A Case Study of the Role of Six Catholic Social Agencies as Mediating Structures in Social Welfare Service Provision in Virginia

by

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A CASE STUDY OF THE ROLE OF SIX CATHOLIC SOCIAL AGENCIES AS MEDIATING STRUCTURES IN SOCIAL WELFARE SERVICE PROVISION IN VIRGINIA

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(ABSTRACT)

This study explores the role of religious service organizations in social welfare provision by examining the activities of six social service/action agencies of the Diocese of Richmond, Virginia.

It compares Diocesan agency operations with a profile drawn from existing knowledge of secular nonprofits and finds similarities. In particular, these religious service providers evidence degrees of marketization and dependence upon public and private funds. An empirical portrait of the purposes, organization, funding, programs and scope of delivery, target populations, advocacy role, and influence of the bishop reveals that these agencies provide many different services to a limited number of recipients. Agency leaders argued strongly that their organizations are already functioning at their maximum capacity. Agency directors interviewed believe that their organizations cannot significantly increase their current service capacity and analysis of their funding bases supports their claims.

The study concludes with an analysis of the mediating role of these agencies in Virginia’s social welfare system. Two mediation theories, by Tocqueville (1840) and Berger and Neuhaus (1977) are tested. The Diocesan agencies are found to vary individually as mediating structures suggesting that religious organizations play diverse roles in social welfare provision in Virginia.
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Chapter One: Introduction

Historically, religious organizations have provided social services in accordance with their moral commitment to the public good and to their religious beliefs (Jeavons, 1994; Wuthnow, 1991). Today, they continue to provide social services in the name of these twin aims (Jeavons, 1994). However, the nonprofit literature does not distinguish the contribution of these religious service providers from their secular counterparts. This gap in the literature results in potentially dangerous and quite often inaccurate assumptions on the part of the general public and of governments about the capacity and role of religious nonprofits as social service agencies.

The current political rhetoric offered by proponents of the “Contract with America” assumes that the nonprofit sector generally, and religious organizations in particular, can assume responsibility for social service delivery when the federal government cuts back its role in social services (Washington Post, 2/22/95). The political action that results from this rhetoric shifts the responsibility for social welfare from the federal government to the states and ultimately to the nonprofit sector. This raises the issue of whether nonprofit service organizations are substitutable for public sector social service agencies.

There is very little evidence concerning whether religious service organizations are either willing or capable of replacing government services or funding. There are few studies that evaluate the capacity of religious organizations as social service providers, that analyze their links to the public and private sector; or that examine their capacity to expand their role in social service delivery (Jeavons, 1994; Wuthnow, 1991). Nor is there any proof of their special efficacy in service delivery vis-a-vis government provision. Many secular social service nonprofit providers are innovative and responsive to community needs (Kramer, 1987). However, many have also lost a large measure of their
autonomy and ability to react to community felt needs due to the time and money constraints applied through accountability mechanisms of contract relationships with governmental and/or private agencies which force nonprofit management to focus on budget concerns, report writing and program evaluation (Gronbjerg, 1993). In effect these accountability processes prohibit nonprofits from delivering services on a broad scale (Ostrom and Davis, 1993). This fact implies that nonprofits cannot adequately provide social services previously funded or provided by the national government.

This paper provides a case analysis of six social service/action agencies of the Roman Catholic Diocese of Richmond, Virginia. This Diocese is very active in social justice issues and sponsors some of the largest private social service agencies in Virginia. It is therefore especially apt for study because it is likely to pursue its aims vigorously regardless of changes in the political environment. Empirical evidence from this analysis augments existing nonprofit literature about religious service organizations, what services they provide and why, and whether these might be increased. This study explores the issue of substitutability of religious nonprofit services for government services by evaluating the current activity and capacity for expanding service provision of six social service/action agencies of the Diocese of Richmond. The study concludes with an analysis of the mediation role that these Diocesan agencies play in social welfare provision in Virginia.

Religious service organizations could be expected to continue their service programs even in an era of reduced governmental funding of human services. Moreover, they are likely to focus their service efforts on the most needy within society. Thus, they are good organizations to study to evaluate the roles that realistically might be played by government and by dedicated nonprofits in service delivery to the most poor. Analysis of the actual activities and service capacity of religious nonprofits allows analysts to test assumptions concerning their role in social service provision.
Catholic service organizations were chosen for this study precisely because they seek to adhere to the principles of Catholic social teaching which mandates that Church organizations offer their services and ministry to all persons, but especially to the most marginalized groups in society (Henriot, DeBerri, and Schultheis, 1994; Darring, 1987).

This study sought to determine not only what services these religious organizations were providing, but to go further and to compare the role that each played to the theoretical models of mediating institutions proposed by Berger and Neuhaus (1977) and by Tocqueville (1840). Berger and Neuhaus contend that the third sector, which includes churches, serves as a safety valve against potential government (especially) and business oppression by mediating between individuals and these megastructures of society. Also, mediating institutions, they contend, better reflect local cultural values and community needs than government organizations and are, therefore, more representative of our pluralist society. Mediating structures empower individuals by enabling them to organize to provide services that reflect their local values and needs. The Diocesan agencies were examined with an eye to how well they represent and respond to local needs and to whether those programs seek to empower individuals in their communities.

Tocqueville believed that third sector associations, including voluntary church groups, provide important civic training for democratic political participation. Voluntary associations may also act as mediating institutions because participants are well organized and can check the use of power by government. Also, civic participation motivates individuals to think about the community in addition to their private lives which results in an increased measure of cooperation and civility among the citizenry (Jeavons, 1994). This study also explored the advocacy work of the Diocesan agencies to determine their mediating role as defined by Tocqueville. It also sought to determine whether and to what extent they strive to empower people and encourage civic participation and democratic
decision making.

The study concludes with an exploration of the question of whether and to what extent the Catholic Diocese of Richmond acts as a mediating institution in social services provision in Virginia. The research provides empirical evidence that clarifies the existing links of the Diocesan social service/action agencies to the public and private sectors, and identifies the strengths and weaknesses of Catholic social service providers in one Diocese in comparison to secular service providers. This information can then be used to evaluate the assumption by proponents of the “Contract with America” that religious nonprofits can and will assume a greater role for social welfare provision should the federal government significantly reduce its support of human services.
Chapter Two: Literature Review

Literature from a variety of fields was reviewed for this study. This review is divided into five sections. First, mediation theory as defined by Berger and Neuhaus and by Tocqueville is presented. Second, the existing literature about religious service providers as mediating structures in social services provision is summarized.

Third, mediation concepts from theological teaching are presented as evidence of the mediation goals of religious organizations. Key mediation concepts of Catholic social teaching are presented as specific evidence of the mediation goal of Roman Catholic service organizations. Fourth, the advocacy role of religious organizations and of the Catholic church, in particular, is presented. Advocacy is one form of mediation behavior that fits Tocqueville’s model of mediating structures.

The fifth, and final section reviews six critical issues affecting the management and service delivery of secular nonprofits gleaned from the literature and suggests their utility as comparative benchmarks for the empirical results of this case study. These six issues potentially limit the mediation function of nonprofit service providers. This study will determine the extent to which they apply to the Catholic organizations studied, thus indicating whether and how these organizations function as mediating structures.

Section I: Mediation Theory

Mediation Theory of Nonprofits by Berger and Neuhaus

Berger and Neuhaus define mediating structures as “those institutions standing between the individual in his private life and the large institutions of public life” (Berger and Neuhaus, 1977, p. 2). The mediation structure paradigm offers a remedy for the social and political alienation of individuals within modern society by empowering people to take ownership and control over their lives and in the process, revitalize America’s democratic pluralism. Berger and Neuhaus contend that ordinary people know what their
own needs are better than do experts or the government. Mediating structures, then, become “people sized” institutions that reflect the shared values of the local community.

Four primary mediating structures that relate to human services and are relevant to all individuals are the neighborhood, the family, the church, and voluntary associations. The crux of Berger and Neuhaus’ theory of mediating institutions is that these structures are “essential for a democratic society” and therefore, that “public policy should protect and foster mediating structures,” and “Wherever possible, public policy [should] utilize mediating structures for the realization of social purposes” (Berger and Neuhaus, 1977, p. 6). This orientation is based on the belief that mediating institutions are the value-generating and value-maintaining structures of society.

Empowering the disenfranchised is an important objective of the mediating structures paradigm. The management of mediating institutions is dedicated to serving society. One way that they do this is by responding to individual needs and values. The goal of mediating structures is to “spread the power around a bit more- and to do so where it matters, in people's control over their own lives” (Berger and Neuhaus, 1977, p. 8).

Berger and Neuhaus contend that the public sphere should not be dominated by government and that to impose uniform values and structures as government does, is innately anti-democratic. They propose that most social services be delivered by religious and voluntary associations with financial support from government without the strings attached through current contracting relationships. Religious institutions have historically been key players in the public sphere in delivering social services to marginalized groups but for various reasons (including American dedication to the separation of church and state) their role is often overlooked in social policy decision-making. Yet their numbers and their work are significant and “religious institutions form by far the largest network of voluntary associations in American society” (Berger and

Given the grassroots nature of mediating institutions and the inherent diversity and representativeness of a variety of social groups, mediating institutions pose a challenge to public policy to welcome the tensions created by pluralism as the “catalysts of more imaginative accommodations” (Berger and Neuhaus, 1977, p. 41). However, current public policy tends to be biased toward unitary solutions.

Public policy...has in recent decades, we believe, been too negative in its approach to the tensions of diversity and therefore too ready to impose uniform solutions on what are perceived as national social problems (Berger and Neuhaus, 1977, p. 41).

According to the authors, “The goal of public policy in a pluralistic society is to sustain as many particularities as possible, in hope that most people will accept, discover, or devise one that fits” (Berger and Neuhaus, 1977, p. 44). Mediating structures are important because they provide personal identity and meaning for a variety of individuals in our multicultural society.

