Creating multi-cultural organizational responsiveness to rape victims: a study of organizational change.

Kathryn M. Salisbury

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CREATING MULTI-CULTURAL ORGANIZATIONAL RESPONSIVENESS TO RAPE VICTIMS: A STUDY OF ORGANIZATIONAL CHANGE

A Dissertation Presented
by
KATHRYN MERRILL SALISBURY

Submitted to the Graduate School of the University of Massachusetts in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

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School of Education
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The customary division between acknowledging those who have shared in the intellectual and physical labors of the work and those who have shared in the personal struggles of its completion is largely irrelevant to the task of thanking the many people who have contributed to the completion of this study. This integration of the personal and professional was at once my near nemesis and the most exciting part of the undertaking.

First a special thanks to Donna Landerman who had the foresight, political conviction, and perseverance to initiate the Outreach Project and direct it to its completion. SACS is a better place because of her efforts. Donna's and Cindy Cohen's insightful comments regarding the preliminary organization and analysis of the data reported on are also appreciated.

The support of the Outreach Project by the National Institute of Mental Health's Center for the Prevention and Control of Rape through the award of grant number MH30620-02 was also critical to this undertaking. Portions of this dissertation appear in the Outreach Project's final report "Evaluation of Outreach to Minorities in the Area of Sexual Assault," Boujouen, Landerman, and Salisbury (1980).
It is however the hard work of Outreach Project and SACS staff and many volunteers that made this study of organizational change possible. The contributions of Outreach Project staff Norma Boujouen, Ilia Castro, and Marlis Gage deserve special mention not only because of the quantity and quality of their work but because of the tenacity of their belief that there is important work to be done among Third World women to combat and confront the realities of sexual assault.

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a complexity and truthfulness that is difficult and often frightening. After many years she also succeeded in convincing me that the best dissertation is a completed one. Her support, encouragement, wit, intellectual clarity, research skill, and generous contribution of time are most deeply appreciated.
ABSTRACT

Creating Multi-Cultural Organizational Responsiveness to Rape Victims: A Study of Organizational Change

February 1981

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Directed by: Professor Emma M. Cappelluzzo

The study explored the relationships between service utilization patterns and multiple organizational tasks, social structure, including division of labor and patterns of authority, service provision norms, the subjective experience of staff and volunteers, and the composition of staff and volunteers within an organization attempting to increase service utilization by Black and Puerto Rican clients. Results generally supported the three major objectives of the study. First, support was provided for the utility of the application of a systems approach to organizational change. Second, support for the importance of a research focus on the implementation phase of the change process was found. Further, race and ethnicity were shown
to be important variables in the change process. More specifically, the sole positioning of Whites in authority roles within a multi-cultural work group adversely affected conflict resolution and hence task attainment within the work group. Collective structures which worked well for the relatively homogenous pre-Project organization were also shown to be less effective in the post-Project organization which was marked by a diversity of goals, priorities, tasks, and interactional styles.

The Outreach Project, the change project under investigation, was effective in accomplishing its goal of increasing service utilization by Black and Puerto Rican women. Progress toward meeting a second goal of increasing SACS' ability to provide service by same race/ethnicity counselors was also made.

Although causal relationship between increased Third World staff and volunteers cannot be proven, observational and interview data support the following theory of change. As a first step, change in the racial/cultural composition of the staff permitted the effective implementation of Outreach strategies in the Black and Puerto Rican communities. Third World volunteers who were recruited through outreach in turn enabled the accurate projection of a multi-racial/cultural organizational image to community residents, thereby increasing the willingness of Third World community
residents to utilize SACS' services. Changes in norms and policies, in addition to staffing patterns, played an important role in the provision of institutional support for the intended organizational change.

Findings also revealed that the simultaneous use of multiple strategies aimed at internal organizational change enhanced the creation of new organizational norms which were consistent with the goal of increasing service utilization by Blacks and Puerto Ricans. There strategies included: 1) implementation of an anti-racist counselor training curriculum; 2) vigorous recruitment of Third World women for staff openings; 3) creation of White anti-racism groups; 4) formation of a Black and Hispanic Counselors Coalition; 5) continuous recruitment of Third World women as volunteers; 6) active solicitation of Third World and White anti-racist activists for decision making roles; and, 7) conducting research on the attitudes and behaviors toward rape in the Black and Puerto Rican communities. Interview data and observational data importantly revealed that these strategies were not invariate. Successful implementation strategies were those that promoted mutual adaptation of the setting and the innovation.

Results are discussed with respect to the implications for a systems theory of change and the mediating role of the implementation process. Further research investigating
unstudied variables and clarifying theoretical questions was recommended.
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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

While the rhetoric of rape crisis centers has included the needs of Third World women, the reality of service provision falls far short of the ideal as reflected by a pervasive pattern of underutilization of services by Third World women (Duncan, 1980). Progress toward addressing the problem of underutilization has been impeded by an inattention in research and practice to cross-racial/cultural perspectives on rape and response to rape and to the organizational context for service provision. Recent studies by Williams (1978) and Holmes and Williams (1979) are notable exceptions to the lack of cross-cultural research and, importantly, explore the relationships between race, ethnicity and attitudes toward rape. However, these and future studies will be of little practical use in the absence of an articulation of a theory of planned organizational change.

Historically, the major error in dealing with problems of organizational change has been theorists and practitioners' tendency to underestimate the complexity of the organization as a social system and its resistances to change. Their disregard of systemic characteristics,
focusing instead upon attitude change or dissemination of knowledge, has frequently led to the confusion of individual change with modification of organizational variables. Consequently, redesign approaches, as so thoroughly documented in the fields of education and business (Giaquinta, 1973; Sarason, 1971), are too frequently piecemeal attempts at change which neglect the organizational supports or constraints for the proposed changes. By contrast, this study will examine the utility of a systems approach to change which emphasizes the interdependence of sub-units within the organization through inquiry into of the implementation and impact of "The Evaluation of Outreach to Minorities" Project, referred to herein as the Outreach Project, upon its sponsoring organization, the Sexual Assault Crisis Service of Hartford.

History to Present Research

The Sexual Assault Crisis Service of Hartford (SACS) has been in operation since 1974. SACS provides counseling, informational, and advocacy services to persons over sixteen years of age who are victims of sexual assault, attempted sexual assault, or sexual harassment. Cases include marital rape and incest. Services are provided to minors with parental permission. From 1974 to 1976, crisis intervention services were provided to nearly 500 victims of sexual assault, yet few of these women were Black or Hispanic. Despite cur-
rent population estimates showing Blacks and Hispanics comprising over 50 percent of Hartford's population, only nine of the 145 crisis cases handled at SACS in 1976 were Black or Hispanic.

In an effort to improve SACS' service delivery capability to the Black and Hispanic communities of Hartford and to better understand why Black and Hispanic women do not use SACS, representatives of SACS undertook a preliminary assessment of need by contacting SACS' Third World counselors and Black and Puerto Rican community leaders. They reported the following findings: "1) Many people in the minority communities have never heard of SACS, 2) SACS has developed an image as a White women's organization, 3) Minority people don't often have the time to devote to volunteer work and those who do are generally already overextended, and 4) SACS has never systematically attempted to identify and meet the unique needs of minority people in the area of sexual assault." (Landerman, 1977, p. 2).

Such preliminary needs assessment data draw attention to the fact that the underutilization of sexual assault crisis services by Black and Hispanic victims is a complex and multi-faceted problem. It requires the researcher and practitioner to look outward to the cultures of the communities, inward to the organizational structure and culture of the services themselves, and backward to the his-
tory of racism and ethnocentrism within the United States for a context within which to understand the phenomena.

As several volunteers and staff began the look inward to SACS as an organization, the relative scarcity of Black and Hispanic volunteers and the total absence of Third World staff members became glaringly apparent. Of the nearly 100 volunteer/advocates, the lifeblood of service provision, only six of the volunteers were Black or Hispanic. Both full time staff members, during the same year, 1977, were White. Initial attempts by White volunteers to recruit Third World people into the 13-week counselor training course, a prerequisite for volunteer status, had limited success. Extensive personal recruitment efforts produced few Black and Hispanic trainees and drop out rates for those specifically recruited were very high (Landerman, 1977). The White staff and volunteers concluded from this experience that Black and Hispanic staff are essential to the successful involvement of Black and Puerto Rican women in the organization. Consequently, the search for funding to enable staff expansion was undertaken. Successful application was made to the National Center for the Prevention of Rape, of the National Institute of Mental Health, for a research and demonstration grant entitled, "The Evaluation of Outreach to Minorities." Funding was secured to support this action research project for the period of April 1978 through
March 1980.

The general objectives as outlined in the original grant proposal (Landerman, 1977) were:

1) identify and describe the attitudes, behaviors, and resources relevant to rape and rape victims in the Black and Hispanic communities of Hartford;

2) use this information to implement an innovative service demonstration project for minority people;

3) evaluate the success of the research and demonstration project; and,

4) document the impact of the research and demonstration project on SACS itself.

This author's role in the Outreach Project was that of Training and Research Consultant. Responsibilities relevant to the present study included primary responsibility for the collection and analysis of the data related to the impact of the Outreach Project on SACS and the evaluation of the volunteer training program. The research reported herein then, is but one piece of a larger study (Boujouen, Landerman, and Salisbury, 1980) which also includes basic research on the attitudes, behaviors, and resources relevant to rape and rape victims in the Black and Hispanic communities of Hartford, and an evaluation of outreach efforts.
A Review of Conceptual Perspectives

A selective review of several literatures is necessary to explain the formulation of research issues in the present study. They include reviews of: 1) rape victim research, 2) the literature on organizational change, and 3) evaluation research. The reviews will selectively focus attention on cross-cultural issues, and methodological concerns.

Rape victim research. Relative silence surrounded the issue of rape until the early 1970s when feminists throughout the country began organizing speak-outs on rape and thus opened up the subject of rape from a feminist point of view for the first time in history. As a result of greater public attention to the issue, the first handful of scholarly writings on the subject of rape were published in 1971. The earliest studies [for example, Amir (1971) and McDonald (1971)], tended to focus on the generation of demographic information regarding the rape victim and offender and epidemiological factors such as time of day, season, and relationship of victim and offender. The growth of a literature defining rape as a broader social issue (see, for example, Griffin, 1971; Weiss and Borges, 1973, Brownmiller, 1975) paralleled the publication of these studies.

Beginning in 1972, with the publication of Scherl and
Southerland's (1972) article, "Crisis Intervention with Victims of Rape," a clinical picture of the rape victim and treatment issues began to be delineated. To date, perhaps the most comprehensive view of characteristic responses to rape and approaches to rape counseling is contained in Burgess and Holstrom's (1974) Rape: Victims of Crisis. Based on their research of Boston City Hospital's Victim Counseling Program, they articulate a clearly identifiable rape trauma syndrome and apply crisis theory to the problem of sexual assault. While the pioneering studies described above offer a great deal of valuable general information regarding rape and the needs of rape victims, no mention is made of racial or cross-cultural variations in the response to and perception of rape or to the special needs of minority victims.

More recent studies by Holmes and Williams (1979) and Williams (1978) provide a cross-cultural analysis of the impact of sex role attitudes on definitions of rape for Whites, Blacks, and Mexican Americans. Although they are valuable first attempts to explore the relationship between race, ethnicity and attitudes toward rape, the findings explicate little of practical use to the service provider in search of means to overcome barriers to service utilization by minority clients.

The utility of the studies and books discussed above is similarly limited by the gross inattention to the
organizational contexts for service delivery. Elizabethann O'Sullivan's (1978) article, "What Has Happened to Rape Crisis Centers? A Look at Their Structures, Members, and Funding", is a notable exception to the lack of attention to organizational trends within and among rape crisis centers. In the article she reports the results of a mail survey to 90 responding rape crisis centers. A detailed discussion of her findings regarding the diversity of organizational features, membership, and funding sources of the responding centers will be presented here because of the opportunity to later locate the experience of SACS within these national patterns of demise, growth, and change of rape crisis centers.

As O'Sullivan (1978) has noted, the first rape crisis services were located in American cities and towns in which there were strong feminist communities. As rape crisis centers spread to other parts of the county, however, some projects were identified with more traditional social service agencies rather than the women's movement. Below is a discussion of her findings related to service provision, organizational structure, volunteer characteristics, and funding.

Most projects surveyed (78 percent) operated a 24-hour hotline, 100 percent operated speakers bureaus and impressive numbers respectively offered escorts to the police station (90 percent), hospital (89 percent),
and court (86 percent). Professional counseling was offered in 60 percent of the centers and Peer Counseling in another 38 percent. In addition, substantial numbers of centers offered training to police, court personnel, medical and mental health professionals. Self defense classes were also undertaken by 29 percent of the centers and court observation was undertaken by 20 percent of the centers surveyed.

Rape crisis center staff frequently reported conflicts between the demand for direct service, particularly staffing the hotline, and the desire to engage in preventative and more political endeavors. Individuals more interested in contributing to ending rape and its effects were often overwhelmed by their obligations to victims. Over 25 percent of the centers, however, have continued in the earlier activist tradition, for example, holding public protests.

In relation to organizational structure, O'Sullivan (1978) found that collectives seem to be poorly suited to meet a high level of demand over a range of services. The number of requests and the desire for quality tended to increase the pressure for internal differentiation which most frequently began with the formation of committees for task execution and steering committees for formal decision making. The appearance of boards, however, marked a move toward institutionalization.
Most centers were started as volunteer entities, though by the time the data was collected 53 percent of the centers had added paid staff positions enabling the centers to improve the quantity and quality of the services provided. In those centers where staff positions were funded by time limited "soft money" sources, problems frequently arose at the end of the funding cycle, particularly in those cases where the involvement of volunteers had been supplanted by paid staff.

The profile of the characteristics of the volunteers in the centers surveyed is remarkably consistent with the composition of SACS volunteers described in "History to Present Research." That is, they are 95 percent White, primarily young (between the ages of 20-29), and students or college educated.

Twenty-one of the centers surveyed attempted to recruit volunteer members of Black, Hispanic, or Native American minority groups. Significantly, only two felt they were successful and nine felt that they had failed in these attempts to recruit Third World women. Although no analysis of this is presented, O'Sullivan (1978) states, "Efforts to compensate Third World women and to bring them into decision making positions have been more successful in broadening participation" (O'Sullivan, 1978).

Public monies have been critical in addressing the severe financial shortages experienced in the formative
stages of most rape crisis centers. For some, however, the receipt of Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA) and other public monies proved to be at the expense of the centers' independence, with program content and staff time dictated by the funds and the funding requirements. The expiration of grants often precipitated crises, particularly in non-voluntary centers, and have resulted in the closing of many centers. Others, however, have been incorporated into the budget of the agency housing the project. Maintaining an adequate level of funding is a persistent problem, one that is likely to remain so for the foreseeable future.

In reviewing the findings of O'Sullivan's survey it seems clear that the emphasis for most rape crisis centers has been on survival rather than intentional internally focused change. Indeed, most internal change has been stimulated externally by larger environmental or political considerations such as demand for service and availability of funding.

In summary of the rape victim research, a cross-cultural and cross-racial perspective on rape and response to rape is largely absent within the literature reviewed. Similarly, little attention has been devoted to the organizational context for service delivery and more particularly to effective models of service delivery for Black and Hispanic rape victims. This review of the
literature supports the need for exploratory research in both of the above specified areas.

Organizational change. The absence of an articulation of a theory of planned change within the literature on rape and rape crisis centers leads one to look to a more general literature on organizational change for a context in which the Outreach Project of SACS can be understood. For purposes of this review, only change which comes about through deliberate planned attempts at innovation will be considered. The discussion will draw heavily from the literature on planned change in educational and business settings.

A review of the organizational studies in the last 50 years reveals a bias, particularly in the earlier studies (for example, see Mayo, 1933; Lewin, 1951) toward analyzing informal and peer group systems to the exclusion of more formal systems properties such as administrative structure, interactions between organizational subsystems, and external environmental pressures such as politics of funding. Baldridge (1972) has identified several generations of organizational theorists such as Argyris (1962, 1964), Bennis (1966), Likert (1961), and McGregor (1960) who follow in the Mayo and Lewin tradition of what has come to be described as a human relations approach to organizational change. Baldridge (1972)
characterizes the main concern of the human relations school in relation to the perceptions, attitudes, and behavior of individuals within organizations. The solution of problems of interpersonal relationships, reduction of tension between groups, and the development of better methods of conflict resolution have been promoted within the human relations approach (Bennis, Benne, and Chin, 1966; Roethlisberger and Dickson, 1966) through the use of normative re-education strategies such as sensitivity groups and personal counseling. These strategies are mounted with the belief that a change in individuals and their attitudes will, in the long run, affect macro-level factors such as decision-making systems. However, little empirical evidence exists within the literature to support the validity of such assumptions.

Katz and Kahn (1966) were among the first to offer extensive and systematic criticism of the human relations approach to change. They make explicit the set of assumptions that an individual approach to change too often leaves implicit. They stated:

They include at the very least that the individual can be provided with new insight and knowledge; that these will produce some significant alteration in his motivational pattern; that these insights and motivations will be retained when the individual leaves the protected situation in which they were learned and returns to his accustomed role in the organization; that he will be able to adapt his new knowledge to the real-life situation; that he will be able to persuade his co-workers to accept the changes in his behavior which he now desires; and that he will also be able to persuade them to make
complementary changes in their own expectations and behavior. (Katz and Kahn, 1966, p. 391)

Katz and Kahn's (1966) critique of these assumptions rests on two major weaknesses. First, the initial diagnosis may be wrong and thus the inappropriate behavior may not result from a lack of insight. Secondly, an individual approach to change ignores the long and difficult linkage described above. In summary, Katz and Kahn argue against what they have called "the psychological fallacy". Very importantly, however, they caution against a complementary "sociological fallacy," the tendency to assert that any change can be brought about provided the change process is initiated with due attention to the organizational structure. Instead, a more complex view of change which encompasses all levels of the change process is proposed.

Newton and Levinson (1973) successfully avoid the shortcomings of the previously identified "sociological and psychological fallacies" in their sociopsychological approach to the work group. In their important article, "The Work Group within the Organization: A Sociopsychological Approach," they combine sociological and psychological views of the work group in a case analysis of a clinical team within a psychiatric research ward. The primary emphasis within Newton and Levinson's theoretical approach is upon system properties, particularly those relating to task, structure, and culture. They posit that
social process in the work group is intimately related to these system properties and that the system properties of task, structure, and culture provide the causal matrix that determines the effectiveness of work in a work group. Newton and Levinson, however, acknowledged the incomplete nature of their set of four constructs and drew attention to the need to take other considerations such as sex, age, and race into account in the study of organizations.

The inattention to race and ethnicity as intervening variables affecting social process and hence conflict resolution in work groups is present throughout the literature on organizational change. However, an understanding of the difficulty in resolving conflict in multi-racial/cultural groups may be enhanced by contrasting the phase developments within multi-racial/cultural groups and those phases specified within a general theory of group development. Central to a theory of group development, as articulated by Bennis and Shepard (1974), is the premise that a group can resolve its internal conflicts, mobilize its resources, and take intelligent action only if it has a means of consensually validating its experience. According to Bennis and Shepard, the principal obstacles to the development of communication adequate to these tasks are embedded within the orientations toward intimacy and authority that members bring to the group. Since attitudes toward intimacy and authority are affected by larger cul-
tural patterns of domination and oppression, an understanding of racism and cultural oppression in the United States is particularly relevant to understanding the functioning of multi-racial/cultural groups.

Despite their inattention to racial and ethnic considerations, Newton and Levinson's sociopsychological approach to a social psychology of work groups and organizations and the Katz and Kahn critique of the human relations approach to change is particularly relevant to social service fields and the field of education where human relations normative re-education strategies have been used extensively to address social problems such as racism and sexism within the organizational setting. For example, Salisbury (1979) has documented the shortcomings of the nearly exclusive focus on the role of the teacher as curriculum manager and the importance of his or her attitudes and expectations within in-service programs aimed at remediating sex-role stereotyping in schools. She described the modal experience of the initial stages of such programs in terms of the generation of enthusiasm, a flurry of activity on the part of individual participants, and a clamor for additional staff development opportunities. However, she noted that it is not long before the excitement erodes into disappointment at seeing the same few people avail themselves of the learning opportunities. The teacher's sense of isolation and
powerlessness is reinforced each day as the business of sexism in their individual school buildings goes on as usual.

Alternatively, a systems approach to change recognizes that individuals operate in social settings that have structures not comprehensible by theories of individual personality and very importantly, as Sarason (1971, p. 12) has pointed out, "that structure antedates any one individual and will continue in the absence of the individual." In operational terms, a systems approach offers the possibility of a vehicle for networking among proponents of change. Its utilization acknowledges that there is no singularly appropriate approach to implementation. Instead, a systems approach requires that one recognize that the complexity and multi-faceted nature of the goals to be attained often require the simultaneous use of different strategies.

However, the question of how one assesses and chooses appropriate implementation strategies remains a difficult one for most who embark on change efforts. A research focus on implementation is a relatively new phenomenon as noted by Rothman (1974) in his monumental review of social science research as it relates practical aspects of community action and planned social change. Similarly, Fuller and Pomfret (1975), in their review of research on curriculum implementation note that implementation did
not become a focus until it was discovered that both the decision to use and reported use of innovations seldom correspond with actual use. Goodlad and Klein (1970) and Gross, Giaquinta, and Bernstein (1971) are cited as early contributors to the recognition of the fact that the process of introducing and implementing curricula are far more critical and complex than previously acknowledged. Fuller and Pomfret (1975, p. 1) clearly articulate two main reasons why it is useful to focus on implementation.

