get more.

4. A recognition that the needs of our agencies have never been properly presented, with two exceptions. A major concern has been dollars, not service. The Federation has held too great a control of the budgets of all but two agencies.

Now where do we go?

It is our considered opinion that while we strengthen our internal organization, and bring some order to administration, we must:

1. Take immediate steps to initiate whatever action is necessary for a complete and full survey of our constituent agencies to the end that:

a. We are advised of the services now existing that should be phased out,

b. we know what services we now have that should be strengthened,

c. we know, within our present services, what alignment should take place,

d. we know what services we are not now providing that we should be prepared to finance and proceed to meet future needs.<sup>21</sup>

The above brief became an instrument for initiating a

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<sup>21</sup>A. W. Hennessey, Jr., November 25, 1965, located at the Federation, Montreal.

professional survey. On November 25, 1965, the Board of Directors resolved to undertake a survey on programs and service delivery systems. For this, a special committee was formed which was "authorized to have full authority to act and to expend funds to achieve their end."<sup>22</sup>

On June 1, 1965, the National Study Services was appointed to conduct a survey on the programs and service delivery systems of the constituent agencies of the Federation. The study members included: the Child Welfare League of America, the Family Service Association of America, the National Council on Crime and Delinquency, and the National Traveler's Aid Society. The scope and terms of reference for the survey were as follows:

1. To determine the extent and nature of the present services; to gather information indicating the degree to which they are meeting the needs of the English speaking Catholic community that are the proper responsibility of the Federation; and to assess the quality of the services provided.
2. To identify the problems, if any, relative to administrative structure or methods of a department or service which, if resolved, would result in more effective, economical, and efficient services to people.
3. To determine, insofar as possible, whether these services, in the light of the present day situation in the Montreal areas, are those most urgently needed.
4. To recommend which services should be continued, expanded, reduced, transferred, or eliminated.
5. To recommend improved or new services which the Federation should be providing, if such are indicated.
6. To point out ways in which the quality of present services could be improved.

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<sup>22</sup>The Minutes of the Board of Directors of the Federation, February 25, 1965.

7. To suggest which needs and services should have priority and in what order, if all needs cannot be met with funds reasonably available in the foreseeable future.<sup>23</sup>

This survey was a comprehensive study which included the areas of service and program quality, service systems, the structure of the Federation, resources, and organization. The ultimate purpose of this study was to improve the standards of service quality and to assist the Federation in determining a course of action, both short and long term.

The study was divided into two parts, the first of which dealt with the Federation itself and the second, with constituent agencies. The constituent agencies included in this study were: the Catholic Welfare Bureau, the Catholic Boys' Services and Camps, the Catholic Rehabilitation Service, the Catholic Men's Hostel, the Catholic Girls' Information Bureau, and St. Martha's Home. The study revealed that the Federation was still pushing for greater emphasis on relief payments in ~~non-material~~ cases instead of on individual and family counselling. It also pointed out that the private agency would be blamed if it sponsored the same program as those of the public sector, because the private resources would never be sufficient to satisfy the needs of clients. In addition, the possibility of using the private agency's funds for individual counselling and family treatment would be reduced,

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<sup>23</sup> Maurice Hunt, Social Services for English speaking Catholics in Montreal, Report of a Study made by National Study Services, 1965, p. ii.

namely, the Federation was making considerable allocation in funds and manpower in its attempt to provide relief programs or basic services which were already undertaken by the public sector.

The basic or relief programs to which the study referred were:

1. The activities of the Catholic Welfare Bureau are related to the giving of public financial assistance.
2. The investment of a substantial part of the Federation's appropriation to Catholic Boys' Services in a physical building activity type of program that is generally regarded as the function of the public recreation department.
3. The assumption of responsibility on the part of the Catholic Rehabilitation Service for such correctional functions as presentence investigations, adult probation for provincial and municipal offenders and after-care services including parole for federal, provincial and municipal discharges. Most, if not all, of these responsibilities can only be carried out with reasonable adequacy on a long term basis with governmental financial resources.<sup>24</sup>

Based on its findings, the study made two major recommendations. The first dealt with the establishment of priorities for counselling services of case work and group work services by professional social workers. The second dealt with the structural or organizational aspect, focusing on the direct control of service delivery systems by the Federation itself. This was a call for the Federation to assume a greater role in providing "direct services" of case work, group work and other professional programs of community

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<sup>24</sup> Ibid., pp. 3-4.

organization and recreation programs. This was a movement towards centralization of all program activities while maintaining its traditional role of fund-raising and allocation of monies to its constituent agencies.

With regard to the program priority, the study recommended that the Federation establish a long term goal which would result in its contributed monies being used for professional counselling services for individuals and families of good quality. Such programs were to be administered either:

- a) directly under the Federation's own auspices,
- b) under the auspices of other separately incorporated voluntary Catholic sponsored agencies operated by English-speaking groups, or
- c) collaboratively with others wherever appropriate in the interest of rendering more effective and economical preventative and rehabilitative services (i.e. with Protestant, French-speaking Catholics, and non-sectarian groups).<sup>25</sup>

The study further recommended that the Federation and other private agencies work together in supporting the idea of the government assuming all major responsibilities for dealing with basic services, correctional programs, recreational facilities, and health services:

The rationale for making such a recommendation was based on the finding that adequate professional counselling for individuals and families would be possible when more public funds were committed to basic services:

The study also noted the current trend in Montreal, which

was toward the expansion of public programs, including all basic services and long term care for children outside their own homes, extensive public recreation programs planned by the City of Montreal, and substantial involvement in the correctional field by both provincial and federal governments.

Regarding the establishment of the long term goal of using contributed monies mainly for counselling and treatment programs rather than ameliorative services, the study recommended that the Federation assume two major responsibilities which needed to be discharged with equal capability.

They were:

- a) to conduct its own program of direct services and social welfare planning for the English speaking Catholic community, and
- b) the full assumption of its partnership responsibilities with other groups in the larger community.<sup>26</sup>

The recommendations concerning programs and social welfare planning were implemented by the Federation in the 1970s. Emphasis and priority on program development were changed so that all counselling services were under the direct control of the Federation which assumed responsibility for working with groups in the larger community.

In reference to the structure of the Federation, the study recommended that the Federation adopt "a plan of organization that is functional for its responsibilities and

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<sup>26</sup>Ibid., p. 8.



which can be understood easily and clearly."<sup>27</sup>

The study recommended simple and practical structural changes which would enable the Federation to discharge its dual functions effectively, provision of direct services and coordinating and fund-raising activities.

#### Organization for Operation

Operationally, the following structure would provide the Federation with tight coordination. The Federation would have the following functions and major departments:

##### Services to Families and Children

- a) Counseling services for families and individuals with respect to parent and child problems, marital discord and adjustment of individuals and provision of limited financial assistance.
- b) Child placement, in foster homes, group homes and institutions, and adoptions.
- c) Services to unmarried mothers.
- d) Diagnostic treatment and counseling services for the aging.
- e) Use of community home-maker services to help keep families together.

##### 2. Services to Neighbourhood and Youth

- a) Services in neighbourhoods for children, youth, families and the aging, using schools, churches, and other public and private resources; and neighbourhood organization to secure needed community resources and facilities.
- b) Camping (day, resident year-round, and summer) for children, families, and the aging.
- c) Development of volunteer services, in neighbourhoods and the community at large.

##### 3. Planning, Research and Community Information

- a) Development and operation of an English speaking Catholic planning organization, with representatives of parishes and Catholic groups involved.

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<sup>27</sup> Ibid.

- b) Fact finding and research consultation to other departments (with purchase of technical research help).
- c) Information about problems, needs, and services to the English speaking Catholic community and others.
- d) Development of joint projects and programs with other community groups.
- e) Action for improvement of community programs.

4. Financing, Budgeting and Office Services

- a) Financial accounting and control.
- b) Investment.
- c) Budgeting and budget control -- departments and independent agencies.
- d) Office services and management.
- e) Building maintenance and real estate management, including camps.
- f) Transportation services.
- g) Insurance and purchasing.
- h) Disbursements.

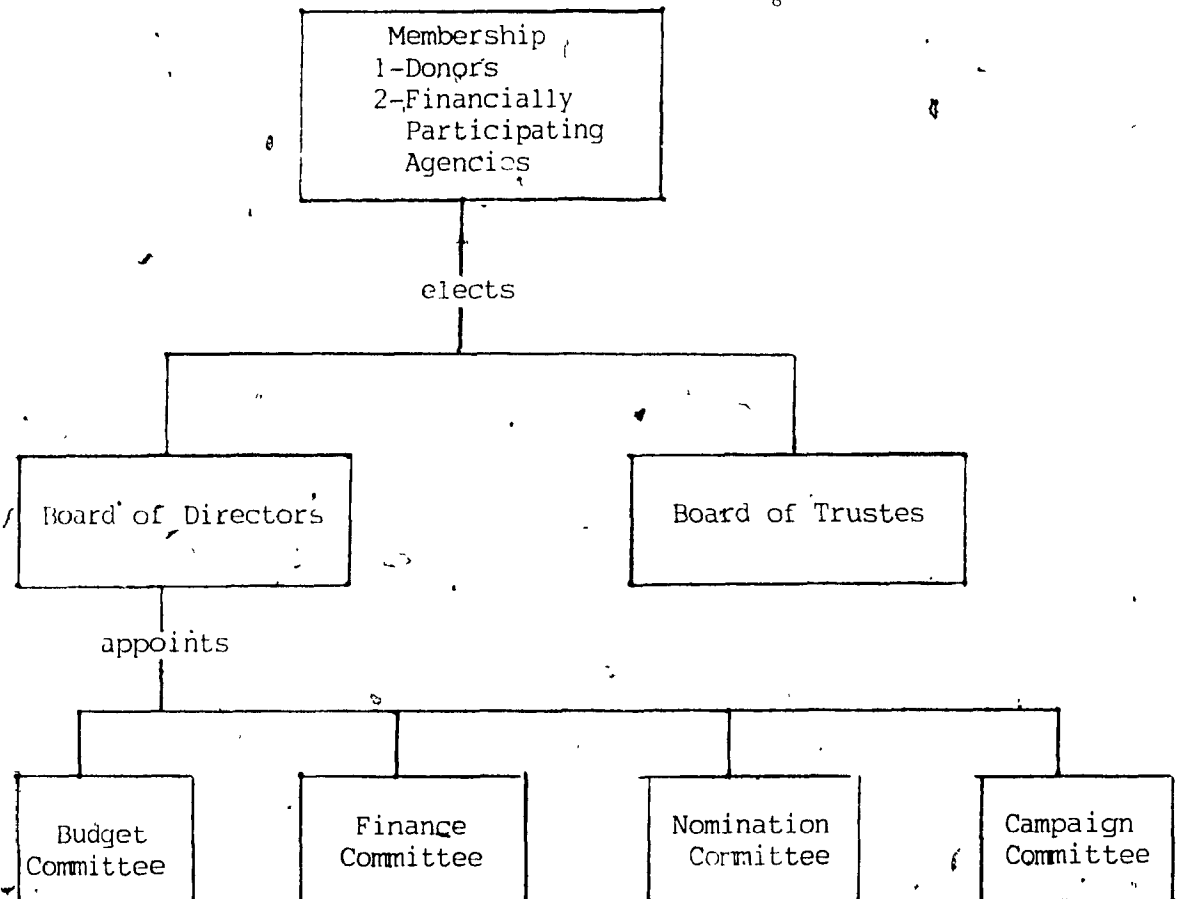
5. Campaign

Until unified fund-raising is a reality.

The above is summarized by the following comparative organizational or functional charts:

Table 8

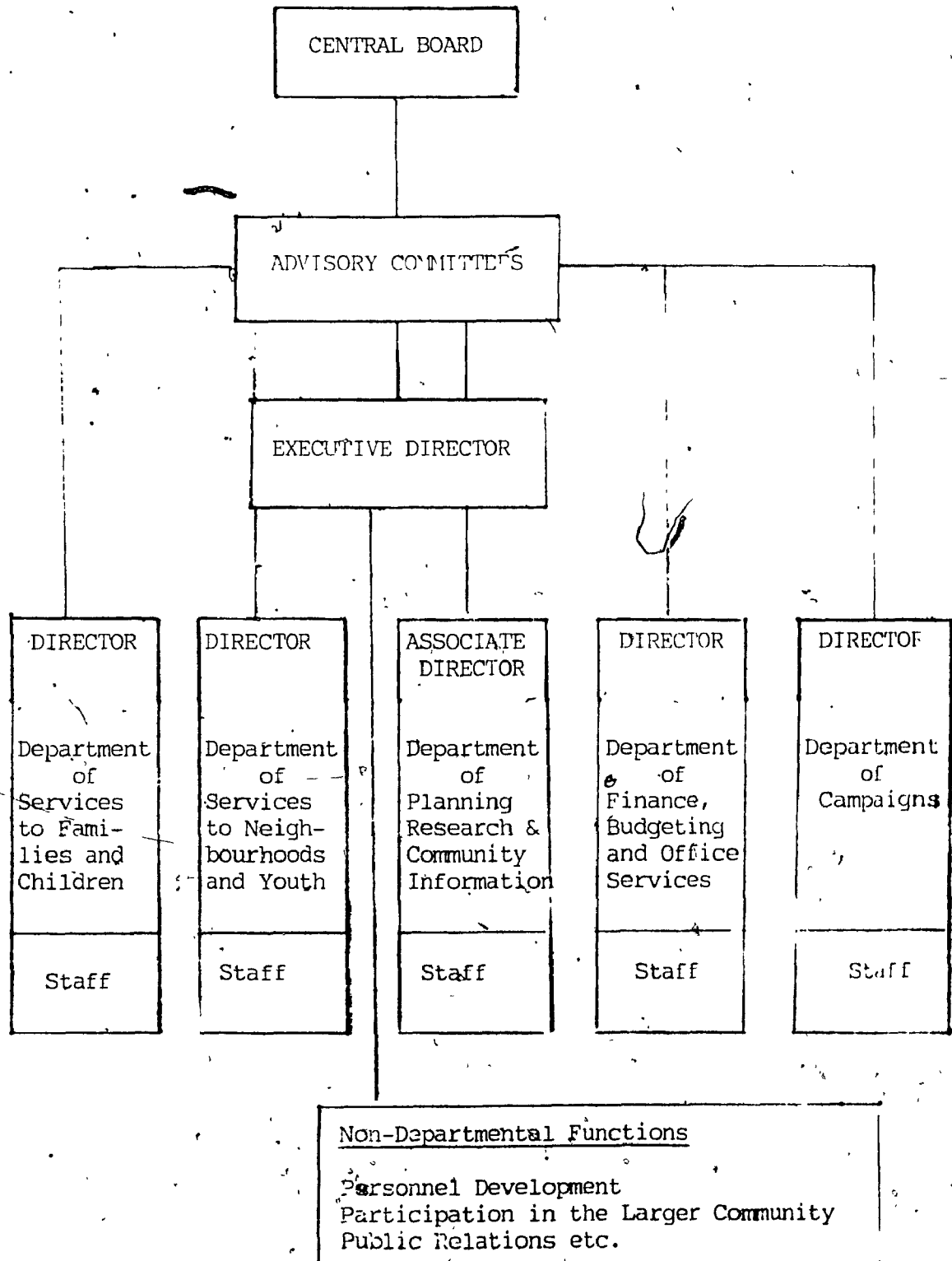
Federation of Catholic Charities  
present organization



N.B. Charts include only major committees

Table 9

Proposed Plan of Reorganization  
Federation of Catholic Charities



### Board Organization

Under the proposed plan, there would continue to be one central board. It would have final authority on all policy matters and would appoint the Executive Director for each department. Organizational units would have advisory committees which would be answerable to the Central Board. The Chairmen of these committees would be appointed by the President of the Central Board.

Regarding the staff organization, each Service Department would be headed by a Director who would have professional training in social work. The Director would be assisted by a senior social worker, an associated director. The two senior social workers would have a number of social workers.

Thus far, the study recommended a change of focus from the loosely organized professional work approach with its substantial involvement in material assistance programs to more intensive activities focusing on professional counseling. This rationale was derived from the trend in the public sector; the government was assuming more responsibility for basic services for family, child-care, recreation, and care for the aged. Therefore, the contributed monies should be invested in professional services.

To achieve the above, the study recommended that the Federation determine a long term goal and assume the major dual role of directing all programs under its own auspices and assuming its partnership responsibilities with other groups in the larger community.

In reference to the individual constituent agencies of the Catholic Welfare Bureau, the Catholic Boys' Services and Camps, the Catholic Rehabilitation Service, the Catholic Men's Hostel, St. Martha's Home, and the Catholic Girls' Information Bureau, the study found a number of problems in each agency and made the following recommendations.

Catholic Welfare Bureau

The study reported that the Catholic Welfare Bureau experienced serious difficulties in trying to provide professional counseling services to individual parishes without adequate resources of trained professional social workers. It was noted that the Bureau's primary role was to deal with family problems, child care and adoption, foster care programs and counseling services of various kinds. Therefore, the study recommended that the Bureau be completely redesigned in its service delivery systems and function within the newly proposed structure of the Federation. Under the direct leadership of the Federation, case work services were emphasized. This was a major shift in terms of centralizing all services under the Federation.

The Board of Directors of the Federation accepted the above recommendations, changing its overall service delivery system and emphasis, structure and scope. The Bureau became a service unit or department under the auspices of the Federation. The Bureau changed its name to Catholic Family and Children Services.

The Catholic services for the aged became a part of the

Catholic Family and Children Services. All protection and counseling services for the aged were to be provided by this new service unit of the Federation.

#### The Catholic Boys' Services

The study found that the services provided by the Catholic Boys' Services duplicated those of the Catholic Welfare Bureau, primarily in the area of casework and counseling services. The study recommended that all casework functions be transferred to the Catholic Welfare Bureau, and that group work and camp programs be transferred to the newly created service unit of the Neighbourhood and Youth Services. Accordingly, the functions of the Catholic Boys' Services and Camps were terminated.

#### Catholic Rehabilitation Services

The study recommended that the Catholic Rehabilitation Services be transferred to the John Howard Society. The rationale for making such a recommendation was based on the finding that the Society serves persons of all religious faiths elsewhere in Canada. It found no valid reason for separating adults by religion, particularly in view of the fact that a truly preventative and rehabilitative program could not be provided adequately by a small operation.

#### Catholic Men's Hostel

The Catholic Men's Hostel was a unit of the Federation which operated as a residential institution for men over 60 years of age. Men were also referred to the Hostel for care following their discharge from prison when no other

facilities were found for their care. The study found that this population required comprehensive services, ranging from health care and recreation to casework and counseling services. A small independent service unit alone could not adequately meet these needs of the aged. At the same time, the study felt that the senior citizens must be helped to lead an independent life within the larger community. With consideration for all these factors, the study recommended that the Catholic Welfare Bureau assume the entire responsibility for caring for the aged.

St. Martha's Home

The function of St. Martha's Home was to provide residential care services for elderly women. The study recommended that the facility of the Home be closed. There were a number of reasons for this recommendation, the most crucial of which were the deterioration of the building, the inadequate facilities, and the Home's lack of potential for providing an established service program to adults. All future professional services were to be related to the Catholic Welfare Bureau.

Catholic Girls' Information Bureau

The Catholic Girls' Information Bureau provided residential care and employment services for young girls. The study recommended that the Catholic Girls' Information Bureau be phased out as soon as suitable arrangements could be made for the retirement of employed personnel. The reason for this action was based on the finding that there were



similar services offered in the community by employment agencies, both commercial and public. The study concluded that the maintenance of such a service under these circumstances would tax scarce community resources.

#### The Staff Development Program

The study made another major recommendation in connection with the establishment of a staff development program. Such a program would include a staff in-service training program of a tutorial nature, provision of financial assistance, encouragement through educational leaves, provision of scholarships, and vigorous recruitment to obtain a larger core of trained professional social workers. The study saw such a drastic action as necessary for improving service delivery programs and the quality of services. This would only be feasible with aggressive professional involvement at all levels of operation in the Federation and its service units.

The study was completed on March 31, 1966, at which time all the recommendations were accepted by the Board of Directors of the Federation. On September 29, 1966, a special committee was formed to implement the recommendations. The committee implemented the recommendations on the reorganization of structure thereby centralizing all direct services under the Federation, on elimination of the Catholic Girls' Information Bureau, St. Martha's Home, Catholic Boys' Services, and on transferring of the Catholic Rehabilitation Centre to non-Catholic or secular institution

of John Howard Society, on changing the name of the agency from Federation of Catholic Charities to Federation of Catholic Community Services and on changing the by-law of the Federation introducing a rotation system of the members of the Board of Directors.

All these changes were made through the interventions of professional social workers who were a group of trained specialists equipped with expertise, imbued with sophisticated, modern ideas and full of self-confidence, pushing for greater emphasis on individual and family counseling in non-material cases instead of concentrating on relief programs.

The lay leaders, the Board of Directors, were inclined, as traditionally was the case in the past, to engage the agency in relief maintenance programs also. They gradually replaced volunteer leaders in administration and decision making work. In doing this, they had, of course, to convince the lay leaders about the desirability and feasibility of their ideas and suggestions. For this, the social workers used professional or academically oriented three (3) surveys of 1930, 1961 and 1965. However, some division of views and sometimes tensions and open confrontation between the social workers and the lay leaders were inevitable. Tension and confrontation were inevitable although all agreed upon the general goal of the Federation, namely, to aid the needy in the Catholic community. But they differed on the more specific question: who are the needy? While

the lay leaders put emphasis on traditional aid to economically deprived people, professional social workers argued that the Federation should mainly serve individuals and families who need non-material or psychological counseling.

In particular, the attitude of the professional social worker's emphasis on professional counseling was seriously reflected by the survey of 1930. The survey failed to include traditional Catholic values and cultural factors of Catholic charities. Catholic charities were primarily initiated and managed by religious communities or religious orders. The practice of charities is derived from religious causes and commitments in which religious orders had been dedicated to all social welfare work. Looking at their dedication from social welfare programs, they had substantial resources both in kind and human resources. However, the survey did not include as an integral part of community resources which could be incorporated into the programs of the Federation.