**Tocqueville's Perspective on Voluntary Associations as Mediating Structures**

Unlike Berger and Neuhaus, Tocqueville focused on the political role of mediating structures. He argued that they strengthen democracy by organizing individuals into associations: “Tocqueville believed that voluntary associations contributed to American freedom in a variety of ways regardless of their purpose” (Kessler, 1994, p. 157). Voluntary associations organize the citizenry and thereby act as independent sources of power that check the power of the state. Also, voluntary associations draw individuals out from their private lives into the public sphere. In so doing, these organizations function as mediating structures and as venues for acculturation to democratic virtues of collaboration and compromise. Tocqueville believed that voluntary associations promoted values conducive to a democratic society. However, unlike Berger and
Neuhaus, Tocqueville did not argue that organizations should replace government action and policy implementation.

The condition of equality in the United States coupled with our democratic freedom to form associations has resulted in a wide variety of voluntary organizations. These organizations improve democratic governance because “participation in organizations of whatever stripe assures representation at citizen initiative and develops important habits that check the reach of the power of the state” (Stephenson, 1994, p. 6).

Tocqueville observed that political and civil (public) associations are mutually beneficial to the establishment and enforcement of each other (Tocqueville, 1840). Through their participation in associations, citizens are less likely to depend upon the state to meet their needs and thus, they are able to maintain a degree of separation from government that enables them to check government’s tendency toward tyranny (Stephenson, 1994).

Tocqueville believed that the democratic process was nurtured in civic associations where individuals learn from each other through their exchange of opinions, feelings and opening their hearts (Wuthnow, 1991). Associations are public entities that counter individualistic tendencies in favor of forging more communal bonds. They are the mediator between the 'authority' of the state and the 'will' of the people and in the process, they “forge communitarian links and politicize the citizenry” (Wuthnow, 1991, p. 246).

Tocqueville recognized, however, that these processes were contingent on the maintenance of some degree of autonomy between the realm of voluntary associations and that of the state (Wuthnow, 1991, p. 246).

The degree of autonomy enjoyed by the Diocesan agencies from government control, as well as their advocacy role and effort to politicize and organize citizens to work toward communal goals, will be analyzed to determine whether these Catholic social service/action agencies fit Tocqueville’s mediation model.
Section II: The Mediating Role of Religious Organizations in Social Welfare Provision

Religious organizations have a long history of functioning as mediating institutions in both the political sense envisioned by Tocqueville and as social service providers as proposed by Berger and Neuhaus. Historically, religious organizations in the United States have mediated between their congregation members and the governmental bodies of society. Religious organizations fought for their rights to congregate and to practice their religion and to serve their members. Their church congregations and member serving programs became the first voluntary associations in the United States, and their individual organization service activities were frequently adopted by secular organizations (Jeavons, 1994; Hall, 1990).

Thus, the first religious organizations played a vital role in the foundation and the functioning of the third sector (Jeavons, 1994; Wuthnow, 1991; Hall, 1990). According to Jeavons (1994), the first mutual benefit associations evolved from the Catholics and Jews who were outside of the “Protestant mainstream” and were also separated from mainstream society along racial and class lines.

A second form of religiously rooted philanthropic practice emerged among the growing populations of Catholics and Jews, who stood outside of the Protestant mainstream. These people were often separated from the Protestants, and sometimes internally divided as well, by ethnic differences...Such circumstances led to the development of philanthropic agencies, sometimes in the form of mutual-benefit organizations, in the Jewish community to help the Jews, and in the Catholic community to help the Catholics (Jeavons, 1994, pp. 9-10).

The role of religious organizations in social welfare provision has changed dramatically over time in response to changes in the political economy. First, religious organizations were respected and relied upon for providing services to meet society’s needs. Then, when their services proved inadequate to meet the urban society’s needs,
they were criticized for their role as providers of social services. This distinction is critical for understanding the current political rhetoric about the capacity and willingness of religious organizations to assume a greater role for social services when government significantly reduces its role in social welfare provision. The present rhetoric implies a significant shift in public opinion about the capacity of religious organizations as service providers. The political and economic conditions that initiated this change in public opinion are detailed below.

From colonial America until the industrial age, religious organizations were the primary providers of social services in American society (Jeavons, 1994; Salamon, 1992; Wuthnow, 1991; Hall, 1990). Religious organizations established the moral value of philanthropy in American culture and communities by encouraging individuals to help their neighbors (Jeavons, 1994, Wuthnow, 1991; Hall, 1990). From the earliest English-speaking community established by John Winthrop in 1630 until the early 1900's, the responsibility for the “common good”, including the welfare of individuals, was to be borne principally by private groups and individuals rather than government (Jeavons, 1994). This fits the mediation model later proposed by Berger and Neuhaus. The early settlers fled government oppression and religious persecution. They carried with them a disdain for government and a distrust of aristocracy that led them to favor community based institutions, especially the church, to meet the social needs of individuals in their societies (Jeavons, 1994, Hall, 1990). In the colonial period, religious organizations epitomized mediating structures as defined by Berger and Neuhaus.

The public perception that the third sector was largely responsible for the common good changed in the 19th century in response to the social and economic pressures brought on by urbanization. The social problems and service needs of the fast growing and heavily populated urban centers exceeded the service capacity of religious philanthropic organizations. Soon thereafter, politicians and community leaders began to
argue that government and private businesses should play a larger role in social service delivery (Jeavons 1994; Wuthnow, 1991). Governments assumed a primary role in social welfare service provision with the national crisis of the Great Depression (Jeavons, 1994, Wuthnow, 1991). At that time, President Franklin D. Roosevelt argued convincingly for national government assumption of an enhanced role in social welfare provision.

Criticisms of religious organizations as social service providers began in the late 19th century with the rapid development of science and technology. Wealthy industrialists, such as Andrew Carnegie and J.D. Rockefeller, Sr., founded a "scientific philanthropy" movement that questioned both the efficiency of charity efforts and whether they were truly serving the public good. Proponents of scientific philanthropy were concerned that charity created dependence and 'pauperization' of recipients (Jeavons, 1994).

Today, Republicans in the House of Representatives use the same argument (but this time applied to government) to promote their welfare reform program. However, they are arguing for an increased, not a decreased, role for religious organizations in social welfare provision. This is a reversal of the previous ideology regarding the role of religious organizations in social services provision. This change has political roots that can be traced to the Reagan administration in the 1980's (Jeavons, 1994; Wuthnow, 1991; Gage, 1990).

There is very little empirical evidence concerning the fiscal and institutional capacity of religious organizations to increase their current level of social service provision. Wineburg (1992), in the only recent study relevant to this research, examined the response of religious organizations in Greensboro, NC to government cutbacks in social services under the "new federalism of the Reagan era" (Wineburg, 1992, p. 107). His findings showed that "Congregations actively serve communities from their premises and through assistance to community human services agencies" (Wineburg, 1992, p. 114).
He observed that the congregations provided a variety of informal services that were established on an ad hoc basis, and that the congregations' support of social service programs outside of their churches rose and fell with perceived need.

Wineburg found a direct relationship between public policy and local service provision. He concluded that "social policies that emphasize local solutions to growing social problems will continue to put pressure on communities and their religious congregations to satisfy unmet community needs" (Wineburg, 1992, p. 114). He advised that social planners "recognize and begin to enumerate the community’s congregational strengths and limitations. Then they can systematically build on the growing community ethic of concern displayed in this study" (Wineburg, 1992, p. 115).

Wineburg’s study suggests that religious organizations in Greensboro, NC acted as mediating institutions as defined by Berger and Neuhaus by responding to local service needs in their community. Unfortunately, there are very few empirical studies like Wineburg’s from which to assess whether this mediating response by the religious community is a widespread phenomenon in social service delivery in the United States. Also, it is unclear whether these organizations are adequate to meet all social needs in lieu of national government involvement.

Current research on philanthropy and volunteerism in the United States suggests that religious organizations play a vital role in motivating people to give their money, time, and talents to community oriented agencies (Jeavons, 1994; Hodgkinson, Weitzman, and Kirsch, 1990). This research indicates that religious organizations today function as mediating structures as defined by Tocqueville because they promote civic acculturation and effectively mobilize individuals to work toward the common good.

The analyses of individual giving and volunteering show that individuals who are members of religious organizations are half again as likely as nonmembers to be both contributors and volunteers. In an average month, volunteers to religious organizations contributed approximately 107 million hours, of which 56 million were devoted to religious ministry and
education, and 51 million were devoted to other activities in education, human services and welfare, health, activities for the public benefit, arts and culture, international causes, and environmental quality improvement (Hodgkinson, Weitzman, and Kirsch, 1990, p. 112).

Recent national surveys on philanthropic giving in the United States by the Independent Sector and the Gallup Organization (1994) show that religious organizations today receive a majority, “(64.5 percent) of household (personal) charitable contributions” (Jeavons, 1994, p. 35). This is a reflection of the public trust in religious and nonprofit organizations and their service missions (Jeavons, 1994; Smith and Lipsky, 1994; Gronbjerg, 1993; Salamon, 1992; Hodgkinson, Weitzman, and Kirsch, 1990).

Another way to explore the mediating role of religious nonprofits is to analyze the theological teaching of what religious organizations are supposed to do. In the case of Christianity and the Catholic religion, there are specific teachings and values that mandate that religious organizations provide services to the poor and vulnerable populations, and that they encourage their congregations to serve the community and the public good.