The first reason relates to the notion of the innovation as a dependent variable. We need to examine strategies and other determinants of change as they affect degree of implementation in various settings in order to engage in planned change efforts of any kind. The second justification derives from the need to assess the impact of the innovation as an independent variable or treatment in an experimental design. If the innovation is the treatment, one must know exactly what it involves in practice in order to know its effects.

Examples of implementation include participation, in-service training, resource support, and feedback mechanisms. Other determinants include characteristics of the innovation, characteristics of the adopting unit, and characteristics of the macro-social context for adoption and implementation. Most important, however, is the newly derived focus on documentation of the actual practice of process of implementation.

The research conducted by the Rand Corporation (Berman and McLaughlin, 1975) under the sponsorship of the United States Office of Education provides the most com-
prehensive assessment made to date of factors affecting the innovative process with a focus on implementation. They first reviewed the literature on education innovations of the past decade and concluded that most federal efforts to stimulate change in local school districts led to disappointing results. Hypothesizing that this disappointment may be due less to inadequate educational technologies or treatments than to the way these promising treatments were implemented in the local institutional setting, the Rand researchers concluded that a systematic understanding of the implementation process was necessary. Their review of the literature also suggests the following premises that express the realities of the local institutional behavior of the innovative process:

1) Effective implementation depends on the receptivity of the institutional setting to change;
2) Effective implementation is characterized by a process of mutual adaptation; and,
3) Local school systems vary in their capacity to deal with innovations and with stages of the innovative process. (McLaughlin and Berman, 1975)

Rand then conducted a survey and field studies of 293 change agent projects, each in their last or next to last year of funding, to test out their hypotheses regarding the influence of project characteristics and the institu-
tional setting, on the course of the innovation. Their findings regarding both factors specified will be reviewed (McLaughlin and Berman, 1975, pp. 15-23):

Effects of project characteristics on project outcomes.

1) There exists a lack of consistent correlation between treatment and outcome, suggesting a simple but highly important implication, that predictors are likely to lie in those project characteristics promoting or inhibiting adaptation to the institutional setting—the implementation strategy—rather than the education treatment or technology itself.

2) Whether an innovation was perceived as central to a district's priorities or ancillary appears to have affected the interest and commitment to project participants at all levels.

3) Implementation strategies that significantly promoted teacher change included staff training tied to practical problems, frequent and regular meetings, and local material development.

4) The establishment of a critical mass is necessary to build the support and morale of the project staff and establish norms for change.

Effects of institutional settings on project outcomes.

1) Because the organization must adapt if significant change is to take place, the receptiveness
of the setting is a necessary but not sufficient condition for successful implementation. A receptive institutional setting provides steady explicit support for the change efforts.

In general, the review of the literature on organizational change supports the application of a systems perspective with a focus on implementation to a theoretical formulation and testing of hypotheses regarding change processes in a variety of institutional settings. Much of the research conducted to date has focused on change in school settings. The generalizability of these research findings to other institutional settings awaits both descriptive and experimental studies in a variety of organizational contexts.

**Evaluation research.** Although in many respects the distinction between the literature on organizational change and evaluation research is artificial, several reasons exist for the inclusion of a separate critique of the evaluation research literature. First, evaluation research techniques tend to be applied in a wider variety of human service settings than described previously within the review of literature on planned organizational change. Additionally, evaluation research is intended for decision making use whereas basic research tends to emphasize the production of knowledge and leaves the use to the natural
process of dissemination and application (Weiss, 1972). Also contained in the literature on evaluation research are excellent critiques on an exclusive commitment to experimental methods in evaluation.

Freeman (1976, p. 25), in his review article outlines the boundaries of the field of the evaluation research. In his view, "evaluation research is the application of social science methodologies to the assessment of human resource programs, so that it is possible to determine, empirically and with confidence that results from employing scientific procedures, whether or not they are useful." Freeman describes and critiques the three types of evaluation activities generally referred to in the field as process, impact, and comprehensive evaluations. Process evaluations are concerned with whether or not a program or intervention was implemented according to its stated guidelines. Impact evaluations, by contrast, are concerned with assessing the extent to which a program effects a change in the desired direction. Freeman (1976) criticizes the failure of many evaluation research studies to undertake process evaluations. His own position advocates the use of comprehensive evaluations, that is, those evaluations which use both a process and impact evaluation. With this approach one can at least document whether or not the failure to demonstrate positive impact findings is due to lack of proper implementation.
In his assessment of the present status of impact evaluations, Freeman notes that most impact evaluations are rooted in the idea of an experiment or quasi-experiments. Although there is a vast, developing body of methodological literature proposing sophisticated procedures for approximating the rigors of the experimental method, few models more appropriate to evaluating broad-aim programs have been proposed. These models and their critiques of more traditional evaluation methodologies are presented below.

Weiss and Rein (1972) place less confidence in the utility of experimental and quasi-experimental designs to evaluate broad-aim programs than many other evaluation researchers (see, for example, Rossi, Freeman, and Wright, 1979; Cain, 1977; Nunnelly, 1975). They identify the following methodological considerations:

1) It is difficult to select satisfactory criteria because they may be specified in many different ways. In addition, narrowly defined criteria misrepresent the actual aims of these programs.

2) The situation is essentially uncontrolled and, from the standpoint of experimental design, comparison cases are apt to be too few, non-random and themselves affected by the program.

3) The experimental design is limited in the information it produces. It is not sufficient to
know whether or not a program worked. The issue instead is what happens when such a program is introduced.

Weiss and Rein (1972) then outline an approach which addresses these deficiencies, particularly the question of what happens when a project is introduced and implemented. The aim of the approach "is to develop a coherent and appropriately-near-to complete description of the relevant community systems prior to the intervention of a program, of the nature of the program, of the nature of the intervention, and of the new system which then develops in which the intervention is a dynamic constituent" (p. 343). Their approach, which can be characterized as process oriented qualitative research, draws heavily upon systems theory and a theory of political process to give form to the description of actual events.

Similarly, Moberg (1974) proposed a qualitative approach to the collection and analysis of evaluation research data because of the problems inherent in enumerative or more highly structured approaches to the collection of data. He concurred with Weiss and Rein that the inclusion of several process variables in a structured design is insufficient to describe or account for the subtleties of the program and variations within it.

In sum, qualitative techniques, when used alone, can give a clear and detailed picture of the process of imple-
mention of a program and its impact on program participants from the participants' point of view. When used in conjunction with more traditional experimental or statistical techniques, they can add an important interpretive dimension to why an innovation did or did not work.

**Summary of the review of conceptual perspectives.** The review of the literature on rape reveals an inattention to cross-cultural and cross-racial perspectives on rape and response to rape. Similarly, a bias is noted within the experimentalist school of evaluation research toward ignoring the possibly widely divergent perceptions of program participants who are of different racial or cultural backgrounds or who hold different roles and positions within the program. In addition, the literature on rape points to the need for understanding the organizational contexts for service delivery and attempts at innovation.

The reviews of the literature on planned change and evaluation research both point to the need for a focus on implementation or process in attempts to evaluate the effectiveness of various attempts at innovation. Both reviews also support the use of systems theory as the theoretical framework for the interpretation of data.

**Statement of Problem and Significance of the Study**

In the broadest sense this study is an attempt to
bring two historically divergent traditions, that of evaluation research and ethnography to bear upon inquiry into efforts at planned change in a human service setting. More specifically, this study is intended to illuminate systemic considerations related to the achievement of the Outreach Project's goal of increasing service utilization at SACS by Black and Puerto Rican women. The present investigation uses Newton and Levinson's (1973) sociopsychological framework to explore the relationships between service utilization patterns and multiple organizational tasks, social structure, including division of labor and patterns of authority, service provision norms, the subjective experience of SACS staff and volunteers about the quality of organizational life, and the composition of staff and volunteers.

The following hypotheses will be examined:

1) A significant positive relationship between the number of Third World staff and volunteers and increased service utilization by Black and Puerto Rican women will be shown;

2) The additional task demands imposed by the Outreach Project and the requirements of a multi-racial/ethnic staff will require greater differentiation of roles and place significant stress on SACS' collective decision making structure;
3) The creation of norms supportive to the achievement of the goal of increasing service utilization by Black and Puerto Rican women is likely to be facilitated by the inclusion of Third World women and White anti-racist activists in leadership, authority, and policy making roles; and,

4) If societal patterns of White domination of Blacks and Puerto Ricans are mirrored in authority relationships within a multi-cultural organization, these patterns of authority can be expected to adversely affect conflict resolution within task groups.

The significance of this study lies within its potential to contribute to an understanding of the creation of multi-cultural organizations. A multi-cultural organization is defined as an organization whose membership is comprised of individuals from various racial, ethnic, or cultural backgrounds and whose structures and operating norms are sensitive to and reflective of the values of the members' cultures. Importantly, it is expected that sexual assault crisis services will become more accessible to Black and Puerto Rican women as our skills and knowledge regarding the creation of multi-cultural organizations are sharpened. Attention in this study to the choice of appropriate implementation strategies and to
the organizational context for the planned change effort will contribute to this needed fund of knowledge. The study is intended to illustrate the utility of a systems approach to change for practitioners wishing to make their services more accessible to underserved populations.

This study also extends the theoretical framework for the analysis of the work group developed by Newton and Levinson (1973) to include race and ethnicity as intervening variables in their proposed set of constructs from which work groups and organizations can be examined. And finally, it is expected that the present undertaking will advance an understanding of a method appropriate to the task of describing how change occurs in specific attempts to implement innovative and anti-racist service programs.

In sum, this study will examine the complex of structures and relationships in the service-provision setting which are presumed to influence the outcome of the Outreach Project's task of creating multi-cultural organizational responsiveness to rape victims. The ensuing description and analysis is intended to be of use to individuals in other organizations undertaking similar anti-racist efforts.
CHAPTER II
METHOD

This chapter will explore factors related to the choice of method and perspective used in data analysis. Specific data gathering techniques used for the assessment of the impact of the Outreach Project on SACS will then be described with particular attention paid to sampling techniques, research materials, and procedure. And, finally, potential sources of bias in data gathering will be identified.

Choice of Method

The complex and diffuse nature of the Outreach Project's goals heavily influenced the choice of research method. Following Moberg's (1974) criteria for selection of method, qualitative methods were chosen to be at the heart of the research design for the following reasons:

1) The control necessary for goal-oriented, structured evaluation was not possible because of the evolving nature of the Project.

2) A description and analysis of the participants' perceptions of their experience with the Project was desired.

3) Data concerning poorly understood attitudes and
behaviors toward rape in the Black and Puerto Rican communities were needed and the researcher wanted to avoid a priori definition of the phenomena. And, finally,

4) Undelayed feedback concerning program progress and impact as perceived by participants was desired.

To elaborate, participant observation and in-depth interviewing which would provide a description of social life from the participants' point of view were chosen because of their suitability to the research and evaluation tasks of the Outreach Project. This self-definition of concerns is especially warranted in areas of inquiry such as organizational change which historically have not included racial, class, and ethnic differences in their analysis. The use of qualitative methods holds particular promise in situations, such as the Outreach Project, where many people with varying backgrounds, goals, and differing perceptions of the same events are present in different roles and with varying degrees of power. By contrasting the perceptions of different subgroups within the organization, it is possible to better identify areas of strain, confusion, misunderstanding and other problems of program operation.

Throughout the research, the researcher attempted to feedback results as quickly as possible to enable the staff
to identify problem areas and make necessary program adjustments. In other words, by providing feedback, the researcher hoped to monitor the Project's effectiveness in a manner which permitted changes to further increase program effectiveness.

In addition, the use of statistically descriptive data in the form of case records, periodic phone surveys, and records indicating numbers of Third World counselors were incorporated into the overall evaluation results. The inclusion of these data allow for a more comprehensive view of the social impact of the Project. The data further enhance the validity of observations because similar conclusions could be drawn from multiple data sources. It is, however, the qualitative data that provide the context for meaning in which the statistically descriptive data can be understood.

Analytical perspective. The organization and analysis of the enormous quantity of data collected during the two years of the Project's existence necessarily belies the values and biases of the Project staff. Acknowledging this, this researchers agrees with Gans (1962), that it is best that researcher make their own biases and pre-conceptions clear at the outset and let the reader provide her/his own correctives.

Recognizing that the issue of rape intersects other
major social concerns such as racism, sexism, classism, and cultural oppression, a critical theoretical perspective has been used in the analysis of data. Using a critical theoretical perspective means that questions of power, social control, and vested interest, as they relate to oppression and the cultures of the Black and Puerto Rican communities as well as the organizational structure and culture of SACS, are raised in the analysis of data. In doing so, the attitudes and/or behaviors related to patterns of service utilization, Black and Puerto Rican women's involvement as volunteers at SACS, and rape in the Black and Puerto Rican communities are presented within the context of the social structures that affect the development of these responses. Thus, the use of a critical analytical framework in conjunction with qualitative methods greatly reduces the risk of continuing the oppressive tradition within social sciences of "blaming the victim" and instead allows the researcher to view culture as a dynamic process. With these views articulated, the challenge of questioning the assumptions made by the researcher, and the conceptual categories she has chosen to order the data rest with the reader.

Data gathering techniques. Inquiry into three general areas of organizational life was undertaken in the study of the impact of the Outreach Project on SACS. They were:
1) the staff as a work and policy making group,  
2) the attitudes, composition and changing roles and expectations for volunteers, and  
3) the counselor training curriculum.

The technique of participant observation was used extensively in two of the three areas under investigation, namely, the staff as a work group and the counselor training component. Interviews were conducted with program staff and volunteers to gather information regarding their perceptions of events and the impact of the Outreach Project on SACS. Additionally, several surveys were conducted during the counselor training program to supplement observational data available and to assemble a composite view of trainees. Other data were drawn from staff meeting minutes, information included in the monthly newsletter, and formal correspondence. In addition, case reports, SACS counselor records, and the phone survey were used as measures of the impact of the Outreach Project on SACS. Each of the techniques will be described below.

**Participant observation.** In order to chronicle the course of the Outreach Project's impact on SACS, standard participant observation procedures were followed with the exception that the data gathered were periodically fed back to the staff for the purpose of assisting in decision making. Participant observation is commonly described as "research
characterized by a prolonged period of intense social interaction between the researcher and the subjects, in the milieu of the latter, during which the data, in the form of field notes, are unobtrusively and systematically collected" (Bogden, 1972, p. 3).

Participant observation was conducted by the half-time Research Consultant during initial staff training sessions and special workshops for staff, weekly staff meetings, weekly research team meetings, and meetings involving volunteers. In addition, observations of staff and volunteers engaged in the process of performing daily work tasks and socializing with one another were made. During the course of the Project grant period, two Research Consultants functioned in the role of participant observer. The first Research Consultant resigned in December, 1978; her replacement, the present author, was hired mid-January, 1979.

Initially, interactions, particularly at staff meetings, were recorded almost verbatim by the original Research Consultant without selective attention to particular issues. This produced an extremely large set of data that was difficult to use effectively. In part, time constraints (the Research Consultant was employed only half-time and had other research responsibilities) prohibited on-going analysis of the data as it was collected, thereby intensifying the problem of managing such large volume of data. As a partial solution to this problem, issue-focused forms for
recording data at staff and research meetings were developed by the research team and instituted during fall of 1978. (See Appendices A and B for sample forms.) Specifically, the form for recording staff meeting observations focused the researcher's attention on decisions made during the meeting, racially-related issues, power, conflict, and divisions of labor/role definitions. Although the forms were helpful in generating more manageable data, it was no longer possible to reconstruct the steps in the interactions leading to decision making. Reliance on staff meeting minutes, taken on a rotating basis by staff members, was necessary to reconstruct the sequence of events that was so often necessary in understanding the meanings of the situated social actions.

The analysis of these field notes proceeded according to the following steps enumerated by Becker (1965):

1) selection and definition of problems, concepts, and indices;
2) checking of the frequency and distribution of the phenomena;
3) construction of social systems models; and,
4) final analysis and presentation of the results.

Staff and volunteer interviews. Interviews with staff and volunteers were used as an important data gathering technique aimed at further describing the staff and volunteers'
experience of their affiliation with SACS. All inter-
views were confidential, not to be shared with anyone and
stored in locked file cabinets. The data gathered during
the interviews provided an important check against ethno-
centric interpretation of the data by the Research Consult-
tant by providing her with valuable information regarding
how perceptions differed according to role and cultural/ 
racial background.

Five sets of interviews with staff members were con-
ducted by the Research Consultants (the first two were
conducted by the original Research Consultant, the third, 
fourth, and fifth by her replacement). The first inter-
view was less structured than subsequent interviews. This
was in keeping with the overall qualitative research
design which begins by collecting data in an open-ended
fashion, and later, identifying categories for more
focused inquiry. In addition, the great flexibility dur-
ing the first interview was necessary in order to get a
clearer idea of the relationship between each staff mem-
ber's past experiences and present involvement in the anti-
rape movement.

The first interview included questions regarding:

1) the history of each staff member's association
   with SACS;
2) staff perceptions of changes in SACS;
3) the Project's aims and progress;
4) the Project's effects on the staff member and her work;

5) staff reactions to the Research Consultant's presence; and

6) staff perceptions of the problems and benefits deriving from the Project.

In addition, some staff members recorded their reactions to meetings and/or events about which they felt strongly. The interviews ranged in length from 45 minutes to 2 hours depending on how much the interviewee shared.

The remaining four sets of interviews (See Appendices C to F for interview protocols) were conducted at intervals of approximately four to six months and tended to focus on perceptions of events since the time of the previous interview. The interview protocols for the fourth and fifth sets of interviews were significantly shortened from previous protocols. This alteration was felt to be desirable by the Research Consultant as well as the interviewees, as evidenced in their statements about how they felt about the interview. In fact, the fourth and fifth sets of interviews yielded more specific and highly descriptive data. This was perhaps related to a greater freedom to probe within individual responses because of fewer overall questions to be completed. These interviews also ranged in length from 45 minutes to 2 hours.

Several possible drawbacks in the interviews can be
noted. The first related to the level of trust between the interviewer and interviewee. By definition, the Research Consultant's role required her to remain less involved in the hub of activity, thus leaving her a lesser-known entity to Project staff. In the initial stages of the Project, this led to some suspiciousness regarding her role and resulted in an inhibition of response. The issue was further complicated by the fact that both research consultants were White. Validity was, in part, assessed by the willingness of interviewees to criticize both White and Third World staff during the interviews.

Confidentiality was assured for all responses. The requirement of confidentiality posed a separate set of problems for the research consultant. When information was divulged during confidential interviews which would have been potentially useful to either the Project Director or whole staff, the researcher was not able to feed the information to them. Often this information would have assisted in decision making or conflict resolution within the Project. In several instances, however, the Research Consultant suggested to the interviewee that the seriousness of the situation she described warranted whole Project consideration and urged her to voice her concerns through the appropriate channels.

Four sets of staff interviews were conducted with a representative sample of White and Third World volunteers
during January 1980. These interviews were not originally part of the research plan due to its focus on the impact of the Outreach Project on the staff rather than a more systemic view of the overall change process. Volunteer interviews were conducted to better understand the volunteers' perceptions of the impact of the Outreach Project on SACS and the role of the volunteer within the organization.

Two interviewers, one White and one Black, were hired to conduct the interviews and offer a preliminary analysis of the results. The decision to have a White woman interview White volunteers and a Black woman interview Third World women was made on the assumption that the volunteer/counselor would feel more comfortable in this situation and give more complete and accurate information. Two interview protocols, designed by the Outreach Project staff, were used by the two interviewers. The two protocols differed only slightly; these differences related to questions asked about Third World and White volunteers' respective involvement in the Third World Counselors Coalition and the White Anti-racism Group. (See Appendices G and H for actual protocols.) Questions were asked of each of the volunteers regarding the length and nature of their involvement at SACS, and perceptions about and contact with the Outreach Project.

Lists of potential volunteers, generated by the Out-
reach Project staff, were given to the two interviewers. White volunteers divided into the following categories: 1) very involved, 2) moderately involved, and 3) slightly involved. The women in the "slightly involved" category worked only as hotline staffers, those in the "moderately involved" category did some work in addition to volunteer counseling, and the "very involved" category had major responsibility in some aspect of SACS. It was not possible to select the Third World counselors on the basis of their level of involvement in the organization as was done with the White counselors, due primarily to the small sample population. Originally, eight Third World counselors were selected to be interviewed. Due to scheduling problems, only six were conducted. Of the 14 White counselors selected for an interview, 10 of them were actually interviewed. The White interviewer reported that two of the interviews were conducted by phone and lasted approximately 30 minutes. The remainder were conducted in person and lasted between 45 and 90 minutes. Third World volunteers were all interviewed in person and interviews also ranged in length from 45 to 90 minutes.

Evaluation of counselor training. Changes in the Counselor Training curricula were expected to be a major indicator of the impact of the Outreach Project on SACS. Evaluation of the three counselor programs that took
place during the course of the Outreach Project were conducted by a Training Consultant, the present author who assumed the role of Research Consultant after completion of the first training evaluation. The dual role was expected to enhance the implementation of training recommendations because of the Training/Research Consultant's regular participation in staff meetings where she could report on the progress of the training, incorporate the research findings of the Outreach Workers, and set in motion the process for making any policy changes in relation to the recommendation made.