As a source of community welfare program, the survey should have included all religious communities. Failing to do so, the survey only emphasized community welfare problems and development aspects. This was shown in program development and expansion in the period of 1931-1961 which was characterized as an expansion of programs in terms of numbers without tangible resources to support such programs. Catholic Boys' Services, casework services for Catholic individuals and families, group work services of various

kinds were initiated but they lack tangible programs and manpower which could have been supplied through religious communities or religious orders. But they were not included in the mainstream of planning and program coordination of the Federation. As a result, only few religious communities participated in the program management of the Sisters of Services for the Catholic Girls' Information Bureau and Brothers of the Good Shepherd for the Catholic Men's Hostel.

The survey also failed to recognize another tangible, human resource and latent function of the lay leaders. Traditionally, the Catholic charities were maintained in cooperation with various religious communities, by lay leaders who were motivated by the concept of Catholic charity. Their involvement and dedication or commitment was derived from religious causes in the practice of charity. They also had certain concepts of social welfare programs and service delivery systems. Prior to the establishment of the Federation, they participated in various community social welfare institutions in which they had a definite commitment for certain programs for certain needy people. They were concentrating on the needy people who were economically deprived. Nevertheless, they were also prepared to accept the professional approach in terms of shifting the material aid type of programs to non-material aid programs of professional counseling for a certain economic class.

The difference of emphasis created constant tension between the two groups. However, the professional social

workers failed to win their point of view in program design and implementation in a professional manner. Although some aspects of the professional approach made considerable inroads in terms of expanding case work services for the Catholic Welfare Bureau and Catholic Boys' Services, they were not nearly enough to make distinctive implications in overall professional program development and expansion.

Under such uncooperative situations, the professional social workers, mainly executive directors and senior social workers, made constant protestation by resigning from their positions. This was shown by the constant absence of the executive leadership in the Federation. Consequently, the overall programs and the relationships between the constituent agencies and the community deteriorated seriously. This was also indicated in the survey of 1961.

Such negative results in the period of 1931-1961 derived from the survey of 1930 which neglected to include the most important aspects of religious communities as an integral part of program development and expansion as well as to recognize the commitment and dedication of lay leaders who had certain priorities in program development and expansion. The survey concentrated on problems on lacking coordination and resources, and thereby solving such problems by introducing professional coordination and community development. At the same time, to emphasize the value of professional approach shifting from material

oriented programs to non-material type of programs in terms of professional counseling for individuals and families. The survey was self-serving for professional identity and integrity without giving a full account on the unique aspect of this community in terms of strength in community resources of material and manpower and superimposed a professional approach emphasizing professional model. Because of the above factors, the implication of professional methods made slow progress although basic patterns had prevailed in overall program development and expansion.

With reference to the second survey conducted in 1961, the report was characterized by its over-identification with professional methods in administering volunteer communal institution. One of the main recommendations made by the survey was to reorganize the nominating ~~system~~ of the members of the Board of Directors. It simply recommended adopting a rotating system. In a way the survey essentially sided with the staff, creating a Board with rotating members, which would result in a much less powerful Board. The members of the Board of Directors would be increasingly dependent upon the professional social workers for information and direction. The Board would assume a more fiduciary role.

Until this time, the Board of Directors was strong and conservative in their perception of the methods of administering the Federation, while the professionals were inclined, as traditionally was in the past, to engage the Federation and its constituent agencies mainly in providing

relief maintenance programs. The professionals pushed for an expansion and diversification of the Federation and the clientele by adding new services such as counseling and treatment programs for individuals and families.

Based on the reality of clientele and community resources, the Federation required a strong and powerful Board which performed essential duties as volunteer lay Board at this time. The Catholic community had considerable numbers of dependent individuals and families who were on social welfare systems including the programs provided by the network agencies of the Federation. Therefore, it was the most difficult task for the professionals to change the conservative attitude of the Board.

The acceptance of the rotation system by the Board was the major accomplishment made by the survey. This was achieved by confrontation rather than by agreement and consensus. In order to enforce the recommendation, the professional social workers demanded of the Board to implement it without further delay. The rationale for such delay was that the Board had to have more time and resources to implement the recommendation. The dedicated lay leaders for so many years required to prepare themselves and the community to maintain service for the Federation. With respect to this, the Board also required substantial orientation and education on the future implication of the rotating system. Nevertheless, the survey failed to include all these implications and consequences which would occur

except for the emphasis on changing the Board system for the improvement of the participatory system by the community.

Consequently, the open confrontation took place in the early part of the 1970s resulting in the resigning of all trained social workers and executive directors, while losing the majority of the members of the Board of Directors. The spirit of dedication and devotion by the Board disappeared which was the most important element in the voluntary organization such as the Federation..

The overall weakness of the survey in dealing with the Board was its failure in another dimension of social welfare organization in terms of human assets and delicacy. The survey was biased in a sense. It sided with the staff and provided a legitimate rationale for implementation which resulted in negative confrontation, thus resulting in considerable damage to the image of the Federation and its programs for which it finally adopted a rotating system. The professional bias also showed in the change of name for the Federation, from the Federation of Catholic Charities to the Federation of Catholic Community Services. The rationale for the name change was based on the emphasis of increasing case work, group work, and community organization as against the financing and coordinating role emphasized in the years 1931-61. Charity after all would include material assistance which aspect could not be neglected for the community at this time. The change of the Federation for professional service met with another resistance by the



Board. It took almost ten (10) years to implement the recommendation of the survey. With respect to this, the survey demonstrated as self-serving, not understanding the realistic problems experienced by the Federation at this time. The majority of the Federation's clientele consisted of multi-problem individuals and families which were mainly caused by economic deprivation. Professional counseling was required for this client group but priority had to be given to essential needs of material aid and then for counseling.

In any event, the survey in 1961 achieved its goals in terms of adopting the rotating system on the Board although substantial damage or disintegration resulted. The name was also changed which gave false impressions to the public on the reality of the Federation at this time. In the final analysis, the survey was limited in scope, only to professional involvement, neglecting other values, cultural and resource factors in terms of Catholic charities of the English Catholic community.

With reference to the third survey of 1965, the major impact was made on program modification, elimination, and reorganization of the service structures. However, it also failed to include basic and fundamental value systems in the private-sectarian social welfare institution. The survey made strong recommendations to transfer programs for recreation to the public sector and to transfer the Catholic Rehabilitation Centre to a secular agency of John Howard.

Society. As a result, the survey missed the entire rationale for the existence of the private-sectarian social welfare institution such as the Federation. The report overemphasized the concept of universalism providing services without discriminating the background of a client in terms of religion, ethnicity, culture, race, and political preference. Simply, the emphasis was in harmony with the trend of secular institutions and the public sector.

Therefore, the survey was completely insensitive to the sociocultural factors of the private institution which aimed to enhance the above factors for individual Catholic clients and the community as a whole. Through the functions of the Federation, the community attempted to provide an opportunity for its members to practice Catholic charity and to provide and safeguard the sectarian or Catholic social services for its members, and to maintain a sense of ethnic identity thereby enhancing inner cohesion and social solidarity. But the survey failed to recognize all these crucial aspects and only emphasized the professional approach as a means of providing adequate services to Catholic clients. Thus, the survey was self-serving although the Board accepted all the recommendations made by it.

In conclusion, the academically oriented and professionally confident social workers reinforced their status and emphasis in the overall program development and expansion, modification, elimination and transferring of Catholic programs to secular agency, and shifting the

emphasis from material aid type of programs to professional approaches of various counseling and treatment methods. However, in view of the reality of the community in terms of resources and attitude at this time and sociocultural aspects of the private sectarian service, these three surveys commonly failed to recognize the crucial elements as above. These surveys revealed that they were more self-serving, emphasizing mainly the professional role than assisting the cause of the Federation as a whole.

## CHAPTER VIII

### CATHOLIC COMMUNAL WELFARE AND THE PUBLIC WELFARE SYSTEM IN QUEBEC

In this chapter, we will analyse the major developments of public welfare systems in Quebec and progressive public involvement and its impact made on the private welfare systems. There are three periods: the first period, before 1921 QPCA, the second period, 1921-1973, and the third, 1973, on no more public money for private programs (Bill 65).

#### The First Period Before 1921 - QPCA

Traditionally, in Quebec religious institutions of both French and English Catholic Churches, Protestant Churches, and Jewish Welfare Associations assumed all major responsibilities in providing educational, health, and social welfare programs. Catholic Churches in particular provided various social welfare programs that were initiated and managed by religious communities or religious orders.

Assistance was provided with a common sectarian character. This did not cease with the beginnings of government support provided by the QPCA. The Quebec Public Charities Act (QPCA) was enacted in 1921 through which various private institutions received funds as a supplementary financial source. Even after the QPCA, the sectarian factor played a strong role in the social welfare

field. As a result, education, health, and social welfare services in the province were organized along ethnic religious lines. There was no way to these services but through a sectarian organization.

The involvement in the charitable work by the Church was based on a religious precept, helping its parishoners and the poor and underprivileged coreligionists. Through an active practice of charitable work, individual ethnic groups and communities and the Churches were able to reinforce or foster a sense of common identity and social solidarity. In Catholic charitable work as such, the Church did not receive any threat or intervention from the government of Quebec. Private institutions and the English Catholic ethnic community maintained the principles of self-service, self-reliance, and self-control providing sectarian services for English Catholic clients. Such practice prevailed even after the government enacted the OPCA in 1921. This was the government's first involvement in private or sectarian charity work through which the public supplied one-third of the budget (one-third from the municipal government, and one-third from the private institution) for institutional care services. Thus private institutions maintained the sectarian practice while utilizing public funds.

#### The Second Period, 1921-1973

During the second period, the pattern of utilizing public funds by Catholic communal welfare institutions did not change at all. The private institution used the OPCA

and other social welfare legislations of family welfare assistance, public and private pensions, unemployment insurance, and medicare programs. Most of these programs were utilized by private institutions but the public sector did not interfere with the private sector's concept of sectarian practice.

To enhance the above purpose and use public funds effectively, the Federation established a division of government funds. Its main functions were to manage public funds for clients, coordinate public resources for community development, and advocate for equitable distribution of public resources. All these functions had two common purposes; one was to utilize public resources on a maximum basis thereby deriving the maximum effects on a sectarian approach. Even up to this point public involvement in the social welfare field did not intervene nor threaten the traditional sectarian approach maintained by private institutions including all the networks of the Federation. The progressive involvement of the public sector did not cause any change in the traditional sectarian aspect of the social service delivery systems undertaken by the private institution of the Federation. The government's involvement in this field enhanced the cause of private social welfare activities in terms of the provision of sectarian services for the English Catholic ethnic population.

The Third Period, 1974 Onwards

The drastic changes in the social welfare field in Quebec began to take place in the early part of the 1960s. The new directions and revolutionary movement in the social welfare field during the 1960s were fundamentally reflected in the Report of the Study Committee on Public Assistance, published in 1963 (known as the Boucher Report), and in the Reports of the Commission of Inquiry on Health and Social Welfare between 1967-1971 (known as the Castonguay Report).

The Castonguay Report became a cornerstone in developing the most comprehensive and integrative health and social service policy in Québec (known as Bill 65). Among many other essential elements in the modern social welfare field, the government wished to have direct control over the programs that it was paying for. This would provide the government with the first opportunity to establish a direct contact with the people in Quebec and to provide services on a universal basis, disregarding sectarian and ethnic aspects in the service delivery system. It would also weaken the ecclesiastical influence on the citizens of Quebec.

Bill 65, the Act which deals with health services and social services, was passed in December 1971 by the National Assembly of Quebec, as Statute of Quebec 1974, chapter 48.<sup>1</sup> The positive or main spirit of Bill 65 is an integrated system approach and the idea of citizens' participation and

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<sup>1</sup> Statute of Quebec 1974, Chapter 48.

consumers' involvement. With respect to the above views, Bill 65 was summarized by Claude Castonguay, Minister of Social Affairs, in his speech delivered before the annual meeting of the Allied Jewish Community Services, May 9, 1973:

The goals of Bill 65 are several. One, to make sure that the various institutions that were increasingly being funded entirely by the government at the time and were active in health and social welfare fields would operate as an integrated system of institutions, a network of institutions; that overlapping of institutions should be diminished or even reduced completely; and that there would be a systematic approach to health and social problems, so that individual citizens in need of some attention either because of health or social reason, could find a balanced integrated response .... This was a very important element, the systematic approach to social and health problems and the assertion combined with this that health and social services could not be disassociated, that they are two sides of the same coin. This may have been the foremost objective of pursuance.

There are other complementary objectives; one is to encourage an involvement by citizens in the affairs of various institutions because of the view that the Commission<sup>2</sup> had taken, especially on the francophone and Catholic side, that these institutions had a high degree of paternalism. This came in origin, from the church heritage to do good, to hand down from on high certain advantages and benefits. There was a need felt, at the time, and this was in the late sixties, of more democracy and general participation. The Commission caught this concept of the time and the law was planned, partly at least, to give substance to these views.

Now I have already mentioned two things: an integrated system approach and the idea of citizens' participation and consumers' involvement. I think these two will be the most important. But there was

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<sup>2</sup>The Commission of Inquiry on Health and Social Welfare, known as the Castonguay Commission.



a subsidiary one. There was a need, also, to put some order into the government's own policy and attitudes with respect to this entire field.<sup>3</sup>

Castonguay's statement also reflects the basic policies of the Bill which was intended to strengthen the power of the province by giving it control over all essential health services and social service programs, not only from the so-called paternalistic francophone Church, but from all other churches, ethnic institutions, and benevolent societies.

This would facilitate a uniform and integrated service on a universal basis in both rural and urban areas, thereby terminating the unequal and discriminatory practice in the service delivery system by ecclesiastical organizations and other benevolent societies. Bill 65 ensures freedom from discrimination in service provision regardless of the nationality, race, ethnicity, religion, or political affiliation of the service recipient. The Bill also provides a provision for the choice of the professional that the client wishes to receive service from. That is, Section Five and Six state that:

The rights of the client on health and social services must be granted without discrimination or preference based on the race, colour, sex, religion, language, national extraction, social origin, customs or political convictions the person applying for them or of the members of his family.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>3</sup>Cited in Yogev Tzuk, "A Jewish Communal Welfare Institution: In a Changing Society," Thesis, Concordia University, 1981, p. 194.

<sup>4</sup>Bill 65, Section Five.

In Section Six it is stated that:

Subject to Section Five and any other applicable legislative provision, nothing in this Act shall restrict the freedom of a resident in the province of Quebec to choose the professional establishment from whom he or she wishes to receive health services or social services, or that, if the professional refuses to treat such a person.<sup>5</sup>

Castonguay's statement also reflects the principle of encouraging democratic procedures in determining the needs, scope, and development of local services through the actual participation of local citizens and consumers. This is to be accomplished through the regional council which is the mechanism for participation, according to Section Sixteen of the Bill:

To encourage the participation of the population in defining its own needs in health services and social services, and in the administration and operation of the establishments providing such services, to promote the setting up of consumer services for such establishments, to the exchange of services between them, the elimination of duplication of services and a better apportionment of services in the region, and to send the Minister, at least once a year, its recommendations to ensure adequate apportionment in its territory of the resources devoted to health services and social services and the best possible use of the available resources.<sup>6</sup>

On the subject of citizen participation and consumers' involvement, it may be noteworthy to elaborate on what is the actual motivation behind this principle, aside from local populations' participation in program development and determination of the needs for services in each region.

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<sup>5</sup>Ibid., Section Six.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., Section Sixteen.

The government wished to establish a direct dialogue with citizens from all levels of society in dealing with health services and social service programs. It also wished to oversee or prevent a monopoly of power by professionals and bureaucrats, thereby giving citizens an opportunity to feel a sense of being part of the controlling body responsible for health services and social service centres.

Another main characteristic of the Bill is its specification of the administrative structure that oversees the coordination of services between social services in schools, hospital centres, and reception centres.

The system put in place by Bill 65 has sweeping power over all health service and social service programs. It has replaced practically all the concepts of private and sectarian initiatives or involvements in the health and social welfare field. It has taken over all the major health services and social services that were traditionally organized and administered by the Church and private sectors of various social, ethnic and benevolent institutions.

The political ambition of the government to control all education, health and social service programs which was reflected in the socioeconomic policy at this time was also attained through the passing of Bill 65. Through such revolutionary undertakings, the government aimed to raise the standard of living for the majority of Quebec citizens, which was the underlying purpose of the "Quiet Revolution."

In this regard, Forget, the Minister of Social Affairs, stated:

There was an implicit assumption, at the time, that the move that had been initiated in the early sixties, the so-called "Quiet Revolution," that mostly had affected the sector of education ... this sort of social revolution had to be completed by additional initiatives in the fields of welfare and health ....<sup>7</sup> To that extent, this is a part of a general pattern.

While Bill 65 strengthened the rights of individuals, and the control of the government, it weakened the ethnic religious and community characters of the social welfare programs. Ostensibly, the Bill was anti-clerical and anti-sectarian. It was also anti-communal and anti-ethnic in its consequences.

#### Bill 65 and the Federation

Bill 65 literally had the power to take over all major social service programs of the Federation. This has particularly affected the services that had been provided by Catholic Family and Children Services, which included programs dealing with family and child care, adoption and foster homes, unmarried mothers, youth protection, and care for the sick and aged.

In achieving its objectives, the Federation had been receiving substantial funds from the public sector long before Bill 65 was passed.

The Federation was not actively opposed to Bill 65.

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<sup>7</sup> Taped interview by Yogeve Tzuk, on October 24, 1977.  
Quoted from the same.

Not only had it been working with the public sector in adjusting financial resources, but the Executive Director of the Federation, W. Dyson,<sup>8</sup> served as a member of the Castonguay Commission. Dyson had kept the Federation abreast of the current thinking of the government. This was communicated to the Board of Directors on a regular basis, which had led the Board to prepare to seek other ways to serve Catholic clients. According to Sweeney, former Executive Director of the Federation and Vice-Chairman of the annual campaign for fundraising in the 1940s:

The Board was relieved with the government's plan to assume major responsibilities in providing adequate health services and social services. This had been some concern for Board members, although Catholic values and Catholic social work practice needed to be inserted in overall service delivery systems. Many resources were needed to tackle all other social, economic and family problems which were experienced by many Catholic clients who had been dependent on meager services from generation to generation. Therefore, government's major undertaking rather relieved our community and its leaders, although other programs for Catholic-oriented services had to be envisaged.<sup>9</sup>

It was further noted that a brief was submitted to the Castonguay Commission<sup>10</sup> by participating members of Centraide Montreal along with the Allied Jewish Community Services and the Canadian Jewish Congress. The main concern expressed by

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<sup>8</sup>W. Dyson, November 17, 1966. The Minutes of the Board of Directors, the Federation, Montreal.

<sup>9</sup>Interview with W. Sweeney, July 25, 1986.

<sup>10</sup>Minutes of the Federation, September 28, 1972.

the Federation on this occasion was to:

- ... protect the client's language right in receiving services as well as to create three major regional councils in the metropolitan Montreal area that would designate to francophone, English and Jewish groups, I am not sure of the exact nature of all recommendations, but the main thrust of the Federation was to amalgamate its services with other English speaking agencies.<sup>11</sup>

Sweeney's observation of the reaction of the Federation corresponds with the information available in existing records and documents. There are no records of any debate or submission of any independent brief or opinion by the Federation to the government at this time, except the brief joint submission with Centraide Montreal members mentioned above. From this, we assume that the Federation was accepting the overall thrust of Bill 65, which is also illustrated by the interaction between the public sector and the Federation in all of the years.

The government adjusted Bill 65, allowing three regions of health services and social services, including francophone, English and Jewish communities in metropolitan Montreal. Ville Marie Social Service Centre was created by Bill 65 to consolidate all health services and social services for the English-speaking population in Montreal. All major English programs, including Catholic Family and Children Services (CF&CS), Children Service Centre (Protestant sector), Family Association, John Howard Society, and Foster Recruiting

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<sup>11</sup> Interview with W. Sweeney, July 25, 1986.

Services were merged under the VMSCC in 1973. The primary responsibility of the Centre at this time was to focus on creating an integrated system, characterized by a service delivery policy of open intake and a decentralization in services.

The open-intake principle of accepting all clients on a universal basis, without discrimination against their religion, language, race, nationality, or political preference, and decentralizing service centres in various areas, was confirmed by M. Sherber, President of Ville Marie Social Service Centre on the occasion of the meeting with the Federation Board on October 25, 1973.<sup>12</sup> On the same occasion, a question was raised by the Federation as to the role of the private sector in view of Bill 65. He replied: "The private sector could handle, with its own funds, such programs as family life education, leisure recreation, camping, and community action programs."<sup>13</sup>

The VMSCC is an English language social service centre for region 06A, as designated by the Ministry of Social Affairs and Regional Council for Health and Social Services. This Regional Council has a Board of Directors through which English Catholic leaders participate in service delivery, overall service delivery policy, and planning and program development.

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<sup>12</sup> Minutes of the Federation, October 25, 1973.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid.

However, there is no service contract whatsoever between the Federation and the VMSCC in relation to the elements of Catholic values in a service delivery situation. To the question of how Catholic values are protected in the public system, John Walker, Director General of the VMSCC, said:

We do not have any such policy whatsoever. Our mandate is to provide services on a universal basis without discriminating clients' background. Particular to Catholic clients, we attempt to respond to such demand, but we do not have sufficient resources to entertain all demands. In-depth counselling for family planning and other such issues which are sensitive to Catholic clients, we refer to private resources such as Montreal Catholic Counselling. In our past experience, we do not receive so many requests, but we feel those who need such services usually utilize the resources in their own community.<sup>14</sup>

Regarding other Catholic clients who need practical services, such as placement of senior citizens, handicapped persons and protection services, Walker stated:

We do not go by the statistics of clients' ethnic background. But our service is based on the first come, first served basis. However, our resources are strained due to budget cutback of public resources. Therefore, we are concentrating on protection services which are crisis oriented. Protection services for the youth, family situation, child placement and all other services that require immediate attention for the protection of clients themselves and the society. Therefore, we begin to realize now that the State cannot solve all social, health, family, and youth problems as Bill 65 intended originally. We now have to go back to the private sector for cooperation in solving community problems as a whole. Because of these realistic problems, it is almost humanly impossible to give proper attention for in-depth counselling services respecting all confessional aspects of Catholic clients or any other ethnic clients.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> Interview with John Walker, Director General, Ville Marie Social Service Centre, December 10, 1986.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid.