**Section III: The Mediating Role of Religious Organizations in Social Welfare Provision Based on Their Theology.**

The goal orientation of religious nonprofits differs from their secular counterparts. Most secular nonprofits have a single program mission. Religious nonprofits, however, have “two distinct but inseparable missions ... and these are to provide a service and to promote the religious beliefs that inspire that service” (Jeavons, 1990, p. 46). Christian theology emphasizes helping the poor and marginalized groups in society and creating a "community of feeling, a set of human bonds, which are in themselves, perhaps, more valuable than the service” (Hall, 1990, p. 52). The religious motivations for social service delivery aim to strengthen the family and community.
Thus, religious nonprofit organizations will continue to provide services to the poor and disenfranchised in society, while secular service nonprofits can choose not to serve the poor. Indeed, there are many examples of member serving secular nonprofits that do not target disenfranchised groups: trade associations, arts and culture organizations, and private universities (Salamon, 1992). The theological motivation of religious service providers to direct their service outreach to the poor and marginalized groups of society places them in an important position to maintain the social services safety net when government funded public services are significantly reduced. This study evaluates the Diocesan agencies’ service outreach to poor and marginalized groups and their ability to maintain this “safety net”.

**Key Concepts of Catholic Social Teaching**

Catholic social teaching is the moral value orientation taught to all adherents to the faith. It underlies the purpose and mission of all Catholic service organizations and has evolved from an internal teaching of the church to become a basis for contemporary social criticism by various popes and the Second Vatican Council.

The social justice teachings of the Church are rooted in the life of Jesus and in this prophetic tradition. During the early Church, these teachings were carried on in the writings and sermons of the ordained leaders known as the 'Fathers of the Church'. In 1891, the official Church began a systematic presentation of this body of thought which today we refer to as Catholic social teaching. At the universal level are the papal encyclicals and the synod statements. Other areas of official Catholic social thought are found in a variety of Vatican Congregation and Commission teachings. In addition, episcopal conferences in different nations have issued their own documents applying universal principles to their historical realities (Riley and Sylvester, 1990, p. 2).

Beginning, at least, with Leo XIII's Rerum Novarum in 1891, Church officials began using Catholic moral doctrine to respond to the social, economic, political and
cultural realities of their times (Network, 1991).

Certain key themes pervade the teaching and were presented in public forums to address current events and trends of the historical period in which the document was written.

*Primacy of the person
*Social nature of human beings
*Common good inseparable from good of persons
*Solidarity of the human family
*Subsidiarity as the rule of social organization
*Participation (in political decision-making) as a basic right
*Dignity of work
*Universal purpose of material things
*Special claim of the poor and vulnerable.
(Network, 1991, p. 2)

In the United States, the Bishop's most recent pastoral letters on racism, peace, economic justice and mission respectively, reflect the application of universal Catholic social teaching principles to the specific social issues of the United States (Riley and Sylvester, 1990).

The core themes of Catholic social teaching are human dignity, participation/rights, “option for the poor”, and solidarity (Office of Justice and Peace document, 1995). Figure A1, Appendix A, a publication of the Office of Justice and Peace of the Richmond Diocese, explains each of these themes. The protection of human dignity is the primary motivation for Church involvement in social justice and peace issues.

At the center of all Catholic social teaching are the transcendence of God and the dignity of the human person. The human person is the clearest reflection of God’s presence in the world; all of the Church’s work in pursuit of both justice and peace is designed to protect and promote the dignity of every person (Darring, 1987, p. 4).
Other major tenets of Catholic social teaching include the following:

1. The link of religious and social dimensions of life, i.e. faith and social justice are linked together.
2. Political and economic rights. These are the inalienable rights of food, shelter, work, and education that are realized in the community.
3. The link of love and justice. This means love thy neighbor, and refers to charity based on the promotion of human dignity, and promoting justice to transform structures which block love.
4. Promotion of the common good. This is the sum total of economic, political and social conditions that affect humanity.
5. Subsidiarity. This promotes individual participation in local decision making.
6. Political participation.
7. Economic justice. This means that the economy is for the people and the resources of the earth are to be shared by all.
8. Stewardship. This refers to sharing and respecting the earth's resources.
9. Solidarity. This means we are all part of one human family.
10. Promotion of peace.
11. Work. This refers to work that serves an individual's humanity and dignity.
12. Liberation (from oppressive social, political and economical situations).

(Henriot, DeBerri and Schultheis, 1994, p. 22-25)

Of these lessons, the link of social and religious dimensions of life, stewardship, subsidiarity, and special "option for the poor" establish a mediator role for the Catholic church.

**Subsidiarity**

Of particular interest to this study is the Catholic social teaching concerning subsidiarity. This term refers to the primacy of the individual in decision making and the role of individual initiative in local communities and institutions. Through subsidiarity, citizens are able to participate in the development of the common good. The role of civil society under subsidiarity is to inculcate virtue in the citizenry. Dupre has captured this
teaching succinctly: “A primary function of civil society remains that of encouraging and providing the proper circumstances for the development of virtue among its citizens...The idea of the common good should play a significant part in guiding citizens toward the cultivation of such virtue” (Dupre, 1994, p. 191-192, italics in the original). In addition, the principle of subsidiarity prevents the state from imposing a particular ideal of the common good if it is not accepted by a majority of the citizens (Dupre, 1994).

Only a social system based on subsidiarity can avoid turning the state into either a mere legal sanction of individual interests (as in nineteenth-century liberalism) or into a personification of a common good in which individual interests are not adequately represented (as in the dictatorial states of the twentieth century) (Dupre, 1994, p. 191).

In Catholic social teaching, the individual is the foundation, cause and end of all social institutions (Henriot, DeBerri, and Schultheis, 1994). Subsidiarity within Catholic social teaching emphasizes the role of the family, church, and neighborhood groups as mediating structures in which people should participate to have a voice in local decision making. However, these teachings also stress the need for government to continue to play a major role in the overall assurance of social welfare.

Mediating structures of families, neighborhoods, community groups, small businesses, and local governments should be fostered and participated in. But larger government structures do have a role when greater social coordination and regulation are necessary for the common good (Henriot, DeBerri, and Schultheis, 1994, p. 23).

Subsidiarity exemplifies the mediating role of voluntary associations as defined by Tocqueville.

**Stewardship**

Stewardship within Catholic social teaching specifies the responsibility of all individuals to respect, protect and share the natural resources of the earth. Catholics
practice stewardship by sharing their time, talent, and money as each individual believes to be appropriate as a response to manifest social needs. Stewardship is the manner of acting as leaders in the development of the earth. Stewards mediate between disenfranchised individuals and society’s larger institutions in accordance with both the Berger and Neuhaus and Tocqueville models of mediating structures.

**Special Option for the Poor**

The “special option” for the poor as identified within Catholic social teaching represents recognition of a moral obligation among all Christians to show preferential love for the poor “whose needs and rights are given special attention in God’s eyes” (Henriot, DeBerri, and Schultheis, 1994, p. 23). The “poor” are defined as the economically disadvantaged who suffer oppression and powerlessness as a consequence of their status (Henriot, DeBerri, and Schultheis, 1994, p. 23). These principles give Catholic social teaching its distinctive purpose and circumscribed role. Thus, Catholic social service organizations can be expected to target the poor and vulnerable groups in society. As such, they may function as mediators between those disenfranchised individuals and society’s larger private and public institutions such as health organizations and legal aid agencies.

**Section IV: Advocacy Role of Religious Organizations as Evidence of Their Mediating Role in Society**

The advocacy role of religious organizations characterizes such organizations as mediating institutions as defined by Tocqueville because of the implicit tie between advocacy and democratic political acculturation. From their earliest history in the United States, religious organizations have acted as arbiter and critic of the actions of government and business. They have done so by offering moral and social guidance to policy makers
as well as criticisms of programs or activities that negatively affect vulnerable populations in society such as the poor, elderly, immigrants, and children.

There can be no question that those working and giving to remove the causes of social problems rather than, or as well as, to alleviate personal suffering have also been responding to the emphases on justice and right order in social structures that stand out in the prophetic elements of the Judeo-Christian tradition...studies of current patterns of giving and volunteering demonstrate how crucial the role of religion continues to be in the nonprofit world, to civic and cultural as well as charitable and social-service organizations- in fact, to both secular and religious organizations (Jeavons, 1994, p. 35).

However, there is little current empirical evidence of the advocacy activity of religious organizations today. The present study augments existing knowledge of religious organizations working toward social justice through a cataloging of the activities of six Catholic organizations advocating for policy changes that improve living conditions for poor and marginalized groups.

**Advocacy Role of the Catholic Church**

The Catholic church encourages individual parish members to participate actively in social change in order to achieve the objectives of Catholic social teaching. The Church generally seeks to work through individuals to transform social structures. This is exemplified in the projects supported by the Campaign for Human Development which aim to change social structures through political education, training and organization of local citizens’s groups. This activism is widely referred to as “ART of Justice and Peace.” A.R.T. stands for Act, Reflect and Transform. Parish members are urged to act to meet urgent needs; to reflect on the root causes of those needs and the basic values that mediate their response; and to transform the root social causes of the problems their efforts are designed to address. Figure A2, Appendix A outlines how the ART process has been
employed by the Diocese of Richmond.

The Catholic church actively participates in the political sphere in five areas:

1. Education regarding the teachings of the Church and the responsibilities of the faithful.
2. Analysis of issues for their social and moral dimensions.
3. Measuring public policy against gospel values.
4. Participating with other concerned parties in debate over public policy.
5. Speaking out with courage, skill and concern on public issues involving human rights, social justice, and the life of the Church in society.

(Administrative Board of the U.S. Catholic Conference, 1991, p. 4)

The Church contends that its role in public affairs is an affirmation of the pluralism and character of the political process of our democratic society. The U.S. Catholic Conference is one of the primary advocacy agencies of the Catholic Church and it has stated that “The Church recognizes the legitimate autonomy of government and the right of all, including the Church itself, to be heard in the formulation of public policy” (Administrative Board of the U.S. Catholic Conference, 1991, p. 4). As such, the Church purports to act as a mediating institution as defined by Tocqueville because it advocates for government’s continued authority in social policy and also for the right of individuals and organizations to participate in the decision making process.