The purpose of the training evaluations was primarily to assess the ability of the training program to prepare all counselors to adequately meet the counseling needs of Black and Puerto Rican women who have been sexually assaulted. The training programs were also evaluated in terms of their contributions to meeting a second goal of the Outreach Project, that of increasing the service delivery capability within SACS by Third World counselors. More concretely, this meant looking at the effects of increased recruitment and training redesign on the number of Third World counselors to complete the training.

The first step in evaluating the counselor training programs was the generation of evaluation criteria. Certain knowledgeable individuals were identified by the Outreach Project staff as best able to define these needs.
Data sources included:

1) information from a workshop for Puerto Rican counselors;
2) information from a workshop for Black counselors and invited residents of the Black community;
3) information gathered at a meeting of the SACS Counseling Collective; and,
4) other needs assessment findings of the Outreach workers.

The workshops for Black and Puerto Rican counselors and community residents essentially constituted a group key informant approach to the collection of relevant data. The information gathered from the Counseling Collective, a predominantly White group which met regularly to discuss and redefine the counseling philosophy of SACS, focused on members' perceptions of the inadequacies of the past trainings in relation to the preparation of counselors to deal comfortably and competently with Third World victims.

Consensus existed across groups of Black, Puerto Rican and White counselors that past trainings programs had focused on the needs of the White middle-class women and, as such, counselors from these training programs were at a disadvantage in counseling women of different backgrounds.

Most Whites who participated in the generation of evaluation criteria indicated a lack of exposure to Blacks and Puerto Ricans. Dynamically, this manifested itself
in inevitable expressions of racist attitudes, as well as an unwillingness to explore race-related issues openly. Both Whites and Blacks expressed a desire to have some time in the training allocated to racially homogeneous groups to deal with the issue of racism.

Informal conversation between Third World counselors and the Training/Research Consultant revealed that training facilitators lacked leadership in dealing with participant racism, thereby contributing to the dissatisfaction of Third World trainees. These counselors indicated that they would have felt more comfortable if leaders had more clearly articulated and enforced anti-racist values during the training sessions.

The SACS training session of Fall 1978, Spring 1979, and Fall 1978 were subsequently evaluated in terms of the following criteria, generated through the process previously described:

1) presentation of culturally and historically relevant information regarding sexual assault and the counseling of Black and Hispanic women;
2) the creation of an environment which facilitates the exploration of one's own racism;
3) facilitator leadership in confronting participant racism;
4) the degree to which goals of the Outreach Project were conveyed as priority issues for all
persons affiliated with SACS; and,

5) recognition of the degree to which information presented (i.e., crisis intervention theory) applied differentially to Black and Puerto Rican women.

Participant observation by the training consultant was the primary technique used to gather evaluation data. Informal and formal feedback from the counselor trainees was incorporated into the training consultant's process notes. Informal feedback consisted of comments made to the training consultant as well as evaluative comments made by participants at the end of each session. The formal feedback was generated by a questionnaire administered to trainees at the completion of the Counselor Training Program.

A questionnaire designed to collect information regarding the trainees' background, attitudes about and knowledge of Black and Puerto Rican cultures was also administered to all training participants at the beginning of each training program. (See Appendix I for sample questionnaire.) This proved useful in comparing the composition of various training groups, comparing profiles of completors and non-completors, and in situating the composite features of SACS' trainees within the context of national trends. O'Sullivan's (1978) data collected on 90 rape crisis centers across the country pro-
vide the basis for comparison.

Informal discussions with trainees and debriefing sessions with trainers after individual training sessions were intended to provide additional data to act as a check against the observational bias of the evaluator. Feedback from the facilitators was formally generated at a half-hour session directly following the training session.

Additionally, an evaluation of written materials used in the training sessions was undertaken by the training consultant, with the help of the Outreach Workers. Materials were reviewed for racist language and bias, and omission of historical and cultural information regarding Blacks and Puerto Ricans.

**SACS case reports.** Forms collecting data on SACS cases enabled measurement of change in the number of Black and Puerto Rican clients requesting help from SACS. The term "cases" refers to any contacts with SACS made by people seeking immediate help in relation to a past or recent sexual assault, or sexual harassment. These included calls from friends and family of the victim who were seeking help for themselves and/or the woman or child assaulted. In the form, all questions, with the exception of one open-ended question regarding the counselor's assessment of the cases, were organized in a multiple choice format. Completed case report forms provided detailed records of
each case of sexual assault or harassment involving Black or Puerto Rican women that was reported to SACS after November 1978. As such, they were a method of needs assessment. Questions included information about the assault, the woman's needs and her experience seeking help, i.e., hospitals, courts, police.

Although SACS and Outreach Project Staff answered the hotline during daytime hours, they seldom took cases. Instead, one of the over one hundred volunteers most frequently had the first prolonged contact with the client. The procedure for case recording involved the counselor calling in the case information to one of the seven staff members during the 9:00 am-5:00 pm workday at SACS. Case information was to be called in as soon as possible after the counselor's initial interview with the client.

The volunteer's primary role as counselor and secondary role as data collector sometimes conflicted and minimized the effectiveness of the case reports as a research tool. A cautious counseling technique emphasizing trust building between counselor and client was a top priority and often prohibited the posing of research questions. Unfortunately, information that might have been useful to the Outreach Project research was not always shared on a first contact.

SACS counselor records. Records of Blacks and Puerto
Ricans who volunteered to be SACS counselors provided a basic measure of outreach effectiveness. Simple forms were used at the first training session on which individuals recorded basic identifying data, including where they heard of SACS. This information enabled any direct link between outreach activities and counselor recruitment to be measured.

**Telephone survey.** Four phone surveys were conducted during the course of the Project. They were conducted in the fifth, eleventh, sixteenth, and eighteenth months of the Project.

A total of forty-six agencies were contacted in the greater Hartford area during the course of each phone survey. Thirteen of the agencies were located within Frog Hollow, sixteen within South Arsenal, and the remaining seventeen agencies outside of the target neighborhoods. Frog Hollow is a predominantly Puerto Rican residential neighborhood and South Arsenal is a mixed racial neighborhood with a majority of Black residents. Both were target areas for outreach efforts. The same format was used for each of the surveys and is described below. Agencies located within Frog Hollow and hospitals were contacted by a Spanish-speaking caller. Other agencies were contacted in English.

The phone survey involved a staff person of the
Outreach Project calling each agency and telling of a hypothetical sexual assault involving a friend of the caller's. The caller spoke to whomever answered the phone and asked where the friend could obtain assistance. If she was transferred to another person, she repeated the story and questions. If referral to the hospital or police was made, the caller said that the victim was unsure whether she wanted the hospital or police involved, and then asked if there was someone who could help her figure out what to do. Extensive notes were taken during the interview. The notes were later examined and the following information extracted: language the interview was conducted in, sex of respondent, number of transfers, mention of SACS, mention of YWCA, mention of the Hotline, and any other referrals given.

Sources of potential bias in interviewing and participant observation. Interviews are subject to a number of sources of bias and interview error, including social desirability of response, racial/ethnic match between interviewer and respondent, hostility to research, interviewer attitudes, and factors related to the structure of the interview. Extended discussions of these issues can be found in Weiss (1975) and Rosenthal (1966).

Match between interviewer and respondent is most relevant to the present undertaking. Support for race/
ethnicity matching is well documented in the literature on interviewing (Weiss, 1975). Support for matching interviewers by sex is less clear, although it is particularly germane to interviewing about sexual assault, as evidenced by respondents' comments during the interviews. With the exception of the staff interviews, conducted by the White Research Consultant, and interviews of Puerto Rican volunteers conducted by a Black Consultant, all interviews in this study were matched by race and ethnicity. In addition, with the exception of a small number of the key informant interviews, all interviews were matched by sex.

Used in conjunction with interviewing and collection of statistically descriptive data, participant observation has numerous strengths which recommend it as a technique. Foremost among its strengths is opportunity to check for distortion or misreporting in the subjective appraisals given by participants when interviewed. It is particularly important to assess attempts at organizational change, as we have attempted to assess the impact of the Outreach Project on SACS, by direct systematic observation of the behaviors in question. Direct observation challenges highly questionable subjective operational definitions of the degree of organizational change and enhances the explanatory value of the conditions necessary for organizational change. For a discussion of this position, see
Gross (1971).

Participant observation, however, is not without its limitations. A problem frequently noted in the literature on participant observation (see Bogden, 1972) is the potential for the observer to act as a sieve which collects and analyzes non-representative data. Related is a concern about reliability (see Webb, Campbell, Schwartz, and Sechrest, 1966), that is, that the observer will be variable over the course of observation, thus contributing to spurious differences in comparison. The fact that the participant observer was subject to conflicting role pressures increases the likelihood of such variability.

In sum, data gathering strategies included participant observation, staff and volunteer interviews, survey techniques, and collection of statistically descriptive data. The combined use of methods is intended to confront biases that might go undetected in the research strategies when employed singularly.
CHAPTER III

HISTORY OF SACS, OUTREACH PROJECT GOALS, AND IMPLEMENTING STRATEGIES

Following Weiss and Rein's (1972) outline of an alternative approach to evaluating broad-aim programs such as the Outreach Project, this chapter will present a brief history of SACS before the Outreach Project, describe the initiation of the Outreach Project, enumerate and describe the evolution of the Outreach Project's goals, and finally chronicle the implementation process. Implementation here refers to the actual use of an innovation or when the project confronts the reality of the institutional setting and project plans must be translated into practice. The new system, of which the implementing strategies are dynamic constituents, will be described in later chapters.

Before the beginning—a brief history of SACS before the Outreach Project. SACS was started in 1974 by a small group of White feminist women who were concerned that no special services were offered to rape victims in the greater Hartford area. This group of women secured seed money to begin a rape crisis center from the Law Enforcement Assistance Agency (LEAA), for a period of two years. Space was
rented at the YWCA to house the service. A Director and Secretary were hired and the first self-run counselor training group was initiated in July 1974 for approximately twelve volunteers. Like most other rape crisis centers (O'Sullivan, 1978), the demand for services with few staff resources and only a handful of volunteers necessitated formalizing a regularly offered training program as a way of insuring growth of the organization and making available an adequate pool of volunteers. The training was subsequently held twice a year and run by volunteers, with the occasional help of outside consultants. The six training courses held from Fall 1974 to Fall 1977 produced a pool of over 100 counselor/advocates. SACS counselor/advocates function in many roles and perform numerous tasks essential to SACS' operation. In addition to providing basic crisis counseling to victims of sexual assault, counselors are involved in answering a 24-hour hotline, accompanying the victim to the hospital and court when necessary, follow-up counseling, community education, and committee work.

SACS' infancy was generally experienced by those volunteers available to be interviewed as an extremely exciting time. Because so little had yet been done and because the service was still small, it was easy for volunteers to get involved and see themselves as central to the organization during its first years of existence.
In fact, probably the greatest limiting factor to the impact a volunteer could have on SACS during the early period was the finite energy of the volunteer herself. That is not to say that the organization was without resistance to innovation. The leadership style of SACS' first Director was characterized by several volunteers from this period as largely authoritarian, often controlling, and unsupportive to others' efforts to shape policy and the character of the new organization. However, despite the first Director's preference for hierarchical organizational forms, volunteers were able, because of their hard word and indispensibility, to make their presence strongly felt.

In 1976, additional funds from the National Institute of Mental Health (NIMH) were secured for a period of one year to conduct an evaluation of the counselor training program. The Director of SACS then became the Evaluation Project Director and a replacement was sought and hired to fill the vacancy her leaving produced.

The replacement of the Director of SACS coincided with the near imminent termination of funding from LEAA with no future funding sources developed. The new Director, working with the YWCA staff, negotiated program status for SACS within the YWCA structure. In subsequent years, SACS has been funded through standard YWCA program funding procedures, which rely heavily on support from
the local United Way.

The YWCA, the larger organizational context for SACS, is located between Asylum Hill, a mixed Black and White residential neighborhood and home of several large insurance companies, and Frog Hollow, the primary residential area for Puerto Ricans in Hartford. Despite the geographic proximity to mixed racial and Puerto Rican neighborhoods, the image of the YWCA in 1976 was more closely associated with its White middle class suburban members, than its Third World neighbors. In 1976, there was only one Puerto Rican and five Blacks working in professional or clerical positions in the YWCA. Visitors to SACS were likely to encounter only White, English-speaking employees behind the information desk and few Third World women or men in the lobby. Since all signs in the building were posted in English, Spanish-speaking visitors were likely to feel unwelcome. Additionally, for security reasons, no signs direct visitors to the SACS office, creating yet another problem for Spanish-speaking visitors who might be reluctant to ask for directions or information from an English-speaking YWCA receptionist.

The sea of White faces and English-speaking voices continued when a visitor finally arrived at the SACS office. No one at SACS spoke Spanish and the logo on the poster which greeted visitors was of two White women. People seemed to know each other well and the conversa-
tion was typically loose, informal and personal. There was frequently a great deal of talk about feminist activities. Reports of uneasiness when coming into the office by Third World volunteers who were interviewed are not surprising in this context.

**Outreach Project initiation.** It was amidst a culture of self-reflection within SACS about the overwhelming whiteness of SACS, the YWCA, and the women's movement, that the idea of the Outreach Project was born. In the Fall of 1976, a White volunteer, later to become Outreach Project Director, called a meeting about community education. The group brainstormed important areas of community education and identified outreach to the Black and Puerto Rican communities as one of them. The organizer of this meeting personally made outreach to Third World communities a priority for herself and actively pursued means of implementing outreach efforts to Hartford's Black and Puerto Rican communities. The search for a means of supporting Outreach efforts coincided with the announcement by NIMH's National Center for the Control and Prevention of Rape interest in funding research projects addressing themselves to the needs of Third World women. Although SACS' primary intent was to support outreach action, a research demonstration grant seemed to be the most feasible way to financially secure this activity.
In sum, the leadership for the initiation of the Outreach Project emerged from the pool of White volunteers, with one volunteer taking major responsibility. The receptivity of SACS' Director and her subsequent commitment of time was instrumental in supporting the initiative of the concerned volunteer. Feedback and input was solicited from the few Third World volunteers who were active during this time period. These Third World counselors were supportive of and excited by the development of the proposal although due to other commitments, their role in its development was limited. Funding for the Project was secured in January 1978 and implementation was begun in April 1978.

Outreach Project goals and implementation. The primary goal of the drafters of the Outreach Project proposal was to increase the accessibility of SACS to Black and Puerto Rican community residents and to increase service utilization among this population. The creation of an anti-racist, multi-racial/cultural, feminist rape crisis service became the process by which to achieve this end.

The specific aims of the Project were originally identified in four general areas--outreach, service, training, and research. These categories were later reorganized by Outreach Project staff into the following five goals:
1) to inform Black and Puerto Rican communities about SACS and sexual assault;

2) to improve SACS' capability to provide anti-racist, multi-cultural, feminist rape crisis services;

3) to develop a community base to SACS in the Black and Puerto Rican communities;

4) to identify and describe attitudes and behaviors relevant to sexual assault in Puerto Rican and Black communities; and,

5) to document the impact of the Outreach Project on SACS.

These goals preserved the intent of the original aims, but were felt to be more descriptive of the categories of activity undertaken by Outreach Project staff in pursuit of the original aims. Each of the goals are interrelated and presumes feedback between organizational sub-systems to be a critical component to the change process.

Implementation of the Outreach Project was characterized by simultaneous pursuit of multiple strategies aimed at creating new organizational norms consistent with the goal of increasing service utilization by Blacks and Puerto Ricans. These strategies included: 1) vigorous recruitment of Third World women for staff openings; 2) continuous community education in the Black and Puerto Rican communities; 3) continuous recruitment of Third
World volunteers; 4) redesign of counselor training curriculum and implementation of anti-racist volunteer training curriculum; 5) the creation of White anti-racism groups; 6) formation of a Black and Hispanic counselors coalition; 7) active solicitation of Third World women and White anti-racist activists for decision making roles which have a major impact on SACS' policies; and 8) the conduct of research on the attitudes and behaviors toward rape in the Black and Puerto Rican communities.

More specifically, these strategies were aimed at the development of anti-racist organizational norms by expanding staff responsibilities to include outreach and recruitment in the Black and Puerto Rican communities, by creating effective vehicles for socializing new and old members into anti-racist organizational norms, by influencing policy decisions through anti-racist activism, and by incorporating research on attitudes and behaviors toward rape in the Black and Puerto Rican communities into more effective models of service provision.

The tables presented on the following pages link the program and research goals with the strategies or activities undertaken to reach the specified goal. In addition, outcome measures are identified for program goals.

An evaluation of the success of the Outreach Project in reaching the program goals related to outreach in the Black and Puerto Rican communities and a description of
research findings about attitudes and behaviors relevant to sexual assault in Puerto Rican and Black communities lies beyond the scope of the present study. These findings are reported by Boujouen and Landerman in "Evaluation of Outreach to Black and Puerto Rican Women in the Area of Sexual Assault" (Boujouen, Landerman, and Salisbury, 1980). Their findings will be presented in this study only as they bear directly upon achievement of the goal of improving SACS' organizational capability to provide anti-racist, multi-cultural, feminist rape crisis services.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GOALS</th>
<th>STRATEGIES TO REACH GOALS</th>
<th>OUTCOME MEASURES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I. Inform Black and Puerto Rican communities about SACS and sexual</td>
<td>A. Media Campaigns</td>
<td>A. Recording indications of media impact, including:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>assault</td>
<td>1. TV shows</td>
<td>1. surveying counselor trainees to see how many heard of training through the media</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. Radio shows</td>
<td>2. recording where Black and Puerto Rican victims heard of SACS</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3. Newspaper advertising and articles</td>
<td>3. recording any indications through community contacts of media impact</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4. Distribution of SACS</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>II. Improve SACS capability to provide anti-racist, multi-cultural,</td>
<td>B. Public Speaking</td>
<td>B. Documentation of Community Contracts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>C. Workshops</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A. Re-design SACS counselor training to be anti-racist</td>
<td>C. Workshop Evaluation Process</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1. training for new counselors</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. in-service training for existing counselors</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>
### III. Develop a community base to SACS in Puerto Rican and Black communities

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>B.</strong> Recruit Black and Puerto Rican counselors</td>
<td><strong>B.</strong> Number of Black and Puerto Rican counselors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>C.</strong> Create ongoing White anti-racism groups</td>
<td><strong>C.</strong> Group self-evaluation volunteer interviews</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>A.</strong> Build relationships with Puerto Rican and Black</td>
<td><strong>A.</strong> Documentation of community contacts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>B.</strong> Recruit Black and Puerto Rican counselors</td>
<td><strong>B.</strong> Number of Black and Puerto Rican counselors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>C.</strong> Organize community women in their neighborhoods through self-defense classes and informal gatherings</td>
<td><strong>C.</strong> Documentation of community contacts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>D.</strong> Identify and develop potential feminist activities in Black and Puerto Rican communities</td>
<td><strong>D.</strong> Documentation of community contacts</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**TABLE 1 (continued)**
TABLE 2
OUTREACH PROJECT RESEARCH GOALS

RESEARCH GOALS

I. Identify and describe attitudes and behaviors relevant to sexual assault

II. Document impact of Outreach Project on SACS

RESEARCH STRATEGIES

1. Case studies of Puerto Rican and Black women who have been sexually assaulted
2. Community contact forms and workshop evaluation process
3. Key informant interviews

1. Research consultant participation observation notes
2. Research consultant interviews of SACS and Project staff
3. Interviews of volunteers
4. Phone survey to measure change in awareness of SACS
5. Data on cases to measure change in utilization of SACS
6. Data on counselors to measure change in SACS community base in Black and Puerto Rican communities
7. Outreach documentation process to describe amount and nature of outreach completed
CHAPTER IV
MEASURES OF OUTREACH PROJECT SUCCESS

The relationships between changes in staff composition, volunteer composition, and service utilization patterns will be explored below. Changes in these three areas are offered as measures of success in achieving the Outreach Project goal of improving SACS' capability to provide multi-cultural, feminist rape crisis service. Although an evaluation of the effectiveness of service provision lies beyond the scope of this research, increased availability of same race/ethnicity counselors is presumed to increase the effectiveness of the offered services. Support for this hypothesis can be found within the literature on the differential effect of therapist race on the therapist/client relationship. For example, studies Carkhuff and Pierce (1967) and Banks, Berenson, and Carkhuff (1967) indicate a greater willingness to follow through in treatment and greater depth of self-disclosure in same race therapist/client dyads.

Staff Composition

Changes in staff composition, specifically staff size and racial/ethnic composition, were observed as a result of the Outreach Project. The first six months of the Project
can be characterized as a time of staff expansion with much focus on recruitment, hiring, and training. The number of full time staff members increased from two to seven; a Project Director, two Outreach Workers, a Training and Education Coordinator, and Research Secretary were added to the existing staff consisting of an Administrative Director and Counseling Coordinator. In addition, several part-time Research Consultants were hired. Table 3 shows the changing staff composition by race and ethnicity from 1976 to 1980.