It appears that the public sector experiences serious difficulties from all sides, including budget cuts and more demand for services. This situation indicates that Bill 65 has succeeded in delivering universal principles in service delivery systems, emphasizing the provision of a comprehensive preventative and rehabilitative service with adequate resources, but it is failing to fulfill its demand according to the legislation due to lack of public resources.

With reference to the public sector's situation in relation to Bill 65, a question was posed to Bishop Crowley, also a member of the Board of Directors of the Federation in 1973, regarding the confessional aspects in service delivery for Catholic clients when Catholic Family and Children Services was transferred to the VMSCC. He replied:

It's always an ideal situation to provide social services for Catholic clients under the auspices of a Catholic institution. This would guarantee the safeguarding of all the elements of Catholic values. However, in modern times, demand on services is so great we did not mind having the government to help our clients through Bill 65. Of course, there are certain needs which cannot be met through or by the public service system, nor through non-confessional setting. For this, we always try to establish our own services for our clients, established by our constituents.<sup>16</sup>

Bishop Crowley further stated that the private sector must avail and renew programs in accordance with the needs of community demands. On this issue, the Church's position is to encourage service initiatives because public funds alone

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<sup>16</sup>Interview with Bishop Crowley, Diocese of Montreal, December 29, 1986.

would not be enough to satisfy the demands. As a result of the enactment of Bill 65, the Federation underwent major changes in: (a) scope and structure, (b) financial sources, and (c) program priority.

#### Scope and Structure

Regarding scope and structural changes, the Federation eliminated all program activities in terms of the provision of grants in exchange of services to affiliated agencies. All basic service constituent agencies of Catholic Men's Hostel, Father Dowd's Home, and Catholic Family and Children Services were transferred to the public institution of Ville Marie Social Service Centre (VMSSC). The VMSSC was developed out of Bill 65. The elimination of all affiliated agencies and transference of all basic service agencies caused a drastic change in the structure and scope of the Federation, particularly losing the main corps of trained professional social workers who were mainly employed by the Catholic Family and Children Services to VMSSC.

The Board of Directors of the Catholic Family and Children Services was dissolved. The members of the Board were predominantly made up of pastors from all parishes in the Diocese of Montreal. As a result, the Federation lost a group of clergy members who participated and supported the constituent agency of the Federation as well as a corps of trained social workers. On the central Board level of the Federation, one member of the Board of Directors was invited as a representative of the Federation to serve on the Board

of Directors of VMSSC. This arrangement was initiated by the Federation so that it would have influence on the overall operation of VMSSC particularly in the area of serving the English Catholic clientele. Thus, the Federation accommodated such drastic changes in structure and scope by having its representative participate in the decision making structure of the VMSSC. However, the Federation experienced a sense of weakening the traditional and influential statutes in the community, especially by losing all major agencies, prominent supporters of clergy members, and trained social workers.

#### Financial Sources

With the enactment of Bill 65, the government nationalized all basic services and programs. The public sector no longer supported private programs. Therefore, the Federation had to rely solely on private sources from the English Catholic community and general public. The limited financial resources created serious problems which were reflected in the nature of program development and establishment of program priority. Thus, the Catholic sectarian social service or Catholic value oriented Family Plan in-depth counselling service programs could not be maintained nor created after Bill 65 because of a lack of financial resources. At the same time, the Federation did not raise a question to the public sector of VMSSC concerning sectarian aspects for Catholic clients.

### Program Priority

The Federation accommodated the changes on various programs by Bill 65 by re-establishing program priorities. It undertook major programs that are not supplied by the public sector. The Federation changed program focuses on: (a) community organization and development, (b) Catholic family life and education, and (c) camp programs and conference centres.

### Community Organization and Development

Under Bill 65, the essential services provided by the Catholic Family and Children Services, one of the major constituent agencies of the Federation, was taken over by Ville Marie Social Service Centre (VMSSC). In this particular situation, the Federation re-organized its programs to monitor the public programs as well as to safeguard proper services for English Catholic clients. For this, a variety of community organization programs were undertaken to encourage English Catholic leaders to participate on the Board of Directors level on the VMSSC, Area Reception Centres for both hospitals and social service centres and Regional Council. The community organization process was directed to uphold the rights of services for English Catholics in terms of receiving service in the English language, proper referral services for Catholic oriented counselling and case work, if it could not be delivered by the public sector, and grass roots education for English Catholics concerning the availability and effects of the

health and social service policies of Bill 65.

### Catholic Family Life and Education

Since the Federation was no longer committed to its major resources for basic services including all custodial care services, it changed its priorities on programs for reinforcing Catholic family values and education. In the past, this type of program was not considered as the first priority but under the reality of current sociocultural movements, the sectarian programs on Catholic values and identity had to be reinforced or re-instated for the English-speaking Catholic ethnic population by this very Catholic communal institution of the Federation. With this in mind, W. Sweeney expressed the real effects of such programs for the English-speaking Catholic community:

The traditional Catholic values and cultural heritage functions as binding forces for our community. Such programs were particularly effective in facing socio-political-cultural crises by our Catholic community. Furthermore, we had to re-emphasize the Catholic values for family life, education, and religious life, not only for ourselves but also for our youngsters.<sup>17</sup>

### Camps and Conference Centres

After Bill 65 had been implemented, the Federation emphasized its priority on camping activities for Catholic youngsters and conference centres for Catholic families and social groups at camp site. The manifested purposes of these programs were to prevent juvenile delinquency and strengthen Catholic family life. However, the latent

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<sup>17</sup> Interview with W. Sweeney, July 25, 1986.

functions of these programs were to provide a Catholic milieu for Catholic youngsters and families, thereby helping them to appreciate Catholic values and to understand the meaning of Catholic religious life. In this regard, R. McConomy who was the former President of Catholic Community Services and presently a member of the Board of Directors of the Federation, stated as follows:

The Catholic Community Services inherited one of the largest programs of camps and conference centres from the Federation in 1975. The camping programs for our Catholic children have a high priority since they contribute toward the appreciation of Catholic life and values. The youngsters must be provided with a Catholic milieu to understand the real meaning of Catholic life. Otherwise it would be pretty difficult to teach them in such a real manner in a society where religious values are not taken so seriously. The preservation and maintenance of our traditional Catholic values and cultural heritage are the main objectives of camping programs. This is a unique<sup>18</sup> sectarian service.

With reference to the shift of program emphasis from a preventive and rehabilitative approach to social-cultural and recreational activities, especially immediately after the advent of Bill 65, Bishop Crowley of the Archdiocese of Montreal observed this trend as:

A Natural progression for private sectarian agency to have a choice in designing its own programs that would be suited to its clients in any given time. All program initiatives are heavily influenced by socio-cultural-political-economic situations in any given time. Historically, the Church has been concentrating on charitable works towards providing adequate programs for education, health, and social services. The basic norms and motives for charity have derived from the ideology of our religion caring for our needy brothers

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<sup>18</sup> Interview with R. McConomy, November 11, 1986.

and sisters, an active expression of love. Our Church and community have been carrying a major responsibility in charity work even before the public sector began to involve in social welfare, from the early part of this century. Even after the government began to supplement funds for private institutions, we worked closely with the public sector. We considered the public resources as a supplementary service for our social welfare institutions or our Catholics. After Bill 65, the government of Quebec nationalized all our basic welfare programs. With this occasion, most of our religious communities or orders had been relieved from their traditional functions in charity work. In the name of charity, we did not oppose such drastic government intervention in social welfare because it meant more resources for our clients. Provision of adequate social services for our Catholics with both public and private resources had been and is still our main goal. This has been our social mission and teachings of our Church which is one of our main traditional Catholic values. The very Catholic value had been and is still the main binding forces for our community. Through charitable work, we share a certain sense of religious experience. Nevertheless, Bill 65 removed our functions in charitable work, basic work. Therefore, we had to reorganize our programs which would give us the opportunity to not only preserve our religious and cultural values, but also to retain our distinctive identity in this society. To achieve this, we had to change our program emphasis from direct social service for preventive-rehabilitative programs to socio-cultural-recreational activities through which we share and develop our value systems including our future generations.<sup>19</sup>

In conclusion, we witness that both the manifest and latent functions of the communal welfare institution played a significant role in shaping the working relationships between the English-speaking Catholics and the public welfare systems. We have noticed that the Federation fulfilled its manifest function of delivering social welfare services to the English-speaking Catholic community. It utilized public

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<sup>19</sup> Interview with Bishop Crowley, December 29, 1986.

resources to the fullest extent in expanding and improving the quality of services without violating the principles of sectarian aspects. The latent function of fostering intra-group communications within the Catholic ethnic population harmonized with the manifest function in that the first also accepted public funds readily. Both functions were committed to the practice of Catholic charity, notwithstanding the sources of funds, public or private. For this, the Federation maintained a cooperative relationship with the public welfare system until 1973 at which time Bill 65 nationalized all basic health and social welfare programs.

After Bill 65, the Federation shifted program priority from social services to sociocultural-Catholic family life education. Mainly, they were centered around the cultural programs which reinforced the identity of the Catholic ethnic population and preservation of traditional Catholic values and cultural heritage.

With respect to this aspect, the latent function of the Catholic communal ethnic institution played an important role in terms of fostering an intensive intra-group communication for undertaking cultural programs on a broader scope. The Church including the Episcopal office, religious communities, and pastors of individual parishes also played a significant role in overall development of social welfare programs; its role has been evolutionary from initiative, managerial, leadership to consultative. In this respect, all social welfare institutions, including the Federation, have been an



integral part of the Church because it had strong influence over education, health and welfare programs.

We will examine the action, reaction, and attitude in the Federation's attempt to retain its manifest and latent functions in the process of merging with Centraide Montreal in Chapter IX.

Table 10

The Federation of Catholic Community Services

Before Bill 65:

Board of Directors  
Executive Director

CF&CS Community Research & Development	Youth Neighbourhood Service	Camping Dept.	Finance (Public & Private Funds)	Affiliated Outside	Funds Community
				Other	Agencies

After Bill 65:

Board of Directors  
Executive Director

Administration	Private Funds & General Services	Camps and Conference Centres	Health & Social Services
Community Organization Development	Catholic Family Life	Social Planning	

This is a comparative table before and after Bill 65. Before Bill 65, the Federation was heavily involved with basic services, community organization, and funding activities whereas after Bill 65, the Federation changed its program priority on cultural, Catholic family education, and social planning.

## CHAPTER IX

### THE FEDERATION AND CENTRAIDE MONTREAL

#### Introduction

In this chapter, we will examine the entire merger process of the Federation with Centraide Montreal and its implications on the Federation. The merger took place in 1975 and its end result on the Federation was that it was obliged to surrender its major traditional functions of fund-raising, budgeting, planning, coordinating, and administration to Centraide.

The Federation participated in the merger process reluctantly due to external forces and factors. Since the early 1960s, the trend of North America in the social welfare field was to merge all major financing federations and social welfare councils for the efficiency in service delivery systems and economic purposes. The general public and corporate donors, for annual fund-raising campaigns, were in full support of such movement in that the Federation was not able to isolate itself from this revolutionary change in the private sector of social welfare endeavours.

The major changes perceived by the leaders of English-speaking Catholics were:

- 1) loss of major manifest functions of the Federation to Centraide;
- 2) loss of sectarian components in service delivery systems for Catholic clientele;
- 3) loss of an autonomy in dealing with funds generated through investments, gifts, donations, etc.;
- 4) loss of an official status as leader of a social welfare institution in the community;
- 5) change of name, scope, programs, structure, priority, and funding sources.

In an attempt to restore or reinstate some of the traditional functions of the Federation, particularly in relation to the above, it had engaged numerous debates and negotiations with Centraide during the period of 1975-1986. With respect to the above, we will analyse the impacts made on the Federation in terms of its overall structural changes, its relationships with Centraide and the Catholic Community Services (CCS), and its reaction, attitude, and newly developed role as a trustee of funds for the English-speaking Catholic community.

The chapter will be divided into the following five topics:

- 1) the concept of Centraide, the United Way;
- 2) the merger and its implications for the Federation;
- 3) the ongoing relationship between the Federation and Centraide;
- 4) the working relationship between the Federation, CCS, and Centraide;

5) the post-merger period, 1975-1986.

The Concept of Centraide -- the United Way

Centraide, or the United Way as it is more commonly known, is a North American phenomenon. The movement is very strong in the United States, with 2,200 Centraide offices located throughout the country. There are more than 100 Centraide offices in Canada. The purpose of Centraide is to raise funds in an economical and efficient manner. Each Centraide office is autonomous; it operates within a specific territory in which it collects funds for redistribution to agencies within the same territory.

Every large city in Canada has a Centraide office which conducts its own annual fund-raising campaign during the month of October using the international Centraide symbol. In the metropolitan Montreal area, the sign of Centraide is used during the campaign period just as it is by all other Centraide bureaus.

Centraide has a long history, particularly in the Montreal region. Initially, every social service agency, such as the Red Cross, the YMCA, the St. Vincent de Paul Society, the Boy Scouts, and the Combine Health Agency conducted its own annual campaign. This created chaotic and uneconomical fund-raising activities which petitioned the citizens of Montreal practically on a year round basis.

In order to increase efficiency and save expenses, five major finance federations were formed according to language and religion in the metropolitan Montreal area as

follows:

- 1921 -- The United Red Feather Services was formed to serve primarily the English-speaking Protestant community.
- 1931 -- The Federation of Catholic Charities was established to serve the English-speaking Catholic community.
- 1933 -- The Fédération des oeuvres de charité canadiennes française was created to serve the French-speaking community.
- 1962 -- The Combined Health Appeal was formed to serve health service agencies.
- 1965 -- The Fédération et conseil de bien-être de la Rive-Sud was created, bringing together the agencies of the South Shore (the Diocese of St. Jean).<sup>1</sup>

In 1968 the five federations listed above joined forces to conduct an annual campaign under the name of the "Federated Appeal for Greater Montreal." This action was taken to achieve an even greater efficiency in conducting the annual campaign. The major responsibilities of social planning, budgeting, and allocation of funds for agencies were maintained by individual federations.

In 1975, the five federations decided to merge, thereby creating Centraide Montreal. The result of this merger was that no federations existed any longer to conduct annual campaigns. At the same time, all the major responsibilities of social planning, budgeting, and the allocation of funds for social service agencies were transferred to Centraide Montreal.

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<sup>1</sup>Centraide Montreal, "A Close Up View," (Montreal, 1986).

The newly created Centraide assumed all the federations' responsibilities and also undertook the responsibility of analyzing the needs of the social service agencies which were affiliated with the individual federations. The main objective of Centraide is to provide services to all individuals and groups in the metropolitan Montreal area regardless of service recipients' backgrounds in terms of language, race, ethnicity, religions, and national origin.

At the time of the merger, three of the federations involved created foundations to manage their capital assets. They were the Red Feather Foundation, the Centraide Foundation (formerly known as la Fondation des oeuvres de charité canadiennes), and the Foundation of Catholic Community Services.

These foundations still exist and are autonomous. However, a special clause in the original merger agreement ensures that these foundations give their net revenues to Centraide Montreal so that the monies can be directed to the funding of community programs. The same merger agreement stipulates that all former federations or the original members of Centraide covenanted and agreed to neither raise funds nor distribute any funds to social service agencies without receiving prior written permission from Centraide.

The merger agreement specifically states:

Each of the members hereby covenants and agrees, within ninety (90) days of the execution hereof, to cede and transfer the whole of its rights and assets, and, if any, its obligations and liabilities to foundations or other similar organizations

created or established primarily to assure the responsibility of the payment of bequests or gifts made to members and to make a petition for the surrender of its charter or, within the same period, to modify and amend its charter or by-laws, in accordance herewith so that its name be altered to comprise the word "Foundation" or any other equivalent word and that its powers of collecting funds, budgeting, planning and distributing funds, shall be abrogated as herein above provided. The members covenant and agree that the Foundations or other similar organizations to be created by the member or, as the case may be, the members, will not, in any way whatsoever, create agencies or services or distribute any sum to any agency, foundation, service, corporation or individual, otherwise than through or with the consent of Centraide, which consent shall not be unreasonably withheld, and that such foundations, organizations or members will make available their respective annual financial statements to Centraide no later than six months after the expiry of their respective financial year.<sup>2</sup>

The Merger and its Implications  
for the Federation

The merger resulted in the total organizational disappearance of the Federation which was obliged to surrender all its major powers of budgeting, planning, fund-raising, and distributing funds for agencies to Centraide.

Practically speaking, the Federation no longer existed with powers and functions. In 1975, the Federation changed its name to the Foundation of Catholic Community Services to maintain a limited scope of responsibility, managing real estate assets, investments, and receiving donations and bequests for English-speaking Catholics, namely, the new organization called the Foundation of Catholic Community

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<sup>2</sup>Memorandum of agreement, signed in Montreal, July 25, 1974, by five members or federations.



Services was created to hold funds, real estate properties and to receive donations and gifts for specifically Catholic agencies or programs which were rejected by Centraide Montreal in relation to funding.

This new organization occupied the same place as the Federation but differed in name, manifested functions, budget, status and latent functions. The manifested functions of the organization has been to provide office facilities, to rent camping facilities, and to assist small Catholic agencies. Its main function is a fiduciary role, and its status in terms of social service activities and fund-raising allocation had been eliminated. The latent functions of this organization have been to prevail the same image as a leading social welfare federation to support Catholic agencies, and to foster intra-group communications through such activities as above. The ultimate purpose of such latent function is to retain its identity and to maintain its traditional role of enhancing inner cohesion of the English-speaking Catholic ethnic community.

Eventually, another new organization -- the English-speaking Catholic Council was created -- which assumed some of the ethnic communal functions previously performed by the Federation.

An analysis of this merger reveals a number of changes in the Federation, particularly in the realms of socio-political and economic factors. The most significant were:

- a) the community pressure to save monies in annual campaigns,

and b) the varied role of the private sector.

a) Community Pressure to Save  
Monies in Annual Campaigns

The community at large and the business community in particular, which is a major donor to annual campaigns, exerted pressure on individual federations. The donors expressed the concern that an annual campaign by the major social service councils and federations caused inefficient management. The overall operation suffered, functions were duplicated, and excessive administrative costs resulted from year round efforts for multiple solicitation. Such an independent approach to fund raising and redistribution activities created inefficiency in all facets of the operations of individual federations, ranging from inefficient fund raising and duplication of services among community organizations with inadequate community resources to competition for scarce resources in terms of funds and manpower, and poor overall coordination within the community network.

Gilles Cousineau, who was formerly the Director of Social Planning for the Fédération et conseil de bien-être de la Rive-Sud and presently holds the position of Director of Social Planning at Centraide, observes:

A tremendous pressure was exerted by the business community to form a single annual fund raising body. This demand was based on the rationale of cutting administrative costs and increasing efficiency in service delivery systems covering the entire community without duplication.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> Interview with Gilles Cousineau, October 16, 1986.

This observation is also correspondent with views expressed on the experience of the United States:

The finance federation captured the imagination of businessmen by promising efficient coordination and organization of the community welfare machinery, immunity from multiple solicitation, economical collection and distribution of funds, and the development of a broad base of support which would relieve the pressure on the small circle of large givers. The corporation, increasingly regarded as a source of gifts, appreciated the conveniences of federated finance.<sup>4</sup>

b) The Varied Role of the Private Sector

The role of the private sector in the community has necessarily changed. It has quite rightly pointed out that the government cannot cover all aspects of programs dealing with social, family, and child problems. As Centraide's information bulletin states:

The government service would have great difficulty with respect to new or urgently detected needs or the needs experienced by very small segments of the population. It is therefore very important that, in addition to the government service, there also exist other forms of services which attempt to answer the urgent needs of these population groups which have been forgotten and forsaken by the public and para-public structures. Centraide tackles new social problems by innovative means. Consider those agencies which are trying out new ways to deal with the problems of high school drop-outs, and those attempting to follow the progress of families living with the results of separation and divorce.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> Roy Lubove, The Professional Altruist: The Emergence of Social Work as a Career (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1965), p. 183.

<sup>5</sup> "Centraide," published by Centraide Montreal, 1986, p. 9.

In such circumstances, Centraide provides a service complementary to those provided by the public sector. In other words, Centraide plays an important role in dealing with a variety of problems which cannot be handled with public resources.

All these socioeconomic factors put substantial pressure on the Federation to enter into the merger with other federations in 1975, relinquishing all its powers, especially in connection with fund raising, budgeting, social planning, and coordinating efforts for Catholic organizations.

In response to these forces or pressures, the Federation merged with Centraide Montreal. This move was a turning point for the Federation, resulting in drastic changes on many levels.

#### The Federation and Centraide Montreal

For the Federation, the merger with Centraide was a painful process. This issue touched all aspects of ethnicity, as the merger meant losing control over the programs and independent planning and budgeting of sectarian services for the ethnic group of English-speaking Catholics. The main strength of the Federation had been its traditional leadership role in the social welfare field of the Catholic community. It symbolized a Catholic institution which embraces the teachings of the Church. The Catholic communal welfare institution is a symbol of Catholic religious values as well as a cultural instrument for channeling corporate

Catholic service to the Catholic community.

The Federation has been a unique ethnic communal welfare institution which has basic Catholic elements of Catholic constituency, voluntarism, board, staff, Catholic Church and clientele. It has been an instrument in meeting the needs of Catholics on all levels through both manifested and latent functions. The manifested functions have been to supply social service programs to the English-speaking Catholic community and latent functions have been to achieve or retain ethnic identity, inner cohesion, and foster intra-group communications.

The Catholic communal welfare institution is a special instrument for preserving and cultivating the values of fundamental Catholicism. R. McConomy, who was the former president of the Catholic Community Services and is presently involved in the Federation as a member of the Board of Directors, states:

The Catholic communal welfare institution is not very different from all other welfare institutions in the secular community. We attempt to provide services on a universal basis regardless of the backgrounds of individual clients in relation to their religion, ethnicity, national origin, race or sex. But we must maintain one principle in our service delivery system: the protection or preservation of life. All Catholic family planning education and counseling must accord with this principle, specifically in its dealing with the subject of abortion, euthanasia, divorce, and all other pertinent issues taught by the Church. On this point we are very different from other religious institutions or non-sectarian organizations. Except for these issues, we are open to every individual for service provision.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>6</sup>Interview with Richard McConomy, November 11, 1986.