Some of the contemporary public policy issues to which the Catholic church has responded are:

- Abortion
- Arms control and disarmament
- Capital punishment
- Discrimination and racism
- The economy
- Education
- Euthanasia
- Family life
Food, agriculture and the environment
Health
Housing
Human rights
Immigration
Mass media
Refugee settlement
Regional concerns: Eastern Europe, Middle East, Latin America, and Africa
Substance abuse

The Bishop of the Diocese of Richmond, Walter Sullivan, has developed a list of ministerial priorities for the Diocesan social programs. These are listed in Table A3, Appendix A. Half of the Bishop’s priorities are religious in character while the other half represent an effort to realize Catholic social teaching in the political process. The latter includes initiatives to promote justice and peace, family, environment (preservation of), and planning (of mission and ministry) and stewardship (*A Shared Vision for the Nineties*, Diocese of Richmond, 1989).

How and to what extent Catholic organizations or any other religious institutions serve as mediating organizations has been little studied. Such an evaluation implies an analytic approach that identifies the limitations of secular nonprofits as mediating structures and then determines the extent to which those limitations apply to religious nonprofits as well.

**Section V: Six Issues of the Contracting Regime That Potentially Limit the Mediation Role of Nonprofit Service Providers**

One central purpose of this study was to determine whether and to what extent the six Catholic social agencies examined act as mediating structures in social services provision in Virginia. There is no research on this topic. Therefore, inferences were
drawn from the literature about secular nonprofit service providers. Six issues from that literature were chosen for comparison for this study because each may potentially limit the mediation role of nonprofit service providers. These issues are autonomy, goal succession, professionalism, program evaluation, accountability, and particularism. They are listed in Table 2.0 below, and are discussed in more detail in the following pages.

Each one arises from the enforcement of particular requirements of contracting relationships. They are consequences of the reporting mechanisms, fiscal controls, and efficiency measurements attached to public contractor or philanthropist/foundation funding. While these controls may be necessary, their application often constrains the management and service delivery capacity of nonprofits.

While each of the six issues may potentially limit the mediation role of religious service organizations, three of them may also enhance this role. This is true for the issues of autonomy, program evaluation, and accountability each of which may enable an organization to be a better mediating organization. However, this study will focus on the ways that each issue poses a potential limitation on the role of the organization as a mediating institution.
Table 2.0: Definitions of the Six Issues Addressed in the Nonprofit Literature Which May Potentially Limit the Mediating Role of Nonprofit Service Providers.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Issue</th>
<th>Brief Description</th>
<th>Limits or Enhances Mediating Function</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Autonomy</td>
<td>Nonprofit managers have control over decision making and budgeting.</td>
<td>Both</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goal Succession</td>
<td>Funding agency’s goals become the nonprofit’s program goals.</td>
<td>Limits</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professionalism</td>
<td>Nonprofit is pressured to hire professional staff which limits its budget for other program activities.</td>
<td>Limits</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Program Evaluation</td>
<td>Reporting requirements of contracts and grants that consume a large portion of the nonprofit manager’s time and effort.</td>
<td>Both</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accountability</td>
<td>Fiscal controls to ensure that the funds are spent for their intended purposes, i.e. for the public good.</td>
<td>Both</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Particularism</td>
<td>The particular service focus or targeted population that limits the scope of delivery of the nonprofit service provider.</td>
<td>Limits</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Autonomy**

Tocqueville envisioned a three sector model of society that included the state, market, and voluntary sectors. Current nonprofit literature verifies this concept and illustrates how the three sectors depend upon each other for funding, technical support and staff (Smith and Lipsky, 1993; Salamon, 1992). The issue of autonomy refers to the
management constraints that are placed on nonprofits from public sector/private sector regulations attached to contracts for funding. Contracting relationships create tensions between nonprofit service providers and the contracting agencies which may be governmental or private agencies. Within somewhat elastic, but nonetheless determinate boundaries, nonprofit managers have to fulfill the accounting requirements and adhere to the regulations governing the funds received as they are conceived by the funders; and they therefore enjoy diminished control over how the money is spent (Smith and Lipsky, 1993). Relative autonomy in management decision making and budgeting are the issues at stake in contracting relationships.

Presumably, the less dependent a nonprofit is on contracts, the more autonomous it will be. Mediating institutions require autonomy in decision making in order to be flexible and able to respond quickly to local community needs.

**Goal Succession**

One concern expressed in the literature about contracting relationships is the possible cooptation of the nonprofit by government agencies through the controls inherent in the contract that may detract the nonprofit from fulfilling its original service mission (Gronbjerg, 1993; Sheth, 1993; Smith and Lipsky, 1993). Most social service nonprofits are dependent upon government contracts for the majority of their funding (Gronbjerg, 1993; Salamon, 1992). The more resource dependent a nonprofit is on any one particular funding agency, the more vulnerable it is to goal succession in which the nonprofit's aims are replaced by the funding agency's goals (Smith and Lipsky, 1993).

Goal succession impairs the nonprofit from functioning as a mediating institution because the nonprofit will not be able to represent local needs or values. Instead, it will have to incorporate the funding agency's goals into its service mission. Both religious and secular nonprofits are vulnerable to goal succession if they depend primarily on a single
source of funding. Religious service providers may be somewhat less susceptible to goal succession than their secular counterparts due to their strong commitment to providing a service based on religious beliefs (Jeavons, 1994).

**Professionalism**

One consequence of contracting relationships is the competition for funding that results from many nonprofits growing increasingly dependent upon contracts and having to compete for limited resources (Gronbjerg, 1993; Netting, 1982). One effect of this competition for funds is the pressure for management to hire professional staff to make the program seem more cost effective (Smith and Lipsky, 1993). This imposes a constraint on the use of funds that may affect the scope of service delivery. To the extent that this happens, the mediating role of the nonprofit service provider may be compromised.

**Program Evaluation**

Measuring the performance of nonprofits individually and as a sector is one of the main accountability issues discussed in the nonprofit literature (Gronbjerg, 1993; Smith and Lipsky, 1993). Without some means of performance evaluation, there is no proof that the public or private funding provided was used efficiently and effectively. Also, there is no mechanism for assuring service quality. This accountability issue is difficult to resolve because of the diversity in program design of each organization and also the differences in their missions and their target populations (Smith and Lipsky, 1993; Salamon, 1992).

These concerns are heightened for fee driven or donor driven nonprofits, such as religious organizations, that do not have to conform to strict accountability procedures imposed through contracts. These private sources of revenue come with few strings
attached because they are given on the axiom of faith that the nonprofit will use them for the public good (Gronbjerg, 1993; Smith and Lipsky, 1993; Hammock and Young, 1993). The public simply expects nonprofits to be ethical (Wuthnow, 1991; Weisbrod, 1988).

The time and effort spent in program evaluation and constant reporting back to the funding agencies may consume most of a nonprofit manager's time. Therefore, nonprofit service providers may become more focussed on program evaluation rather than on design or delivery of services. In this event, the nonprofit will cease to function as a mediating institution because it will not be responsive to local community needs.

**Accountability**

The demands for accountability are part of the idiosyncratic reporting mechanisms required by every funding transaction (Gronbjerg, 1993). Mechanisms to insure accountability are complex and are compounded by the number of individuals or institutions involved in the “interdependent chain of choices” (Ostrom and Davis, 1993). Each funding transaction also imposes regulations that limit and control how the funding is spent (Gronbjerg, 1993). Nonprofit managers demand accountability from their organizational staff in order to report back to all of their donors: foundations, governments, private industry, and to the general public. Religious nonprofits may be accountable to the same agencies depending upon whether they receive funding from them; but they are always accountable to the Church.

Through the contract regime “public accountability is more difficult to achieve because of the involvement of nongovernmental parties as implementors of public services” (Saide, 1991, 551). Gronbjerg, 1993, has raised two difficult management issues that result from the tensions created by the current fragmented service delivery system. These concern the lack of sufficient mechanisms for insuring nonprofit accountability and the increased “dumping” of public sector problems onto the nonprofit sector.
Reductions in human services program funding at the federal and state levels have been coupled with the expectation that the nonprofit sector will provide those needed services when government withdraws (Gronbjerg, 1993; Wuthnow, 1991).

However, “a much more substantial private sector now depends upon government to sustain it” (Smith and Lipsky, 1993, 206). Therefore, many service nonprofits cannot adequately respond to an increased demand for their services, nor can they provide the needed social services on a broad scale (Ostrom and Davis, 1993; Wineburg, Spakes, and Finn, 1983).

**Particularism**

Particularism refers to the nonprofit service provider’s limited scope of service delivery and the particular targeted population. For religious service providers, it also refers to the particular clients who may choose the religious service providers because of their membership in or psychological affiliation with the Church. Nonprofits can be member serving as well as public serving, but even the public serving nonprofits must focus their services on a specific population or location due to their limitations of staff and unstable funding (Smith and Lipsky, 1993; Salamon, 1992). Religious organizations are member serving as well as public serving and they provide services to fulfill a theological mission as well as perceived social needs. For example, Catholic social service agencies provide many family planning services but will not provide or advocate abortion which runs counter to Church teaching. Therefore, religious organizations provide only particular services and may not be willing to provide the wide array of services provided by public service agencies.

Nonprofits are not able to provide services on a scale comparable with government sponsored services. In fact, studies suggest that nonprofits do not typically possess the resources that enable public agencies to provide large scale delivery at a
standard level of efficiency (Ostrom and Davis, 1993; Wineburg, 1983). However, nonprofits are vital to social services because they are flexible, innovative and more representative of local, cultural values and needs than are many public service agencies (Gronbjerg, 1993; Hammock and Young, 1993).