The total staff size increased by 350 percent from 2 to 7 and the Third World staff size increased from 0 to 5 during the project grant period. This increased staff size was linked by staff and volunteers alike to changes in the amount of office activity and visibility of volunteers at SACS. As one long time staff member said, "It used to feel like our counselors--our volunteers--were in here more and were more part of the day-to-day life of the service than they are now." Another staff member noted that it is harder for volunteers to just drop in since the beginning of the Project "because we're always in meetings or we always have to make phone calls." Similarly, one counselor noted that she felt intimidated coming into the office and "interrupting." Others expressed concerns about the staff constantly being in meetings and the need for SACS to be more "drop-in-able."
### TABLE 3

**STAFF COMPOSITION**  
SACS/OUTREACH PROJECT: April 1, 1978 - October 15, 1980

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1976</th>
<th>1977</th>
<th>1978&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;</th>
<th>1979&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;</th>
<th>1980&lt;sup&gt;b&lt;/sup&gt;</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Black Staff</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Puerto Rican Staff</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White Staff</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Staff</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<sup>a</sup>Combined SACS and Outreach Project

<sup>b</sup>As of October 15, 1980 one staff position remained unfilled. It is anticipated that this will be filled by a Black woman, bringing the number of total staff to five and number of Black staff to two.
Even though many White counselors experienced the staff expansion as contributory to the breakdown of the old SACS, they were able to acknowledge that the addition of Third World staff members was educational for them and instrumental in building a new SACS that is more sensitive to the needs of Black and Puerto Rican women.

In addition, shifts in the racial ethnic composition of staff resulted in more staff attention to issues of racism and an intensive focus on internal staff process. This left the staff of SACS with less available time and energy to extend support to volunteers, thus contributing to the alienation experienced by "old, pre-project volunteers.

Staff changes involving several "old" staff members contributed to the disconnection felt by volunteers. These staff changes are noted below.

Key: (W) - White; (P.R.) - Puerto Rican; (B) - Black

January 1979 - SACS Director (W) replaced by SACS Training Coordinator (W)
Training Coordinator - unfilled position
Outreach Project Typist (B) hired

May 1979 - Counseling Coordinator (W) replaced by non-SACS (P.R.)
Outreach Worker (B) hired as Training Coordinator

June 1979 - Outreach Workers (B) hired

July 1979 - Training Coordinator (B) resigned - unfilled position
September 1979 - SACS Director (W) replaced by Counseling Coordinator (P.R.) Counseling Coordinator - unfilled position

November 1979 - (W) volunteer hired as Counseling Coordinator

May 1980 - Outreach Worker (B) resigned - unfilled position

July 1980 - Outreach Project ends, (W) Project Director, (P.R.) Outreach Worker, and (W) Research Consultant leave

October 1980 - (B) and (P.R.) Community Educators hired

Since many of the SACS volunteers had historically relied on the Counseling Coordinator and Director as their primary organizational contact, their familiar sources of support within the organization vanished within a year of the Project's beginning. At the same time, White volunteers were challenged to confront racial and cultural differences by the presence of more Third World women on the staff and within the volunteer pool.

Many possible reasons exist for the staff changes depicted above. For Whites, the initial lack of organizational support for confronting racial and cultural differences created stress in addition to the stress inherent in doing rape crisis work. This was felt by remaining staff members to be contributory to the "burn-out" experienced by two of the three departing White staff.

In relation to changes involving Black staff members, it is important to note that until February 1979 only one
Black was present on the staff full time. This placed her in the unique and stressful position of having to assume sole responsibility for those tasks more effectively performed by Black women. Examples of this include counseling Black women, outreach to the Black community, counselor training facilitation, and input into decision making regarding overall change as it relates to Blacks. The stress was particularly acute in the beginning stages of the Project when there were so few Black volunteers to assist her.

In addition, the history of rape and racism, as described in "Evaluation of Outreach to Black and Puerto Rican Women in the Area of Sexual Assault" (Boujouen, Landerman, and Salisbury, 1980), mediated both the communities' response to the Black Outreach Worker's presence in the community and Black/White staff relationships. In the community, efforts by the Black outreach worker to undertake education and organizing efforts in relation to rape were frequently identified with the White feminist movement and was consequently greeted with suspicion. In the organization, the Black outreach worker's cultural isolation was further exacerbated by the many barriers to honest and effective communication with Whites. These barriers due to White racism such as White resistance to acknowledging racism, color blindness, and lack of experience with Third World peoples are explored in depth in
"White Anti-Racism Work" (Landerman and McAtee, 1980).

Thus, the circumstances were ripe for the Black Outreach Workers to experience divided loyalties between the organization and community and the stresses associated with that fragmentation. As one Black staff member stated, "I'm in a very dangerous position...that puts a lot of pressure on me to be very clear about who I am, the person who relates to the community, and question how much I am being brainwashed to feminist rhetoric...am I going to be a co-opted Black woman or am I going to be able to maintain what I feel are my community ties?...I don't want to become separated from my community...so I'm under a lot of pressure." The Puerto Rican Outreach Worker experienced many of the same tensions described above, but without the additional problems stemming from the unique historical relationship of Blacks to rape and racism.

Although it is difficult to ascertain the role individual personalities played at SACS, it is safe to assume that the stress of working in a multi-racial/cultural work setting that was consciously attempting to be anti-racist contributed to the high staff turnover during the course of the Outreach Project. This assumption was supported by interview statements made by some of the departing staff members.

Other changes in the organization can be noted in response to the change in the racial/ethnic composition
of the staff. The racial/ethnic composition has been intimately tied to tasks staff members are able to carry out credibly within the Black and Puerto Rican communities. The ability to effectively conduct outreach within Puerto Rican communities is dependent upon Spanish language proficiency and thorough knowledge of Puerto Rican culture. Until 1978 and the hiring of the Puerto Rican Outreach Worker and Research Secretary, this bilingual/bicultural capability was non-existent among SACS staff. Similarly, the effectiveness of any Outreach conducted by Whites in the Black community was undercut by the long history of rape and racism which interfered with the establishment of a level of trust necessary to the recruitment of Third World women as volunteers or referral sources to SACS (Boujouen, Landerman, and Salisbury, 1980).

The effects of more Third World staff members will be discussed more fully in the following chapter in terms of accompanying changes in the culture of the organization. For the present, it is sufficient to note that prior to the Outreach Project and the addition of Third World staff members in 1978, SACS did not have the staff capability to conduct outreach in the Black and Puerto Rican communities. One can also note success in accomplishing the goal of having a multi-racial/cultural SACS staff at the end of the funding period. Staff attrition and vigorous recruit-
ment to find the best qualified women with experience working with multi-cultural populations accounts for the addition of a Puerto Rican woman to the staff in the role of SACS Director.

Volunteer Composition

The goal of improving SACS' capability to provide anti-racist, multi-cultural, feminist rape crisis services by recruiting and training greater numbers of Black and Puerto Rican counselors was met. During the course of the Outreach Project, the percentage of Third World volunteers in the total pool of volunteers increased from approximately 4 percent in April 1978 to 18 percent in January 1980. This represents an increase in the number of Black volunteers by 400 percent and an increase in the number of Puerto Rican volunteers by 600 percent. The changing composition of volunteers is presented in Table 4.

Although the goal of increasing the involvement of Black and Puerto Rican women as volunteers at SACS was originally conceived of as an outreach goal, its achievement rested as much upon organizational changes, such as the use of Third World staff as training facilitators and the redesign of the SACS training, as it did on the effective use of outreach strategies.

The importance of the counselor training program to the generation of anti-racist organizational norms is
### TABLE 4

**VOLUNTEER COMPOSITION**  

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<td><strong>Counselors</strong></td>
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</tr>
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<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
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<td>104</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>104</td>
<td>116</td>
<td>129</td>
<td>121</td>
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</table>
better understood within the context of patterns of counselor drop-out. Table 5 shows the number of counselors by race/ethnicity who dropped out of SACS between March 1977 and January 1980. This table reveals an average dropout rate of 19 percent approximately every six months, and a turnover of approximately 40 percent of the service during the two project years. A slightly higher dropout rate of 27 percent was in evidence between April 1978 and August 1978. This roughly coincided with the time period in which the Outreach Project grant was conceptualized, written, and submitted. This process consumed about half the time of the Director and left the remaining staff members with increased responsibility for the day to day operation of SACS. The time and energy consumed by the proposal writing detracted from staff efforts to coordinate public speaking engagements, community workshops, and communication with volunteers. This may account for the higher than usual dropout rate during this time period.

A closer look at the counselor lists reveals that 71 volunteers who were trained before the Fall 1978 SACS training remained active out of a total of 129 volunteers. Thirty-five of the 71 people listed as volunteers during and after August 1978 participated in training programs that had undergone anti-racist redesign. Thus, one can see not only a shift in the racial/cultural composition
<table>
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<th>Counselors</th>
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<th>Post-Project</th>
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<tr>
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<td>2 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Puerto Rican</td>
<td>0 0</td>
<td>0 0</td>
<td>3 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>22 58</td>
<td>17 22</td>
<td>16 18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bi-lingual Spanish</td>
<td>0 0</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>22 60</td>
<td>17 23</td>
<td>18 21</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
of the volunteers, but also growing numbers of Third World and White volunteers who have knowledge of Black and Puerto Rican cultures and histories as they relate to the counseling needs of Third World victims of sexual assault. The role of recruitment and the training redesign in meeting the goals of the Outreach Project will be explored more fully in a later description of Counselor Training.

The number and visibility of Third World volunteers in the organization can also be seen to be directly related to the increased Black and Puerto Rican utilization of the service described under Service Utilization. One woman who participated in a case study who had not contacted SACS following her assault, reported that she would have called SACS to get the help she needed if she had known she could have spoken to another Black woman. In another case reported in 1979, a bilingual, but not Puerto Rican, school guidance counselor referred a young Puerto Rican victim of sexual assault to SACS because she felt unable to understand the culturally embedded meanings of the assault for the woman. The referral was made knowing there would be a Puerto Rican woman available to counsel the victim. Thus one can see the interplay of outreach, availability of Third World counselors, and Black and Puerto Rican women's willingness to use SACS.
Service Utilization

The case statistics for the years 1976 through 1980 clearly show more Third World clients using SACS. After the extensive outreach efforts conducted by the outreach workers, described in "Evaluation of Outreach to Black and Puerto Rican Women in the Area of Sexual Assault" (Boujouen, Landerman, and Salisbury, 1980), the number of Black cases increased in 1979 by 325 percent from the 1977 figures and the Puerto Rican cases increased by 600 percent. Statistics for the first three quarters of 1980 confirm the trend of increased service utilization by Black and Puerto Rican clients. Actual numbers of clients are shown in Table 6.

The increased number of Third World victims utilizing the service is even more dramatic if one uses the project year beginning in April to count the number of cases. These statistics are reflected in Table 7. Because of inadequate record keeping, data is not available from April 1976 to April 1977 and April 1977 to April 1978.

During the period from 1978 to 1980 of the Outreach Project's existence, it is likely that secular drift, defined as relatively long term trends in the community that can produce change enhancing or masking the effects of the program, accounts for only a small portion of the increased use of SACS by Third World women. No general trends of increased police reporting of sexual assault or
### TABLE 6

**CASE STATISTICS: January, 1976 - September, 1980**

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<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1976</th>
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<th>1978</th>
<th>1979</th>
<th>1980&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;</th>
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<tr>
<td>Total Black Cases</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Puerto Rican and Other Hispanic Cases</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total White&lt;sup&gt;b&lt;/sup&gt; Cases</td>
<td>137</td>
<td>160</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>114</td>
<td>132</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Cases</td>
<td>154</td>
<td>172</td>
<td>124</td>
<td>157</td>
<td>172</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<sup>a</sup>Statistics available only through September, 1980.

<sup>b</sup>Cases for which the race/ethnicity of the client is unknown are counted as white cases. The rationale is based on the impressionistic sense of the Counseling Coordinator from 1976 to 1977 and numerous volunteers who were interviewed that cases involving Third World Women were the exception rather than the rule and that the race/ethnicity of Third World clients was likely to be recorded whereas the race of many white clients was likely to go unrecorded.
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total Black Cases</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Puerto Rican Cases</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<sup>a</sup>Outreach Project period
increased social service utilization among Third World community residents are present during this period as reflected in police statistics and as reported by community agency personnel. There is increased evidence of Black and Puerto Rican women's involvement with women's issues beginning in 1979 and continuing into 1980. However, outreach workers have been quick to note that this movement among Third World women, although encouraging, is still at the stage of developing leadership rather than effecting widespread change within the community. It is therefore more likely that changes noted in service utilization by Black and Puerto Rican women are a direct result of Outreach efforts rather than secular drift or short-term interfering events.

Direct evidence of the positive effect of Outreach activities on service utilization, in fact, is present in information collected on case report forms. Fifty percent of the Third World cases for which there was information knew of SACS through a means directly related to Outreach Project activity. It is likely that this percentage grossly underreflects the actual number of Third World clients who knew of SACS through the Outreach Project because of the earlier identified methodological difficulties in recording case information.

The telephone survey results also support the hypothesis of a positive relationship between outreach efforts
in the Black and Puerto Rican communities and increased referral to SACS. In Table 8, the results of four telephone surveys are recorded. Info-Line, a 24-hour referral agent, refers all inquiries related to sexual assault to SACS, thus a referral to Info-Line from an agency is functionally the same as referring directly to SACS. Only those calls resulting in a referral to SACS or Info-Line are noted. Because the numbers of agencies surveyed varied from time to time, the results will be presented in percentages to facilitate comparison.

When interpreted within the context of the patterns of Outreach, documented in the Outreach Project chronology April 1978 through June 1979 in Appendix J, the results of the telephone survey are suggestive of the following trends:

1) Referrals are more likely to occur following intensive outreach efforts as evidenced by the greater referral rates of the August 1978 survey.

The trend of the greater likelihood of referral following intensive outreach is further reinforced by the differential increase in referral rates for South Arsenal and Frog Hollow. Outreach efforts in Frog Hollow during the February through June 1979 time period were approximately 50 percent more extensive than
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>8/78</th>
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<th>6/79</th>
<th>8/79</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Puerto Rican</td>
<td>Black</td>
<td>Greater Hartford</td>
<td>Puerto Rican</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Number of Agencies Surveyed</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. SACS Referrals</td>
<td>78%</td>
<td>59%</td>
<td>67%</td>
<td>23%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Info-line (IL) Referrals</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Referral to SACS identifying Outreach Worker by name</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Total SACS and IL Referrals</td>
<td>78%</td>
<td>76%</td>
<td>67%</td>
<td>38%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
South Arsenal. The increase in referrals in Frog Hollow correspondingly increased from 23 percent to 70 percent. The increase was not proportionately as great in South Arsenal with the increase from 36 percent to 56 percent with an increase in the number of agencies contacted by two.

2) Agencies receiving inservice training were more likely to refer to SACS than agencies not participating in inservice training.

3) The specific mention of Outreach Project staff members, notably the Puerto Rican Outreach Workers, by respondents to the caller is further indication of the effectiveness of specific outreach efforts in building referrals. The referrals by name were made by agencies with ongoing and relatively frequent contact with the Puerto Rican Outreach Workers.

4) The staff change in June 1979 involving the Black Outreach Worker's position decreased the referrals by name from agencies serving the Black community, thus demonstrating the uninterrupted outreach to the number of referrals.

Variations in the total number of cases between 1977 and 1978 also supports the hypothesis that increased service utilization is directly related to outreach and com-
Community education efforts. As noted earlier, 1977 was a time of decreased activity and involvement of the volunteers, then predominantly White. Much of the volunteer activity had previously been directed to community education, liaison work with hospitals and police courts, both good referral sources, and to visibility, albeit White, within the greater Hartford community. With the initiation of the Outreach Project, energies turned inward and general community education activities decreased. Less general community education, coupled with the fact that extensive outreach efforts did not get underway until well into the third quarter of 1978, probably accounts for fewer White cases in 1978 and 1979. Further, an increase in number of cases beginning in 1979 is coupled with outreach efforts. This increase is accompanied by an increase in Third World cases, further supporting a direct relationship between outreach efforts and utilization by Third World women. In sum, a significant positive relationship between the number of Third World staff and volunteers, outreach activity and increased service utilization by Black and Puerto Rican women is evident.
CHAPTER V
ORGANIZATIONAL CHANGE

The transformative power of the pursuit of multiple change strategies, described in Chapter III, extend far beyond the earlier-described changes in the composition of staff and volunteers and increased service utilization by Black and Puerto Rican women. Changes in the division of labor, patterns of leadership and authority, service provision, norms and the quality of organizational life can also be noted. In this chapter, changes in each of the above spheres will be described with attention to the impact of the change on social process. Social process refers in the broad sense to how a group or organization works—to its modes of functioning or the ways in which it goes about accomplishing or sabotaging its tasks (Newton and Levinson, 1973).

Division of Labor

Since SACS' beginning, the work of the organization has been shared by paid staff and volunteers. However, work priorities and the division of labor between staff and volunteers have shifted over the organization's six year history.
Prior to the initiation of the Outreach Project, extra-organizational communication and maintenance of the administrative relationship with the YWCA were performed by the Director, whereas responsibility for intra-organizational communication to counselors rested primarily with the counseling coordinator. Formal meetings between the two staff members were infrequent and most communication between them occurred informally.

Volunteers not only provided help via a 24-hour hotline, but participated on various committees. Committees with special interest foci were constituted on an ad hoc basis. The only standing committee was the Steering Committee, which met regularly to consider and act on matters of policy. Other committees were usually formed in response to a particular need and lasted as long as the need was present. In 1976, the functioning committees and groups included: the community education committee, later to evolve into the Speaker's Bureau; the curriculum committee, which developed a curriculum to be used in schools; a legal/legislative advisory committee; a Counseling Collective; and, a medical advisory committee. In addition to need, the lifespan of a committee was often dependent upon the interest and leadership of volunteers. For example, when the medical consultant moved out of town, the medical committee disbanded without her leadership. Thus, the committee structure during the pre-
Project period can be characterized by a lack of formal connection to decision making processes at SACS and by a fair degree of transience. This is, in part, reflective of the lack of clear-cut organization priorities at the time.

Many changes can be noted in the type of work undertaken and the way work was organized at SACS subsequent to the initiation of the Outreach Project. As mentioned previously, the grant writing process itself had an impact on SACS. Although the major counseling and service functions continued through the grant writing period, the nascent Project's impact could already be seen in terms of the following: a significant new focus on time and energy in developing working relationships in the Black and Puerto Rican communities and reduced attention to previous community education activities which were aimed at predominantly White agencies. These community education activities most often took the form of inservice workshops or public speaking engagements about sexual assault.

The implementation of the Outreach Project was marked by further shifts in work priorities and division of labor. The increase in full time staff from two to seven had a great impact on the organization. During the initial implementation phase of the Project, the Outreach Project staff assumed almost exclusive responsibility for the execution of non-counseling tasks, such as outreach
and training. Whereas the locus of activity had formerly rested with the volunteers, most of the action was now with the staff. For example, many training functions were performed by a multi-racial team of Outreach Project staff members until sufficient numbers of Third World counselors and White counselors committed to the creation of an anti-racist organization could be recruited and trained as facilitators. The increased staff size, the corresponding centrality of the staff to the performance of outreach tasks and training functions influenced counselors' feelings of belonging within the organization. Several counselors voiced their feelings of isolation and confusion regarding SACS' structure at a counselor initiation staff/counselor meeting after the Project began. A committee of Concerned Counselors emerged from this meeting and has functioned to reinvolve volunteers more integrally within SACS by organizing more frequent all-counselor meetings and greater support for case work and continued in-service education.

Interviews conducted with volunteers toward the end of the Project's second year afforded the opportunity to probe deeper into the roots of the alienation and feelings of exclusion expressed by some of the White volunteers. Several factors emerged as contributory to the alienation. First, many volunteers were unclear about the goals of the Outreach Project and its relationship to SACS. There
were not planned ways for volunteers to involve themselves in Outreach Project activities and the relationship of its staff to the volunteers was undefined. As one volunteer stated, the "disappearance" of some of the work of SACS is not surprising within this context.

In the absence of vigorous staff leadership and with a normal counselor dropout rate of approximately 19 percent, liaison work with hospitals, courts, community education outside of target neighborhoods, and networking among volunteers through the Counseling Collective were noticeably in decline. The SACS Steering Committee also became dysfunctional during the Spring of 1979, leaving the staff as the de facto decision making body. The reasons for and implications of this structural change will be discussed later within the context of authority patterns.

The responses to the challenges posed by the Outreach Project and organizational changes that occurred during the life of the Project were varied. As a result of the alienation described earlier, some White women left the organization. Others have remained within the organization but are less central to the organization's functioning. Still others have responded by defining their role in the organization more broadly: not only are they counselors dealing with victims of violence, but they are also "anti-racist activists." This commitment to White
anti-racism work has found expression in the creation of several White Women's Anti-Racism Groups and through the confrontation of racism within the context of the organization. In addition, nine volunteers are enrolled in SACS-sponsored Spanish classes in Fall 1980.

The majority of White counselors, however, are still operating from a more circumscribed view and see their role as limited to hotline coverage and counseling. However, each successive training program has produced a majority of Whites enrolled in training who are interested in being involved in ongoing White Anti-Racism groups. A movement was also begun by the Concerned Counselors Committee, to reach out to other volunteers through inservice workshops and social events. The purpose of this activity was to foster a greater sense of belonging and identification with SAC's new anti-racist priorities among volunteers. During Fall 1980, the Concerned Counselors' Coalition reorganized into five regional committees, with former members of the Concerned Counselors' Coalition assuming roles as regional group leader. Regional groups now meet monthly and perform the multiple functions of offering a support network to counselors, providing a decentralized forum for case presentation, and vehicle for staff and Steering Committee to communicate with volunteers. To date, the monthly regional group meetings have been comparatively well attended, with nearly a third of
the counselors in attendance. In previous months, fewer than 10 percent of the counselors attended all counselor meetings.