These elements of Catholic constituency, voluntarism, and cultural distinctiveness are unique to an ethnic institution characterized as a Catholic institution. This Catholic communal welfare institution has become a major instrument in encouraging intra-group communication among a variety of community leaders and Catholic organizations involved in protecting and preserving Catholic values and culture in programs and services. A sense of inner cohesion and solidarity are attained, which are important factors in maintaining and strengthening ethnic identity.

In 1968, after unprecedented pressures were exerted on the social welfare federations and welfare councils in Montreal by individual and corporate donors, five major finance federations agreed to conduct a joint annual campaign. The federations agreed to combine annual campaign efforts, but 'not encroach on the other federations' jurisdiction in budgeting, planning and coordinating activities.

In 1975, the same federations agreed to merge and create Centraide Montréal. The newly created Centraide assumed the entire responsibility for fund raising, coordination, budgeting, and planning. These rights were transferred to Centraide from the individual federations.

The Federation has displayed considerable resistance in complying with the merger agreement. It wishes to maintain its traditional functions, even if this must necessarily be on a smaller scale than before, in terms of providing funds to Catholic organizations. Such a move would not only protect

Catholic oriented services and values, but would also maintain the ethnic identity of the Catholic community as a whole. This has been shown by the Federation's unceasing efforts to negotiate a special status which would allow it to receive donations and bequests and allocate them solely to Catholic organizations. Such attempts have been made ever since the merger agreement was signed in 1975.

We shall analyze the sequence of merger negotiations which took place between Centraide Montreal and the Federation. We will also indicate the major changes in the Federation which resulted from the merger agreement.

From the outset of the merger process, the Federation sought through negotiation ways and means to obtain a special status with Centraide. The Federation was struggling to achieve three main objectives:

- 1) to find out what might be the consequences of having combined appeals for fund raising campaigns with other federations;
- 2) to examine the possibility of joining Centraide only for combined appeals and maintaining separately all its other functions of coordination, social planning, budgeting, and administration, and
- 3) to obtain a special status from the merger agreement allowing the Federation to maintain its major functions of coordination, planning, budgeting, and administering all the affairs for only Catholic organizations.

In November 1964, a representative of the United Red Feather, a finance federation for Protestant social service agencies in Montreal, approached the Federation and proposed a plan for a combined annual appeal which would include all the major social welfare federations and social service agencies.

These plans resulted from various social, economic and political factors and community pressures. The society in general had changed its opinion on the sectarian aspects of the social service delivery system. A combined appeal would be practical or economical in terms of reducing expense costs and time expenditures by social workers and community leaders who planned and prepared for annual campaigns on an almost year-round basis. The political pressure had been caused by the government's increased involvement in the social welfare field. As well, the community at large, including individual and corporate donors, had demanded that individual federations come together not only for joint appeals but for combined administration of social service delivery systems for the Greater Montreal area.

These factors played a major role in forcing the Federation to engage in negotiation with other federations to establish a combined fund raising mechanism. Because of these pressures and its reluctance to face the possibility of surrendering its traditional functions and power as a leader of the English Catholic community network, the Federation began to involve itself in the merger negotiations with a



rather passive attitude. This passive attitude arose from the confident and independent postures of the members of the Board of the Federation, who put much stake in their past performance and achievements in fund raising activities. The Federation had always been successful in annual campaigns. Joining a combined appeal might result in serious consequences with the Federation receiving less than its fair share from the joint campaign and losing its service functions and other powers to the other federations or the combined appeal body.

The expression of such concern was legitimate according to the past performance records on fund raising activities, which had been actively supported by both the community at large and the Church. These records are shown in the annual reports of 1932-1964.<sup>7</sup>

As it has been shown in Chapter VI (Table 2), until the Federation joined the Federated Appeal for Greater Montreal in 1965, it reached its annual objectives. Throughout the years of 1932-1964, the Federation conducted its own annual campaign independently and received a vote of confidence through the community which was shown by the financial contributions made by the Catholic community, particularly Catholic parishes. The latter raised from 35% to 45% of total campaign objectives for the Federation. Namely, the annual fund raising objectives were attained through the English Catholic community, general public, and Catholic

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<sup>7</sup>Annual reports of the Federation, 1932-1964.

parishes. The pastors and parishes raised substantial funds because of the increasing affluence.

The annual reports demonstrate that the Federation reached its objectives in each and every year.

The fear of joining the proposed combined appeal is also recorded in the minutes of the Board of Directors' meeting of February 25, 1965, which state:

We do not accept the principle of the combined charitable appeal or the United Fund at this time. We will continue as an observer or take a positive position later on.<sup>8</sup>

However, the Federation decided to participate in the process of negotiation with other federations, for which it formed a special committee. The committee was authorized by the Board of Directors to draft a proposal for the Federation.

On March 30, 1965, a survey committee was formed. The committee was composed of the members of the Federation, the United Red Feather Services for the Protestant population, the Fédération des oeuvres de charité canadiennes françaises, and the Fédération et conseil de bien-être de la Rive-Sud.

Out of this committee, the Federated Appeal for Greater Montreal was legally incorporated in February 1966. The Federated Appeal for Greater Montreal (FAGM) was formed to conduct a combined appeal. The five federations became the founding members of the FAGM. The FAGM became a single fund raising body in Greater Montreal and conducted annual campaigns between the years 1968-1971.

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<sup>8</sup> Minutes of the Federation, February 25, 1965.

Up to this point, the Federation was quite content with the arrangement because, although it was participating in the joint campaign through the FAGM and receiving its fair share, it still retained control over all the administrative aspects of allocation of funds for Catholic organizations, including budgeting, planning, and coordination. The founding members of the FAGM agreed to renegotiate the total merger in June, 1971 to deal with the question of administrative powers.

However, the merger negotiations had to take place much earlier than originally planned, which left the Federation in an emergency situation, the reason being that the experience received thus far through combined appeal was effective and successful. The Federation had not thought out how it would tackle the problem or what position it would take to protect the interests of the Federation. It seemed that the Federation had a legitimate reason for concern over the issue of a total merger. And yet, the Federation was not quite ready to face the coming reality. This is shown in the minutes of the Board of Directors' meeting which took place on November 30, 1970:

The merger was initially to take place 18 months after October 1969, but they are now talking about a speedy union of budgeting and domestic planning functions. The problem at issue is the position of this Federation in respect to a union with other federations, what our position will be, the attitude of the Board to it and how to go about protecting the community we are serving.<sup>9</sup>

To reinforce the traditional community and to pursue the

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<sup>9</sup> Minutes of the Executive Committee of the Federation, November 30, 1970.

idea of preserving the identity of English Catholic ethnicity, the Federation came out with a new strategy. It decided to draw out the process of negotiation for the whole merger. This is shown by a letter submitted to the Board of Directors on February 25, 1971, by Dr. J. Norris, Executive Director of the Federation, which reads:

It would appear to be in the best interests of the English speaking community to see inter-federation coordination and integration as the first priority, to be followed by a study after experience of the implementations and advantages of an inter-community bilingual restructuring.

It would appear at this time that the Federated Appeal should limit its acceptance of responsibility to that of offering both English and French communities a single integrated fund raising function, information referral function and research and global community planning function. Program planning and budgeting and the administration and coordination of services should at this time be structured by an integration or coordination of the two or perhaps three English speaking federations with a parallel organization serving the French sector.<sup>10</sup>

The intent of this letter was accepted by the Board of Directors of the Federation and the following resolutions were reached:

Whereas the staff of the Federation does not believe that we can better serve the English speaking Catholic community by a total merger of all Federations;

Whereas no one has illustrated or shown any positive advantages to the Federation of a total merger;

Whereas the political climate at this time is not suitable for a merger;

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<sup>10</sup> An interim proposal submitted to the Board of Directors of the Federation by the Executive Director on February 25, 1971.

accordingly, the following actions are to be taken:

- 1) That the Federation inform the United Red Feather Services and the French Federation that, due to the importance and permanent character of such a decision, we wish to postpone the possible merger date for two years to April 1974, during which interval adequate study and planning of such a possible merger can be undertaken.
- 2) That in the interval we endeavour, where possible, to join those services of the Federation and United Red Feather Services which are similar.
- 3) That we continue, as in the past, in joint participation in the Federated Appeal.<sup>11</sup>

It appears that the Federation was still trying to resist the total merger proposal, thereby maintaining its status with the FAGM as a joint fund raiser only. This move was clearly part of the strategy for delaying the possible merger process. Delaying tactics and efforts to retain their ethnic identity were demonstrated by the leaders of the Catholic community. This was shown by the same leaders' insistence on reinforcing their status as a minority English-speaking Catholic group by venturing out to identify themselves with other English-speaking Federations. Key social and ethnic factors which played a significant role at this stage were the control of domestic planning and budgeting by minority ethnic groups within the Federation and other English-speaking federations. At least allying themselves would enable them to deal with the French majority group.

At the meeting of the Board of Directors of the

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<sup>11</sup> Minutes of the Federation, February 25, 1971.

Federation held on April 8, 1971, the President of the Federation was authorized to negotiate with the other founding members of the FAGM with a view to accomplishing the merger of the Federation based on the "Working Paper on Merger Options." The option paper, prepared by the Ad Hoc Merger Committee of the Federation read as follows:

This option allows our Federation to continue much the same as it is operating now but with several changes. The option has the following characteristics:

it would allow our Federation to maintain its own domestic planning and budgeting with its own board and staff. The Federation would be guaranteed funding in much the same manner as it is now except that certain community-wide grants which we offer (John Howard Society, Victorian Order of Nurses, Dawson Boys Club) would no longer fall in the hands of the Federation but in the United Appeal. In order to take advantage of this option, it would become necessary for us to drop the "Federation" from our title since the object of the total merger of federations is in the area of fund raising and planning, hence the optional title "Catholic Community Services." The terms of this option would be essentially the same terms that we now enjoy with the Federated Appeal, that is, guaranteed funding, a guaranteed increase, guaranteed planning and budgeting, etc.

In terms of delivery of services to our constituents, it appears that this option would be the most ideal for our situation. We would still maintain control over our budgeting and planning but, at the same time, would tie into the overall planning and facilities offered by the United Appeal. In a sense, this option would answer the needs expressed by our agencies in attempting to fulfill their service mandate. It would also allow us to continue our mandate to the English Catholic community and maintain ourselves as the primary Catholic organization in Montreal and at the same time be part of the Federated Appeal.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>12</sup>Ad Hoc Committee Report of the Federation, submitted on April 28, 1971.

The option was rejected by the majority of the Executive Committee of the FAGM, which was prepared to proceed with the overall objectives of the entire merger, including social planning, budgeting and fund raising. The rejection of the Federation's request implied that the FAGM would proceed without the Federation's full participation. If so, the Federation would be given a special status such as that of the Allied Jewish Community Services of Montreal and the Red Cross Society, to which a certain percentage of the funds from the annual Federated Appeal would be allocated.

The FAGM's rejection of the Federation's option proposal also implied that English federations did not accept the proposal of restructuring the service delivery systems among English-speaking federations. The rationale for such a move was based on the intent of establishing a service delivery system on a linguistic basis.

At this point, the Federation had exhausted all its available strategies for delaying the total merger process. Simply, it could not legitimately resist the process unless it was prepared to resume the total responsibility for conducting fund raising campaigns alone. Such a move was not only impractical, but would not be considered wise in the eyes of donors or the general public at this time. That is, the Federation could not go against the trend in private social welfare practice. The private sector would restructure all service delivery systems, creating or assuming major responsibilities for providing services that would not be

covered by public policies. At the same time, it would adjust and develop community resources in an economical manner.

In this sociopolitical and economic atmosphere, the Federation had to surrender some of its powers to the FAGM. The Federation capitulated, signing the Memorandum of Agreement between the FAGM and its founding members on August 18, 1971. It read:

Founding members of FAGM agree to request the Board of Directors of Federated Appeal to alter its by-laws, that it would be able to assume the responsibility not only for the raising of funds but also for the planning and budgeting for the welfare services in the Greater Montreal area under the following conditions:

1. Red Cross Society out.
2. 55% French-speaking rising to 65% in five years -- on the Board and Executive committee.
3. Change of name FAGM to CENTRAIDE.<sup>13</sup>

This concluded the first stage of the Federation's strategy aimed at maintaining its status quo and fulfilling its mandate from the English Catholic community of providing social welfare and other cultural and educational services that would preserve or protect the identity of the ethnic group or community.

In any event, it was inevitable that the Federation join the total merger process. This situation was shrewdly appraised by Brian O'Neil, who was the President of the Federation at this time. He expressed his concern over the matter at the meeting of the Board of Directors of the Federation which was held on September 29, 1971 as follows:

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<sup>13</sup>The Memorandum Agreement made between the FAGM and founding members of FAGM on August 18, 1971.



It is, however, my belief that the proper course for this federation is a merger with the other federations because, apart from the fact that it would mean a waste of resources, if we do not join, the other federations will go on without us and we have no means whatsoever to continue on our own.<sup>14</sup>

O'Neil's comments were a realistic evaluation of the situation at this time; in that the Federation could not isolate itself from the mainstream of social welfare policy development. Conducting an independent fund raising campaign and operating a social service network totally on a sectarian basis would have been impossible at this time. The community at large simply could not reverse the trend, even if it had tried to do so. As a matter of fact, the Board of Directors of the Federation and its staff were concerned about whether the Federation would be left out of the total merger. The Federation was in a bind at this time; it was not willing to surrender to the merger process, but at the same time, it knew that it could not survive without joining it.

This concern was also expressed at the Board of Directors' meeting held on January 27, 1972, the minutes of which read:

The Board wished to find out if our Federation was well enough protected and Dr. Norris and Mr. O'Neil replied that there was no danger of our being left out since they contract our services.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>14</sup>Minutes of the Federation's Board of Directors' meeting, September 29, 1971.

<sup>15</sup>Minutes of the Board of Directors' meeting, January 27, 1972.

The President, Mr. O'Neil, and the Executive Director, Dr. Norris, were confident that the FAGM would not retaliate against the resistance and delaying tactics displayed by the Federation, simply because the Federation was offering modern computer accounting services to the FAGM as part of a plan of mutual cooperation for servicing the community as a whole.

In the meantime, the FAGM was making continuous progress in its endeavour to achieve the total merger. For example, at its annual meeting held on November 29, 1972, the FAGM reported its progress as follows. It was unanimously resolved:

... that the Directors of this corporation be and they are hereby authorized to apply for Supplementary Letters Patent amending the powers of the corporation by replacing paragraphs a) to e) inclusive of its Letters Patent by the following paragraphs:

a) to unite as much as possible into one annual campaign to be conducted by the corporation all financial appeals and campaigns which are now or which may in the future be conducted on the Island of Montreal and surrounding regions by corporations or by benevolent, charitable and welfare federations, agencies or by other non-profit organizations carrying out social services;

b) to solicit, raise and collect funds for the works and services of the corporation and of all such federations, agencies and other organizations which are or may become beneficiaries of the corporation, subject to such agreement, if any, as have been or may be entered into from time to time by the corporation with all or any of the foregoing federations, agencies and organizations;

c) to establish its own benevolent, charitable and welfare services and take over those maintained by such federations, agencies and other organizations;

d) to assume the responsibility for the administration of the funds so raised and collected and to plan and to draw up budgets for the services of the corporation, subject to such agreements, if any, as have been or may be entered into from time to time by the Corporation with all or any of the foregoing federations, agencies and organizations;

e) to allocate and distribute the funds so raised and collected among the Corporation and all or part of its members for their respective services;

f) to assist in the promotion of orderly, efficient and rational development of all public and private social services;

g) to inform the public of the services and objectives of the corporation and of the participating organizations and to stimulate support for its works ....<sup>16</sup>

These resolutions embraced all the functions and activities traditionally maintained by individual federations and agencies in the Greater Montreal area. The undertaking of such responsibilities by the FAGM would force the Federation and other founding members of the FAGM to surrender all their major functions to the Corporation or FAGM. In other words, this move created a drastic situation in which the rationale for the continuing existence of federations was destroyed.

However, according to the Federation's interpretation, the proposed objectives did not include any activities which related to the cultural and sectarian aspects of service delivery. In the Catholic situation, the sectarian aspect is crucial to overall program development and the service delivery system and cannot be neglected. As a matter of fact, this issue became a focal point in the overall merger process and determined the attitude adopted after the merger agreement was completed. For example, the issue of Catholic values and English rights became a major debate at the Board of

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<sup>16</sup> Resolutions of the FAGM adopted on November 29, 1972.

Directors' meeting held on March 7, 1974. At the meeting it was pointed out that:

Certain programs like family life, for instance, should be organized by Catholics outside of the FAGM under the Bishop's Advisory Council or others. Mr. Brooks feels strongly that we should preserve the rights of our English speaking community. Mr. Blateau is suggesting that the federation should take the means and consider ways and means of regrouping their assets and people so that we do maintain under the nucleus the services with truly Catholic values that we believe are worth preserving.<sup>17</sup>

It was the firmly expressed opinion of the Board that it should go along with the total merger agreement but at the same time preserve, somehow, the Catholic values and the sectarian aspects of the service delivery system. For this very purpose, the Federation planned to form a Catholic organization or foundation to which all assets and sectarian oriented services would be transferred. This would take place at the occasion of the signing of the total merger agreement.

The Federation resolved:

- 1) That in order to protect and preserve the assets of the Federation, it pass a by-law, to be effective at the date of such merger or such other date as may later be determined appropriate, changing its name to Catholic Community Service Foundation;
- 2) That the Directors of the Federation apply for Letters Patent for a new social service agency to be called "Catholic Community Services Inc.," which after incorporation will operate all the services now operated by the Federation and become an agency of the Federated Appeal;
- 3) That the said foundation as soon as appropriate,
  - a) transfer to the new agency its right to operate

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<sup>17</sup> Minutes of the Board of Directors' meeting, March 7, 1974.

all the services now operated by the Federation,  
b) transfer to the new agency all the Federation's  
operating funds but no capital funds;

4) That the Directors of the Federation and the Directors  
of the new agency be one and the same.<sup>18</sup>

The idea of going into the FAGM as an agency was not  
accepted by the majority of the Board of the FAGM, which did  
not think such a format was a merger.

In dealing with this issue, the FAGM made a final demand  
on the individual federations by issuing the following state-  
ment on April 25, 1974:

The Merger Committee recommends that every federation  
prepared to merge should sign a statement by which it  
would give to the Federated Appeal Board the entire  
responsibility of budget planning and administration  
now still lodged with individual federations, such a  
transfer of authority at board and staff level for  
both monetary and human resources. This should be  
done before June 1, 1974, and become effective as the  
Board of the FAGM decides and provides mechanisms for  
making the resolution administratively possible.<sup>19</sup>

The Federation finally accepted the format proposed by  
the Merger Committee to terminate all its functions and  
operations except the administration of legacies, endowments  
and buildings. At the same time, it proposed that the newly  
established foundation be permitted to distribute funds as it  
saw fit, except to agencies of the FAGM. But this did not  
meet with the approval of the FAGM, which insisted that funds

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<sup>18</sup> Minutes of the Board of Directors' meeting of the  
Federation, March 7, 1974.

<sup>19</sup> Statements made by the Merger Committee of FAGM,  
April 25, 1974.

only be distributed through or with the consent of the FAGM. The FAGM finally agreed to add a clause to the merger agreement to the effect that such consent would not be unreasonably withheld.

The final merger agreement was formally signed by all the founding members of the FAGM on September 25, 1974. The main objective of the total merger was that the FAGM and the corporations respect the transfer to the FAGM of the corporations' powers and responsibilities of budgeting, planning and administration of funds collected by the FAGM. The merger agreement also stipulated that:

The members, federations, covenant and agree that the foundations or other similar organizations to be created by the members or, as the case may be, the members, will not, in any way whatsoever, create agencies or services or distribute any sum to any agency, foundation, service or individual, otherwise than through or with the consent of the FAGM, which consent shall not be unreasonably withheld and that such foundations, organizations or members will make available their respective annual financial statements to the FAGM no later than six months after the expiry date of their respective financial years.

FAGM is to provide an equitable service to all groups of the community of the Island of Montreal and its surroundings.

FAGM is to assure the planning of the activities of agencies and services under the jurisdiction of FAGM.

At the date hereof, the Board of Directors of FAGM consists of thirty (30) members and may be increased or decreased hereafter, provided that at all times, two-thirds (2/3) of its members be francophones and one-third (1/3) anglophones, i.e. persons operating in the French or English milieu, as the case may be and possessing an extensive knowledge of the milieu which they represent and a thorough command of its language.

The Executive Committee of the Board of Directors of FAGM and its Nominating Committee shall also consist of two-thirds (2/3) of francophones and one-third (1/3) anglophones.<sup>20</sup>

Signing the merger agreement had very serious consequences for the Federation. Its powers of domestic planning, budgeting, fund raising and administration had been transferred to FAGM. These functions were traditionally carried out by the Federation for its ethnic communal welfare institutions whose sectarian service delivery included Catholic teachings and the traditional cultural values of Catholics. The sectarian programs were developed and mobilized by the church, lay leaders and volunteer workers. Participation in the processes of resource development and service provision for Catholic constituents by the Catholic population adhered to the teaching and tenets of the Catholic Church.

The transfer of all its service activities to the non-sectarian community organization of the FAGM created a serious identity crisis for the Catholic community leaders, especially those who were actively involved in the operation of the Federation. This was shown by the Federation's reluctance to surrender its essential operational powers or functions to the FAGM. The Federation also demonstrated its resistance by its various delaying tactics and its strategies to obtain a special status with the FAGM, maintaining all its traditional functions, except fund raising, while enjoying the privilege

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<sup>20</sup> Merger Agreement signed between FAGM and individual federations or members, September 25, 1974, at Montreal.

of receiving funds through joint campaigns. Mr. Sweeney has elaborated on the importance of having independent sectarian services unique to the Catholic organization. This need for independence was one of the main reasons why the Catholic community demonstrated so much resistance to the merger process which eliminated the sectarian element. He says:

We, the clergy members, lay leaders and volunteers became one voice to maintain sectarian services by our Catholic institution. The Catholic institution or the Federation somehow carried out its social mission in preserving Catholic values in connection with family life, family planning and Catholic culture in a Catholic milieu. The Federation was also a special instrument through which individual Catholics were given an opportunity to practise the religious life through actual commitment to the work of Catholic charity. Through actual involvement in communal welfare work and participation in the problem solving processes for our neighbours, we enjoyed having a variety of group meetings and working towards common goals. Such participation in community affairs gave us a sense of unity and social solidarity. We experienced a sense of strong inner cohesion during the course of merger negotiations with other federations.<sup>21</sup>

Intensive intra-group communication, through which the Catholic community members experienced a sense of inner cohesion and solidarity, took place in the course of trying to maintain its ethnic identity and ethnic institutions. The English-speaking Catholic community pulled together to confront the inevitable reality of the merger agreement, in which the majority element would be francophones who would control the affairs of the FAGM. The merger agreement also meant the certain loss of sectarian service.