The literature indicates that nonprofits act as mediating institutions by responding to local needs, but their particularism prohibits them from serving in this capacity for a large population. Gronbjerg’s study of secular nonprofit service providers and community development organizations found that nonprofits have limited service outreach capacity: “Efforts to meet demands or preferences by subgroups of the population invariably mean that other subgroups or demands are ignored” (Gronbjerg, 1993, 322). If the national government encourages a much larger share of social welfare services to be delivered via the nonprofit sector, then it risks some groups of the population not being served, either because they cannot afford the services, or because the nonprofit organizations do not have the financial security to expand their services (Sheth, 1993).

Section VI: Summary of the Analytic Implications of the Literature Review

This review of the literature has five overall themes: 1) the mediation role of religious service organizations in social welfare provision; 2) the historical role of religious organizations as social service providers; 3) the influence of Catholic social teaching that mandates that Catholic service organizations play a mediating function; 4) the advocacy role of Catholic organizations as evidence of their mediation activity; and 5) six factors inherent in the current contract regime that potentially limit the mediation role of religious service organizations.

Within these themes several issues or concerns may be identified which include the lack of information regarding the current role of religious social service/action
organizations in social welfare provision; the dearth of empirical data which shows the organizational and fiscal capacity of religious organizations as service providers and in what ways they are linked to the public and private sectors; and the issue of whether and to what extent religious organizations can substitute for government provided services in the event that the federal government reduces its role in social welfare provision.

This study begins to provide evidence to evaluate several of these issues. The present role of religious service organizations is examined based on empirical data gathered from a service profile of six major Catholic social service/action agencies in one Diocese. Research addressing the mediating role of religious organizations is typically only to be inferred from study of related topics such as role of religious organizations in philanthropic giving and volunteerism. Whereas this study provides empirical evidence to support the mediating role of religious organizations through a case analysis of the social service/action role of the six Catholic agencies examined. It also provides empirical data on agency structure and operations that enables comparisons with secular, nonprofit service providers.

Whether and to what extent the Diocesan agencies examined are linked to government and the private sector for funding, and whether their leaders perceive that they have the fiscal and organizational capacity to increase their role in social service delivery will also be examined below. Those findings will in turn determine the character of the mediating role of these Catholic organizations in social services provision.

Such information, in turn, provides an important indicator of the capacity of the six Catholic social programs to assume greater responsibility for social services in Virginia. The empirical data from this study also distinguishes these religious organizations from their secular counterparts as service providers by determining how and to what extent these religious organizations are linked to the public and private sectors. The empirical data collected here also will allow determination of the extent to
which the six Catholic social service/action agencies studied are dependent upon contracts for their programs. It is assumed that they are more dependent upon the Church than on outside contracts and therefore, that they are more autonomous than their secular nonprofits that depend more heavily on contracts. Netting (1982) found that religious organizations have a varied funding base that relies more on the church, individual donations, and foundations (such as the United Way) rather than a governmental or private grants and contracts. This study provides a test of Netting's findings.
Chapter Three: Methodology

This study developed an empirical profile of the activities of six main Catholic social service/action agencies under the auspices of the Diocese of Richmond, Virginia. The six agencies are listed in the Department of Social Action in the 1995 Directory of the Diocese of Richmond. This directory served as the sampling frame for this study and it lists eight agencies under the Department of Social Action. The six largest of the eight Diocesan social programs were selected for detailed study after consultation with the assistant to the Bishop, Dr. Steve Colecchi. The two agencies that were not included in this study were the Older Adult Ministry and the Office of Migrant Ministry. Both programs are very small, each with only one staff person, except during the summer when the Office of Migrant Ministry hires 6 full-time staff to work with seasonal workers on the Eastern Shore.

This analysis had two primary research objectives. The first was to gather information to develop a profile of Catholic social service/action agencies in Virginia. The profile sought to identify agency organizational structure, social service/action programs offered and their constituencies, funding bases, program evaluation mechanisms, relation of program aims to Catholic social teaching, and their political advocacy role. In addition, interviewees were asked to provide their perceptions of the agency’s present and future capacity to provide social welfare services should the national government elect to reduce its funding assistance further. Also, interviewees were asked to describe the leadership of the bishop and his commitment to the programs, his guidance of their programming, and his fiscal and in-kind support of their operations.

A second major analytic objective of the profile was to determine the role of religious service providers as mediating structures. This was determined by examining the extent that accountability and funding issues limiting the service outreach of secular, social welfare nonprofits also affects Diocesan agencies. Six issues were analyzed as indicators
of the agency's degree of autonomy, flexibility in decision making and stability of funding. These included accountability, autonomy, professionalism, program evaluation, particularism, and goai succession. All of these issues stem from accountability measures that govern the use of public funding. Accountability itself, refers to the types of funding received and the reporting demands made by the funding agencies that dominate the nonprofit management effort and program operations.

**Case Study Research**

Research questions typically drive the selection of research strategy and "How and why questions are likely to favor the use of case studies, experiments, or histories (Yin, 1984, p. 19)." This study sought to ascertain how religious organizations operated; how their service/action programs were established and how they are evaluated; and what factors influence director's program and budget decisions. Therefore, the case study was an obvious research strategy.

Case study analysis as a research form has certain potential drawbacks. According to Yin, it may lack rigor on the part of the researcher that leads to biased findings and conclusions (Yin, 1984). This is due to the qualitative nature of the research methods and to the potential bias of the researcher while gathering and analyzing data from key informants. To counter these drawbacks, the researcher was careful to preserve the content of interviewee responses on audio tape and to use their thoughts directly in the quotations employed in the analysis. Also, each interviewee was asked all 30 questions in the same order.

Of the six agencies studied, three are quasi-independent Catholic Charities organizations located in Richmond, Hampton Roads, and Roanoke. The other three agencies are supervised directly by the Office of Justice and Peace (OJP). These are the OJP office itself, the Campaign for Human Development (CHD), and the Office of
Refugee and Immigration Services (RIS). Each agency director was interviewed once for 60 minutes. The interviews were semi-structured in character.

Thus, agency directors acted as key informants for the study and primary information was gathered through interviews with these individuals. (Appendix B presents the interview questionnaire.) Other primary sources included literature gathered from the agencies about historical background, mission statements, program descriptions, numbers of persons served by the programs, budget data, and staff qualifications.

The most significant key informant for this study was Dr. Colecchi, Director of the Office of Justice and Peace, and the liaison among all of the social service/action programs of the Diocese to the bishop. He confirmed that these six agencies are the largest social service/action programs under the auspices of the Diocese of Richmond, and he was able to provide many of the documents reviewed for the study. Dr. Colecchi also provided the names and telephone numbers of the other agency directors interviewed. These appear in Table 3.0 below.

### Table 3.0: Social Service/Action Program Directors of the Diocese of Richmond, VA 1995.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Diocesan Social Service/Action Agency</th>
<th>Interviewee</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Office of Justice and Peace</td>
<td>Dr. Steve Colecchi, Director</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Campaign for Human Development</td>
<td>Michael Stone, Director</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Refugee and Immigration Services</td>
<td>Marilyn Breslow, Director</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catholic Charities, Richmond</td>
<td>Kitty Hardt, Co-Interim Director</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catholic Charities, Hampton Roads</td>
<td>Margaret Robertson, Director</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catholic Charities, Southwestern Virginia (Roanoke)</td>
<td>Steve Ankiel, Director</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
This study sought not only to develop an empirical portrait of Diocesan social welfare activity but also whether and how these Catholic social service/action agencies act as mediating structures in social service delivery in Virginia. This goal required three forms of analysis. First, a detailed profile of the organization, aims, and service reach of the agencies was developed. Next, interviews were conducted to gather the judgements and perceptions of the program directors about the current and future service capacity of their organizations and the degree that they overlap with public sector service agencies, as well as factual information about the Diocesan agencies' programs.

Diocesan agencies were next compared with the characteristics of secular nonprofit service providers. This comparison helped to illuminate both the strengths and the limitations of the Diocesan agencies as mediating institutions. The third part of the analysis evaluated the characteristics of the Diocesan agencies that enable them to act as mediating institutions. Each program was then compared to two alternative mediation models which best characterized Diocesan agency behavior. Details of these three forms of analysis are provided below.

**Part I: Development of the Diocesan Social Service/Action Agency Profiles**

Interview questions sought to determine agency organizational structure, service or social action mission and objectives, targeted populations, budget, program planning and evaluation activity, political advocacy role, if any, and the leadership role played by the bishop. The types of social services provided by these agencies were compared with agency head perceptions of the types of social services provided by the state to determine the degree of overlap or uniqueness of Diocesan agency efforts.

Interviews also elicited the perceptions of the six directors regarding their agency's current role in social welfare service provision, and likely future capacity to increase that role. Interviewees were asked directly if their offices could shoulder more responsibility
for social services if the national government cuts back its role in social service funding. Directors were also asked to explain the type and degree of influence of the bishop in the achievement of their service/social action missions. Evidence from other studies suggests that the character and extent of Diocesan social service programming depend on the particular interests of the bishop (Hewitt, 1991).

Interview responses fell roughly into two principal analytic categories—factual and perceptual—which themselves were subdivided by subject. Factual information obtained in the interviews was grouped into five subject areas: organization structure, service programs, revenue sources, program planning and evaluation processes, and advocacy activities.

Perception questions were subdivided into three subjects: current and future capacity as service providers; perceived overlap and relationship with public sector service agencies; and the leadership role of the bishop (his influence over the scope and reach of the programs offered).