In addition to the formation of the anti-racist groups, a Concerned Counselors' Coalition, and regional groups, an Outreach Committee was formed during the Project grant period. The Outreach Committee was originally composed of Black and Puerto Rican women who were community residents but not necessarily SACS counselors. As Black and Puerto Rican women joined SACS as counselors, they joined the committee and changed the identity of the group; it became known as the Black and Hispanic Counselors' Coalition. The coalition periodically functioned as a unified group of Third World counselors who have served as a base of support and help to the Project's outreach workers. The Black and Hispanic Counselors' Coalition was instrumental in the successful lobbying of the YWCA for continued funding for the Outreach positions. At the present, the coalition is being reorganized into an outreach committee with subcommittees of Black and Puerto Rican women to provide support to the two newly hired community educators.

Table 9 shows the periods of functioning of committees and groups from November 1977 to October 1980.

In summary, one can note major shifts in the distribution of work priorities of the volunteers in the organ-
TABLE 9

COMMITTEES AND GROUPS: November, 1977 - October, 1980

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nov. 1977</th>
<th>Legal/Legislative Advisory Committee</th>
<th>Medical Advisory Committee</th>
<th>Curriculum Committee</th>
<th>Community Education/ Speakers Bureau</th>
<th>Counseling Collective</th>
<th>Steering Committee</th>
<th>Outreach Committee Black and Hispanic Counselors Coalition</th>
<th>Concerned Counselors Committee</th>
<th>White Anti-Racism Groups</th>
<th>Research Committee</th>
<th>Regional Groups</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>May 1978</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td>Nov. 1979</td>
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<td>May 1980</td>
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ization as reflected in group and committee memberships. The shifts are reflective primarily of the increased importance and centrality of the anti-racist goals of the Outreach Project. Further indications of the incorporation of the anti-racist goals of the Outreach Project can be seen in the June 18, 1980 document generated by staff and elaborated upon at an all counselors meeting. Organizational tasks were enumerated in each of the following areas: victim services; community education; counselor support; services to Blacks and Hispanics; and volunteer training. Tasks furthering the anti-racist goals of the Outreach Project were identified in each of these areas. For example, attention to advocacy needs under victim services was prominent.

Changes in the amount and distribution of work can also be noted within the staff group. Instead of there being a single identifiable staff work group during the period of the Outreach Project, the staff could be seen as consisting of three groups, SACS, the Outreach Project staff, and the group as a whole. Efforts to minimize the separation between SACS and the Outreach Project can be seen in the self-conscious allocation of shared office space, required attendance at weekly meetings by all staff, shared responsibility for the crisis phone, and even distribution of many of the daily organizational maintenance tasks. However, at the same time that routine tasks were
shared more interchangeably with more people, the additional work of the Outreach Project required greater specialization of roles. Because of the sensitive nature of trust and credibility building in the Black and Puerto Rican communities, only Third World staff members undertook outreach in these two communities. This situation placed Third World staff members in the unique and stressful position of being subject to the multiple role demands of providing service, doing outreach, and conducting research. The performance of outreach solely by Third World staff members also served to further reinforce the gap between the bi-culturality of Third World staff members and the White staff members' limited knowledge of Black and Puerto Rican cultures. This arrangement exaggerated the barriers to communication and trust between White and Third World women that stem from Whites' limited contact with Third World women and their communities.

Whereas the role distinctions between the two pre-Project staff members were minimal and confined to administrative and internal communication functions, everyone in SACS, during implementation of the Outreach Project, had a specialized role. The Research Secretary was responsible for clerical functions which were formerly shared by staff. Outreach Workers, Project Director and Research Consultants were the only staff involved in research. In addition, administrative responsibilities are only per-
formed by SACS' Director and the Outreach Project Director.

The transition to the post-Outreach Project period has been marked by a reexamination and further clarification of role responsibilities for all positions. The Outreach Workers' positions have been redefined as community educator positions in an attempt to make these positions more integral to the organization. Extreme care has been taken to provide the newly hired community educators with clear and reasonable job descriptions as well as the necessary training to execute the tasks required.

Importantly, many of the changes described in the discussion of labor division including increased staff size, increased work load and greater role differentiation have influenced patterns of authority within the organization. These changes will be described next.

Patterns of Leadership and Authority.

As indicated earlier, the first Director of SACS' leadership style was largely authoritarian and supportive of hierarchical work relationships. Several changes occurred when the first Director's successor was hired in 1976. She accomplished a great deal in terms of creating a collective working environment, minimizing hierarchical relationships among staff and with the volunteers. The intent was to create an organizational structure which reflected anti-elitist, feminist values. The two staff,
Director and Counseling Coordinator, functioned informally as co-equals, even though the Director of SACS was formally invested with the greatest authority by the YWCA.

The move away from hierarchical work relationships was accompanied by a greater self-consciousness regarding politics and process on the part of staff and volunteers. As one of the volunteers said of this time period, "We thought more about what we were doing and how we were doing it." Yet, despite the great strides made toward more collaborative work relationships, the formal structure remained hierarchical, with the Director retaining supervisory responsibility for the Counseling Coordinator and implementing the policy decisions of the YWCA. Thus, one can see an ambivalence regarding the authority structure and decision-making norms within SACS even in its earliest years. Despite the simultaneous thrust for collectivity and the retention of a hierarchical structure, attribution of the cause of internal organizational conflict among this relatively homogeneous group of women tended to emerge and be recognized in terms of political differences. The political differences centered on the relative emphasis placed on direct service to victims as opposed to rape prevention activity. However, the structure and collective model of decision making among staff and within committees appeared to be adequate at that time for negotiating the conflict stemming from these political
differences.

No attempts to change the norms governing the decision-making processes were made upon implementation of the Outreach Project. The impetus for the continuation of collective decision making stemmed from two sources: the earlier identified anti-elitist values and norms, and the belief by Project initiators that collective decision making was the quickest way to insure full participation and influence of new Third World members.

The structure in which the collective decision making was to have occurred was an elaborate, representative and consensual multi-level structure. This structure was formulated at two lengthy meetings in the Fall of 1978 by Steering Committee, staff, and interested volunteers. A Committee of Four was to have replaced the less formal collective decision-making structure in operation. However, until May 1980, the staff in reality functioned as the only decision-making body. The reasons for this will be explored below.

The new structure was to have included a Committee of Four Coordinators--Coordinator of Training and Education, Coordinator of Counseling, Coordinator of Outreach and Research, and Coordinator of Administration and Community Relations--who would be responsible for administrative decisions. This system would have effectively equalized the power of the SACS Administrative Coordinator (Direc-
tor) with the other three Coordinators. It was an eventual goal of the volunteer and staff group who devised the structure to have 50 percent Third World representation among the Committee of Four.

One staff, who was not a member of the Committee of Four, offered the following explanatory analysis for the failure of the new structure to get off the ground. She felt that the new structure caused too much anxiety among Third World non-coordinators. It is important to note that, at the time the Committee of Four was instituted, all the Coordinators were White. Consequently most staff, but particularly Third World staff, were ambivalent about the new structure. While they saw in this new structure the potential for greater communication between the Coordinators and the rest of the staff, they also had fears about it. As one staff said, "I'm concerned that the Committee of Four will keep important information to themselves and if that happens, the Office Manager and Outreach Workers (all Third World) will not have any input in important decisions here." The whole staff's ambivalence about the newly devised structure expressed itself by not using the decision-making vehicle of the Committee of Four and making decisions during all-staff meetings.

The Steering Committee which, prior to the Outreach Project, functioned in an advisory capacity to the staff on policy related decision was also dysfunctional from
May 1979 to June 1980. This period coincides with Third World staff comprising more than 50 percent of the staff at SACS for the first time. Although it was not a conscious decision on the part of staff to allow the Steering Committee to become dysfunctional, there exists a possible relationship between the staff's passive stance toward reconstituting the Steering Committee and one of the original goals of the Outreach Project to effect 50 percent Third World participation on the Steering Committee. The 50 percent Third World participation was intended as one means of integrating Third World women's input into the decision-making mechanisms of SACS. It has only been within the past six months that a sufficiently large pool of Third World volunteers existed to make the goal of 50 percent Third World representation on the Steering Committee possible without further overextending Third World staff by requesting their involvement as Third World representatives to the Steering Committee. However, in the absence of a functioning Steering Committee, the staff's operation as the sole decision-making body effectively accomplished the intent of insuring significant Third World influence in policy decisions.

During May 1980, the Steering Committee was reconstituted upon the initiative of the staff. Of the eight Steering Committee members who are volunteers, four are Third World. In addition, one of the two staff repre-
sentatives is Third World. Thus, for the first time in the history of SACS, a formal decision-making body other than staff has achieved racial/ethnic power balance.

Despite the potential for Third World women to share equally in decision making, periodic confusion emerged regarding when formal hierarchical relationships were appropriate and when they were not. Very frequently this became an acute concern at times when the research demands of the Outreach Project were greatest. As early as October 1978, the group sought outside consultation because of tensions which emerged during the writing of a Project report. During this meeting, the Project Director, White and committed to feminist values, expressed her feelings that she had hoped for more collective taking of responsibility for completion of the report--for more collaboration than she experienced. One of the Outreach Workers responded that she thought these responsibilities for the report came along with the role of Project Director and that the Project Director was formally responsible for planning and directing. Everyone felt uncomfortable about the lack of role clarity yet continued to ambivalently reaffirm their decision to work in a structure which was egalitarian and as collectively determined as possible.

This ambivalence has a material basis in some of the extra-organizational constraints upon SACS. Despite the
fact that within SACS, including the Outreach Project, the authority or the power to initiate and make decisions and direct resources was invested by consensual agreement in the staff group as a whole, responsibility for supervision and coordinating the work of the Outreach Workers, Research Consultant, and Research Secretary remained invested in the role of Project Director as directed by the funding source. Similarly, responsibility for supervision of SACS staff was part of the role of the Director of SACS as defined by the YWCA. However, neither NIMH or the YWCA recognized the staff group as the legitimate authority, creating a truly ambiguous and conflictual position for both Directors/Coordinators. Thus, by virtue of their consensual agreement, both Coordinators were in greater position of responsibility without an equal measure of authority.

It is also important to note that perceptions regarding the desirability and workability of collectivity fluctuated in relation to staff changes and work demands. As one Third World staff said, "I have the power to influence, but if no Third World staff are in coordinating positions, that is limited power. I can't count on support from the Anglos...I also don't know how Whites in power will use it against me." The awareness of power differentials despite the professed ideal of collectivity was never far from consciousness. As both Coordinators were White until
September 1979, this undercut the real transfer of power from White women to Third World women at SACS.

Conflict resolution within such an ambiguous authority structure proved difficult. Staff meetings were frequently characterized by an indefinite postponement of group decision making when consensus could not be reached. As long as White women remained in positions of real, if unacknowledged, positions of authority, the potential for consensually validating experience, or coming to common understandings of problems at hand were minimized. Perhaps the greatest obstacle to collectivity noted by staff in the March 1979 set of staff interviews was linked to the power derived by the Project Director and SACS Coordinators by virtue of their supervisory responsibilities. Thus, the misuse of power by Whites against Blacks and Puerto Ricans, the historical legacy of racism and cultural oppression, was automatically projected onto the group leadership and functioned by interfering with the process of building trust, group cohesiveness, and communication in this group of Third World and White women. These projections were reinforced when Third World staff confronted the realities of White staff members' lack of exposure to Third World cultures and White resistance to acknowledging White racism.

Other factors which mitigated against confronting issues of racism more directly within SACS were identi-
fied in a series of three anti-racism staff training ses-
sions. They included:

1) no existing legitimated way to criticize 
other staff and give constructive feedback 
related to racism;

2) the need for cohesiveness in a time of stress 
and transition. Fears were rampant that staff 
could no longer work together if the issue of 
racism was confronted more directly; and,

3) the lack of well developed confrontational 
skills, particularly among Puerto Rican staff, 
contributed to the avoidance of dealing with 
racism in a setting where staff must continue 
to work closely together.

However, changes in patterns of leadership and auth-
ority during the post-Outreach Project period and the 
corresponding changes in staff process point to the pre-
eminent role of the previous lack of power of Third World 
staff in the staff's ability to resolve its internal con-
flicts. The staff has characterized decision making in 
the post-Outreach Project period as less conflictual. To 
date, when conflict has emerged, the staff members have 
been able to talk openly about their differences of 
opinion and reach compromise solutions. Uniformly, staff 
has attributed this change to the legitimated authority 
of a Third World woman in the position of Director.
In sum, as a result of the Outreach Project, the addition of five new and racially/ethnically diverse staff members, more work, and greater differentiation of roles, a great deal of stress was placed on the model of collective decision making. The "collective" under this new set of circumstances tended to function best when decision making was non-conflictual and not laden with implications regarding power and autonomy for Third World Women.

Service Provision Norms

An examination of the change in the norms governing service provision provide an additional indicator of change in overall culture of SACS as a result of the Outreach Project. Norms regarding service provision have changed substantially due to the Outreach Project. The pre-Project service provision norms drew heavily from a theory of crisis intervention (Burgess and Holmstrom, 1974) within which rape is viewed as the crisis. Within this theoretical perspective, problems not associated with the rape, such as poverty, lack of transportation, and inability to locate housing, were ignored or downplayed in counseling. Instead, encouragement was given to the discussion of feelings surrounding the rape. Focusing on "talking about feelings," the pre-Project service provision norms presumed a level of trust between counselor and client as well as the utility of talking about feelings as a way of solving problems. This
approach belies a class bias and is most appropriate for women for whom practical problems are not exaggerated by poverty. In addition, pre-Project service provision norms reflected feminist values which placed an emphasis on the similarities rather than the differences between women.

New norms regarding service provision were reflected in the Spring 1979 and subsequent Counselor Training Programs, where support for a flexibility of counseling style that was sensitive to the class and cultural background of the client was evident. These norms reflecting a greater sensitivity to race and class are articulated in the counseling guidelines revised in Fall 1979. For example, in addition to facilitating the emotional and physical healing of the client as a psychological/medical goal, the inclusion of the goal "to act as an advocate with the client when necessary and facilitate successful movement through systems which might be of assistance to the client, i.e., welfare, emergency housing" (Counseling Guidelines, 1979) can now be noted. Advocacy has been particularly important with poor clients, clients who are discriminated against because of their limited knowledge of English, and clients who encounter racism in the systems with which they interact in their attempts to deal with the assault. Other guidelines reflecting new norms of increased sensitivity to racism and to Black and Puerto Rican clients include the following:
1) Each woman has a right to choose a Black, Puerto Rican, or White counselor and should be asked what her preference is during the initial contact. Every attempt should be made to meet this preference.

2) In the small minority of cases of inter-racial assault, it is the counselor's responsibility to suggest that the victim be counseled by a counselor of the same racial/ethnic background because of the greater likelihood that either the client's or counselor's feelings related to the race/ethnicity of the assailant will block the counseling process with a counselor of the assailant's same race or ethnicity.

3) An opportunity should be provided in the case of inter-racial assaults for the victim to work through her feelings about the particular assailant as well as a context provided for understanding that her feelings about the assailant cannot fairly be generalized to all members of a racial or ethnic group. (Counseling Guidelines, 1979).

Greater sensitivity to cultural influence in terms of recognizing psychological issues that are usually central to the victim can also be noted in the guidelines. For example, when discussing frequent absence of anger in the
victim, care is taken to point out other powerful sex-role and cultural socialization messages which discourage Puerto Ricans from directly expressing anger or aggression.

A parallel recognition of other differences including sexual orientation has accompanied the greater sensitivity to cultural difference. For example, counseling guidelines now reflect the recognition of differences in relation to sexual orientation. They state:

Explore with the client what sexual assault means to her in terms of sexuality. Do not automatically assume that she is heterosexual or knowledgeable about or experienced with sex. Clarify with her, what her normal style, level of knowledge about sex, and what her feeling regarding sex had been prior to the assault and whether or not the assault was her first sexual experience. (Counseling Guidelines, 1979)

It is important to recognize that these changes in counseling guidelines differentially affected counselors from different training groups. Only counselors trained during the Spring and Fall of 1979 have experienced the full benefit of these changes. Nevertheless, substantial progress has been made in the creation of service provision norms more sensitive to the needs of poor and Black and Puerto Rican women. Because of the unique role of volunteer training in socializing new members of the organization to anti-racist organizational norms, the volunteer training redesign will be elaborated upon in the following chapter.
Quality of organizational life. Embedded in the Outreach Project's goal of improving SACS' capability to provide anti-racist, multi-racial/cultural feminist rape crisis services, are many complex requirements for personal and organizational change. The inclusion and integral involvement of Black and Puerto Rican staff and volunteers and White anti-racist activists was crucial to the achievement of this goal. However, SACS' ability to recruit and retain Third World volunteers is intimately linked to the quality of multi-cultural organizational life for all involved. Many changes in the quality of organizational life from 1978 to the present can be noted in the interview statements of volunteers and staff and in the observations of the Research Consultant. These will be explored below.

The first four years of SACS' existence, from 1974 to 1978, were characterized by Third World Women feeling largely excluded from the organization of which they had become a part. The homogeneity of the group and strength of the informal White feminist network functionally served to exclude Third World women even after they were part of the organization. Commenting generally on the effects of information networks, Freeman (1973, p. 71) has the following to say:

These friendship groups function as networks of communication outside any regular channels for such communication that may have been set up by
a group. If no channels are set up, they function as the only networks of communication. Because people are friends, because they usually share the same values and orientations, because they talk to each other socially and consult with each other when common decisions have to be made, the people involved in these networks have more power in the group than those who don't. The inevitably elitist and exclusive nature of informal networks of friends is neither a new phenomenon characteristic of the women's movement nor a new phenomenon to women. Such informal relationships have excluded women from participating in integrated groups of which they are a part.

Such was the case for Third World women during the first four years of SACS' existence.

Upon entering SACS' central office in 1980, one can see many changes. No longer does one see only Whites. The desks of the SACS Director, the Office Manager, and the Counseling Coordinator, two of whom are Puerto Rican, are located here. The SACS' logo which appears on posters and brochures, now shows Third World women of a variety of ages with the wording in English and Spanish. Conversation at times floats freely in and out of Spanish and one frequently sees groups of Third World women meeting in the office or surrounding rooms on projects initiated by the Outreach Project. It is not surprising that Third World volunteers who had been with SACS prior to the Outreach Project report feeling more comfortable coming into the office since the Project began. Third World volunteers noted in their interviews that the addition of Third World staff made a difference in this regard.
Third World staff responses to some of the changes noted above reflect a shift corresponding to the increase of Third World staff. With Third World staff in the majority, one Third World staff member said, "I feel that Third World women are closer to one another here than they have ever been. It feels really good that there is solidarity among us. I'm struck by the way personal things have changed. I'm talking to other Third World staff more and have found out a lot about Puerto Rican culture." Fifty percent representation by Third World women on the Steering Committee has also engendered a sense of pride and greater comfort in Third World staff and volunteers.

The changes in feelings of belonging on the part of Third World volunteers is the flip side of the increased alienation experienced by some White volunteers. Unlike their White counterparts, nearly all of the Third World volunteers interviewed toward the end of the second Project year had a clear sense of the goals of the Outreach Project and its value to Third World women. In fact, nearly all the Third World women who were interviewed indicated that their motivation for joining SACS stemmed from their concern for Third World victims and the larger community of Third World women. The Outreach work that was being done within the Black and Puerto Rican communities was instrumental in communicating the compatibility
of their concerns with organizational priorities.

It is interesting to note further differences between Third World and White counselors' experiences of the Outreach Project. For Third World counselors, the success of the Project was evaluated more in terms of the changes within the organizational composition and structure and changes within the Black and Puerto Rican communities whereas White counselors placed more emphasis on the personal growth, particularly in their ability to deal with racism. The lack of mention by Third World women of the importance of working in a multi-racial/cultural setting, is understandable in relation to the fact that it is the Whites who have the most to gain from a better understanding of racism and it is Third World women who are left most vulnerable in the process. The presence of Third World staff was the more salient feature in terms of enhancing Third World volunteers' comfort within SACS. These trends are suggestive of the importance of a critical mass of Third World staff and volunteers to creating a unified Third World presence and stimulating an affirmative anti-racist response among White volunteers.
CHAPTER VI
VOLUNTEER TRAINING REDESIGN

An examination of the redesign of volunteer training provides the researcher with the opportunity to look at one of the Outreach Project's implementing strategies in depth. Changes in volunteer training reflect in microcosm changes in the organization as a whole. This description of the redesign process is offered as but one example of the interdependence of subunits of the organization. Structural changes and policy decisions which allowed for implementation of the training redesign will be identified. They include: 1) the addition of Black and Puerto Rican staff; 2) execution of outreach as an additional organizational task; 3) the allocation of resources to evaluate and redesign the volunteer training curriculum; and, 4) incorporation of research findings on attitudes and behavior in the Black and Puerto Rican communities into the training redesign. In addition, the more subtle interaction of the generation of anti-racist norms supportive to the goals of the Outreach Project and outcome are explored.