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<sup>21</sup> Interview with Mr. Sweeney.



1 The persistence of the Federation in trying to hold onto its identity and to maintain its traditional function continued even after the merger agreement was signed. For this, we will examine how the Federation maneuvered in the situation.

The Foundation, Catholic Community Services and Centraide (FAGM)

As a way of complying partially with the principles laid out in the merger agreement, the Federation changed its name from the Federation of Catholic Community Services to the Foundation of Catholic Community Services. Hereinafter, the name of the Federation shall be replaced by the Foundation. The underlying purposes of creating CCS were:

- a) The Federation ceased to exist as a Federation in terms of the provision of direct services and coordination activities.
- b) The newly created organization changed only the name to The Foundation, is to assume a trusteeship role over those properties, funds, and allocate funds to only Catholic organizations.
- c) The new organization of Catholic Community Services (CCS) is to assume responsibilities on direct services or "sectarian" social welfare programs not incorporated either into Ville Marie Social Service Centre or Centraide.
- d) The communal organization role of the Federation was not immediately assumed by the Foundation. Later, as we shall see, the English-speaking Catholic Council assumed this role.

e) Throughout this period, those persons connected with the Foundation defended the "fiction" (the undiscussed assumption) that they were simply a continuation of the Federation with a name changed, reduced budget, and restructured Board.

Accordingly, the service agency of Catholic Community Services was created by the Foundation. This agency would be operated by the Foundation and would become an agency of the FAGM for funding purposes.

The Federation also changed its by-laws to limit its directors from 24 to 7. It was determined that:

General membership must be any person representative of the English speaking Catholic community and who resides and has employment within the Diocese of Montreal.

The Board of Directors may not alienate the immovable capital assets having a value of more than \$75,000, nor may it dispense a grant other than income from the Corporation.

Grants of funds may be made to any bona fide registered charitable or other registered social welfare agency or group of the Diocese of Montreal.

Recognizing that the Corporation has heretofore operated as a social welfare agency for the English speaking Catholic community of the Diocese of Montreal, a function now performed by Catholic Community Services (CCS), priority shall be given to the needs and requests of CCS, after the needs of the corporation.<sup>22</sup>

The major thrust of the changed by-laws were contrary to the spirit of the merger agreement in that the Foundation created the CCS as well as distributed funds or grants to

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<sup>22</sup> New by-laws of the FCCS, amended May 20, 1975.

Catholic organizations. Furthermore, the Foundation is the only founding member of the FAGM which violates the merger agreement by maintaining its traditional functions, collecting funds through gifts and endowments and distributing them to Catholic agencies, while all the other founding members transferred to the FAGM their affiliated agencies and funds derived from investments and real estate assets.

Mr. Sweeney, a former comptroller of the Federation in the 1960s and 1970s and the vice-chairman for the annual campaigns of the Federation in the 1950s, observed:

Losing the powers and identity of the Federation created a serious identity crisis, particularly among the English speaking Catholics trying to survive as an ethnic community in the midst of the large majority of francophones and other ethnic communities. Losing the Federation and its functions meant a serious suffering, at least in retaining the ethnicity and social status of individual members of the community who identified with the Federation so strongly. Historically, the English speaking Catholics in Montreal have been proud of their contributions and achievements attained through the network of community institutions of which the Federation was a leader. It symbolized power and prestige for those who were actively involved in the operation of the FCCS. It also received steady and sound support from the Church and the community as a whole. This is why the Catholic community leaders would not surrender the institution so readily, notwithstanding the merger agreement with Centraide.<sup>23</sup>

The effort to retain its traditional functions and to preserve Catholic identity noted by Mr. Sweeney is confirmed by another strategy of the Foundation which was designed to transfer both its social service functions and the merger agreement with the FAGM to the newly created Catholic

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<sup>23</sup> Interview with Mr. Sweeney, July 25, 1986.

Community Services. The service agreement was as follows:

1. The Foundation of Catholic Community Services transfers, cedes and assigns to the Catholic Community Services all its rights, titles and interests, previously held in the contract between itself and the Federated Appeal of Greater Montreal;

2. Catholic Community Services hereby accepts the transfer, cession and assignment of the aforesaid contract in consideration of the payment by it to the Foundation of Catholic Community Services of the sum of one dollar (\$1.00) and other valuable considerations;

3. Catholic Community Services accepts to fulfill all of the obligations and duties imposed upon it by the agreement, to the complete exoneration of the Foundation of Catholic Community Services.<sup>24</sup>

The members of the Board of Directors of the CCS were the same members as those of the Foundation. The Executive Director of the CCS was also a part-time manager for the Foundation. In effect, the CCS was completely managed by the Foundation.

The above organizational arrangement resulted in Centraide (FAGM) assuming the responsibility for funding the CCS and controlling the overall operation of the CCS, controlling the CCS by Centraide in terms of annual budget, staff, and program contents. This meant that the CCS became a member agency of Centraide which has sole control and power in overall operations of CCS. The Board will function as a caretaker or supervising day-to-day operations without tangible power.

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<sup>24</sup> Service agreement signed between the FCCS and the CCS on September 25, 1975 at Montreal.

To sum up, the Federation entered into the merger agreement with other federations. It joined the merger, albeit passively and reluctantly, because of pressure exerted by political, economic and social processes taking place at this time. In this transition period the retention of ethnic identity and preservation of traditional values and culture played a significant role. This was shown by persistent efforts and constant changes in overall strategies for delaying the merger processes as well as the attempts to attain a special status within the FAGM, maintaining the powers of social planning, budgeting, and administration, while still receiving funds from joint campaigns. Although the Directors of the Federation strove to maintain the Federation's traditional function of servicing English Catholic ethnic groups with sectarian oriented programs, ultimately they failed. As a result, the following changes were made in name, structure, scope, funding sources and functions:

- 1) The Federation entered into the total merger with Centraide which obliged the Federation to transfer its traditional functions of social planning, budgeting, fund raising and administration. However, it created the service agency of the CCS to which all functions were assigned. At the same time, the CCS would be funded by Centraide.
- 2) To protect the assets for the English Catholic community, the Federation changed its name to Foundation of Catholic Community Services and by-laws. This would allow the Foundation to control real estate assets as well as to

receive endowments and bequests, and to distribute funds to only Catholic organizations.

Substantial changes in the Foundation occurred in terms of its scope and official functions in accordance with the merger agreement. These were primarily caused by factors external to the Catholic community. However, the Foundation still maintains its historical functions on a limited basis, serving Catholics or encouraging Catholic organizations to provide sectarian services which preserve Catholic values and traditional culture. The element of ethnicity played an important role in attaining these objectives. Resistance to such changes enhanced intra-group communications, resulting in concerted action for common goals and purposes. As a result, a sense of inner cohesion and solidarity was attained by the ethnic community.

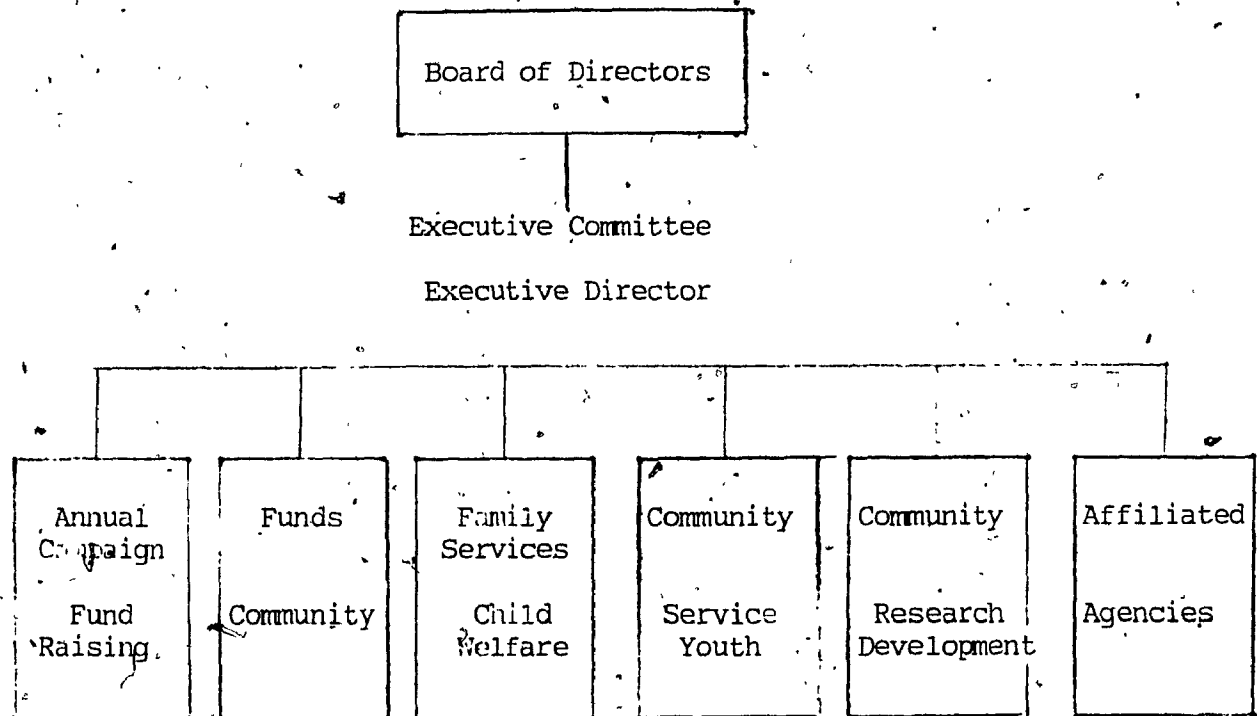
The following charts will show the changes in structure:

Table 11

Structural Changes Before and After  
Being Merged With Centraide Montreal

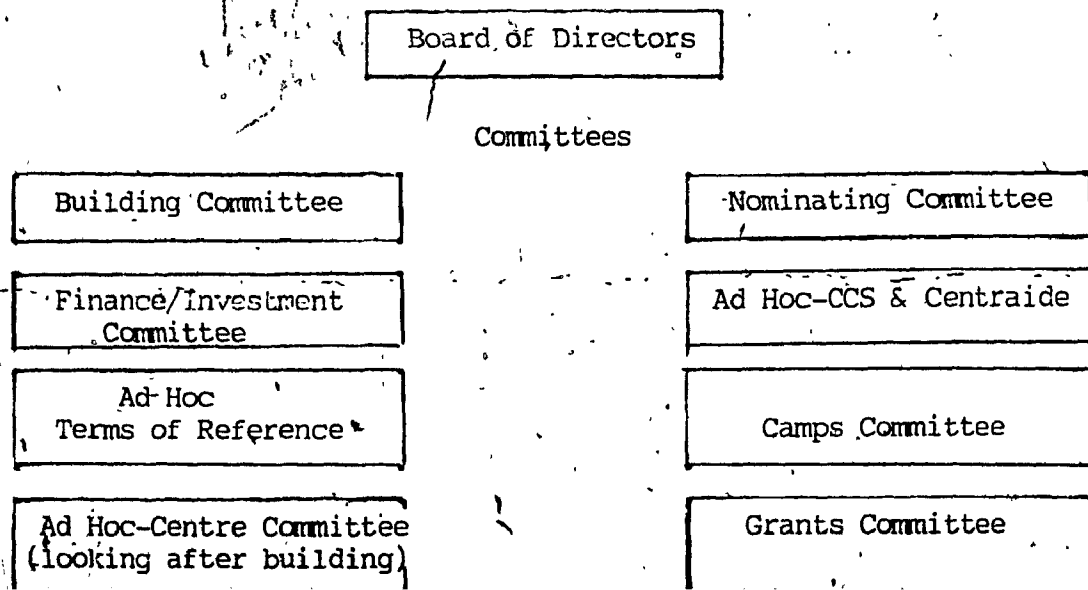
Before the merger with Centraide Montreal:

Federation of Catholic Community Services Inc.



After the merger with Centraide Montreal:

Foundation of Catholic Community Services



The major characteristics of the structures are reflected in the functions of the Federation before and after it merged with Centraide. Before the merger, the Board of Directors had ultimate power over all service functions and had a larger scope and service structure with direct sources of funds. After the merger, drastic changes occurred at all levels. The post-merger structure is characterized by committees which function without direct service or professional and volunteer workers.

The Post-Merger Period: 1974-1986

During the period of 1974-1986, both Centraide and the Foundation have attempted to observe or implement the responsibilities and obligations stated in the merger agreement signed on September 25, 1974. Centraide has defined its objectives and functions in a more elaborate manner. Centraide's publicity material states that:

Centraide is a representative voluntary agency. Volunteers are responsible for all facets of Centraide's operations. Its board of directors and all of its committees are composed of volunteers who are representative of the community: francophones, anglophones, allophones. Monies received are allocated regardless of the language, race or religion of the beneficiaries.<sup>26</sup>

In a brief submitted to the Commission of Inquiry into Municipalities, Centraide also stated:

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<sup>25</sup>The Grants Committee was eliminated on September 29, 1986 in anticipation of the agreement with Centraide -- different funding philosophy.

<sup>26</sup>"A Close-Up View," Centraide Montreal, 1986.



In terms of this fundamental principle of citizen participation, specifically in the field of social services, simply stated, Centraide's mission is to promote, in the human care services sector, the organized capacity of people to care for one another. Indeed, Centraide feels that a society cannot flourish unless its citizens participate intensively in its development.<sup>27</sup>

The same brief elaborates its achievement of mobilizing human resources of 26,000 volunteers to raise \$18 million in 1986. The proceeds of this campaign were used to finance 180 agencies serving the population of Greater Montreal.

Centraide fulfills its responsibilities in accordance with the merger agreement in terms of fund raising, budgeting, planning and the provision of services on a non-sectarian basis. It also involves a substantial number of volunteers in this endeavour. In these activities, the representatives and volunteers from the English Catholic community are also involved at all levels of operation.

Meanwhile the Foundation preserved some of the traditional functions of the former Federation by distributing funds to Catholic Community Services and other Catholic organizations without prior permission from Centraide. Strictly speaking, this violated the principles laid out in the merger agreement.

In 1980, Centraide protested these violations by the Foundation. This incident took place when the Foundation provided renovation funds for camps operated by the CCS. This would automatically increase the annual budget for the CCS.

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<sup>27</sup>"Brief Submitted to the Commission of Inquiry into Municipalities," Centraide Montreal, June 19, 1986, p. 4.

At the same time, Centraide listed other irregular practices of the Foundation such as its board's control of the affairs of the CCS. The Executive Director of the CCS also served the Foundation as a part-time manager. Sam Ducharme, former President and present Director of the Foundation summarizes the uncooperative relationship between Centraide and the Foundation:

Centraide suggested we sever our existing relationship with the CCS. Centraide was not happy with our way of conducting business with the CCS. They were not happy because the Foundation board also managed the CCS and the Executive Director of the CCS also worked for the Foundation. As well, we donated funds to the CCS and other Catholic organizations without having a prior agreement with Centraide. In any event, we wanted to control our own affairs and support our Catholic institutions. This would protect our interest in providing services for the preservation of Catholic values and our Catholic groups. This is why our agency exists. Otherwise, there would be no purpose or goals for the Foundation. In dealing with these matters, Centraide made several verbal threats to sever their relationship with us or break the merger agreement. They asked us to separate our affairs from those of the CCS.<sup>28</sup>

Ducharme's assessment of the situation with Centraide is echoed in the Foundation minutes of October 4, 1979. The debate on the issues of preserving Catholic values by serving the Catholic constituency and the Foundation's commitment to the English Catholic community arose once again in this meeting:

Centraide would prefer the Foundation to look after the building and the CCS to negotiate a fair annual rental. On the question of donations, to keep in the spirit of the merger agreement, any distribution of funds by the

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<sup>28</sup> Interview with Sam Ducharme, December 9, 1986.

Foundation should first be cleared with Centraide. Centraide feels that all income to be distributed by the Foundation should either be turned over to the CCS or to Centraide; otherwise complete segregation of the CCS and the FCCS would be necessary.

It must be noted that the Foundation is a sectarian organization whose aim is to look after the needs of the English Catholic community and is the only source of assistance for small parish groups who appeal to the Foundation for funding after refusal from Centraide.<sup>29</sup>

As a way of getting around the problem of donations, the Board member, Mr. Macklem, suggested that:

A regular annual donation to the CCS to cover whatever CCS services are being provided to the Foundation might be a possible solution and that the Foundation could report to Centraide from time to time on donations so long as these are within agreed limits of up to \$15,000-\$20,000. For programs calling for larger funding, Centraide could be consulted.<sup>30</sup>

The minutes show that throughout this entire meeting, the Board could not come up with a clear-cut decision on how to deal with the imminent issue except to agree that the Board recognize the necessity of having more communication and cooperation with Centraide.

On the occasion of its annual budget allocation presentation, Centraide gave final notice to the CCS, advising a complete segregation of administrative control by the Foundation. Otherwise, Centraide would withdraw from its relationship with the CCS and the Foundation completely.

To deal with this urgent situation, an Executive Committee meeting was held between the CCS and Centraide. It

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<sup>29</sup> Minutes of the FCCS, October 4, 1979.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid.

was reported to the Foundation in summarized fashion as follows:

Mr. Phelan stated that a special meeting of CCS's Executive Committee had taken place on March 13, 1980. After having viewed the Centraide document and considered the options available, the Executive Committee's preliminary recommendations were to the effect that it was premature to withdraw from Centraide at this time and embark on a private campaign; that an appeal process provided for under Centraide's by-laws be initiated immediately, calling for the reconsideration of the decision; and that negotiations with respect to a new agreement would be done in good faith through counsel.<sup>31</sup>

On April 1, 1980, Mr. Phelan called a meeting between Centraide and the Foundation. Centraide requested a complete and distinct separation of the Foundation from the CCS, with separate management in terms of staff and boards.

To resolve this problem, the Foundation held two board meetings. But once again, it resolved to maintain its practice of managing the CCS and the monies it received from bequests and endowments. It was especially firm about having independence in controlling its income. The Board expressed its decision as follows:

The Board of the Foundation is conscious of our social responsibility to the broader English Catholic community whose resources and assets we manage, in which the Foundation is and must remain independent in the control of its assets and the monies resulting from the assets.<sup>32</sup>

The Board resolved to meet with Centraide to discuss how this resolution could be accommodated.

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<sup>31</sup> Minutes of the FCCS, March 26, 1980.

<sup>32</sup> Minutes of the FCCS, November 18, 1980.

On March 27, 1981, a special meeting between Centraide and the Foundation was called. Centraide was represented by John Gallop, George Holland, and Jean Lessard, while the Foundation was represented by Andy Fogarty and Jim Kennedy.

It was agreed that the Foundation would separate the business affairs and administration of the Foundation and the CCS. It was also agreed that the Foundation would receive prior permission from Centraide should any funds be provided to the CCS. At the joint meeting it was also concluded that Centraide would enter into a special contract with the CCS, which would allow the CCS to provide special cultural and sectarian services to the Catholic Community. These resolutions were confirmed by the following letter sent to the Foundation by Centraide and by Centraide's contract with the CCS.

On April 3, 1981, Jean Lessard, President and General Manager of Centraide, wrote to the Foundation as follows:

I think we have completed major steps towards the conclusion of a satisfactory working arrangement between your Foundation and Centraide.

I would like to express our satisfaction with respect to the separation of affairs and administration between your Foundation and the CCS agency. I hope all remaining items will be resolved to the satisfaction of all parties in the very near future. I think it will be for the benefit of all that these matters be clarified and well separated.

We understand that any financing provided by your Foundation to the CCS agency will be agreed in advance by the agency and Centraide.

We also recognize that the effective management of assets of your Foundation is your responsibility and that you will continue assuming the task of

maintaining the assets entrusted to you by the donors.

As we mentioned during our meeting, we would like to achieve a satisfactory working arrangement on the use of income deriving from the assets of the Foundation. It is our understanding that you will provide us with a proposal for a policy on the use of income for the next meeting of our group on Friday, April 24th.<sup>33</sup>

In the meanwhile, a separate contract between the CCS and Centraide was entered into effective April 2, 1981, under the title of "Centraide Montreal Affiliation Agreement."

The agreement states that Centraide will solely conduct annual campaigns for fund raising for the CCS. This includes budgeting, planning, and administration. The Board of the CCS is authorized to manage and supervise overall program development and service delivery activities. This agreement seeks mutual respect and cooperation in achieving the goals, set out by both Centraide and the CCS, for providing adequate social service programs to the community.

Centraide also recognizes the particular sectarian and cultural aspects unique to a Catholic organization like the CCS. The major characteristics of the agreement are as follows:

The parties hereto recognize the particular nature of the CCS and its traditional role of serving primarily the English speaking Catholic community of Greater Montreal and in this context, acknowledge this cultural and sectarian focus of CCS programs and services which are to be promoted and encouraged to expand and develop within that self-same community.

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<sup>33</sup>Letter sent to the FCGS by Jean Lessard, April 3, 1981.

1) Centraide has the exclusive right to conduct community-wide fund raising campaigns for the operating expenses of affiliated agencies;

2) It is agreed that CCS shall be recognized as an Agency with an administrative structure and that Centraide shall fund the reasonable costs of that structure, as determined by Centraide in its budget allocations;

3) On or before December 15th or any other date which may be determined by Centraide, the Agency will provide Centraide with its budget estimates, as per Centraide forms. Centraide and the Agency will participate in joint consideration of the specific needs for the operating budget requested. The Agency will receive from Centraide a periodic apportionment of funds based on the results of the analysis of the operating budget of the Agency;

4) The monies received from Centraide will be used for the purposes and in the way described in the operating budget as approved by Centraide. The changes or variations which have an impact on the approved budget can be made without the prior written consent of Centraide.