**Semi-structured Interviews**

Semi-structured interviews allow for in-depth analysis that is ideal for examining “issues of process—how decisions were made, or how the program has evolved (Murphy, 1980, p. 77).” This method was chosen because it allows the researcher to gain an overall perspective as well as the opportunity to delve more deeply into specific questions or issues as they arise in the interview itself. Also, the semi-structured interview provided agency directors an opportunity to offer perceptions and judgments of the current and future capacity of their organizations to deliver social services or promote social action within the parishes of the Diocese.
**Semi-structured Interviews with the Six Agency Directors**

Interviewees were selected based on their position as directors of the relevant Diocesan agencies. According to Murphy, “Ideally, interviewees are reliable sources of data, with firsthand knowledge of the topic and the willingness, if motivated and prodded, to talk freely and candidly (Murphy, 1980, p. 79).” These six interviewees provided expert knowledge and judgment concerning the structure and operation of their organizations, and the services each offers.

Interviews were scheduled three weeks in advance. The questionnaire and a letter of introduction which outlined the purpose and character of the research were sent to each director two weeks before the scheduled interview. All interviews took place in the offices of the relevant agency directors on April 26 and April 27, 1995 and were 60 minutes in length. Each interview was tape recorded and the interviewer took notes on the questionnaire whenever necessary to clarify responses. For example, at times, interviewees would read from a particular page of an agency’s document. In such instances, the interviewer noted the document’s title and page number on the questionnaire for future reference. All interviews were tape recorded and the interview tapes were later transcribed verbatim.

After interview results were framed, and quotations selected for use, copies were sent to each of the interviewees for review. Each was asked specifically to insure the accuracy of the quotations used as well as to assure that interview content was accurately portrayed. In general, the directors offered only minor grammatical suggestions. The Director of the Office of Justice and Peace, who is also the Diocesan director of the other five agencies studied, did suggest a few changes regarding his position as Diocesan director of the three Catholic Charities organizations as well as the supervising director of the Campaign for Human Development and the Office of Refugee and Immigration Services. Also, he explained how the social programs are administered within the Diocese and
identified the larger web of social services that are not directly managed by the Diocese, but are affiliated with it. These clarifications were incorporated into the draft text.

**Document Analysis of the Six Diocesan Agencies**

Murphy (1980) contends that document analysis is easy to do and that it adds credibility to interview statements. Primary documents allow the interviewer to test and refine interview findings. Interpretations derived from documents are also a convenient means to garner a working knowledge of major agency operations and initiatives. This study is based in part on official program documents. Materials gathered included annual reports, service program pamphlets, program budgets from 1992-1995, and employee job descriptions. These materials enabled the interviewer to address quickly issues related to organizational structure, program mission and objectives, target populations, and scope of service delivery. The Director of the Office of Justice and Peace proved a good reference for budget information, annual reports and clarification about how the agencies are related in the Diocesan social services network.

**Part II: Comparison of the Diocesan Agencies with Secular Nonprofits**

As noted in Chapter Two, six issues were selected from the nonprofit literature as significant factors that potentially limit the mediation role of nonprofit service providers. Autonomy, goal succession, professionalism, program evaluation, accountability, and particularism were specifically addressed. They appear in Table 3.1 below with the characteristics evaluated to determine the extent that these issues applied to the Diocesan agencies studied.
Table 3.1: Variables Analyzed to Determine the Relevance of Certain Nonprofit Issues to the Catholic Agencies Studied.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Issue</th>
<th>Variable(s) Evaluated</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Autonomy</td>
<td>Variety of funding sources, and dependence on any one source</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goal Succession</td>
<td>Evidence of program goal reflecting bias from funding agency(ies)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professionalism</td>
<td>Qualifications and roles of staff and of volunteers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Program Evaluation</td>
<td>Details of the program planning and evaluation process and who conducts the evaluations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accountability</td>
<td>Funding sources, especially contract relationships</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Particularism</td>
<td>Targeted population and numbers served</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This analysis also indicated whether and in what ways the Diocesan agencies are linked to government and/or to the private sector.

Part III: Evaluation of the Mediation Role of the Diocesan Agencies

The final form of analysis determined the extent that the Diocesan agencies functioned in three capacities closely associated with mediating structures: advocacy role, responsiveness to and representativeness of local needs, and empowerment of local community members. These criteria were derived from both the Berger and Neuhaus, and Tocqueville models of mediation.

The researcher hypothesized that to the extent that the Diocesan agencies empowered individuals and responded to local needs and reflected local values, they fit the Berger and Neuhaus model. Meanwhile, to the extent that they acted in an advocacy role, they fit Tocqueville’s mediation model.
Chapter Four: Interview Findings

Background Description of Social Services Offered Under the Auspices of the Diocese of Richmond

There are between 130 and 140 Dioceses in the United States and Virginia has two; one based in Richmond and the other in Arlington. (See Map of the Diocese of Richmond in Figure C1, Appendix C). The Diocesan Director of the Campaign for Human Development noted that the Richmond Diocese covers almost two thirds of the state: “The Diocese of Richmond comprises all of Virginia south of Fredericksburg, from the Eastern Shore to the coal fields and the Cumberland Gap” (Michael Stone, Director CHD, interview 4/27/95).

Dr. Colecchi, Director of the Office of Justice and Peace, and direct liaison among all of the social service/action agencies studied to the bishop, identified three levels of social service programs operated within the Richmond Diocese. The first level represents those programs funded by the Church and managed directly by Diocesan staff. The second and third level programs are more autonomous from the Diocese, but still receive in-kind support and special collections.

The first level of Diocesan social program offerings is housed in the Department of Social Action which contains three offices: Black Catholics Ministry, the Communications Office, and the Office of Justice and Peace (OJP). For its part, the OJP includes the Appalachian Office of Justice and Peace, the Fuel and Hunger and Respect Life Funds, the Campaign for Human Development, the Office of Refugee and Immigration Services, Migrant Ministries and Older Adult Ministry. Its director also oversees the work of the three Catholic Charities organizations active within the Diocese.

The three independently incorporated Catholic Charities organizations comprise the second level of Diocesan service programs. These are located in Richmond, Hampton Roads, and Roanoke. They receive both in-kind (office space, technical support, staff)
and financial support from the Diocese.

The third level of Diocesan service programs consists of several residential programs that primarily depend on fees but operate under the auspices of the Diocese. These include St. Joseph's Villa, Richmond; De Paul social services, Roanoke; and eleven other residences for senior citizens throughout Virginia.

A separate web of Diocese-related social service agencies exists beyond these three levels of service programs. These agencies receive varying amounts of direct monetary support from the Diocese, and operate with a specific reporting relationship. Table C2, in Appendix C lists these programs which include day care centers, neighborhood centers, hospitals and nursing homes, services for the disabled, special services for children and for unmarried parents, and residences for the aged (in addition to the ones already included in the senior citizens’s residences noted in the third level of Diocesan service programs). This analysis does not include these programs because they are only affiliated with the Diocese which does not supervise, manage, or directly support them.

Data Analysis

The following discussion draws on in-depth interviews with the six relevant agency directors. Three of the directors interviewed were Diocesan employees while three were Catholic Charities Directors who are approved by the Bishop but are not directly compensated by the Diocese.

As noted in chapter 3, respondents provided two types of information: factual and perceptual. This report of interview results is divided into two parts. Part one of the profile presents factual information gleaned from the interviews in five subject categories: influence of Catholic social teaching on agency missions, organizational structure of the Diocesan social programs, nature of services provided, numbers and characteristics of
persons served by programs, total revenue, and policy advocacy role.

Part two expands upon the empirical portrait of agency activity by exploring the perceptions of the directors regarding the current and future service role of their organizations. These responses provide insight into agency head perceptions of the current and future role of religion-based programs in social welfare services provision in Virginia; whether their programs overlap with those offered by the public sector and in what way(s); and the leadership role of the bishop and his influence over the scope and reach of the programs offered. Interview responses were supplemented with agency information obtained from official documents such as budgets, annual reports, and program literature.

Part I: Social Service/Action Profile of the Six Diocesan Agencies

The Religious Philosophy That Underpins Diocesan Social Programs According to the Directors of its Social Service/Action Programs

Each agency director cited concepts from Roman Catholic social teaching to explain the Church's overall role in social welfare as well as the establishment of their agencies. There was much consistency in the responses and therefore, to avoid repetition, particular quotations are presented here that exemplify the consensus of the directors. Table 4.0 displays the mission/goal statements of each agency and suggests how these are linked to Catholic social teaching.

Each of the interviewees emphasized the non-discriminatory character of their agency's services. These agencies provide their services to all persons whether or not they are Catholic. The following comment, offered by Dr. Steve Colecchi, Director of the Office of Justice and Peace captured this perspective succinctly:

It is the constant position of the church that we provide services based on need not creed. In all of our agencies...we provide assistance to anyone
whether they are believers or nonbelievers, whether they are Catholic, Presbyterian, Baptist, or Jewish; it doesn't matter. Service is based on need and that is universal within the church (Dr. Steve Colecchi, Dir. OJP, Interview 4/27/95).