Recruitment and training of volunteer counselors in rape crisis centers is a constant process. Like most rape crisis centers, continual turnover within the volun-
teer pool at SACS, due to burnout, geographic relocation, or changing educational or work commitments, necessitated the formalization of an ongoing training program to insure replenishment of the volunteer labor pool. Because of the high turnover rate of volunteers and the role of the training as the primary means of orienting outsiders to the organization, it is important to recognize the strategic value of the SACS training program in relation to the realization of the Outreach Project's goals. The counselor training program is particularly significant given its unique position to convey anti-racist organizational norms which are supportive of the needs of Third World women as clients, volunteers, and staff.

Recognizing the importance of the counselor training program as a vehicle for effecting change in the direction of creating multi-cultural organizational responsiveness, three training programs, scheduled to be completed during the Project grant period (Fall 1978, Spring 1979, and Fall 1979) were targeted for evaluation and redesign. As stated in Chapter II, the purpose of these evaluations was to assess the ability of the SACS' training program to prepare all counselors to better meet the counseling needs of Black and Puerto Rican women who have been sexually assaulted. The training sessions were also evaluated in terms of their contribution to meeting a second goal of the Outreach Project, that of increasing the number of
Third World counselors available to provide services to Black and Puerto Rican women. The second goal is intimately tied to the perceived link between the availability and visibility of Black and Puerto Rican SACS counselors and willingness of Black and Puerto Rican victims to utilize the sexual assault crisis services offered by SACS. The overarching goal of the training evaluation and redesign was the creation of an anti-racist counselor training program.

"Anti-racist" is a carefully chosen descriptor and implies several important assumptions. Implicit in its use is the acknowledgement of SACS' existence within a racist society. As such, it would be a contradiction in terms to refer to the training program as non-racist. Instead, as one recognized the interaction of the trainees, facilitators, and the organization with our society's web of institutional racism, the need for a term which more accurately captures the active and ongoing nature of the process of working against racism becomes evident. The term anti-racist appropriately describes the process in which the Outreach Project was involved.

In the absence of clearly defined criteria for evaluating the anti-racist goals of the training program, the first evaluation task as described in Chapter III became the identification of individuals and groups best able to define the rape crisis requirements for the suc-
cessful recruitment and retention of Black and Puerto Rican women as counselors. Information was then gathered from these identified individuals and groups of Third World and White volunteers regarding cultural factors related to sexual assault in the Black and Puerto Rican communities, the needs of Black and Puerto Rican victims of sexual assault, and the educational needs of counselors. In addition, the training consultant observed the Fall 1978 training program and assessed trainees' views of the program in relation to the accomplishment of the goal of creating an anti-racist counselor training program. From these multiple data sources, evaluation criteria were established.

**Summary of Evaluation Criteria**

Consensus existed across groups of Black, Puerto Rican, and White counselors that previous training programs had nearly exclusively addressed the needs of White middle class clients, and, as a consequence, all were at a disadvantage in counseling Third World women and poor or working class women. More specific content deficiencies were identified in the two Outreach Project workshops regarding cultural factors related to sexual assault in the Puerto Rican and Black communities respectively. There was general agreement that the provision of compensatory knowledge about Black and Puerto Rican cultures and histories is
necessary to accomplishment of the goal of creating an anti-racist counselor training program.

In addition, the necessity to expand awareness regarding the root of one's own racism for Whites and race oppression for Third World women was supported. Both White and Third World volunteers felt it would be helpful to structure this exploration within racially homogeneous groups. For Anglos, a lack of exposure to Blacks and Puerto Ricans and its dynamic manifestation in the inevitable expression of racist attitudes and behaviors, as well as an unwillingness to explore race-related issues openly in mixed racial groups, provided the rationale for this suggested curricular innovation. The reasons for support by Third World volunteers for this innovation are less clear and more varied. They ranged from wanting to talk with other Third World women specifically about counseling issues to confronting inter- and intra-group racism between Third World women.

Informal conversation with Third World volunteers trained prior to the Fall 1978 training also uncovered the area of the lack of facilitative leadership in dealing with participant racism as contributory to the dissatisfaction of Third World trainees. These counselors indicated that they would have felt more comfortable if leaders had more clearly articulated and enforced anti-racist values during the training session. Observation of the Fall 1978
training program also uncovered several specific obstacles to full and continued participation of some Third World women. They include lack of Third World facilitators and lack of child care, sliding scale fee, and transportation.

The Spring 1979 and Fall 1979 counselor training programs were subsequently evaluated in terms of the following objectives, derived from the many data sources described above. They were:

1) Presentation of culturally and historically relevant information regarding sexual assault and the counseling of Black and Puerto Rican victims.

2) The creation of an environment which facilitates for Whites the exploration of one's own racism and the roots of racism and cultural oppression in general.

3) Leadership by the facilitator in confronting racism.

4) The degree to which the anti-racist goals of the Outreach Project were conveyed to trainees as priority issues of the organization.

5) Elimination of racism in instructional methods or materials. Several key categories of racism particularly relevant to counselor training are:

a) stereotyped portrayals of Third World women and men in material or instructional exam-
pies;
b) use of racist language;
c) treatment of Third World people as "the problem" in a problematic situation;
d) support of an assimilationist model of ideal behavior for Third World counselors or clients; and,
e) omission of information specifically relevant to counseling Third World women.

6) Elimination of environmental obstacles to Third World women's participation in the training such as lack of information regarding the training, child care and transportation needs, or lack of availability of materials in first language.

The two overall goals of the SACS counselor training program were defined in a letter to potential trainees as:

1) To train people to act as volunteer counselor/advocates for women who have been sexually assaulted, to do public speaking workshops and other educational tasks, and to offer whatever skills and energy one can on committees, etc.; and,

2) To facilitate trainees learning about sexual assault, raising the consciousness about the sociological and cultural roots of sexual assault, getting in touch with one's own feel-
The proposed changes and subsequent evaluations, then, can be said to address both content and process/environmental concerns, as they are related to the earlier identified goal of increasing service delivery capability by Third World Counselors. This goal in turn is intimately tied to the perceived link between the availability and visibility of Black and Puerto Rican Counselors within SACS and Black and Puerto Rican victims' willingness to use the services offered by SACS.

**Description of Pre-Project Training.**

Since 1974, the SACS counselor training program has evolved from a loosely structured informal and self-run training group lasting only a few sessions to a twelve week course with well-defined objectives. The training model was evaluated in 1977 under a NIMH grant. Evaluation findings indicated SACS' training effective in developing trainees' counseling skills and knowledge about rape. Criteria for effectiveness, however, was developed for a predominantly White victim population. Thus the results must be understood within the context of the restricted definition of counselor competency used in that study.

The Fall 1978 training was the first SACS training to be evaluated with evaluation criteria expanded to include...
objectives related to the creation of anti-racist norms and behaviors. Specific objectives of the Fall 1978 training sessions included: introduction to the service; training each other; presentation of the myths and facts related to sexual assault; presentation of medical and legal information relevant to sexual assault; discussion of the cultural roots of sexual assault; facilitation of empathy in relation to the victim; development of counseling skills, presentation of cultural and historical information relevant to sexual assault in the Black and Puerto Rican communities; and, familiarization of trainees with Neighborhood Women against Rape (a rape prevention organization) and its objectives.

This training was the last counselor training program before the Outreach Project implemented its anti-racist training redesign. Because an evaluation of the Fall 1978 program was conducted, it provides a useful source of baseline data regarding trainees' responses to training program changes.

**Anti-racist Norm Setting**

In general, one could see little support for organizational norms which are sensitive to the needs of Third World women in evidence during the Fall 1978 training program. The tone was set very early when only passing mention was made during the first training session of the
Outreach Project and its goals. As models for the counselors-to-be, the all-White facilitation team did not personally convey, either directly or indirectly, a sense of the importance of the anti-racist goals of the Outreach Project. As facilitators, they lacked leadership in regard to challenging each other's or trainee's racism, whether it be commission, omission, or simply insensitivity to group dynamics influenced by the legacy of racism.

Examples of several of the missed opportunities for the exercise of anti-racist leadership include the following:

1) During an exercise designed to facilitate counselor empathy with sexual assault victims, trainees were asked to describe to another trainee an experience where she had been in control and an experience where she felt out of control. The group then generated a list of adjectives describing both the experience of being in control and out of control. During the discussion, a Black group member initiated a semantic argument over whether one could be considered to be out of control if she retained control over her mind. No discussion was initiated by facilitators regarding the phenomenology of being in and out of control as it related to class and race differences even though the
situation was one in which many parallels to historical patterns of Black resistance to slavery and White domination are evident.

2) Following the showing of the film "Rape Culture," a discussion of the cultural and sociological roots of sexual assault was held. Although the film was a good stimulus for the discussion of institutional sexism and racism and the roots of a collective sexist and racist unconscious, the importance of dealing with institutional racism was not communicated by facilitators. In addition, several opportunities to point out racist assumptions made by trainees were missed. In one such incident, a trainee automatically referred to a Black prisoner, who was a member of the prison organization, Prisoners against Rape, as a rapist. No challenge of this unfounded assumption was made.

The sense of low organizational priority for the anti-racist goals could easily be inferred by trainees in Fall 1978 through other indirect means. First, the power to confer official volunteer status to trainees upon evaluation and completion of the training course rested with the all-White facilitation team. The facilitators were inevitably seen by trainees as important models and their qualities as reflective of the organization's norms. In
this case, the message conveyed to the training group was that Whites have the power to judge and evaluate at SACS. Several trainees were able to identify the potential importance of having a multi-racial/cultural facilitation team as models.

Worth is also often inferred from the amount of visible resources committed to an endeavor. Allocation of course time to particular topics and their sequencing are perhaps the most concrete expressions of the priority or value of that topic. Of a total of 27 training hours during Fall 1979, only three hours were reserved in the next to last session, for presentation of historical information relevant to sexual assault in the Black and Puerto Rican communities. The condensation of presentations on Black and Puerto Rican histories and cultures into one session only reinforced the already existing problem of a failure to differentiate within and between Third World groups in terms of specific histories and cultures and their implications for dealing with sexual assault victims from that racial/ethnic background. The placement of this session at the end also conveyed to trainees a sense of secondary importance of the topic to trainees. This placement of the Black and Puerto Rican histories/cultures presentation also deprived trainees of the opportunity to apply what they learned during this presentation to the rest of the material presented during
the course.

The Training Consultant's perception of the under-
valuation of such anti-racist training goals during the
Fall 1978 and previous training programs due to a lack of
facilitative leadership and undercommitment of resources,
was corroborated by volunteers and through trainees' final
course evaluations. Only one evaluation respondent indi-
cated that she felt that the facilitation team considered
the issue of racism to be very important. Only one re-
ponent was critical of the training program in terms of
racism, which, given previously noted deficiencies, is
likely reflective not of its inadequacy, but rather of a
lack of anti-racist awareness. She felt, for example,
that the tone was obligatory rather than dealing with
racism as an integral part of the program. It should not
be surprising, within the context described above, that
only one of the original six Third World trainees com-
pleted the training program.

Content Concerns

The deficiencies were as glaring in specific content
areas as they were in process terms. Deficiencies that
were identified in the Fall 1978 training and recommenda-
tions for improvement (Salisbury, 1980) included:

1) In the sessions on medical information and legal
issues related to sexual assault, no mention was
made of institutional racism or its effects on Third World victims' willingness to seek medical care or deal with the criminal justice system. This would be an opportune time to link the topic of forced sterilization of Third World women and institutional racism. Counselors should also be made aware of the legal right of clients to medical treatment regardless of ability to pay. This legal session also provides a good opportunity to integrate discussion of readings that elaborate on the historical basis of discrimination in the judicial system against both Third World victims and alleged perpetrators of assault with Third World victims' fear of police reporting and prosecution. Given a greater recognition of institutional racism, additional advocacy skill training becomes necessary.

2) During the session including crisis intervention theory and rape trauma syndrome, there was an acknowledged, implicit bias against low income people, who in Hartford are often Black or Puerto Rican. The bias stems from an adherence to the basic assumption of crisis intervention theory that the only "appropriate" material for counseling is that which relates to the crisis,
in this instance to the assault. Greater flexibility which allows a woman to stray from the topic of the assault until sufficient trust for a working alliance with the counselor is established is called for, particularly in interracial counseling situations. Counselors also need to know more about community resources in order to refer when concrete, everyday problems arise such as housing or employment issues.

3) There was a great deal of room for improvement in the all-day session in which trainees participated in role plays of counseling situations and practiced counseling skills. Specific revisions in the role plays are necessary to give trainees a chance to apply what they have learned to counseling racially and ethnically diverse groups of women. Other areas formerly ignored in the development of counseling skills which need to be addressed directly include:

a) trust building in inter-racial counseling situations;

b) cultural biases in the interpretation of body language;

c) differences in communicational styles between and among ethnic/racial groups which affect counseling relationships;
d) assessment of the importance of including family in the counseling; and,
e) the need for a social case study approach to history taking that takes into account environmental factors such as housing and cultural factors, such as gossip networks within the community.

4) No opportunities for the exploration of the roots of one's racism and/or oppression were present in the Fall 1978 or previous training programs; and,

5) As mentioned previously, inadequate development of the session on Black and Puerto Rican histories and cultures was evident.

The training design prior to Spring 1979 was excellent in terms of covering the essentials of rape crisis intervention with a racially and ethnically homogeneous population. However, there was little or no discussion of the applicability of this material to the particular problems faced by Third World women.

The inclusion of material on Black and Puerto Rican women at the end rather than beginning of the training only exacerbated this problem. A need existed, beyond the presentation of historically and culturally relevant information, to ask at every juncture of the training, "what are the implications of this theory or technique for culturally different groups of women?" In addition,
no provisions were made for exploring the roots of one's individual racism or oppression or understanding of the nature of racism in general. There was also a noticeable lack of leadership in regard to confronting stereotypes and racist assumptions brought forth by White trainees regarding Third World individuals. Finally, one can note very little information regarding the Outreach Project and its goals communicated to trainees.

Creating an Anti-racist Counselor Training Program

Progress toward meeting the objectives of creating an anti-racist counselor training program will be addressed below and discussed in relation to specific strategies chosen to meet the objectives.

Recruitment. As recruitment efforts targeted specifically within the Black and Puerto Rican communities were intensified, a corresponding rise in the number of Third World trainees was achieved. Increases can be noted in the numbers of Third World trainees from six in Fall 1978, to fourteen in Spring 1979, and eighteen in Fall 1979. Twelve of the eighteen Third World trainees in the Fall 1979 training heard about the training through special Outreach Project recruitment efforts, including direct contact from Outreach Workers, media advertisements appearing in both neighborhood and city-wide newspapers, and
through agencies with whom the Outreach Project had direct contact. The availability of childcare and transportation were instrumental in assuring the attendance of several of the newly recruited Third World trainees. Further support for the importance of continuous recruitment of Third World volunteers is evidenced by the enrollment pattern for the Spring 1980 counselor training program; only six Third World women were in attendance. Because of the research demands on Outreach Workers during the period immediately preceding the training, no personal contacts were made by Outreach Workers.

The presence of increasingly greater numbers of Third World SACS trainees had several demonstrable effects. Drop out rates for Third World trainees decreased substantially when more than 25 percent of the training group was Third World. A concomitant increase in feelings of belonging and decrease in feelings of isolation can be noted in the training evaluations of post-1978 Third World trainees' evaluations of their respective training programs. As numbers of Third World trainees increased, Whites felt decreasingly comfortable bringing up racially or culturally related issues, while Third World trainees felt increasingly comfortable, as indicated in written training evaluations. However, in the Fall 1978 program, White trainees also positively linked an increase in number of Third World trainees with the likelihood that cross-
cultural issues of importance would be addressed. Nearly all trainees in the Spring and Fall 1979 programs drew attention to the positive effects of the learning which resulted from being in a group with many people of different cultural backgrounds.

In sum, ongoing recruitment of Third World volunteers through a variety of means, including personal contact and media advertisement, proved to be a crucial first step in meeting the goal of increasing SACS service delivery capability by Black and Puerto Rican counselors. The success of recruiting Third World trainees indirectly has a bearing on future availability of Third World volunteers to participate on multi-cultural facilitation teams, the importance of which will be discussed later. Availability of transportation and childcare were also positively linked by Third World trainees to their ability to participate in the training.

Progress toward anti-racist norm setting. Several structural changes were helpful in creating greater support for organizational norms which are sensitive to the needs of Third World women and the creation of expectations for trainee commitment to and participation in meeting the anti-racist goals of the Outreach Project.

Perhaps the foremost change can be noted in the effect of having a multi-racial/cultural facilitation team committed to anti-racist values. Perceptions regarding
how important the training team considered the issue of racism to be was less variable than Fall 1978, with post-1978 trainees indicating that facilitators very clearly conveyed a strong sense of anti-racist activism. Greater facilitator leadership in regard to confronting racism had little impact on the degree of comfort individuals felt bringing up racially/culturally related issues during the training. Whites on the average continued to feel less comfortable than Third World trainees confronting racism. However, greater facilitator leadership, in conjunction with curricular innovations, to be described later, contributed to the likelihood of White participants committing themselves to an ongoing exploration of their racism.

Effects can also be seen in terms of greater Third World participation in exercises requiring personal exploration. For example, in the Fall 1978, there was a noticeable reluctance on the part of several Third World trainees to participate fully in the "Rape Fantasy" exercise designed to create a forum for working through the trainee's feelings about sexual assault. Blacks, Puerto Ricans and Whites participated in this exercise in subsequent training programs with equal involvement, thus supporting the hypothesis that the presence of a multicultural/racial facilitation team and greater overall emphasis on Third World issues was instrumental in creat-
ing a level of trust sufficient to the accomplishment of this task.

Also contributing to the effective enforcement of anti-racist organizational norms was the implementation of two pre-training workshops held for facilitators. The objectives of these workshops included the establishment of a context for anti-racist facilitation by reviewing past training evaluations, defining the role of facilitators, choosing co-facilitation teams for small groups, and providing an opportunity for facilitators to explore their feelings of comfort or discomfort in confronting racism. The redefinition of the role of the facilitators linked the facilitators' roles to the goals of the Outreach Project as well as alleviating the anxiety of facilitators. Co-facilitators were chosen with an eye toward matching more experienced facilitators with less experienced facilitators and toward having mixed racial/ethnic facilitation teams. The role of the facilitators was defined as follows:

1) to facilitate and stimulate discussion during the large and small group discussions and relate the discussions to the objectives and goals of SACS and the Outreach Project;

2) to be a source of information and support to trainees. This highlights the need to have a command over reading materials and a willingness
to share one's own experiences;

3) to be leaders or norm setters for the group. For example, if a participant makes a racist comment, it is the facilitator's role to confront this in an educational manner;

4) to provide feedback to trainees regarding the development of counseling skills as well as the development of anti-racist competencies;

5) to evaluate the skill development of SACS trainees for the purpose of certifying trainees as qualified counselors;

6) to continually assess the needs of the group so as to make any necessary alterations in the training content; and,

7) to work cooperatively with co-facilitators.

The closer coordination of facilitators through half-hour debriefing sessions following the training and the pre-training facilitators workshops greatly enhanced the organization of the sessions and contributed to the evolving sense of the training as related to the goals of the Outreach Project.

Concretely, positive changes in facilitative leadership can be noted in Fall 1979 training. Facilitators emphasized the importance of the Outreach Project during the Fall 1979 training session, underscoring this with personal statements about how involvement with the Pro-
ject had contributed to their personal growth. The introduction of Outreach Project staff and a brief talk given by the Project Director was also helpful in communicating the goals of the Outreach Project. In addition, the handout entitled "YWCA Sexual Assault Crisis Service Counselor Information and Procedures, January 1979" was revised to reflect the priorities of the Outreach Project.

In their final evaluation of the Spring and Fall 1979 training programs, the vast majority of trainees indicated that they felt that dealing with the issue of racism in the context of the training was extremely or very important. By contrast, one may recall that the majority of the trainees in the Fall 1978 training indicated they felt dealing with racism was less important. The issue of sequencing and the changes in trainees' attitudes and commitment to anti-racist organizational norms that are directly attributable to content changes will be discussed in the following section.

In sum, the increase in facilitator leadership in regard to anti-racist norm setting, the increase in the allocation of resources to deal with racism, and the existence of a multi-racial/cultural facilitation team are significant contributors to engendering commitment to the goals of the Outreach Project, as well as increasing the level of comfort of Third World trainees.

Several related themes emerge in assessing the
effectiveness of attempts at anti-racist norm setting made during the Spring and Fall 1979 training programs. Both participant evaluations of the training as well as facilitators' judgements of volunteers' counseling skills suggest the importance of achieving a balance between an emphasis on counseling theory and practice and the presentation of information relevant to sexual assault in the Black and Puerto Rican communities. Decisions about the sequencing of sessions also proved to be instrumental in altering trainees' perceptions regarding achievement of an appropriate balance between topical considerations.

The need for seven additional training hours to incorporate issues of racism had been recommended by the Training Consultant as a result of the Fall 1978 evaluation. This included: 1) a separate session on Black women and sexual assault (two hours), 2) a separate session on Puerto Rican women and sexual assault (two hours), and 3) small group work to explore the roots of one's racism if White and the roots of one's oppression if Black or Puerto Rican (three hours). It was recommended for the Spring 1979 training that the sessions on Black and Puerto Rican histories and cultures be scheduled early in the training (third and fourth sessions) to facilitate the application of this knowledge to the rest of the training material. The separation of sessions on Black and Puerto Rican histories and cultures, in fact, was accomplished
and one hour sessions on rape trauma syndrome and crisis intervention theory were respectively combined with those presentations.