5) The Agency will make every effort to elect a representative to the board of directors. A maximum of two (2) salaried employees of the Agency including the Executive Director may be members of the board at any time. In any case, the quorum at board and executive meetings shall be a majority of unpaid directors. The board must convene at least four (4) times per year;

6) The Agency will make no change in allocation of its income or will undertake no new types of service or substantial expansion of service which might result in an immediate or future increase of Centraide's grants to the Agency except with prior approval of Centraide. The Agency may seek financing from other sources subject to prior approval by Centraide.

7) The Agency will keep complete and regular books of account, open to inspection by a representative of Centraide at all reasonable times;

8) The Agency will file with Centraide no later than four months after the end of each fiscal year a copy of its annual financial statements, certified by an auditor, describing the assets held by the Agency;

9) In the event that Centraide decides to reduce or terminate funds with respect to particular agency programs and services for any reason, said reduction or termination shall not be put into effect without prior negotiation as to phase-out with CCS. At the same time, Centraide shall ear-mark the funds thus affected for the specific account of CCS to be held for other or additional CCS programs if and when approved by Centraide within the fiscal year concerned. No program or service offered by CCS shall be subjected to cut-back or cancellation by Centraide for the sole reason that said program or service has a cultural or sectarian character;

10) CCS undertakes and agrees to keep its affairs separate and distinct from those of the Foundation of Catholic Community Services and shall, moreover, keep Centraide fully informed of transactions between them, and shall not accept funding from FCCS, without prior notice to Centraide. Furthermore, Centraide reserves the right to terminate this Agreement on 12 months' notice in the event that Centraide fails to conclude an agreement with FCCS in respect of the Application of the 1974 merger Agreement;

11) In the event that either party does not respect the terms and conditions of this contract the other party may notify said party of its intention to terminate the Agreement 30 days thereafter.<sup>34</sup>

The main thrust of this Agreement is that Centraide would have complete control over the budgeting, domestic planning, fund raising and administration of the CCS. It forces the CCS to conclude an agreement with the Foundation and Centraide in relation to the handling of the Foundation's income. For the above, the CCS would become an agency of Centraide as well as receive the rights to provide cultural and sectarian services that are unique to Catholic populations.

From this contract, we see that Centraide made

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<sup>34</sup> Centraide Montreal Affiliation Agreement between Centraide and CCS, April 2, 1981.



substantial compromises in allowing the CCS to provide sectarian services, which is contrary to the main principles of Centraide. In a way, this is the most important aspect which was sought by the Foundation. This meant that the Foundation succeeded in securing the financial sources of the CCS. For these gains the Foundation surrendered its control over the CCS to Centraide. Regarding the cultural and sectarian aspects of Catholic social service programs, Mr. McConomy, then the President of the CCS, stated:

We had to fight for certain Catholic aspects for our clients. In depth counseling services on family planning and family life, for example, are important issues which cannot be compromised in any shape or form. However, this does not mean we refuse services to non-Catholics. By all means, we will respect the main objectives of Centraide in serving Montreal citizens without discriminating against their ethnic or religious background. But, we have particular cultural values and principles that must be preserved for our Catholic clients.<sup>35</sup>

In order to resolve the outstanding issue of control over income or fund distribution, another meeting was held between Centraide and the Foundation. This took place on April 24, 1981. At this meeting, it was agreed that the Foundation would draw up a proposal and forward it to Centraide for consideration. On May 13, 1981, a proposal was sent to Centraide with the following letter:

As agreed at our meeting of April 24, 1981, we have set out on the attached an expanded description of the responsibilities of our Foundation insofar as the management of its affairs is concerned.

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<sup>35</sup> Interview with R. McConomy, November 11, 1986.

This flows from the basic requirement that our Foundation must have complete control over its affairs, assets, and income as further emphasized by a unanimous resolution of our Board at its meeting of November 11, 1980.

To reiterate, our Foundation is the outgrowth of 50 years of work and funding by our community and it follows that the Foundation's first line of responsibility must be to that same English Catholic community, and since Catholic Community Service is an Agency serving that community, it goes without saying that it will continue to receive priority consideration by our Board.

We would like to feel that you understand that the Foundation of Catholic Community Services is not unmindful of its responsibilities to the total community and we can add to that that we can assure you of its earnest desire, and intention, to work together with you in a spirit of close harmony and cooperation. We trust for the greater good of all concerned.<sup>36</sup>

The proposal attached was as follows:

For the consideration of the needs of the English speaking Catholic community, the Foundation will have the right to manage the affairs of the Foundation, its assets and its income.

For the consideration of the needs of Catholic Community Services, it is understood that any financing provided to this agency would be agreed to in advance by Catholic Community Services and Centraide.

For the consideration of the needs of Centraide, it is understood, however, that the Foundation will not provide direct financing to any agency of Centraide without such financing being agreed to, in advance, by Centraide.

For the consideration of the needs of other community organizations or groups, having particular regard for Centraide's area of concern and responsibility, the Foundation will have a close liaison with Centraide as it is not the intention of the Foundation to become involved with groups, or situations, which would work at cross purposes to the best interests of the total community and/or of Centraide.<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>36</sup> Letter to Jean Lessard, President and General Manager of Centraide from R. G. Brooks, President of the FCCS, on May 13, 1981, Montreal.

<sup>37</sup> A proposal forwarded to Centraide by the FCCS on May 13, 1981, located at the FCCS, Montreal.

The above proposal demonstrated that the Foundation was still insisting on having control over its management, including assets, income, and allocation of funds. This was again contradictory to the agreement made during the discussions between the two parties on April 3, 1981. Centraide did not retreat at all and came back to the same issue in the following letter to the Foundation:

I would like to make a review of the steps completed and those remaining to be completed in order to achieve a satisfactory working arrangement between your Foundation and Centraide.

As stated in my letter April 3, 1981, we had completed our discussions on the management of affairs and assets of your Foundation and we had a clear understanding of each party's responsibilities.

The major area of concern has to do with the use of income of your Foundation. In order to make a further step toward an arrangement, I would like to propose a few guidelines as the basis for discussion.

Centraide could agree to a proposition whereby the income of your Foundation would be used to respond to the following needs:

- 1) Firstly, the needs of Catholic Community Services Agency, any financing provided by your Foundation to this Agency being agreed to in advance by the Agency and Centraide.

- 2) Secondly, the needs of Centraide's other agencies, through Centraide according to its criteria and priorities, as stated at this time in our New Report on Priorities Approved by the Board of Centraide on May 25, 1981.

- 3) And thirdly, the needs of the English Catholic community.

I understand we will also have to discuss the quotas and the process by which relations between your Foundation and Centraide should be made.

I hope this proposition can serve as the basis for achieving a satisfactory working arrangement for the

implementation of Articles 3 and 4 of the 1974 Merger Agreement in terms of transferring all rights on fund raising, budgeting, social planning, and administration to Centraide.<sup>38</sup>

It would seem that a final breakthrough was made by the above proposal which gave the right to the Foundation to control its affairs and income with the exception that it must receive, in advance, consent from Centraide when funds were distributed to Catholic Community Services and the agencies or community groups of Centraide. That is, Centraide was ready to accept the position taken by the Foundation as described in the following letter of December 14, 1981, from the Foundation to Centraide:

We wish to acknowledge your letter of November 9, 1981, which reviews the elements of our written and oral communications. We are encouraged that there is mutual agreement that the assets and management of the business affairs of the Foundation rests exclusively with the Foundation's Board of Directors.

As we have discussed on several occasions, the providing, maintaining, and improving of these physical capital assets are a responsibility taken on behalf of the whole English Catholic community. Possible funds derived from these assets are to be used to fulfill this trust.

We are aware of new endeavours of the Catholic Community Services in the English speaking Catholic Community and would be of help for capital expenditure, on assurance that Centraide would approve of the annual operational budget.

Finally, we would see our responsibility to the larger community by an attempt of an annual donation by the Board at campaign time, depending on the finances available at that time.

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<sup>38</sup>Signed by Jean Lessard, President and General Manager of Centraide, November 9, 1981, proposed to the FCCS.

We have struggled at our meetings to reach a workable arrangement with Centraide so that Catholic Community Services would not suffer and that we would maintain the Catholic Community Foundation's responsibility to its very reason for existing.<sup>39</sup>

Following the above letter, a draft of agreement between the Foundation and Centraide was sent to Centraide on May 27, 1982:

Memorandum of Agreement

Recognizing that Centraide was formed by agreement between various groups and individual non-profit organizations operating in the fields of community welfare and social development, to promote, encourage and develop efficient use of community resources to these purposes and to unite as far as possible the financial campaigns of such non-profit organizations.

Recognizing that these aims will only be accomplished by mutual respect, cooperation and support between the individual organizations and Centraide and that such cooperation must arise from the duties and responsibilities of each of the organizations towards each other, the following agreement is freely entered into between Centraide and the Foundation.

The parties agree that the present agreement is contingent upon the existence of a funding contract between Centraide and Catholic Community Services Inc.

The parties hereto recognize the particular nature of Foundation and its time-honored role of serving the English speaking Catholic community of Greater Montreal and in this context, acknowledge that the role of the Foundation with its cultural and religious focus has a duty to support the aims and objectives of Catholic Community Services as well as the needs and aspirations of the English speaking Catholic community.

While respecting the aims and objectives of Centraide as set forth in the 1974 merger agreement, it shall nevertheless be a condition precedent to this agreement that nothing contained herein shall be construed as a

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<sup>39</sup> Letter from P. G. Brooks, past President of the FCCS to Jean Lessard, President and General Manager of Centraide, December 14, 1981.

limitation of the powers of the Board of Directors of the Foundation to make decisions concerning its own funding priorities and to implement same ...

Centraide pledges that it will use its best efforts to achieve its publicly stated purposes and objectives and for its part, the Foundation pledges to do its best to take an active part in the annual campaign.

#### Terms of Agreement

It is agreed that:

- 1) Centraide will continue to exercise its right to conduct community-wide fund raising campaigns for the operating expenses of its affiliated agencies as set forth in the 1974 merger agreement;
- 2) The Foundation undertakes and agrees that it shall make no grants to CCS which will have the effect of increasing the operating budget of CCS, unless said increase is agreed to by Centraide;
- 3) The Foundation, in keeping with the Merger Agreement of 1974, shall not fund other social groups which provide or propose to provide social services unless in the opinion of the Board of Directors of the Foundation, these services do not come within the spectrum of services rendered by Centraide and/or any of its agencies;
- 4) The Foundation shall be at liberty to maintain and improve its assets and to acquire and dispose of assets as the Board of Directors of the Foundation may deem appropriate from time to time;
- 5) The Foundation will provide Centraide no later than four (4) months from the end of each fiscal year, with a copy of its annual financial statement, certified by an auditor, describing the activities of the Foundation as well as its assets;
- 6) The Foundation undertakes to cooperate in the general campaign of Centraide and to contribute thereto according to the availability of funds for that purpose;
- 7) The Foundation undertakes and agrees to keep its affairs separate and distinct from those of the Foundation;
- 8) In the event that either party does not respect the terms and conditions of this contract, the other party

may notify said party of its intention to terminate the agreement 30 days thereafter.<sup>40</sup>

In essence, the position of the Foundation still prevailed in terms of maintaining its autonomy in controlling assets and income. It also reinforced its position by highlighting its obligations to preserve a cultural and religious focus in service delivery to the English speaking Catholic community. For this, the Foundation emphasized its special status, thereby maintaining its autonomy in operating the affairs of the Foundation. At the same time, the Foundation had been cautious about obliging Centraide to continue supporting the CCS. This observation was confirmed by Sam Ducharme, the President of the Foundation at this time, who said:

The Foundation is one of the major social welfare institutions which has a mandate to serve the English Catholic community. This community has unique needs which must be filled by the Foundation. We must look after all legitimate Catholic organizations or groups. We are also concerned with the programs which do not fit into certain criteria prescribed by Centraide for funding purposes. Funds may be denied because an application may contain sectarian aspects which would be contrary to Centraide's universal service delivery principles. Therefore, we must reserve some funds or rights to control our assets and income for our own needs. This does not mean we are at liberty to ignore the principles or conditions agreed upon in the merger agreement of 1974. We do respect Centraide's attempt to promote the concept of "a United Way" among private agencies for the development of adequate resources and services for the citizens of Montreal. We are prepared to participate actively in annual campaigns for fund raising and to provide available monies to such

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<sup>40</sup> A draft of Agreement prepared and submitted by FCCS to Centraide on May 27, 1982.

campaigns. In short, we feel there is plenty of room for compromise by both parties which would benefit both Catholic and non-Catholic communities.<sup>41</sup>

Asked how the English Catholic community could be served if Centraide terminated funding of Catholic Community Services, Ducharme replied:

I personally could not answer this question in the past and even now. As a matter of fact, this question was raised on several occasions during our Board meetings. In view of the critical political and economic situation, we decided to stay with Centraide. At the same time, we were prepared to face the consequences, thereby bringing the issue to the Church and the English Catholic community for a final solution. This would result in an unhealthy relationship between Centraide and the Foundation. But we did not wish this to happen. We are determined to protect the interests of the English Catholic community while maintaining a constructive relationship with Centraide for the common goals of the parties.<sup>42</sup>

Mr. Lessard of Centraide expressed his feeling about the predicament faced by the Foundation:

The violation of the merger agreement by the Foundation may kill the spirit of said agreement. We are concerned with the other founding members of Centraide. They are not only respecting the agreement but they also donate their entire incomes to Centraide. Under these circumstances it is difficult for Centraide to bring harmony to the founding members and the Foundation. For this reason, we have compromised our position, allowing Catholic Community Services to provide services unique to the culture and values of Catholics -- sectarian services. Therefore, we wish to have some considerations from the Foundation to come to terms with the outstanding issues once and for all.<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>41</sup> Interview with Sam Ducharme, December 4, 1986.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid.

<sup>43</sup> Interview with Jean Lessard, President and General Manager, Centraide, December 11, 1986.



To the question of why Centraide did not cancel the service contract established between the CCS and Centraide, Lessard explained that this would automatically cancel out the obligation of allocating funds to CCS by Centraide:

Legally we could, but we want to maintain or encourage a spirit of cooperation and to work towards the common goal -- providing efficient services to all groups in Montreal. We also wish to point out the fact that we can live without the Foundation or the CCS in raising funds for our agencies. We collect 41% from corporate donors, 48% from employees' salaries and 11% from the residential and community sector or special names. This arrangement has been very effective in that we can achieve our annual objectives without any one of the social welfare councils or foundations. Because of this particular set-up, it would be difficult for the Foundation to opt out for a private campaign at this time. In any event, our aim is to work with all private social service agencies, including all the founding members of Centraide. This is the reason why we have been so patient to settle the problem once and for all. This is the very reason why we re-established a dialogue with the Foundation in October, 1984. So far it seems progress is being made.<sup>44</sup>

Thus far, it is evident that the position of the Foundation did not change at all. It still intended to control its income and the distribution of it to Catholic organizations. To break this deadlock, a special meeting was held on October 24, 1984. The Foundation was represented by Sam Ducharme, Brian O'Neil, and Rev. Russell Breen, and Centraide was represented by Reg Groome and Jean Lessard. Actually, this was the first meeting between the two institutions since the Foundation had submitted a draft of the Memorandum of Agreement to Centraide in May, 1982.

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<sup>44</sup> Ibid.

From the minutes of the special meeting:

Members of the Foundation had expressed their malaise over rumours being circulated to the effect that there was friction and animosity between Centraide and the Foundation. Attempts in the past to have a meeting between Centraide and the Foundation have been unsuccessful because of a conflict of schedules. The representatives of Centraide admitted that there had been serious concern expressed by their members of the Board of Directors over the fact that the Foundation had not been living up to the Memorandum of Agreement entered into at Montreal on 24 September 1974 and signed by, amongst others, the FCCS. Discussion centered around item (4) of that Memorandum of Agreement signed in 1974. The Members covenant and agree that the Foundations or other similar organizations to be created by the members or as the case may be, the members, will not, in any way whatsoever, create agencies or services or distribute any sum to any agency, foundation, service, corporation or individual, otherwise than through or with the consent of Centraide, which consent shall not be unreasonably withheld, and that such foundations, organizations or members will make available their respective annual financial statements to Centraide no later than six months after expiry of their respective financial years.

The Centraide representative maintained that in all these years, they had received only one financial statement from the Foundation and never have they received any correspondence indicating the proposed allocation of funds to other charitable organizations. While admitting that the Foundation had been negligent in not forwarding this information to Centraide, the delegates indicated that steps will be taken to correct this immediately. On the other hand, they were quick to point out that the monies distributed each year from the investments of the Foundation were spent first for maintenance and secondly to help charitable causes not covered by Centraide.

Mr. Groome admitted that Item 4 foresaw the possibility of such donations by the Foundation and that such "consent shall not be unreasonably withheld" by Centraide.

It was agreed that a draft statement would be prepared by the Foundation reflecting the substance of our meeting which would be sent to Messrs. Groome and

Lessard within two weeks. Subsequent to a consensus on its content, the statement would be signed by all five participants of this meeting.<sup>45</sup>

The minutes indicate that the Foundation representatives expressed an honest admission of negligence on the Foundation's part. At the same time, they agreed, once again, to live up to Item 4 in the merger agreement. Reflecting the consensus between the two parties, the Foundation volunteered to draw up a draft of agreement.

However, nothing developed until 1986, at which time the Ad-Hoc Committee for Centraide and the Foundation reported to the Board of Directors' meeting on January 21, 1986 to devise another strategy to maintain its positions. This is shown by the following:

- 1) The Foundation should act as a landlord to the community and properly manage its physical assets for use by the community.
- 2) Be perceived by the community as a "generous landlord."
- 3) Use income for purposes of maintaining the Foundation's physical assets.
- 4) Maintain a short-term investment portfolio policy in order that the income generated could be put towards the upkeep of the properties.
- 5) Any yearly surplus after having met the operational expenditures of the properties could then be distributed accordingly:
  - 51% -- surplus revenue to Centraide
  - 25% -- surplus revenue to CCS
  - 24% -- surplus revenue to Pillar's Trust.<sup>46</sup>

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<sup>45</sup> The Aide-Memoire was recorded by Rev. Russell Breen, October 24, 1984, located at the Foundation, Montreal.

<sup>46</sup> Minutes of Ad-Hoc Committee of FCCS and Centraide, January 21, 1986.

The minutes also noted the general attitude of the Board of Directors of Centraide, which was characterized by a desire to resolve the problem as soon as possible. For this very reason, Centraide would accept the above proposal, since it would allow the Foundation to handle its income for the properties and give surplus revenues to these three institutions with the predetermined percentages noted above, with Centraide receiving the majority share.

The Board of Directors of the Foundation resolved that the above proposal be presented to Centraide. Another brief negotiation took place between the two institutions and the Foundation was designated to draw up another draft of agreement, which read as follows:

Addendum to the Contract of September 1974

WHEREAS pursuant to this agreement the Foundation of Catholic Community Service was created;

WHEREAS certain disagreement and misunderstanding seems to exist as to the application of the agreement to the Foundation;

WHEREAS the Foundation wishes to reaffirm its commitment to the principles laid out in the said agreement and clarify any misunderstanding;

WHEREFORE THE PARTIES AGREE AS FOLLOWS:

1. That the principles laid out in the original agreement are hereby reaffirmed and, to be even more specific, the Foundation will neither raise nor distribute funds except as foreseen in this agreement;
2. That the Foundation holds the assets of the English speaking Catholic community and shall keep those assets available to that commitment acting as a generous landlord to various groups;
3. That the Foundation shall treat all unsolicited donations and bequests as it sees fit including them either in capital or revenue in its discretion;

4. That the funds available for distribution in any fiscal period shall be divided as follows:

33% 1/3 to Centraide

33% 1/3 to CCS (the Agency)

33% 1/3 to Pillars Trust Fund Inc.

5. That a working capital fund or a reserve shall be permitted of up to one twelfth (1/12) of the gross revenue from all sources;

6. That either party may cancel the present agreement by ~~giving~~ giving a notice of six (6) months to the other party.<sup>47</sup>

In essence, the above proposal did not change the stand of the Foundation in terms of controlling its income and distributing it as it saw fit. However, it added another dimension by promising to provide one-third of its surplus revenue to Centraide. It seems this was the only bargaining point for the Foundation. The proposal was accepted by Centraide except for Article 6 pertaining to the "escape clause." Centraide pointed out that such a clause was not in the merger agreement of 1974, therefore the proposal should not add such a clause. Another debate on this matter took place at the meeting of the Board of Directors of the Foundation on May 14, 1986. At the meeting it was noted that the Foundation inserted such a clause in order to have a little room to maneuver, just in case Catholic interests were not protected in the future. It was resolved that R. McConomy would negotiate with Centraide on this issue.

As a result, the following modified draft was forwarded

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<sup>47</sup> A Draft of Agreement submitted to Centraide by the Foundation, February 18, 1986.

to Centraide. Minor changes were made to the previous draft, starting with Article 4 as follows:

4. That an annual joint meeting with the representatives of the Foundation and Centraide shall take place for the purpose of consulting on the distribution of funds by the Foundation. The said distribution of funds by the Foundation shall take into account the following elements:

a) the needs of CCS, the agency, for specific and non-recurring projects agreed to by Centraide, CCS, and the Foundation;

b) the needs of the English Catholic community in the form of such institutions as the English Speaking Catholic Council, Pillars Trust and other organizations in the community;

~~c) an annual contribution to Centraide to be determined by agreement on an annual basis between Centraide and CCS;~~

5) That either party may cancel the present agreement by giving a notice of six (6) months to the other party.<sup>48</sup>

The revised draft of agreement inserted, again, the cancellation clause, which became one of the main concerns for Centraide. Centraide raised the same question as it had previously about the Foundation's persistence in having this escape clause in the agreement. To resolve this problem, the members of the Board of Directors of the Foundation planned a different strategy. This time the Foundation members approached the members of Centraide on an individual basis. The minutes of the Foundation on June 5, 1986 indicated that R. McConomy conducted a lengthy telephone negotiation with Lessard of Centraide. No conclusions were reached but it was expected that the two men would negotiate again in the near

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<sup>48</sup> Revised draft of Agreement forwarded to Centraide by FCCS on May 14, 1986.

future.