**Goals of the Six Agencies Studied**

The goals of the Diocesan agencies studied reflect strongly, the influence of Catholic social teaching. Church influence over the agencies' program goals distinguishes these six religious nonprofits from secular nonprofit service providers. As Jeavons (1994) has suggested, religious organizations have two intertwined goals: to provide a service for the public good and to promote the moral values and spiritual understanding that underlie their commitment to their work (Jeavons, 1994, p. 87). These moral values are based upon Church social teaching about social justice and human dignity.
Table 4.0: Goal/Mission Statements of the Social Service/Action Agencies of the Diocese of Richmond, VA 1994-1995.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Agency</th>
<th>Goal/Mission Statements</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Office of Justice and Peace (OJP)</td>
<td>&quot;The Office of Justice and Peace helps the diocese, parishes and campus ministries <strong>share, apply, and act on</strong> the social teaching of the Church (Office of Justice and Peace brochure).&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Campaign for Human Development (CHD)</td>
<td>&quot;To address the root causes of poverty in America through promotion and support of community-controlled, self-help organizations and through transformative education (Building Communities of Hope, CHD brochure, 1993).&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Refugee and Immigration Services (RIS)</td>
<td>&quot;From 1990 to 1995 resettle 2400 refugees providing them a new life and the people of the diocese an opportunity to know individuals of the third world, some victims of U.S. foreign policies, struggling to survive in a society that offers little to the working poor (RIS Goals 1990-95).&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catholic Charities Richmond (CC)</td>
<td>&quot;Our mission is to provide social services, as resources permit, to any persons who apply regardless of race, creed, or national origin; to assist them in the development of their own capacities to live lives of dignity and meaning (CC Richmond Annual Report, 1994).&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catholic Charities Hampton Roads (CC)</td>
<td>&quot;Catholic Charities of Hampton Roads, Inc., exists in a 'Partnership of Service' with the Roman Catholic Bishop of the Diocese of Richmond, Virginia, to be an advocate for all stages of human life through the development of wholesome Catholic family life in the community and to offer a Christian response to promote the physical, spiritual, and social welfare of individuals, children, and families whose well-being is or may be endangered by the environment or personal causes; to assist them in the development of their own capacities, to live satisfactory and useful lives (CC of Hampton Roads, Inc., Annual Report 1994).&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catholic Charities Southwestern Virginia (CC)</td>
<td>&quot;Catholic Charities of Southwestern Virginia, Inc., is a non-profit family service agency whose mission is to identify and fill the needs of individuals, families, and children through professional counseling, outreach, and referral. With a commitment to facilitate the enhancement of human dignity throughout Southwestern Virginia, all services shall be rendered without regard to religion, race or income (CC Southwestern VA, Inc., 1993).&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Source: 1994 Annual Reports and Office of Justice and Peace documents.)

**= Emphasis in the original
Notably, each of the agency directors saw the concept of human dignity as the foundation of their service/action programs. The Director of the Diocesan office of the Campaign for Human Development captured well the quintessential Catholic social teaching that underpins all of the social programs offered by the six agencies studied.

One of the key principles in Catholic social teaching is the inherent dignity of every person that clearly underlies the Campaign for Human Development. There is a strong belief in the rights and ability of every single person to actively participate in society and to have a voice in determining what happens to him or her and to their community (Michael Stone, Director CHD, Interview 4/27/95).

All of the agencies, irrespective of their particular service or social action agenda, operated within the moral philosophy of Catholic social teaching. For example, an abiding belief in the primacy of human rights and the dignity of all persons underlies the particular focus on adoption and pregnancy counseling programs offered by the Catholic Charities organizations. These programs exist, in major part, to protect the rights of the unborn child. One of the Catholic Charities' interviewees suggested how his agency's programs conform to the moral teachings of the Church.

We are consistent with the church's belief on the topic of abortion. We do not encourage or make that an alternative option in the kind of work we do in pregnancy counseling. We are clearly an alternative to abortion (Steve Ankiel, Dir. CC Southwestern VA, Interview 4/26/95).

Service to the poor is another important Catholic social teaching that was incorporated in various ways into each of the agencies' programs. Each director specified the Church's social teaching as a basis for targeting their programs to marginalized groups in society. The following comments are illustrative:

The instruction to care for the orphan, the widow and the stranger is basically what drives the agency...in our material you will find a variety of quotes from scripture that underpin the mission of those Christians who serve others (Kitty Hardt, Co-Interim Dir. CC Richmond, Interview
We always look for the poorest, most vulnerable members of society, those that others are not serving, and that is the principal focus particularly on policy change areas. (This refers to) whatever poor and vulnerable population, whether it is unborn children, teenage moms, or very poor people on welfare (Dr. Steve Colecchi, Dir. OJP, Interview 4/27/95).

These religious nonprofit service agencies provide services based on Catholic social teaching. The types of programs offered and the particular individuals targeted are determined based on the moral teachings of the Catholic Church. Service to all persons, especially to poor and marginalized groups was a primary objective of all six agencies examined in this study.

Organizational Structure of the Agencies

Each of the agencies is hierarchical in structure with a director (the agency head) supervising various professional and support staff who manage and operate the different programs and offices. Organizational charts for each agency studied appear in Appendix D. Each agency employs professional staff who possess either bachelors or masters degrees in counseling, the social sciences, theology, ministry, or other degrees appropriate for the social service/action programs offered. Table 4.1 depicts the numbers of staff and volunteers for each agency.
Table 4.1: Numbers of Staff and Volunteers in the Social Service/Action Agencies of the Diocese of Richmond, VA 1994-1995.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Agency</th>
<th>Staff</th>
<th>Volunteers</th>
<th>Advisory Board</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Office of Justice and Peace (/**3 offices)</td>
<td>8 FT, 4 PT</td>
<td>Not Applicable</td>
<td>135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6 FT summer staff</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Campaign for Human Development (2 offices)</td>
<td>Staffed by OJP</td>
<td>80-90 parishes (taking collections for CHD)</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Refugee and Immigration Services (3 offices)</td>
<td>28 FT, 16 PT</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catholic Charities Richmond* (3 offices)</td>
<td>64 FT, 78 PT</td>
<td>220</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catholic Charities Hampton Roads*</td>
<td>17 FT, 7 PT, 1 contracted</td>
<td>8 consultants</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catholic Charities Southwestern Virginia</td>
<td>7 FT, 2 PT</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

** = Includes Appalachian OJP, Migrant Ministries, and excludes CHD and RIS that are listed separately.
FT = Full Time
PT = Part Time
The numbers of staff and volunteers in each agency reflect its program activities. Those agencies which offer significant numbers of direct social service programs, such as the Office of Refugee and Immigration Services and the Richmond and Hampton Roads Catholic Charities, have more professional staff and more volunteers. The Richmond CC, for example, is the largest of the three CCs with 64 full-time and 78 part-time employees. This differs significantly from the seven full-time and two part-time employees in the Southwestern Virginia CC. One explanation for this disparity is the fact that the Richmond CC is 53 years older than its Roanoke counterpart.

Table 4.2 shows the dates of the founding of all six agencies studied. The foundation dates are most significant in respect to the four agencies that provide direct services (the RIS and the three CCs) because they explain differences in the size and diversity of their service programs. The older CCs, for example, serve the most clients, serve a variety of different population groups, have the largest budgets, and consequently have the most programs.

**Table 4.2: Date Founded of the Six Social Service/Action Agencies Under the Auspices of the Diocese of Richmond, VA.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Diocesan Social Service/Action Agency</th>
<th>Date Founded</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Catholic Charities, Richmond</td>
<td>1923</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catholic Charities, Hampton Roads</td>
<td>1932</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Campaign for Human Development</td>
<td>1970</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Office of Justice and Peace*</td>
<td>1972</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Refugee and Immigration Services</td>
<td>1975</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catholic Charities, Southwestern Virginia (Roanoke)</td>
<td>1976</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* The Office of Justice and Peace existed prior to this date but under a different name. This is the OJP Director’s estimate of the date of the foundation of the OJP as the exact record was unavailable at time of the interview.
The founding dates of the Diocesan social service/action agencies studied show that prior to 1970, the Diocese focussed primarily on direct social services. After this date, the two social action agencies (OJP and CHD) and the Office of Refugee and Immigration Services were established.

The Office of Justice and Peace and its Campaign for Human Development program are primarily administrative, advocacy, training, and granting agencies. They do not provide direct social services and therefore do not require large numbers of support staff or volunteers.

**Volunteer Labor**

Volunteers involved with the six agencies studied can be divided into roughly two categories: support labor and advisory board members. Most of the volunteers provide some sort of support service, which means that they help out with program activities such as housing teenage mothers or refugees, repairing houses for the elderly, and providing translation services for refugees and recent immigrants. However, they do not provide direct, professional services if they are not legitimately qualified to do so. One of the Catholic Charities' interviewees explained this distinction in the roles volunteers play:

We don't replace professional staff duties with volunteers. Though the Help (Help and Emergency Long Term Planning) volunteers carry a lot of responsibility (for initial interviews with clients needing emergency financial assistance to pay their rent or utilities bills). Our Tutor mentors also carry a lot of responsibility (tutoring refugee youth). One woman will become the 'volunteer coordinator' and will thus carry a professional function (Kitty Hardt, Co-Interim Dir. CC Richmond, Interview 4/26/95).

Advisory board members have a very different role within the agencies for they serve as consultants and participate in program design and evaluations. Interviewees emphasized the importance of these advisory board volunteers for the role in program
planning and evaluation. Each agency has an advisory board (sometimes referred to by the interviewees as a committee) comprised of 15 persons who represent a mixture of local community lay persons and professionals. The Office of Justice and Peace (OJP) has 9 boards of 15 members each (135 total board members). These boards that help to oversee a range of Diocesan programs include:

Advisory Boards of the Office of Justice and Peace

Appalachian Office of Justice and Peace Advisory Committee
Campaign for Human Development Local Advisory Committee
Refugee Resettlement Advisory Board
Justice and Peace Commission
Commission for Older Adults
Ecological Working Group
Health Care Ministry Commission
Women’s Commission
Haiti Ministry Commission

The first five boards relate to offices within the OJP and the other boards advise the OJP on its legislative and advocacy work.

Advisory committees are volunteers who have direct decision making input into what we do and how we do it so that we're not out of touch with what Catholic people out there think the church ought to be doing in social ministry (Dr. Colecchi, Dir. OJP, Interview 4/27/95).

The advisory committee does site visits and proposal evaluations. They play an important role in these functions and in policy evaluation and recommendations, and funding recommendations (Michael Stone, Dir. CHD, Interview 4/27/95).

Social Services Provided

The six agencies vary in the extent to which they engage directly in social service delivery. Four of the six agencies, the RIS and the three CCs have as a primary goal the direct provision of social services. The OJP, meanwhile, does not provide direct services
but it does administer grants that support the programs offered by other agencies. The CHD does not provide any direct services but funds a variety of community group initiatives aimed at empowering local community organizations with technical training and education. Tables C3 and C4 in Appendix C list the service program titles of all six agencies.