The session on Black and Puerto Rican histories and cultures had a strong emotional impact on trainees. Little time was available to talk through the impact of the session during those particular training sessions. This had the result of minimizing the learning about rape trauma syndrome and crisis intervention counseling theory because the other two-hour presentations so overshadowed them. The effects of this were felt later in the training when trainee performance during the initial role play situations was uniformly poor and trainees were quite anxious. During a discussion following the role plays, trainees expressed confusion over counseling guidelines as well as their feeling that they were inadequately prepared in basic counseling skills. Several individuals indicated that they felt it was counterproductive to deal with historical and cultural issues prior to dealing with basic counseling issues. On the basis of these observations and trainee's evaluation, the following recommendations for change in the Fall of 1979 (Salisbury, 1979b) were made.

1) Early attention should be devoted to counseling procedures and principles in order to free up the attention of group members for the presentation of information on Black and Puerto Rican
cultures and histories. This can effectively be accomplished through staff led role plays and discussions of the role play situation and placement of rape trauma syndrome and crisis intervention theory before the sessions on Black and Puerto Rican cultures and histories; and,

2) Two full three-hour sessions rather than the previously implemented two-hour sessions on Black and Puerto Rican culture/history are necessary because of the strong emotional impact of this material and the need for more time to discuss trainees' responses to the information presented.

These recommendations resulted in a great deal of improvement in the attainment of balance between presentation of information on counseling theory and practice and the anti-racist focus of the training. In particular, staff led role plays during the session on Puerto Rican history and culture as it related to sexual assault were effective in integrating counseling and anti-racist concerns. In response to these innovations, trainees were much less anxious about their roles as counselor and performed more adequately during trainee role plays. Greater receptivity to and positive regard for the counselor training program can be noted for both Third World and
White trainees as a balance between presentation of technical counseling concerns and the anti-racist focus of the training was attained. The Fall 1979 syllabus (see Appendix K) reflects the best integration and sequencing of these concerns to date.

Changes in training program content. Several content changes were made in the 1979 Spring and Fall training programs in response to the earlier identified content deficiencies. These curricular changes will be discussed with an eye toward reporting problems encountered as well as the successes achieved. Specific topical considerations will be noted and bibliographic references included so that others undertaking similar redesign efforts have a comparable informational base from which to start.

Addition of historical and cultural information relevant to the counseling needs of Black and Puerto Rican women. While there was nearly universal agreement by trainees in the three evaluated programs that an understanding of Black and Puerto Rican history and culture is important in counseling Black and Puerto Rican women adequately, only a handful of trainees were able to answer factual questions on a pre-training questionnaire in those areas. Even fewer trainees were able to answer questions on Puerto Rican history and culture than were able to answer questions on Black history and culture, and of those
able to answer the questions correctly, most were Third
World. (See Appendix I for sample questionnaires.) Thus,
one can see a need for the addition of historically and
culturally relevant material at the same time one can
anticipate different needs among trainees regarding the
level of sophistication at which the material should
optimally be presented.

The relatively greater lack of knowledge about Puerto
Rican history and culture, particularly among Whites, pre-
sumed the appropriateness of the introductory nature of
this session. Yet, the attempt during Spring 1979 to pre-
sent in chronological detail Puerto Rico's long history of
foreign domination, cultural oppression, and the resis-
tance to domination and cultural oppression by Puerto
Ricans in their homeland and in the United States resulted
in the trainees being presented with material that ex-
ceeded their ability to assimilate it. The thematic sum-
mary of Puerto Rican history presented in Fall 1979 was
more effective in creating a context for understanding
Puerto Rican culture and the psychological effects of a
long history of colonialism. More specific connections
were able to be made during the Fall 1979 presentation
between the cultural mediation of Puerto Rican women's
response to rape and the implications for counseling.
Particular attention was paid to reasons for migration to
the United States and the importance of the family, gos-
sip, the meaning of respect, virginity, styles of confrontation and avoidance, and class differences among Puerto Rican women. For an extended discussion of these culturally salient features see consult Boujouen, Lenderman, and Salisbury, 1980).

Three other major areas of discussion in the session of Puerto Rican culture and history included the importance of language, the dilemma of the American born Puerto Rican being caught between two cultures, and economic influences of the lifestyle of Puerto Rican women. Attention was given to the need to address everyday problems and advocacy needs within the counseling relationship because of the overwhelming likelihood of the Puerto Rican victim being poor or encountering institutional racism.

The greater familiarity of trainees, particularly Black trainees, with information on Black history and culture, created a separate set of problems within the Spring and Fall 1979 sessions on Black history and culture. These sessions addressed primarily the needs of White women to the exclusion of the particular needs of Black counselors counseling Black women.

Specific content additions in Fall and Spring 1979 included presentation of the history of rape and racism in America. For a substantive discussion of rape and racism and relevant perspectives on Black female socialization, see "Attitudes and Behaviors toward Rape in the
Black Community" in "Evaluation of Outreach to Black and Puerto Rican Women in the Area of Sexual Assault" (Boujouen, Landerman, and Salisbury, 1980).

The evaluations of individual training sessions on Puerto Rican and Black history and culture by the Training Consultant and trainees revealed the usefulness to the trainees of staff led role plays as a teaching technique which integrated information about counseling skills with the newer cultural and historical information. In addition, because of the strong emotional impact of both presentations on Black and Puerto Rican history and culture, small group discussion time following the presentations was necessary. The alteration of training design at SACS never adequately took into account the need expressed by trainees for more time to work through the feelings that these sessions engendered. Instead, the decision was made not to sacrifice more than a half hour for discussion purposes at this juncture of the training. Yet, experience within the Spring and Fall 1979 training programs suggested that the earlier placement of these sessions and the frustration generated from not having adequate discussion time was useful in making the subsequent anti-racism session more than an intellectual exercise. Instead, trainees were grateful to have the opportunity to talk through some of the feelings that the earlier sessions on Black and Puerto Rican history had stirred up for them.
Personal exploration of racism for Whites. Another major area of content deficiency identified in the Fall 1978 training evaluation was the lack of opportunity to explore the roots of one's racism and/or oppression. A session conducted in three groups—two White and one Black/Puerto Rican—was designed to meet this need. The objectives were:

1) to provide for Whites an environment which facilitates an exploration of personal racism and encourage ongoing exploration of this issue in counselors' lives;  
2) to provide an opportunity for Blacks and Hispanics to discuss the roots of racism and its effects on Black and Hispanic individuals as well as the effects on inter-group (particularly Black and Puerto Rican and Afro-American and West Indian) relations; and,  
3) to provide support to Blacks and Hispanics working with SACS by getting together as a group and discussing issues of common concern.

The format used in the White group was successful in accomplishing the defined objectives. The format was as follows:

1) discussion of why it is important for White people to talk about racism, and  
2) trainee generation and discussion of timeline
representing significant events in the development of their attitudes toward Third World people, i.e., first Black friend, recollection of school, family and other socialized experiences. This exercise is particularly useful in taking the blame for racism away from individuals and illustrating the set of institutional factors which perpetuate racism. Facilitators, however, need to help move participants from this recognition toward taking responsibility for doing something about the racism the trainees now encounter daily.

Several White trainees expressed interest in continued White anti-racism work as a result of this session. The following response of White women to the session conveys the effectiveness of this strategy as an initial step for Whites in exploring their racism.

What I got out of today includes a lot of stuff to think about--re-examine on a personal level, feelings and thoughts about the consequences of my being White, privileged, arrogant. The difficulty of being honest about all this and tolerating the level of discomfort that emerges. I'm aware of wanting to continue looking at these issues in my life within the context of a support group.

Black and Puerto Rican's exploration of racism and its effect on Black and Puerto Rican Women. The groups for Black and Puerto Rican trainees to discuss the roots of racism and its effects on Black and Puerto Rican in-
Individuals in the Spring and Fall 1979 training programs were not uniformly well received. In Fall 1979, it appears that this was in part due to the lack of clearly defined objectives for the session and ambivalence within the facilitator group as to the utility of a session for Third World women to deal with racism. Several recommendations were made by participants which included using this time to explore community education needs and the issues of Third World women counseling other Third World women in a more open-ended fashion. Further reorganization of this session along those lines is expected to contribute to Black and Puerto Rican counselors' participation in the Black and Hispanic Counselors Coalition. An extended discussion of this issue is presented in the training booklet, "Anti-Racist, Multi-Racial/Cultural Training" (Cohen and Rowe, 1980).

Institutional racism and the medical and legal systems. Although content deficiencies had been identified in the sessions on medical and legal issues, continued reliance on outside speakers inhibited the achievement of the goal of including information relevant to institutionally racist practices and advocacy skills which are needed to combat institutional racism. Despite pre-session meetings with facilitators, outside speakers were rarely successful in integrating concerns about institutional racism into their
presentations. A much more successful tactic was the development of greater expertise within the volunteer pool who had already undergone some anti-racist training. This was evidenced in the presentation on legal issues during Fall 1979, when volunteers replaced the legal consultant as session facilitators. In their presentation, volunteers were successful in communicating knowledge about basic legal issues as well as integrating their experiences in confronting institutional racism during the course of their advocacy efforts.

**Summary.** It is possible, on the basis of thorough evaluation of three successive counselor training programs to identify features of the training programs which contributed to the accomplishment of anti-racist goals of the Outreach Project. They are:

1) Extensive outreach, including personal contact by Outreach Workers and media advertisement were successful in recruiting more Third World volunteers to the training;

2) Provision of childcare and transportation facilitated attendance at training sessions;

3) Important elements of an anti-racist training curricula included: presentation of Black and Puerto Rican histories and cultures as they relate to counseling Black and Puerto Rican
victims, personal exploration of racism for Whites, and advocacy skill training;

4) Achievement of a balance between a focus on the acquisition of counseling skills and knowledge about Black and Puerto Rican histories and cultures as they relate to counseling Third World clients was a critical aspect in the counselor training redesign; and,

5) The use of a multi-racial/cultural facilitation team was of the utmost importance in conveying the values of the Outreach Project and presenting an image of the organization which enhanced the comfort of Third World trainees. Facilitator leadership was also important to the development of anti-racist norms in regard to the confrontation of participant racism in a supportive and educational manner.
CHAPTER VII
DISCUSSION

The present study explored the relationships between service utilization patterns and multiple organizational tasks, social structure, including division of labor and patterns of authority, service provision norms, the subjective experience of SACS staff and volunteers related to the quality of organizational life, and the composition of staff and volunteers. The intent of the investigation was threefold. First, it was intended to illuminate systemic considerations related to the achievement of the Outreach Project's goal of increasing service utilization at SACS by Black and Puerto Rican women. Second, support for the importance of a research focus on the implementation phase of the change process was expected. And finally, the study was intended to offer support to the importance of race and ethnicity as intervening variables in the change process. As discussed below, although the results must be viewed cautiously, they are generally consistent with the importance of the application of a systems approach to organizational change. A review of the findings will be presented first, to be followed by an exploration of their implications for theory, practice, and research.
The Outreach Project was effective in accomplishing its goal of increasing service utilization by Black and Puerto Rican women. Progress toward meeting a second goal of increasing SACS' ability to provide service by same race-ethnicity counselors was also made. These gains are clearly reflected in the following results:

1) The percentage of SACS crisis cases involving Third World clients rose from 7 percent in 1977 to 28 percent in 1979. More specifically, service utilization during the Outreach Project by Puerto Rican women, as indicated by percentage of total SACS cases, increased from 2 percent to 12 percent, and service utilization by Black women increased from 5 to 16 percent. This represents an increase in service utilization of 325 percent for Blacks and 600 percent for Puerto Ricans;

2) The percentage of SACS volunteers who are Black and Puerto Rican increased from 3 percent in 1977 to 19 percent in 1979. In conjunction with increased numbers of Black and Puerto Rican staff, this represents a significant increase in SACS capability to provide counseling to Black and Puerto Rican victims by counselors of the same race/ethnicity; and,

3) The post-Outreach Project staff will consist of
two Puerto Ricans, two Blacks, and one White, thus accomplishing the goal of multi-racial/cultural staffing.

These trends have continued during the first three quarters of 1980. Thus, the hypothesis that a significant positive relationship between the number of Third World staff and volunteers and increased service utilization by Black and Puerto Rican women has been confirmed. Although causal relationship between increased Third World service utilization and increased numbers of Third World staff and volunteers cannot be proven, observational and interview data are supportive of the following theory of change at SACS. As a first step, change in the racial/cultural composition of the staff permitted the effective implementation of Outreach strategies in the Black and Puerto Rican communities. Third World volunteers who were recruited through outreach in turn enabled the accurate projection of a multi-racial/cultural organizational image to community residents, thereby increasing the willingness of Third World community residents to utilize SACS' services.

Findings also reveal that the simultaneous use of multiple strategies aimed at internal organizational change enhanced the creation of new organizational norms which were consistent with the goal of increasing service utilization by Blacks and Puerto Ricans. These strate-
gies included: 1) implementation of an anti-racist counselor training curriculum; 2) vigorous recruitment of Third World women for staff openings; 3) creation of White anti-racism groups; 4) formation of a Black and Hispanic Counselors Coalition; 5) continuous recruitment of Third World women as volunteers; 6) active solicitation of Third World and White anti-racist activists in decision making roles which have a major impact on SACS; and 7) conducting research on the attitudes and behaviors toward rape in the Black and Puerto Rican communities.

Interview and observational data importantly revealed that these strategies were not invariate. Thus, support for implementation as an organizational process in which both the innovation and the setting are altered was evident. More specifically, these strategies developed of anti-racist organizational norms by expanding staff responsibilities to include outreach and recruitment in the Black and Puerto Rican communities, by creating effective vehicles for socializing new and old members into anti-racist organizational norms, by influencing policy decisions through anti-racist activism, and by incorporating research on attitudes and behavior toward rape in the Black and Puerto Rican communities into more effective models of service provision.

The example of the volunteer training redesign clearly reflected the evolutionary and interactional nature of the
implementation process. The documented changes in the norms and policies influencing volunteer training were shown to play a critical role in the provision of institutional support for the intended organizational change. For example, curricular changes were instrumental in endearing interest and commitment on the part of White volunteers to join White anti-racism groups. The White anti-racism groups later advocated and supported organizational activity, such as the hiring of two community educators, which furthered the goals of the Outreach Project.

In sum, the Outreach Project was effective in accomplishing its stated goals. A systems approach focusing on outreach, training, research utilization, and internal education was utilized. The staff group was an effective initial base from which organizational change was begun. Through staff leadership, pressure was brought to bear upon counselors to join in the creation of anti-racist norms and the requisite structural changes were begun. Social structure, the culture of the organization, the ends toward which the work of the organization were directed, and the race and ethnicity of staff and volunteers were also shown to mediate the outcome of the Outreach Project.

The aforementioned findings have numerous implications for theory, practice, and research. In regard to theory, the study supports a complex view of the change
process which places emphasis on implementation or the change process that occurs when a project actually impinges on one organization. The mutual adaptation of the project and the institutional setting was evident in the preceding discussion of the Outreach Project and SACS, thus lending further empirical support to the model of implementation advanced by Berman and McLaughlin (1974). Their finding that successful implementation strategies are those that promote mutual adaptation was supported in the present study. The key elements of an implementation strategy that promoted mutual adaptation as reported by Berman and McLaughlin (1974) were adaptive planning, staff training keyed to the local setting, local material development, and critical mass. These elements were also present in the Outreach Project's implementing strategy as evidenced in frequent and regular staff meetings, training of staff and volunteers tied to the specifics of project operation, the development of training curriculum locally, and the presence of a critical mass of Third World and anti-racist activists enabling the establishment of norms supportive to the Outreach Project goals.

In addition, several factors associated with the institutional setting which affected implementation were identified. In this regard, the division of labor and authority at SACS proved to be intimately related to the
social process or how well the staff group worked to accomplish its tasks. Collective structures which worked well for the relatively homogeneous pre-Project organization were not as effective in the post-Project organization which was marked by a diversity of goals, priorities, tasks, and interactional styles. The subjective experience of staff and volunteers' feelings of belonging to the organization also fluctuated widely in relation to changes in the division of labor and authority. The race and ethnicity of individuals in positions of authority proved particularly salient to the social process of the staff. The sole positioning of Whites in authority roles adversely affected conflict resolution and hence task accomplishment within the work group.

Other effects of the characteristics of the institutional setting on project outcomes can be noted and hypothesized. Organizational climate as reflected in the increased perceived centrality of the Outreach Project to SACS' priorities was associated with greater interest and commitment to the goals of the Outreach Project on the part of volunteers. In addition, the lack of strict professionalism and high turnover rate of counselors, stemming from the volunteer status of most service providers, may have enhanced volunteer interest in and receptivity to the greater flexibility of counseling style required for multi-cultural/racial organizational responsiveness.
However, the findings related to the effects of characteristics of the institutional setting on project outcome necessarily await future comparative studies either for corroboration or disproval.

Several implications for practitioners engaged in organizational change efforts are contained within the present study. On the most general level, the results of the study speak to the importance of a theoretical understanding of a systems approach to change. The application of systems theory permits the visualization of norms, roles, and subsystem interactions which comprise the culture of the organization which is so often elusive, yet so powerfully affects efforts at planned change.

More specific to the goal of creating multi-cultural organizational responsiveness is the finding that the inclusion of White and Third World anti-racist activists in leadership, authority, and decision making roles facilitates achievement of that goal. Therefore, the formulation of strategies to recruit and develop anti-racist leadership should be of concern to the change agent. At SACS, vigorous recruitment of qualified Third World staff, outreach to the Black and Puerto Rican communities, volunteer training redesign, and the creation of White anti-racism groups proved to be effective strategies. As stated earlier the addition of Black and Puerto Rican staff was an important first implementing step.
However, the tumultuous history of extensive staff turnover at SACS points to the difficulties single Third World staff members experience in formerly all-White organizations and to the discomfort experienced by Whites in their first attempts to deal with racism in a work setting. Perhaps, some of the difficulties experienced by these women can be minimized in future change efforts by the earlier provision of support in same race/ethnicity groupings such as the White anti-racism groups and the Black and Hispanic Counselors Coalition.

The Outreach Project's challenge of established patterns of authority and decision making within SACS are also potentially instructive to others embarking upon similar change efforts. In the absence of sufficient cohesiveness to insure effective decision making, clearly defined patterns of authority and decision making are likely to be more efficacious than collective structures. Furthermore, the experience of SACS suggests that formal control over the work of Third World women in their communities be maximized if disruptive conflict is to be minimized. All Project veteran staff members also clearly advocate collaborative, clearly defined power arrangements in areas of program activity which affect both White and Third World women. However, these recommendations must be tempered with the recognition that the collective decision making process used at SACS also significantly promoted
mutual adaptation, a factor presumed to be central to effective and lasting organizational change.

In concluding the discussion of this study's implications for practice, I would like to re-emphasize that anticipation of and attention to the interrelationships of system properties, such as task, structure, and race as intervening variables in the change process can contribute to minimizing the strains inherent in change efforts as complex as the Outreach Project. Furthermore, careful choice of implementing strategies that promote mutual adaptation and increase receptivity of the organizational setting are likely to enhance achievement of the desired change.

Having survived the confrontation of complimentary methods of assessment, including interviewing, participant observation, and the collection of statistically descriptive data, the findings reported in the preceding chapters, although not conclusive, are presented with the confidence that multiple checks for bias in data gathering have been provided and that overall threats to the validity of the observations recorded in this study have been significantly reduced through data triangulation. For example, interview data cued the researcher to potential tendencies to collect and analyze non-representative observational data. Similarly, validity was enhanced by direct systematic observation which provided an important corrective to highly vari-
able subjective appraisals of the degree of organizational change. Observational data in conjunction with statistically relevant data challenged several original Outreach Project staff members' perceptions of the degree of organizational change attained during the course of the Outreach Project. In part, this discrepancy as manifested in their underestimation of change may be understood in terms of these respondents' tendency, because of the centrality of their roles in the Project, to selectively attend to intra-staff conflicts and to view mutual adaptation as non-implementation. Despite the above identified weakness in the interviews, these data provided important contextual information regarding the impetus for and resistance to change from the participants' point of view.

However, it is important to note that it is unknown to what extent the interrelationships described in this study are caused by unstudied variables such as personality or political orientation. Furthermore, although variables such as internal variation in staff size, the existence of extra-organizational support in the form of grant money, and collective decision making structures were explored in the present study, the single case study method employed leaves the effects of many of the possible attributes of institutional settings on the implementation process unexamined. Thus, the need for additional case studies which analyze implementation processes in a variety
of institutional settings is critical to the advancement of knowledge about planned organizational change.

Comparative studies, however, will be of little use without a greater precision of the measurement of organizational change. The development of clear conceptual and operational definitions of variables affecting the change process is a necessary first step in this process. Importantly, this development can arise from studies such as this one where critical variables affecting the change process and behavioral criteria for assessing the extent of expected change are identified. Despite the value of the future generation of in-depth case studies employing a greater precision of measurement, many of the important questions regarding the dynamics of planned change in human service settings will not be definitively answered until multi-variate techniques of analysis are applied to large scale studies involving the systematic gathering of data on many cases.

In conclusion, I would like to re-emphasize the importance of a theoretical understanding of a systems approach to change with a focus on implementation. For within it, there is the opportunity to visualize in terms of norms, roles, and subsystem interactions, the continually changing culture of the organization which so often eludes the researcher, yet so powerfully affects the planned change effort.
FOOTNOTES


Boston and Springfield, Massachusetts, "Developing Leadership and Third World Women."