In the meantime, Pat Wickham spoke with Frank Roberts of the Centraide Executive Board who assured him that ~~he~~ would discuss the plausibility of incorporating a cancellation clause in the agreement.

To demonstrate good faith in coming to an agreement with Centraide, the Foundation eliminated its Grants Committee. The minutes of the Foundation on September 29, 1986 noted that "the Grants Committee has been eliminated due to the Foundation's changing funding philosophy in conjunction with the ongoing negotiations with Centraide."<sup>49</sup>

The minutes of the Foundation for November 10, 1986 reveal that a final understanding between Centraide and the Foundation was reached. Centraide accepted the escape or cancellation clause with the rest of the terms and conditions described in the third draft of the agreement. Both parties will sign the agreement sometime in the early part of 1987.

It had taken more than six years for Centraide to come to an understanding with the Foundation and revise its status from the original merger agreement. With the new official status, the Foundation will be able to control its income as well as provide funds to the CCS, the English Speaking Catholic Council, Pillars Trust and Centraide. The Foundation is obliged to consult with Centraide on funding matters on an annual basis. In essence, the Foundation

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<sup>49</sup> Minutes of the FCCS, September 29, 1986.

attained its objectives, surrendering official fund raising, camping, planning and budgeting to Centraide, but maintaining the traditional function of the Foundation by assisting Catholic organizations with income derived from real estate, donations and bequests, and investments. Such functions influence coordination and leadership in the network of Catholic organizations in the community. In the service delivery dimension, the CCS provides essential services to the Catholic community, although power over budgeting, planning and administration remains in the hands of Centraide. As Ducharme has said:

This is why we need to maintain our operation and provide services to our community. Symbolically, we do represent our community in the field of social welfare and do function effectively in the areas of monitoring some of the service activities and preservation of sectarian aspects by our constituent agencies. We also have a historical mission to encourage and protect Catholic elements by Catholic organizations. Because of these historical reasons and because of the constantly changing value system in our society, we have to maintain our services and are prepared to change our policies according to the needs of the community except for the essential Catholic elements in service delivery. We hope to work closely with Centraide, since it is also providing substantial services through CCS to our community.<sup>50</sup>

Ducharme's views are consistent with the position taken by the Foundation ever since it entered the merger agreement in 1974. The Foundation wished to control its affairs and income contrary to the principles laid out in the merger agreement. On the other hand, Centraide had been extremely

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<sup>50</sup> Interview with Sam Ducharme.



concerned not only with the Foundation practices which ran contrary to the agreement, but also with the possibility of damaging the harmonious and cooperative working relationship that existed among all the founding members of Centraide. For this, Centraide compromised by financing the sectarian services demanded by the CCS.

Lessard, of Centraide, made these observations on the matter:

I am glad it is all over now. Our Board's concern had been legitimate in dealing with the Foundation's practices which ran contrary to the 1974 merger agreement. But, we were also concerned with other federations and social welfare councils which endorsed the agreement and fulfilled their obligations according to the terms and conditions described therein. Under the circumstances, our position was to help and coordinate our efforts among the founding members of Centraide so that we could continue discharging our responsibilities for both the English Catholic community and the non-Catholic communities. Thus far, we have been doing an excellent job mobilizing community resources and manpower. Therefore, we want the Foundation to feel they are part of us, as it did originally, by signing the merger agreement. We just do not wish to lose the spirit of cooperative efforts. This is a "united way."<sup>51</sup>

The claim made by Centraide and the position taken by the Foundation are confirmed by the following financial reports of the CCS and the Foundation:

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<sup>51</sup> Interview with Jean Lessard, December 11, 1986.

Table 12

Comparative Analysis

CCS-Centraide		FCCS	
1981		1981	
Income		Income	
Centraide:	584,080	Rental, legacies,	
Government,		interest, donations,	
FCCS & others:	<u>277,038</u>	other income:	281,328
Total:	861,118		
Expenditure		Expenditure	
	856,886	Repair, admnstrtn	126,237
		Donations, grants	16,236
Income over Expenditure		Income over Expenditure	
	34,232		142,473
1983		1983	
Income		Income	
Centraide:	675,384	Rental, legacies,	
Government,		interest, donations,	
FCCS & others:	<u>322,377</u>	other income:	242,509
Total:	997,761		
Expenditure		Expenditure	
	944,465	Repair, admnstrtn	152,909
		Donations, grants	35,250
Income over Expenditure		Income over Expenditure	
	53,093		54,410
		Surplus from pre-	
		vious years	768,411

1986  
Income  
Centraide: 746,425  
Government,  
FCCS & others: 784,040  
Total 1,530,405

Expenditure  
1,477,908

Income over Expenditure  
52,557

1986  
Income  
Rental, legacies,  
interest, donations,  
other income: 291,621

Expenditure  
Repair, admnstrtn 204,526  
Donations, grants 43,450

Income over Expenditure  
42,527

Surplus from pre-  
vious years. 896,931

Fixed assets at nominal  
value & buildings -  
approx. cost of \$2,016,000.<sup>52</sup>

The detailed breakdown on income sources and expenditure were not available. Nevertheless, the above comparative analysis was recorded from the financial statements prepared by both the Foundation and CCS during the period of 1981-1986.

The amount of grants provided to CCS and other Catholic organizations by the Foundation were comparatively small.

<sup>52</sup>Sources -- annual reports of the CCS and the FCCS, 1981, 1983, 1986.

However, they represented certain violations on the merger agreement.

In reference to the program priority established by the CCS, it was similar to that of the former Fédération after Bill 65. CCS inherited programs from the Fédération in relation to camp programs, Catholic family life education, community organization, and social action or reform activities. The CCS concentrates on the programs that were not supplied by the government. Substantial funds were provided by the public sector particularly in relation to camping programs. All other funds were provided by Centraide. With respect to this matter, Centraide fulfilled its commitment to CCS.

Nevertheless, the comparative analysis indicated that the Foundation violated its merger agreement with Centraide. That is, the contention of Centraide is also confirmed by the comparative analysis of the annual financial reports of both Centraide and the Foundation. In the case of Centraide, the annual reports reveal that Centraide had fulfilled its commitment for funding and overall supervision of the CCS. The financial reports also illustrate the CCS had a surplus, an excess of income over expenditure, which indicates Centraide provided efficient services to CCS, especially in relation to the funding aspect.

The financial reports of the Foundation indicate that Centraide's contentions had a legitimate basis. The reports confirm Centraide's allegation that the Foundation had not

only distributed funds to the CCS and other organizations without prior consent from Centraide, but had also controlled its income by keeping its excess of income over expenditure instead of contributing it to Centraide. Such practices on the Foundation's part are contrary to the spirit of the merger agreement. This has been the main point of contention for Centraide.

Both parties involved in the dispute dealt with the problems that surfaced. The major disagreements were related to the Foundation's open violations of the merger agreement. Its purpose in violating the agreement was to maintain its traditional functions for its Catholic institutions. The Foundation is a leader in the social welfare field and has a tangible influence on the overall social welfare movement in the Catholic community. As a social welfare institution, it represents and participates in various decision making processes or policy making procedures with both the public and private sectors. It defends the Catholic elements in social welfare programs and preserves Catholic values and programs for the English-speaking Catholic community.

The Foundation has been designated to play this role for the Catholic community because it is a part of the Catholic Church. That is, all Catholic organizations are part of the Church. All major decisions to be made by the Foundation are being consulted with the Episcopal office. As a common practice, the Board seeks prior approval or blessing from the Bishop on any undertaking by the Foundation. In modern times,

the Church has not played an active role in daily operations of Catholic welfare institutions, although she is engaged in connection with various social welfare policies on local, provincial, and federal levels. The Canadian Catholic Bishops Conference, for example, is the one which gives or voices out in relation to overall social welfare policies. In the Diocese level, the Episcopal office has a close contact with all Catholic organizations and plays a significant role in coordination and consultation. With respect to the CCS and the Foundation, the Church or Bishop considers them as an integral part of the Church. Bishop Crowley pointed out the rationale for the existence of Catholic organizations in a pluralistic society. At the annual meeting of Catholic Community Services and the Foundation in 1981, he remarked:

It might be well at this moment to review briefly the rationale for a Catholic agency. A Catholic agency is meant to give witness to spiritual values in the field in which it is engaged; and to provide a channel for corporate Catholic service to the community at large. There is a need for agencies that emphasize the importance of religion in daily life and its place in social welfare; agencies which identify, articulate and manifest in practice the spiritual values to which we are committed. A Catholic agency is such because of its sponsorship and character more than because of its clientele .... Considering the agency as a whole, there is a complex set of components which give a Catholic identity and a distinctive Catholic character to our efforts. Some of these components are: theological principles, religious motivation and direction, spiritual and moral framework, consideration of the dignity of the human person, the focus of programs on people rather than problems or services, our evaluation of human need, ecclesiastical relationships, e.g. with parishes and other diocesan organizations .... Over the years, our agencies have built up successful relationships with parish clergy. The clergy as a source of referral form a vital link between families who face problems and the

Church-related social agency. This relationship is of real value to people in need and can best be retained in the confessional agency.<sup>53</sup>

When asked whether the Foundation had played the role of maintaining the Catholic identity, components and character, Bishop Crowley said:

The Church would not hesitate to cooperate with FCCS's current direction and activities. If needed, the Church would assist the FCCS as any other Catholic organization, including fund raising ventures, through the diocese of Montreal. The Church does not have any objection to providing services to non-Catholics. But Catholic clients require a special service which has Catholic components, especially in the case of in-depth counseling situations. Such a service can be provided only by a Catholic agency in a Catholic milieu. For this in particular, the Church must encourage and give moral support to the FCCS to develop or facilitate such resources. On the question of developing Catholic resources, the Church likes to see that the FCCS itself provides both human resources and funds to individual Catholic groups and organizations which attempt to fulfill the teaching of "love and care" for their brothers and sisters, in a Catholic context.<sup>54</sup>

To the question of whether the Church supports the current direction taken by the Foundation in terms of controlling its income and distribution of funds to Catholic institutions without prior consent from Céntraide, Bishop Crowley expressed the belief that the Church is a hierarchical institution, not a democratic one, which provides a sense of permanence and stability. Individuals come and go,

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<sup>53</sup> The remarks made by Bishop Crowley at the joint annual meeting of CCS and FCCS, May 1981.

<sup>54</sup> Interview with Bishop Leonard Crowley, Archdiocese of Montreal, December 29, 1986.

but the Church maintains its stability. Because of this, lay leaders and volunteers seek counsel and/or advice from the Church, especially in dealing with any crucial decision making processes for Catholic organizations. Bishop Crowley says:

The Church supports the position the FCCS is taking to preserve Catholic values and retain its Catholic identity by having some say in its income and allocation of funds for Catholic institutions. Even then, the FCCS and Centraide can co-exist and cooperate with each other for the common goals of servicing citizens of Montreal.<sup>55</sup>

Bishop Crowley's statement is also confirmed by R. McConomy, former President of the CCS and current Board member of the Foundation, who expressed the view that the Church has strong power over all important issues in connection with any Catholic organizations. It is almost a way of Catholic life to seek counsel and advice from the clergy and bishop. McConomy notes:

The opinion of the clergy is highly respect which is, in effect, power itself. Neither lay leaders nor volunteers would go against the Church, especially in dealing with communal affairs. With the FCCS, the members of the Board have sought advice and support from the Church, realizing that the FCCS is part and parcel of the Church. Simply, the FCCS is a social instrument carrying out the mission of the church. Therefore, the overall direction taken by the FCCS has always been sanctioned by the Church.<sup>56</sup>

On the role played by lay leaders and volunteers throughout the entire debate and struggle during the merger

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<sup>55</sup> Ibid.

<sup>56</sup> Interview with R. McConomy, November 11, 1986.



process with Centraide and the Foundation's subsequent confrontation with Centraide over merger violations, McConomy observed:

We do enjoy having a sense of prestige and social contacts through the network of the FCCS. Consciously or unconsciously, we also enjoy identifying with our institution which gives us a sense of inner security. In a way, this is the particular unexpressed element which motivates volunteers to give so much in money and time for our community cause.<sup>57</sup>

To sum up, the Foundation has experienced dramatic changes on all levels: the name, structure, scope, funding sources, and program priorities. And yet, it still attempts to play its former or traditional functions of serving the English Catholic community by providing funds to Catholic organizations. Actually, its present role is a trusteeship of real estate, funds, and a generous landlord for Catholic institutions which occupy the Foundation's building. During the process of the merger with Centraide, the Federation reluctantly became one of the founding members of Centraide. It unwillingly merged with Centraide in response to the pressure exerted by the political reality and public policy in the social service field, the community pressure on individual federations to conduct joint campaigns for fund raising as a way of cutting expenditure, and the pressures exerted by the private sector to combine the efforts of the federations and social welfare agencies. The Federation had

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<sup>57</sup> Ibid.

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support from its community to maintain an independent campaign for fund raising and to control its own affairs, but it ultimately yielded to the prevailing pressures and merged with Centraide. This resulted in the transference of its budgeting, social planning, fund raising, administration and coordination functions to Centraide.

The Foundation created Catholic Community Services to which all services and programs were transferred. The CCS became an agency of Centraide which allowed it to provide sectarian services.

In 1980, Centraide made a formal protest to the Foundation concerning the violations of the merger agreement. Specifically, Centraide was opposed to the Foundation's retention of its traditional functions of income and fund distribution to Catholic organizations without prior consent from Centraide. It took over six years for the two parties to reach an understanding and enter into a new agreement. The Foundation will continue to control its own income and distribute funds to the CCS, the English Speaking Catholic Council, Pillars Trust Fund, and Centraide, while remaining a "generous landlord" for Catholic organizations. This allows the Foundation to retain its identity as an English-speaking Catholic communal welfare institution serving its ethnic community. The Church and the Catholic community have provided steadfast support to the Foundation in its struggle to maintain its traditional role and identity. Throughout the entire merger process and establishment of a

new agreement, intensive intra-group communications fostered inner cohesion and social solidarity. Centraide acted as an external force which caused constructive changes in the Foundation. At the same time, a significant rôle was played by individual lay leaders who devoted their time and effort to achieving the objectives of the Foundation.

The overall changes in the Federation before and after merging with Centraide can be seen in the following table:

Table 12  
Summary of Changes

Year	Major Events and Changes
1930	The Church, diocese of Montreal, invited a professional surveyor to examine the Catholic social welfare situation in Montreal.
1931	Federation of Catholic Charities was formed, based on the Professional Survey of the Canadian Welfare Council.
1931-1960	The period of Program Development and Expansion: professional service delivery models were developed.
1961	The second professional survey was conducted. This was restricted to the structure of the Federation. The changes were, (a) direct election of Board Members, (b) re-assertion of professional leadership, (c) change of name to Federation of Catholic Community Services.
1965	The third professional survey on programs and service delivery systems. Changes : (a) elimination, modification, and transferring of constituent agencies to non-Catholic agencies, (b) all services centralized under the Federation, (c) emphasis of program priorities from material assistance to professional counselling services.
1967	The Federation joined the Federation Appeal For Greater Montreal. Annual campaign for all major federations under FAGM.
1974	Bill 65 emerged which nationalized all health and social services. Changes : (a) the Federation transferred all basic services, (b) program priorities were for educational, cultural, and recreational activities, and community development or social reform programs.
1975	The Federation merged with Centraide Montreal. This transferred all traditional functions of social planning, budgeting, coordination, fund raising, and administration.
1975	Name of Federation changed to Foundation of Catholic Community Services. Changes were : (a) assumed a fiduciary role in looking after real-estate properties, investments, and receiving donations and bequests, (b) distribution of funds to Catholic organizations, (c) directly and directly fosters intra-group communications, (d) Catholic Community Services was formed to assume all direct service responsibilities.

PART D

CONCLUSION

## CHAPTER X

### CATHOLIC COMMUNAL WELFARE IN A CHANGING SOCIETY

#### A Communal Welfare Agency: The Foundation of Catholic Community Services (1931-1986)

Throughout this study, we have been concerned with changes, changes that took place outside the communal welfare agency and changes which occurred inside under the impact of external forces and developments. By analyzing these historical changes, we were looking for answers on two leading questions: how did the Agency accommodate itself to changes? and, did the Agency remain English Catholic notwithstanding the changes?

We have reviewed the history of Catholic communal welfare in Montreal for a period of fifty-five years, 1931-1986, and we would answer the questions by highlighting the general historical trends, the turning points, the relationships between the major actors, the impact of the variables and the ways by which the agency has served to facilitate ethnic communal identification and cohesion.

#### a) General Historical Trends

During the period of 1931-1986, it is possible to trace six dominant trends that relate to social welfare:

- 1) the decline in the dominant role of the church in social welfare defined as Catholic charity.
- 2) The decline in the centrality of social services narrowly conceived of as material assistance or pastoral and case-work.
- 3) The increasing importance of the Federation as an ethnic agency able to represent many agencies and concerns of social welfare broadly defined as recreational, cultural and educational, community action and social reform.
- 4) The growing importance of professional social workers and the corresponding shift in emphasis on casework counseling rather than material assistance.
- 5) The increasing government involvement not only, first, in material aid but in funding case-work, group work, and other social welfare activities broadly defined.
- 6) The increasing emphasis on non-sectarian approach by private welfare institutions and corresponding shift toward uniting all private sector services under the United Way or Centraide Montreal.

b) The Turning Points

The turning points are the years 1961, 1965, 1974, 1975, and 1986. These years mark the beginning of crucial changes in policy, programs, structure, priority and status which were, to a lesser or greater degree, debated by clergy members, lay leaders, and professionals. While each group had both manifest and latent purposes with different opinions and styles of operations, they all had the common purpose of

maintaining the agency as an ethnic-sectarian Catholic communal welfare agency.

c) The Major Actors

The major actors during this period were the following: the Foundation of Catholic Community Services, The Church, professional social workers, Centraide Montreal, Catholic Community Services, and the Government of Quebec.

d) The Main Variable Factors

The main variable factors during this period were the following:

- 1) changes in the socioeconomic conditions of the English-speaking Catholic community in Montreal.
- 2) The changes in the role of the Church in connection with the involvement in social welfare activities.
- 3) The changes in social welfare theory and practice.
- 4) Changes in the concept of private social welfare -- non-sectarian trends.
- 5) Changes in government social welfare policy.

The Federation was established in 1931 as a finance federation for Catholic agencies. It played a leadership role in the network of social welfare activities and dealt with a wide range of social welfare activities such as fund raising, coordination, social planning, and budgeting for its constituent agencies and affiliated institutions. It also played a leadership role in the areas of community development and social reform, development of community resources, and adjustment of resources within the English



speaking Catholic community. The Agency adapted to the involvement of the government in the social welfare field by accepting public funds or grants for its agencies.

The agency, as any other ethnic institution, had manifest and latent functions. The manifest and announced function of the Agency was to provide social services to the English speaking Catholic community, however they may be defined. The latent unannounced functions were the transmission of cultural symbols, the exchange of various kinds of social recognitions, and the eliciting of commitments. Its latent functions had to do with various personal concerns of laymen and professionals, mainly those associated in positions of power.

Throughout the entire history of the agency, we witness that the Church, including the Episcopal office, religious communities or religious orders, individual pastors, playing a significant role in supporting the agency on all levels of operation. The Church perceived the Federation as an integral part of the Church in which the Federation was to be an instrument in the supply of social welfare services to the Catholic community. It was also an instrument of the Church in that the agency provided an opportunity for Catholics to practice charities.

Traditionally, the Catholic Church had very organized and managed services in education, health, and social service programs. Individual religious communities or religious orders initiated and managed various social welfare

programs which the Protestant and Jewish groups did not have. In relation to the agency, the Episcopal office initiated an action in 1930 to invite a professional surveyor to evaluate all Catholic social welfare activities in Montreal. Out of the survey, the agency was found in 1931. From there on, the Church has been involved in the operation of the agency on all levels, the Board, management of individual agencies, participation in annual fund-raising campaigns, and actual program supervision and management.

Such active involvement by the Church continued until the 1960s when public involvement increased. As the public sector increased its involvement in the social welfare field, the involvement of the Church in the management and operation of individual agencies of the agency was curtailed substantially. However, the Episcopal office still play an important role as an advisor or consultant in dealing with all Catholic charity problems. The leaders of the agency seek advice and direction through the Episcopal office. They do not take any serious action nor initiate social welfare projects without consensus from the office.

We witness that during the period of 1931-1960, the Agency had steady growth in its activities by expanding and introducing various social welfare programs based on the concept of professional methods. At least it was a conscious movement towards the application of the professional approach in program development and service delivery systems, putting the emphasis on case-work, group work, and community

development, and combining such methods with material relief programs as described in Chapter VIII.

The overall influence of professional methods was reflected in the expansion of programs in different kinds mainly in the changing or shifting from material aid type of program to non-material programs, individual and family counseling. Such a comprehensive program was also tailored to provide services for the middle class client group. From the inception of the agency, all senior positions were occupied by trained social workers. Thus the shift was made from mainly income maintenance to counseling services.

Q The impact of the professional social worker was felt in three areas: the character of the manifest services, the nature of the clientele, and the relationships with the lay leaders and the Board of Directors of the agency. The professional social workers gave a new, expanded interpretation to the notion of social welfare. For them, helping process through the application of psycho-sociofamilial counseling was more than material assistance, or issuing welfare cheques to clients. They turned to the growing middle class offering case work or counseling services rather than material assistance. The Federation began to change its focus of its services from mainly relief program to mainly professional counseling. Such change was met by constant resistance that was demonstrated by the leaders of the agency who identified more with traditional services of material aid type of programs than with non-material aid service. This was shown by

regular absence of the Executive Director of the agency and other trained senior professional workers for long duration. They resigned from their position as protestation to the lay leaders' unwillingness to accept new concepts. Nevertheless, the social workers were persistent in their proponents of such change and succeeded in convincing lay leaders to accept professional concepts. The social workers were persistent because they were motivated by the wish to practice their modern social welfare theories and to strengthen their status vis-à-vis the lay leaders. They learned to recognize and manipulated the agency's manifest and latent functions for their purposes.

The rising trend of influence of the professional social workers culminated in the 1960s when the agency agreed to engage a professional survey on the structure of the agency itself in 1961. The survey produced ninety recommendations which were characterized by a total professional approach in program design and service delivery systems and demanded an increase of professional staff and introduction of a rotating system of the Board of Directors. In any event, the lay leaders accepted to implement only four major recommendations: a) to appoint a senior professional social worker to fill the vacant executive position, 2) to change the by-laws of the agency to rotate the members of the Board of Directors, 3) to establish a responsible and contractual relationship with constituent agencies, and 4) to change the name of the agency from Federation of Catholic Charities to Federation of

Catholic Community Services. The reason for not implementing remaining recommendations was due to a lack of resources within the agency. They called for a complete overhaul of organizational structure and service delivery systems which would require corresponding resources.

Implementation of the four major recommendations clearly indicated that the professional social workers did demonstrate an unmistakable influence in their ability and power to manipulate the agency and its leaders. The replacement of a trained social worker as an Executive Director and the introduction of a rotating system for the members of the Board of Directors resulted in complete control of the agency by the social workers. The rotating system produced a weak Board of Directors. However, after the change the leaders lost a sense of its own direction particularly in the areas of decision making process.

All decisions of the Board of Directors were made based on the input made by professional social workers. Thus, the lay leaders were dependent upon the professionals.

In anticipation of such results as above, the lay leaders demonstrated a strong resistance and delayed the implementation of rotating systems until 1970. Consequently, the lay leaders were confronted with an open protestation by professional social workers. The majority of professional social workers resigned from the agency. Eventually, a community-wide election for the Board of Directors was called. The majority of new members were elected through the

community. As a result, the majority of the dedicated and committed old directors or lay leaders resigned from the Board of Directors not as a protest but by not being able to give strong leadership in the overall operation of the agency.

The Board implemented the recommendation concerning the official relationship between the agency and its constituent agencies. For the first time in the history of the agency, it entered into contractual relationships with agencies dictating all responsibilities in the areas of program planning and service delivery systems. Such measure was taken by the agency to have strict control on the overall operation of individual constituent agencies as well as to meet the need of the community in an adequate manner. Thus, the Federation resolved to have more power over the constituent agencies in terms of giving influence on the overall operation of the agencies.

In reference to the change of the name of the agency from the Federation of Catholic Charities to Federation of Catholic Community Services, it was based on the rationale in which the present culture the word of "charity" had been severely abused and had come to connote basic material assistance to people. The survey also claimed that the word 'charity' gained a derogatory flavour. Increasingly, people from all levels of society were coming to the agency for help with personal and family problems. But the unpleasant conception of charities prevented many people from seeking help or being referred for

help. Therefore the elimination of the word 'charity' might attract people from all levels to come to the agency for help.

The above perception of charity portrayed by the survey was not in accord with the Christian view of charity. The emphasis on the professional approach oversimplified the traditional view of charity in the Catholic social welfare setting. The word charity symbolizes the total concept of Christian charity which is the basis for creating or activating social welfare activities in the Catholic community. Nevertheless, the professionals succeeded in convincing the lay leaders to accept the new name.

In 1965, another professional survey on programs and service delivery systems was made. The scope of the survey included the agency itself and its constituent agencies -- Catholic Family Welfare, the Catholic Men's Hostel, the Catholic Rehabilitation Centre, Catholic Boys' Services, St. Martha's Home for Women, the Catholic Girls' Information Bureau, the Catholic Girls' Residential Centre, Victoria Town Boys' Club, and several other group activity centres. All these agencies were managed or supervised by individual Advisory Committees or Boards. But they did not possess real decision making power over the nature of programs or the expansion of program activities. All power over budgeting and social planning was held by the Board of Directors of the Agency.

The survey recommended the elimination or modification of all the above programs and service delivery systems.

This is described in detail in Chapter VII, but here it is sufficient to say that the Agency was to reorganize all service structures and have direct control or supervision of all programs: Catholic Family and Children Service, Catholic Youth and Neighbourhood Services, Community Development and Research, Financing and Budgeting, and Campaign Department. As indicated in Chapter VII, the rationale for changing organizational structures and eliminating other agencies was mainly based on the trend in the public sector of expanding its programs. It was financing all basic programs so that the private sector would be able to establish program priorities of a preventative and rehabilitative nature and focus on a professional approach. Table 5 in Chapter VII indicates the shift from basic services of material aid and institutional and protective care to in-depth counseling, social reform, and recreational programs. During this period, all major religious communities and orders withdrew from service delivery activities. The trend of public sector expansion into service delivery followed the trend in all the other provinces and the United States. The professional survey team reinforced the Agency's decision to follow the current trends elsewhere.

We witness that the professional surveys of 1930, 1961, and 1965 made changes on the concept of social welfare from mainly material aid type of programs to mainly non-material or counseling services, the change of the by-laws of the agency introducing rotating system of the Board of Directors,



the change of name of the agency, and the change of scope by eliminating a number of constituent agencies, transferring Catholic agency to non-Catholic institution, as well as centralizing service delivery systems.

All these developments and changes were made by the professional social workers' influence or direct manipulation of the agency and lay leaders. These surveys commonly however failed to recognize the traditional role of the dedicated and committed lay leaders and their donations, and traditional involvement of religious communities or religious orders in social welfare activities. The surveys therefore failed to integrate all the above resources as part of the programs of the agency because of which the surveys produced an end result of overemphasizing or manipulating the major aspects of coordinating and planning functions without tangible resources to go by. The professional methods were superimposed on the limited resources thereby manipulating structure, scope, program priority, and methods. Such manipulations were shown by the elimination of constituent agencies, the transferring of Catholic agencies to non-Catholic agencies, and centralizing service systems under the agency.

Under the name of efficient services, these surveys, particularly in 1965, recommended to change the philosophy of a sectarian approach toward services to non-sectarian services by following the current trend in social welfare in terms of providing services without discriminating the

background of clientele, ethnicity, religion, culture, and language. Such perception made on the private and sectarian agency by the professional social workers were totally insensitive and contradictory to the philosophy of the agency. Nevertheless, the agency did not yield to professionals' demands or recommendations on this particular issue.

The surveys also failed to recognize the latent functions of the agency. Through the years, the agency was a solid basis of power and influence for communal leaders. Its centrality in the Federation and power to raise funds and allocate funds to individual agencies or projects endowed special status and prestige to its leaders. This was one of the main reasons why the leaders of the agency refused to give up this power basis of which they had been cropped up psychological, political, and social benefits. The leaders, for example, refused to implement the rotating system of the members of the Board of Directors. But they lost their struggle to do so to professional social workers' manipulation of the agency and its structure.

The next turning was in 1974 when Bill 65 nationalized all basic services. Bill 65 was only the manifestation and culmination of a historical trend. Ever since the agency was established, it had the full cooperation of the government in utilizing public funds through the Quebec Public Charities Act (QPCA) and other social policies. The agency benefited from public funds because it was utilizing public

funds as supplementary resources for the program and cause of the agency. The public sector did not interfere with the sectarian principle of the agency, as was described in Chapter VIII.

In relation to Bill 65, the leaders of the agency anticipated the coming of the new revolutionary social policy following the public social welfare policies during the 1960s and the reports of the inquiry commission. Bill 65 was not a surprise to the careful observer of political and social developments in Quebec since the early 1960s. It was the outcome of the "Quiet Revolution" in Quebec and culmination of various social policies. The leaders of the agency were also educated and briefed on the impact and effects of Bill 65 for the Quebec citizens by the Executive Director of the Agency who served the inquiry commission. At this point, the leaders of the agency realized that politically and financially it was not advisable to ignore or object to this trend. The English Catholic community could benefit by the shift of released communal funds from social welfare services to other pressing needs and while basic services were supplied through public funds.

At this time, the Catholic community had a clear priority, with good reasons, for educational and cultural goals. This was mainly because the rising of Quebec nationalism and the enhancement of French culture posed challenges to the ethnic identity of minority groups in the province.

Based on the above observation, the leaders of the agency

decided to transfer all basic services, including one of the largest services of Catholic Family and Children Services to the public sector of the Ville Marie Social Service Centre (VMSSC), which was created by Bill 65 to serve the English-speaking population in Montreal without any resistance. The agency did not demand nor propose any special status in connection with sectarian aspects for Catholic clients. Accordingly, program priorities were changed, thereby focusing on educational cultural programs, recreation, camping, family life education, community action programs for English language, educational, and cultural rights.

All these programs were financed through private sources, mainly through the support of the community. Through the enactment of Bill 65, the agency changed its structure, scope, program priorities and financial sources focusing on non-material aid type of programs. They were directly controlled by the agency itself. The remaining programs of all basic services which were managed by the agency and its constituent agencies were all transferred to VMSSC.

Another major turning point was in 1975 when the Federation entered into a total merger agreement with other federations and social welfare councils, as was described in Chapter IX. The agreement obliged the agency to transfer all major functions of social planning, budgeting coordination, fund raising and allocation of funds to Centraide Montreal. The ultimate purpose of this move was to provide efficient and fair services on a universal basis, without discriminating

against the background of the clients, to all citizens of Greater Montreal. Non-sectarian approach in service delivery was emphasized by the agreement. The agreement also dictated to transfer all assets and funds to Centraide Montreal. Such a move was demanded by the general public of Montreal and corporate donors, not necessarily including the English Catholic community. The rationale for demanding such a merger was to save expenses on conducting the annual fund raising campaign by individual agencies in Montreal on a year-round basis. The agency was somehow unwilling or forced to enter into the Merger Agreement, the reason being, the agency had continued support from the Catholic community.

At this point three questions are raised:

- 1) in what sense has this Federation changed? and why?
- 2) Has it remained a social welfare agency? in what sense?
- 3) Has it continued to remain a centrally important ethnic institution? in what way? Why and how?

Yes, the agency remains as an ethnic communal welfare institution with the following changes:

In order to avoid transferring all funds and assets to Centraide Montreal, the agency changed its name and its by-laws to Foundation of Catholic Community Services. This change entitled it to handle all the community funds and real estate properties. All interests and profits derived from the assets are allocated to Catholic Community Services, Pillars Trust Funds, Centraide Montreal, and Catholic organizations. The number of the Board of Directors

decreased to seven. The agency changed its role as a fiduciary or trustee of community funds, with minor functions to distribute funds to Catholic organizations as well as supplying offices, camps, and other facilities to Catholic organizations as a way of fostering Catholic milieu and intra-group communications.

Catholic Community Services (CCS) was created in 1975 by the agency. All direct services and programs were transferred to CCS, programs relating to camp, recreation, group work, culture and education. The CCS became an agency of Centraide Montreal from which funds are being provided. Initially, the CCS was managed by the Board of Directors of the Federation. However, Centraide Montreal protested on the agency's interference of the operation of CCS in 1980. According to the regulation of Centraide Montreal, all agencies funded by Centraide are under direct control of Centraide although individual agencies do have the Board of Directors to supervise daily operation. Centraide has essential power over all major issues or programs on its agencies including CCS.

Under these circumstances, the agency interfered with CCS by providing funds to it without receiving prior approval from Centraide. The dispute concerning the above matter between Centraide and the agency lasted until 1986 at which time both parties agreed as follows:

The agency will provide funds to CCS, Centraide Montreal, Pillars Trust Funds, and English Speaking Catholic Council. Any grants being provided to other Catholic organizations

should be subject to prior approval from Centraide Montreal. For this arrangement, Centraide Montreal agreed to give special status to CCS as a sectarian agency serving Catholic clients.

In 1980, the English Speaking Catholic Council was established. The ESCC was to undertake all community development projects and social action programs including language rights for minority groups, educational and cultural promotion for English-speaking Catholics in Montreal. The mainstream of these programs were designed to retain ethnic identity and survival of the community. For such undertaking the Federation provides substantial funds for ESCC every year.

The latent functions of the agency had not changed in terms of creating a Catholic milieu for Catholic organizations and fostering inter-agency communications as a way to retain the ethnic identity and inner cohesion. All major Catholic organizations are situated in the same building where the agency is located, namely, all funds distributed by the agency to Catholic organizations are to achieve one major common purpose in terms of strengthening or retaining English-speaking Catholic identity and preservation of Catholic values and sectarian aspects in the practise of Catholic charity.

In reference to the question of whether the agency is a sectarian Catholic institution, the answer is also yes. As described in Chapter IV, the agency has all the ingredients and functions necessary for being considered a sectarian

Catholic agency. These characteristics are Catholic values, Catholic constituency, and Catholic voluntarism.

The safeguarding and promotion of the Catholic value system has been the main ideological or religious basis of the agency. Its commission and functions are to effect Catholic values and follow the precepts and tenets of the Church. The Church is the influencing agent for determining the overall policies of the agency, either through the office of the Montreal diocese or through individual clergy members in individual parishes. From the beginning, the Church has provided continuous leadership to the agency, giving its support through annual financial campaigns, active management of institutional services by religious communities and orders, and consultative services on the overall direction of the agency. The Church now provides consultative services to the laity and volunteers.

The agency has been an instrument for discharging the duties of charity, which has been a traditional function of the Church. The agency is a part of the Church in that it endeavors to attain the goal of Christian charity which affects all those who are dedicated to such work. According to Bishop Crowley:

-- The Church has noticed rapid changes taking place in modern society. But our position in relation to the so-called Catholic values in the context of social work practice has become more important now than ever before as traditional values are being challenged by all segments of society, including our Supreme Law concerning the protection of life, divorce, family life education, contraception, etc. The Church is the



cornerstone of preserving such values, and Catholic welfare institutions are established to accomplish the mission of the Church.<sup>1</sup>

The existence of a Catholic constituency is measured by, among other criteria, the composition of the clientele and the Catholic community. The clientele of the agency are Catholic organizations, although some grants have been given to non-Catholic institutions in exchange for services to individual Catholic clients. The beneficiary Catholic institutions in return provide services to the community in such a way as to maintain a Catholic character and some degree of control over ethnic boundaries. The agency is supported by the Church and the community. The members of the Board of Directors are 100% English-speaking Catholics. The by-laws of the agency specify that the members of the agency can only be eligible if they reside and work in the Diocese of Montreal.

As for Catholic voluntarism, the agency was built on the cooperation between the Church, the Diocese of Montreal, individual parishes, religious orders, and volunteer workers. In the religious context, voluntarism equals charity in that dedication and commitment are expressed through voluntarism. Before 1975, a major portion of the work, i.e. fund raising, managing constituent and affiliated agencies, serving needy people, and visiting the sick and the aged, was done by volunteer workers. Actual volunteer work was also provided to the needy by working directly and indirectly with

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<sup>1</sup> Interview with Bishop L. Crowley, December 29, 1986.

individual social workers.

Catholic cultural distinctiveness in the agency is maintained by the interest of the entire board in preserving traditional Catholic values and customs. The agency was founded by primarily Irish descendants, and presently other non-Irish English-speaking Catholics share some of the traditional Irish cultural heritage and the Catholic values derived from their religious practices. The majority of the members of the agency participate in the annual St. Patrick's Day Parade and the annual Bishop rally which was begun in recent years to stimulate the spirit of voluntarism and its merits among English-speaking Catholics. Through the conscious efforts of the agency, grants are provided to Catholic institutions in order that they may provide in a Catholic milieu such services as the visitation in Catholic custodial institutions and hospitals by Catholic priests and volunteer workers, who share, in terms of their cultural background, a common identity with patients.

What is the present status of the agency in terms of its limited functions and scope, and its dispute with Centraide Montreal? How is the role of the agency evaluated in the English-speaking Catholic community? To ascertain this we present the following question to those who have been dedicated to the cause of the agency: "Based on current trends in the social welfare movement in terms of the universal approach and the permanent merger agreement with Centraide, what is the role of the agency in the community?"

We may note that the word FCCS still plays a significant meaning and has prestige. The FCCS is an abbreviation of Federation of Catholic Community Services which symbolized power and prestige in the community in the past. This we may notice from our interviews.

Following are some of the answers. Bishop L. Crowley states that:

The Catholic institution promotes the general cause of the Catholic community. The size and scope are not of great concern because the FCCS will be flexible in accordance with the demands of the community in terms of services. The FCCS has played a crucial role throughout the history of modern social service in this community. Symbolically, it still represents leadership in the social welfare network and encourages and supports, although on a limited basis presently, other Catholic organizations for our cause and services. In dealing with other social institutions and social structures, the FCCS plays a significant role in protecting and working for the community as a whole. Any social institution is better than a person in dealing with social institutions or social issues. Finally, the FCCS still functions as a financial institution providing funds for our institutions. In our view, the FCCS plays an important role in overall social welfare endeavors and community development.<sup>2</sup>

R. McConomy, who is presently a member of the Board of Directors, responds:

The FCCS maintains its traditional role in helping the community to reinforce a sense of our identity in the milieu of the francophone majority. Through this particular institution, we channel our causes, especially in relation to the protection of our culture, language, and educational rights. This is a function of social action and social reform which is accomplished through the FCCS by the active participation in various public and private institutions by our members. In the present situation, the FCCS provides

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<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

tangible services to Catholic organizations, not only by providing funds but by accommodating major Catholic organizations in the Catholic building. The spirit of Catholic action is generated here. Such an environment also creates a sense of Catholic character.<sup>3</sup>

Sam Ducharme, past President and present Vice-President of the agency states that:

The FCCS has succeeded in preserving the Catholic character because it is recognized by the community and performs its function as it is expected. The size and scope are a matter of relativity in that the agency can function according to the needs of the community. It has accommodated many changes and it will do so in the future as long as it serves the needs of the community.<sup>4</sup>

Joseph Berlettano, the former Director of Camps and Youth Development, points out the significance of the agency:

It has played a significant role in protecting the interests of the community in a special welfare field but it has also contributed a tremendous amount of support in retaining the identity and inner cohesion in facing the socio-cultural-political revolution. The FCCS has been able to provide a forum for its members to articulate their problems to other organizations, be they public or private. Symbolically, it stands as a major institution for preserving our identity. Constant intra-group communication has been encouraged for the above purposes.<sup>5</sup>

Wilfred Sweeney, past Comptroller and Executive Director of the agency, indicates that:

The FCCS has and will continue to maintain its functions to enable its affiliated agencies or granting institutions to provide sectarian services. In the

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<sup>3</sup> Interview with R. McConomy, November 11, 1986.

<sup>4</sup> Interview with Sam Ducharme, December 10, 1986.

<sup>5</sup> Interview with Joseph Berlettano, October 10, 1986.

present reality, the trend in the public sector is coming back to private institutions for help in supplying adequate services for the public at large. The FCCS has the potential to enlarge its activities as long as such demands are made by the community. It has support from the Church and recognition from the English Catholic community to function continuously as a sectarian institution.<sup>6</sup>

In the final analysis, we witness that the agency still functions as a sectarian communal welfare institution serving the English-speaking Catholic ethnic community. There is consensus that the agency has been subjected to many pressures and forces from both outside and inside the agency and has accommodated these developments by changing its name, scope, structure, priorities and financial sources. In terms of scope, it has become a much smaller agency. As a matter of fact, it functions as a trustee. However, it has maintained its manifest and latent functions on a smaller scale, particularly since it merged with Centraide Montreal in 1975.

At this point, we can raise another question: Is the definition and meaning of the term Catholic in 1986 the same in 1931? In 1931 the agency was private, strictly sectarian, partly funded by the community and Quebec Public Charities Act (QPCA) but undoubtedly Catholic. Public funds were used as a supplementary in furthering the purpose of the agency in terms of providing Catholic social service in a sectarian manner. Is it as Catholic today? The answer is that it is, even though many changes have taken place.

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<sup>6</sup>Interview with Wilfred Sweeney, July 25, 1986.

The agency still persists with the three major characteristics by which the Catholicism of a communal social welfare agency can be measured (Catholic constituency, Catholic voluntarism, and Catholic values), we maintain that these elements exist today in the agency as they did in 1931. What has changed are structure, status, scope, program priorities, and funding sources. Today, it is fully funded by the Catholic community, i.e. profits derived from real estate properties, investments, and donations. In turn, the funds are distributed to only Catholic organizations except, Centraide, for the social welfare services. It is a sectarian ethnic communal welfare agency.

### CONCLUSION

We have shown that the agency remained a Catholic communal welfare agency on almost all counts with some differences, especially in regard to the service delivery aspects. All direct services were not provided by the agency but it provides funds for Catholic communal organizations which supply social welfare programs and community action and developments. With respect to the sectarian aspect, there is a general consensus that the agency operates as a Catholic welfare agency promoting all ingredients of Catholic social service aspects directly and indirectly through other Catholic organizations.

It is worthwhile now going back to our basic argument brought forward in the introduction. The argument is that notwithstanding the many changes that the agency went through in fifty-five years, it always has maintained its manifest and latent functions as a Catholic communal welfare ethnic institution. We think that the validity of this argument has been proven. In 1986 the agency still remains the vehicle for providing funds for social welfare services to the English-speaking Catholic community. The institution has also preserved its latent functions. It has persisted as a symbol of Catholic charity and as a vehicle by means of which Catholics can gain social

recognition and prestige in exchange for their services. The agency has preserved its functions as an ethnic institution because it has managed to perpetuate its <sup>English</sup> Catholic characteristics.

However, it must be noted that the changes experienced by the agency were not unique to Montreal. Everywhere in the Western world, during the last fifty-five years, countries have had to adjust to the rise of professional social work, the improvement of economic conditions and the emergence of the welfare state. The most striking feature of this development is that the agency was confronted by an emerging and expanding public welfare system which took over all basic services and a total merger with Centraide Montreal which also took over major functions of the agency.

The agency reacted to these major developments by shifting the focus of its activities from social welfare to fiduciary functions and the providing of funds to Catholic welfare organizations for a social welfare purpose.

In the last analysis, the agency's success to maintain itself over the years, as a Catholic social welfare agency stemmed from the following reasons:

- 1) Its deep roots and, for many years, central position within the Catholic communal organizations of Montreal.
- 2) Its ability to secure enough funds, based on cooperation from the Catholic community.
- 3) Its professional standards and the respect of current social welfare trends.



- 4) Its ability to mobilize community resources and support from lay leaders and volunteers, and donations.
- 5) Its ability to maintain its status as an integral part of the Church thereby receiving unconditional support from the Church, religious communities, and pastors.
- 6) Its ability to accommodate changes while preserving its core of Catholicism and ethnic functions.

During the past fifty-five years of operation, the agency has made an outstanding contribution in preserving the Catholic image and characteristics within the English Catholic community and has maintained its major role as a sectarian Catholic communal welfare and ethnic institution.

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