2This section provides a synthesis of three successive training evaluations prepared by Salisbury (1979a, 1979b, and 1980). A more extensive discussion of training is also available in "Anti-Racist Multi-Racial/Cultural Volunteer Training" (Cohen and Roe, 1980).

3The more detailed format of Racism Awareness Workshops and in-depth discussion of facilitation strategies is presented in "White Anti-Racism Work" in "Evaluation of Outreach to Black and Puerto Rican Women in the Area of Sexual Assault" (Boujouen, Landerman, and Salisbury, 1980).

4See Fall 1978, Spring 1979, and Fall 1979 Training Reports (Salisbury, 1979a, 1979b, and 1980) for actual evaluation reports.


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Holmes, K., & Williams, J. Problems and pitfalls of rape research: An analysis of selected methodological and pragmatic concerns. Victimology, 1979, 4 (1).


Salisbury, K. M. Evaluation report on spring 1979 volunteer training. Hartford: Sexual Assault Crisis Service, 1979. (c)


Webb, E., Campbell, D., Schwartz, R., & Sechrest, L.  


APPENDIX A

STAFF MEETING OBSERVATION FORM
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Type of Mtg.</th>
<th>Time Schedule</th>
<th>Present</th>
<th>Time begun</th>
<th>Time over</th>
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Facilitator

**PROJECT RELATED DISCUSSION:** RESEARCH

**PROJECT:** OUTREACH

**PROJECT:** OTHER

**RACE ISSUES**

**POWER**

**DIVISION OF LABOR/ROLE DEFINITIONS**
CHANGES IN SACS

OTHER INTERNAL ISSUES/PROBLEMS RAISED

OTHER

MEETING EVALUATION:

Positive  Negative
APPENDIX B

RESEARCH MEETING OBSERVATION FORM
Research Meetings--Notes

Date ________________
Time Schedule _____ Time Begun _____ Time Over _____
Present ___________________________________________

METHODS DISCUSSION:

CONFLICT:
RESEARCH/OTHER PROBLEMS:

INFO/RESULTS DISCUSSION:

DECISIONS:

OTHER:
APPENDIX C

STAFF INTERVIEW PROTOCOL #2
1. What, for you, have been the most important events during the last three months? Why?

2. What kinds of changes in SACS, if any, do you see resulting for the project so far? How do you feel about those changes?

3. How do you think the project is doing so far?

4. How has the project affected you and your work since July? How do you feel about that?

5. In what ways do you feel connected to the project? How do you feel about that? Is the connection close enough?

6. What do you think has been the greatest single benefit of the project for SACS so far? Why?

7. What do you think has been the biggest problem raised by the project for SACS so far? Why?

8. Do you feel that you get enough recognition/support for the work that you do? How so?

9. What do you think is the most important issue for SACS to address? Do you think that issue is recognized and taken seriously by other staff members?

10. Based on what you know, how do you feel about the structural changes now in process? How do you think they will affect you and your work?

11. What are your biggest hopes for the structural changes?
12. What are your biggest fears about the structural changes?

13. In the last few weeks, the relationship between work and personal issues has emerged. How do you see this issue?

14. How have the issues of race and/or class surfaced for you at work?

15. Have there been any important events that relate to race and class at work? Describe.

16. Do you feel much race or class oppression here at work from other staff or volunteers? Describe.

17. How have race and class been addressed so far at SACS? Has that been sufficient? What more, if anything, would you like to see done?

18. How has the research affected you? How do you feel about that?

19. How has the way I have conducted the research affected you? How do you feel about that?

20. Is there anything else you'd like to say about how the project has affected you, your work, or SACS?
APPENDIX D

STAFF INTERVIEW PROTOCOL #3
1. What have been the most important events for you since December? Why?
2. How has Tina's leaving affected you personally and how has it affected your work?
3. How do you see the structural changes, including the committee of four, actually affecting the Service and the Project?
4. Do you feel the staff is any closer to dealing with race and class issues at work?
5. In what ways do you see the confrontation of race and class issues being avoided at work?
6. How have race and class issues surfaced at work since December?
7. To what degree do you feel there has been an integration of SACS and the Outreach Project?
8. What progress has the Project made in the last three months?
9. What impediments do you see to the Project making greater progress?
10. What kinds of challenges have you experienced coming from other staff? Have they been threatening? How have you characteristically responded to these challenges?
11. In general, how do you feel about how the Project is doing so far?
12. What do you think has been the greatest problem raised by the Project for SACS so far?

13. What changes have you noted related to my assumption of role of research consultant? How do you feel about those changes?

14. What has Nancy's assumption of the coordinator's position meant to you?

15. What do you think are realistic goals for the integration of the Project into SACS at the end of the Project's funding?

16. What dynamics do you see operating that either enhances or distracts from individuals' power and influence within SACS?
APPENDIX E

STAFF INTERVIEW PROTOCOL #4
1. What have been the most important events for you since March? Why?

2. Describe your understanding of the reasons for Rosanne, Fatima, and Nancy's leaving the organization. (This can include your interpretations as well as their stated reasons.)

3. Do you feel the staff is any closer to dealing with race and class issues at work?

4. How have race and class issues both surfaced and been avoided since March?

5. Do you think there have been any shifts in power in the organization? If so, to what do you attribute them?

6. What difference has it made to have a White project director and research consultant?

7. What impact do you think the Project has had on SACS? (i.e., in relation to staff, structure, volunteers, YWCA, police training, NWAR).

8. What would you have done differently if you were planning the Project now?

9. What do you think has been most successful about the Project?

10. How has the Project affected you personally and/or professionally?
APPENDIX F

STAFF INTERVIEW PROTOCOL #5
1. It has been four months since the Outreach Project has been formally over. How are things different at SACS?
2. What policy changes have been made since July, 1980?
3. What committees are now active and what are their functions?
4. Have the work priorities of the organization changed since July?
5. How are decisions among staff made? How is conflict resolved?
6. Are volunteers more or less involved in SACS than during the Outreach Project? In what ways?
7. There has long been tension about the functioning of staff as a collective versus having more clearly defined lines of authority and responsibility. Is there movement in either direction toward resolution of this conflict?
8. What sources of strain and tension do you see at SACS now?
9. Who has the power at SACS?
10. In what ways is SACS more responsive to Black and Puerto Rican women?
11. What kind of white anti-racism activity has continued since the Outreach Project?
12. What are the plans for future counselor training?
13. Do you feel that staff and volunteers are any closer to dealing with race and class issues at work since the end of the Outreach Project?

14. Knowing what you know now, what would you have changed about the Outreach Project?
APPENDIX G

INTERVIEW PROTOCOL: WHITE VOLUNTEERS
1. How long have you been with SACS? Which training did you participate in?

2. What has been your involvement with SACS? Have you been involved in other groups working on issues of violence against women? Have you had contact with Third World people outside of SACS?

3. Why did you join SACS? Do you see yourself as part of the anti-rape movement?

4. Describe what you think the Outreach Project is, including what you see as its goals.

5. How did you become aware of the Outreach Project?

6. Who have you talked with about the Outreach Project, both inside and outside of SACS?

7. What has your contact been with the Outreach Project?

8. How has the Outreach Project affected your contact with SACS?

9. What has been the impact of the Outreach Project on you? On your feelings? Attitudes? Commitments? Friendships? Work?

10. Do you think the Outreach Project has affected the role of the volunteer at SACS?

11. What do you think the goals of the Outreach Project were? How successful has the Project been in meeting those goals?

12. What do you think has been the impact of the Project on SACS as an organization?
13. Is it important for you that Third World women be involved in the anti-rape movement? Why? Why not?

14. Did you become involved in the anti-racism group? Why? Why not?
APPENDIX H

INTERVIEW PROTOCOL: THIRD WORLD VOLUNTEERS
1. How long have you been with SACS? Which training did you participate in?

2. What kind of work have you done here (phones, cases, committees, etc.)? Have you done other work in organizations dealing with violence, women's issues, and/or other political work?

3. Why did you join SACS? Do you see yourself as part of the anti-rape movement?

4. Do you know what the Outreach Project is? Describe your perception of what it is, including both what activities it consists of and its goals.

5. How did you first become aware of the Outreach Project?

6. Who have you talked with about the Outreach Project, both inside and outside of SACS?

7. What has been your contact with the Outreach Project (training, working with staff, community education, Third World Counselors Coalition)?

8. How has the Outreach Project affected your contact with SACS?

9. What has been the impact on you of the Outreach Project?

10. How do you think the Outreach Project has affected the role of volunteers in SACS?

11. How successful has the Outreach Project been in meeting its goals?

12. What do you think the impact of the Project has been on SACS?
13. How do you view the anti-rape movement? How do you think other Third World women view the anti-rape movement? Has this changed? Why?

14. Do you think it is important for Third World women to become involved in SACS? Why?
APPENDIX I

TRAINEE INFORMATION QUESTIONNAIRE
Year of Birth ____________________

Highest Level of Education Attained __________________

Please check the type of environment in which you lived for the majority of time during the following years:

- rural
- urban
- suburban

Birth to five
Five to eighteen
Eighteen to twenty-one
Twenty-one to present

Please check the words that best describe the economic class of your family of origin:

- lower class
- lower middle class
- middle class
- upper middle class
- lower upper class
- upper class

How did you hear about the training? Check all that apply.

- SACS counselor
- newspaper (which one)
- Outreach Worker
- friend
- have used service
- other social service agency
- radio (what station)
- TV (what station)
- other (please specify)
How would you describe the occupational class of both parents during your years at home? Check the relevant category.

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<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>mother</th>
<th>father</th>
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<td>Not relevant</td>
<td>_____</td>
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<tr>
<td>Unemployed</td>
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<td>Working class</td>
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<td>Professional</td>
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What is your ethnic background? ____________
What is your religious background? ____________

Check only those statements that you agree with.

_____ 1. Describe some recent progress, the institutions in this society are still basically racist in character.

_____ 2. The main reason Black and Puerto Rican families are crowded into substandard housing is that the whole system prevents them from getting better jobs and moving into all-white neighborhoods.

_____ 3. Minority groups in this city do not experience discrimination by the justice and law enforcement system.
4. Proportionately more Black men rape white women than white men rape white women.

5. Historically, rape laws were designed in part to control Blacks.

6. In order for me to counsel Black and Puerto Rican women effectively, it is important for me to have an understanding of the history and culture of both groups.

7. The effects of the class of the sexual assault victim should in no way alter the counselor/client relationship.

8. Puerto Rican women are on the whole disadvantaged because of their lack of factual information regarding sex.

9. I feel that the intent of the Black sex offender is more often aggressive than sexual.

10. New ways of obtaining information from Black and Puerto Rican clients is needed.

11. Language differences and barriers do not significantly affect the counselor/client relationship.
1. Please place a check by those activities in which you have participated and indicate below the nature of your involvement.

_____ Civil rights movement
_____ Affirmative action efforts
_____ School desegregation efforts
_____ Consciousness raising regarding racism
_____ Self education about the effect of racism
_____ Action groups to combat racism

Nature of your involvement:

2. Please indicate your degree of familiarity with the concept listed below by circling the appropriate number.

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<tr>
<td>not familiar</td>
<td>somewhat familiar</td>
<td>very familiar</td>
<td></td>
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</table>

the distinction between individual and institutional racism.

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<th>1</th>
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<th>3</th>
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</thead>
</table>
3. Place a check mark next to the book which you have read.

- The Islands, by Stan Steiner
- Tomorrow's Tomorrow: The Black Woman, by Joyce Ladner
- Black Women in White America: A Documentary History, by Gerda Lerner
- Institutional Racism in America, by Knowles and Prewitt
- For Whites Only, by Robert Terry
- The Black Woman, by Toni Cade
- White Racism, by Schwartz and Disch
- White Racism: A Psycho-History, by Joel Kovel
April, 1978 through June, 1979

April 1978:

1. Hire staff: Research Secretary with advice of Outreach Advisory Committee
2. Planning overall work schedules in detail

May 1978:

1. Hire staff: Outreach Workers with advice of Outreach Advisory Committee
2. Hire consultants: Research Consultant, Community Consultant
3. Staff workshop on restructuring to integrate Outreach Project and SACS (before all new staff on)
4. Staff training and orientation: Research training, SACS counselor/advocate training, SACS procedures training

June 1978:

1. Design bilingual SACS information flyer
2. Design Historical Interview format
3. Design Key Informant Interview format
4. New staff begin taking crisis cases
5. Revise and translate consent procedures
6. On-going public speaking, community education
7. Complete formal staff training
April 1979 (continued):

8. Meeting with Washington, D. C. Rape Crisis Center on providing services to Blacks and Hispanics

July 1978:

1. Gather data through Historical Interviews
2. On-going public speaking and community education
3. Gather data through Community Contact Forms (on-going)
4. Staff interviews by Research Consultant
5. SACS staff response to "Letters to Editor" in Black community newspaper about myths concerning sexual assault
6. Formal introduction of Outreach Project staff to SACS volunteers at all-volunteer annual meetings
7. Staff sensitivity workshop

August 1978:

1. Gather data through Key Informant Interviews
2. Hire half-time clerical staff
3. Design new counselor case report form
4. Share data collected on first cases by new Third World staff
5. Evaluation of SACS counselor/advocate training--brainstorm by all staff, including new Third World staff having completed training, on areas for improvement within the training and suggestions for changes, including identifying impact of racism within training

6. Plan anti-racism workshop for counselors

7. Phone survey

8. On-going public speaking and community education

September 1978:

1. Workshop on counseling needs of Hispanic women who have been sexually assaulted, held by Hispanic staff and counselors

2. Consultation with C-PASA, Roxbury, Massachusetts on providing services to Black and Hispanic communities

3. Design Rape Attitude and Behavior Questionnaire

4. Hire and orient training consultants

5. SACS Speakers Workshop trained Black and Hispanic speakers

6. First internal progress report on project

7. Staff sensitivity workshop held September 15th
October 1978:

1. SACS restructure process
2. Two staff sensitivity workshops--power, racism, structure
3. Design Rape Attitude and Behavior Questionnaire
4. Design training evaluation
5. Anti-racism workshop for counselors cancelled due to lack of women registered
6. Evaluation of SACS counselor training by Training Consultants

November 1978:

1. Consultation with C-PASA, Roxbury, Massachusetts: share our data at two-day conference
2. Presentation on rape, racism and the role of white women at conference held by Greater Lynn Community Mental Health Center, Lynn, Massachusetts
3. Design case study
4. Re-design community contact forms
5. Attend conference on evaluating primary prevention strategies and theory building, Columbus, Ohio
6. Staff brainstorm racism in SACS training and counseling as data source for training re-design
November 1978 (continued):

7. Design evaluation process and gather data to identify neighborhood helping services for SACS to do in-service workshops
8. SACS restructure meetings
9. Staff interviews by Research Consultants
10. Research Consultant leaves project
11. Self-defense class co-sponsored by SACS, South Arsenal Neighborhood Development and Neighborhood Women Against Rape, in South Arsenal neighborhood (November and December)
12. SACS counselor training session and evaluation in process

December 1978:

1. Hire new Research Consultant
2. Gather data to select agencies to do in-service workshops
3. Workshop on counseling needs of Black women who have been sexually assaulted held by Black staff and counselors
4. Design pre-test case study
5. Final report completed from workshop on needs of Hispanic women who have been sexually assaulted, given to training consultants to use in re-design on SACS training
December 1978 (continued):

6. New counselor case report form implemented
7. SACS counselor training session completed
8. SACS counselor training evaluation in process

Ongoing Activities:

1. Monthly Outreach Advisory Committee meetings
2. Weekly staff meetings
3. Weekly research meetings
4. Bi-weekly outreach meetings
5. Collection of data; Community Contact Form for community notes, Staff meeting and Research meeting notes by Research Consultant

January 1979:

1. Design agency workshop and evaluation process
2. Implement and evaluate four agency workshops
   a. Youth
   b. Farmworkers
   c. UACO
   d. Spanish-American Center
3. Preparation of first year report to Washington
4. Plan neighborhood self-defense programs
February 1979:

1. Second phone survey completed
2. Conflict resolution skills workshop (all staff)
3. Brainstorm Outreach Project goals for second year

March 1979:

1. Brainstorm Outreach Project goals for second year (all staff)
2. Three anti-racism workshops (all staff)
3. Plan Fotonovella
4. Evaluate self-defense program
5. Advertise SACS Counselor Training in Black and Hispanic radio and newspapers
6. Implement and evaluate one agency workshop, Community Renewal Team

April 1979:

1. Implement and evaluate one agency workshop, SAND
2. Anti-racism workshop (all staff)
3. First case studies (Black and Hispanic); additional studies in progress
4. Fotonovella planning
5. Staff evaluations
6. Counselor training sessions
7. Radio spots run on Black and Hispanic stations
April 1979 (continued):

8. One Outreach Worker resigns to take Training and Education position; hire new Outreach Worker

May 1979:

1. Fotonovella planning
2. Staff evaluations
3. Outreach Worker transfers job to Training and Education Coordinator
4. New bilingual brochure and poster completed and distribution begun (on-going)
5. Radio spots run on Black and Hispanic stations
6. Black and Hispanic Counselors Coalition work on securing long-term funding for Outreach Project

June 1979:

1. Third phone survey completed
2. Preparation of newspaper ads for SACS
3. New Outreach Worker for Black community begins work
4. Article in Black newspapers introducing new Black Outreach Worker
5. Special Counselor Training Session on anti-racism for White trainees
6. Formation of on-going anti-racism group of White counselors
June 1979 (continued):

7. Newspaper ads in Black and Hispanic newspapers
8. Radio spots on Black and Hispanic stations
9. Black and Hispanic Counselors Coalition work on securing long-term funding for Outreach Project

Ongoing Activities:

1. Community Education: Speakings and media contacts
2. Outreach: Individual and institutional contacts throughout target areas
3. Meetings of Black and Hispanic Counselors Coalition
APPENDIX K

YWCA SEXUAL ASSAULT CRISIS SERVICE COUNSELOR TRAINING SYLLABUS: FALL, 1979
Outline

1. Introduction to Training Program
   Introduction to Sexual Assault Crisis Service
   Myths and Facts about Assault

2. Film, "Rape Culture," and Discussion
   In and Out of Control Exercise

3. Crisis Intervention Theory
   Rape Trauma Syndrome
   Counseling Guidelines

Assigned Readings

"Counselor Information Procedures"
"Sexual Assault: Myth and Fact"

"Do You Believe the Myths about Rape?" Brownmiller
"Rape: The All-American Crime," Griffin
"Rape, Racism, and Reality," Friedman

"Initial Encounter between Counselor and Victim, Burgess
"Crisis Intervention and Investigation of Forcible Rape," Bard and Ellison
"Rape Trauma Syndrome," Burgess and Holmstrom
"Counseling Guidelines"
4. Puerto Rican History and Culture

"Rape and Virginity among Puerto Rican Women," Rodriguez-Alvardo

"El Asalto Sexual/Sexual Assault," Boujouen

"La Violación Sexual--The Reality of Rape," Garcia

"The Go Between," Morales

5. Black History and Culture

"Rape, Racism and the Capitalist Setting," Davis

"The White Professional and the Black Client," Gitterman and Schaeffer

"I Didn't Really Understand What It Meant to be a Negro," Bates

"Scratching the Surface: Some Notes on Barriers to Women and Loving," Lourde

"Poem About My Rights," Jordan

6. Feedback on Training Program

Rape Fantasy
7. Medical Information
   Psychological and Counseling Issues
   Counseling Technique Practice Sessions

   "Guide to Medical Services"
   "Gonorrhea"
   "How to Handle Phone Calls"
   "The Initial Interview," Burgess and Holmstrom
   "Advocacy Telephone List"

(Saturday, December 1st)

8. Counseling Technique Practice Sessions

   "Stalls in the Interview Process," Burgess and Holmstrom

9. Police/Legal Information
   Counseling Technique Practice Sessions

   "A Guide to the Legal Aspects of Sexual Assault," MacDonnell
   "Connecticut Victim's Compensation Act"
   "Counseling Guidelines"

10. Personal Exploration of Racism

    "Toward an Increased Understanding of Whiteness in Relation to White Racism"
    "Some Thoughts on Racism," Smith
    "Racism - a White Issue," Pence
    ""Bridging the Gap," Gross
11. Counseling Technique Practice Sessions  "Rape Alert"
    Neighborhood Women Against Rape  "Alerta Contra La Violación Femina"
    Final Party
APPENDIX L

CONSENT FORM
Consent Form for Interview of Staff and Volunteers of the YWCA Sexual Assault Crisis Service

In order to better understand how organizations adapt to planned change efforts, I would like to gather information about the continuing impact of the Outreach Project on SACS. The concerns and issues you express will be reported upon in a dissertation study conducted by Kathy Salisbury, former research consultant to the Outreach Project.

If you agree to participate in this study, all answers you provide will be kept confidential. The results will be grouped and reported as a whole, not according to individual responses. You may examine your answers at any time and you may decide to withdraw from the research project at any time and, upon your request, your answers will be eliminated.

Hopefully, the results of the study will be helpful to other organizations undertaking similar efforts to create multi-racial/cultural programs. The results of the study will be shared with participants in SACS.

If you are willing to participate in this research project, please sign below.
I, the undersigned, agree to provide information to Kathy Salisbury for purposes of dissertation research. I am aware that any data I provide will be kept confidential and that I may withdraw from participation at any time. I am over eighteen years of age.

______________________________  ______________________________
Date                                      Signature