*Services Provided by the RIS*

Refugee and Immigration Services provides specific services for a narrowly focussed population: refugees and recent immigrants. The RIS provides services specifically to aid refugees in their settlement in the United States. These are listed in Table C3 in Appendix C. The goals of the RIS, listed in Table 4.3 below, reveal both the types and range of services offered by the agency. RIS goals clearly reflect Catholic social teaching. Goals three and five for the current five year plan, for example, are concerned with welcoming the stranger and supporting families and the community. Throughout its aims, this agency reflects the Church's larger social mission of promoting human dignity and responsibility.
Table 4.3: Goals for 1990-1995 of the Office of Refugee and Immigration Services, Diocese of Richmond, VA.

1. From 1990 to 1995 resettle 2400 refugees providing them a new life and the people of the Diocese an opportunity to know individuals of the third world, some victims of U.S. foreign policies, struggling to survive in a society that offers little to the working poor.

2. Assist refugees to achieve early self-sufficiency respecting their integrity cultural norms and supporting the family in its cultural adjustment.

3. Maintain and broaden the base of support for Refugee and Immigration Services so that necessary services can be provided to refugee clients after initial resettlement resources are depleted.

4. Maintain immigration counseling services in three regions of the Diocese and provide some supportive services to other immigrant populations.

5. Expand and support the capacity of the Office to meet the needs of refugees and carry out the mandate to welcome the stranger.

Services Provided by the Catholic Charities Organizations

The three Catholic Charities (CC) vary in size and in the number of social service programs they offer. Table 4.4 below shows the combined number of clients served by the social service programs of all of the CCs. It was not possible to acquire comparable data for the three year period from 1992 to 1995 for all three CCs due to differences in their records. Therefore, this table reflects data drawn from a 1994 USA Catholic Charities study. Table 4.4 suggests that CC programs focus principally on strengthening and assisting families. These efforts include marriage counseling, pregnancy counseling,
and adoption services. Pregnancy counseling is free while marriage and family counseling programs are offered on a sliding scale fee basis.

**Table 4.4: Numbers of Social Service Recipients for Catholic Charities Combined (Richmond, Hampton Roads, Roanoke), Diocese of Richmond, VA 1994-1995.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Services</th>
<th>Children &amp; Adolescents (under 18)</th>
<th>Adults (18-64)</th>
<th>Elders (65 &amp; older)</th>
<th>Total Clients</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Counseling</td>
<td>1,759</td>
<td>3,638</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>5,465</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Pregnancy</td>
<td>156</td>
<td>350</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>506</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Adoption</td>
<td>114</td>
<td>203</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>317</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Refugee Resettlement and Immigration</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>154</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Education and Family Support</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>2,481</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>2,544</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Socialization and Neighborhood</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Social Support</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>127</td>
<td>287</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Permanent Housing</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Foster Home, Group Home &amp; Residential Care</td>
<td>231</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>306</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Health-Related Services</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total Unduplicated Number of Clients Served</strong></td>
<td><strong>2,450</strong></td>
<td><strong>7,059</strong></td>
<td><strong>209</strong></td>
<td><strong>9,718</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Source: U.S. Catholic Charities, 1994 Annual Survey)
In addition to these service programs, the larger and older Catholic Charities located in Richmond and in Hampton Roads also offer other programs that have evolved to meet specific needs in their areas. The most recent programs have developed from felt community needs matched by the community's capacity to participate in the program. For example, the CC Richmond agency offers the Refugee Unaccompanied Minors program that provides services to resettle refugee youth who are unaccompanied by an adult. The local Richmond community is able to provide foster homes for these youth; otherwise, the program would not exist.

The Refugee Unaccompanied Minors program is a good example of the often interdependent character of the public and nonprofit sectors. In this case, federal funds are channeled through a state office which then contracts with a nonprofit social service organization (CC Richmond) to deliver the services. The following observation by the CC Richmond Co-Interim Director illustrates the breadth of services provided by the agency and its interdependence with various funding organizations besides the Church for support of its programs. Each of the CCs maintains a broad funding base to support its services.

CC holds the state contract for the Refugee Unaccompanied Minor Program. Unaccompanied minors who come without parents or responsible adults are the responsibility of the Immigration and Naturalization Service. They are assigned either to a national Lutheran organization called Lutheran Immigration and Refugee Service, LIRS, or the US. Catholic Conference. They are then assigned to a number of unaccompanied minor programs that are contracted through the state to operate this service. There are five operating now located in Washington, Louisiana, Michigan, New Jersey and one in the Midwest. The feds pay for this program and it is contracted through a state coordinating function. In Virginia it is called the Office of Newcomer Services. They monitor the program. CC has 104 of these children, some of them are in Roanoke, Falls Church (in the Arlington Diocese), Virginia Beach and Richmond (Kitty Hardt, Co-Interim Dir. CC Richmond, Interview 4/26/95).
The Hampton Roads CC, too, has sought to respond to local needs. It recently helped a social ministry group called the Catholic Coalition write a grant to get Federal Emergency Management Assistance (FEMA) money to operate a soup kitchen and a housing program. In this case, the CC did not provide a formal service within its established service objectives. Rather, it sought to respond to a felt need in the community and enjoyed the flexibility to provide the necessary assistance. According to the agency director, “Catholic Charities made the application on their behalf and helped them write the report. I honestly believe that (service) is going to grow” (Margaret Robertson, Dir. CC Hampton Roads, Interview, 4/26/95).

The director of the Hampton Roads CC believes that this sharing of knowledge of grant sources and how to write proposals will only grow in the future as federal government cutbacks in social service funding continue. These reductions force nonprofit organizations to find financial support to operate the programs that serve their local communities or close down those initiatives.

The Southwestern Virginia CC (founded in 1975) is both the youngest and the smallest of the three CC organizations. This agency focuses on pregnancy counseling, domestic and international adoptions, and family counseling, but its programs have expanded in response to local community needs. For example, the Intercountry Adoption program began ten years ago in response to local community interest, while the Family Place counseling program was established three years ago to fill a community service need.

Catholic Charities has had a rich tradition of following the Catholic Church’s orientation in terms of having adoption programs. We are most known for our adoption agency in Southwest, VA. Ten years ago, we diversified the domestic adoptions to include the Intercountry Adoption program. Three years ago, the Family Place Counseling program was added (Steve Ankiel, Dir. CC Southwestern Virginia).
The Catholic Charities organizations serve any person but they make a conscious effort to be accessible to marginalized groups. Appendix E lists the categories of clients served by the CC’s. The largest share of their clients fall within the following categories: poor, minority, deaf and hard of hearing, foreigners to the U.S., independent youth, and teenage mothers. The Co-Interim Director of CC Richmond clarified this point by explaining who is targeted by her agency: "Basically, its folks who are marginal. The deaf and hard of hearing (for example) who have handicaps in the workplace. They are strangers to the vocal world" (Kitty Hardt, Co-Interim Dir. CC Richmond, Interview 4/26/95). The director of the Hampton Roads CC offered a similar observation:

We are more of a safety net kind of agency. We accept, for example in our counseling, Medicaid or Medicare, but the majority of our clients are the 'working poor'. They work, they don't get Medicaid, but they don't have health insurance because they can't afford it. This is true for our counseling folks (Margaret Robertson, Dir. CC Hampton Roads, Interview 4/26/95).

Social Action Activities of the OJP and CHD

The Office of Justice and Peace (OJP) and its Campaign for Human Development (CHD) program also support marginalized and poor groups in society but they do so indirectly by sponsoring other social service agencies or grassroots community groups. The OJP administers two grants; the Fuel and Hunger Fund and the Respect Life Fund. The OJP administers these grants to support service programs within the Diocese, including the RIS, and the CCs. Both programs are funded from special annual collections from the individual parishes in the Diocese. The CHD is funded independently by a second collection from Diocesan parishes at Thanksgiving.
Social Action Agenda of the OJP

The OJP is housed within the principal offices of the Diocese of Richmond and it directs the Appalachian Office of Justice and Peace located in Southwestern Virginia. The OJP also directs the RIS and CHD programs. In addition, the OJP directly oversees the Migrant Ministry and Older Adult Ministry programs of the Diocese. Neither of the latter was examined in the present study due to their small size.

Table 4.5 lists the goals of the OJP. These goals clearly reflect Catholic social teaching. Goal one suggests that the Church's work to obtain justice and peace includes direct service. Goals two and three refer to the local and national role of the Church in social justice and peace making, while goals four, five and seven address the Church's position on such national social issues as criminal justice; women's issues such as inclusiveness; domestic violence and third world solidarity; and health care. Goals six and eight, meanwhile, are based on the Catholic social teaching of solidarity with the stranger and the poor. Goal nine is a special emphasis of the Catholic church.
Table 4.5: Goals for 1995-1996 of the Office of Justice and Peace, Diocese of Richmond, VA.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>(Parishes/Campuses) Build the capacity of parishes and campuses to be active in the work of justice and peace including direct service theological/social reflection and social transformation.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>(Diocesan Capacity) Expand the capacity of the Diocese to be a leading force in the work of justice and peace in Virginia and to make a significant contribution to this work at the national level.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>(Peacemaking/Violence Prevention) Encourage parish involvement with peace centers and Pax Christi; enable the Bishop and the Diocese to exercise public leadership on peace and violence prevention issues. (Bishop Sullivan was reelected President of Pax Christi U.S.A. in August 1995).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>(Criminal Justice) Enable involvement by the bishop and Diocese in criminal justice issues and in direct service to inmates.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>(Women in Church and Society) Promote the dignity and full participation of women in church and society.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>(Third World) Promote consciousness in the Diocese and parishes of issues surrounding the developing countries and on ways to be in solidarity with third world peoples and lands.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>(Health Care) Involve the Diocese in promotion of universal access to health care based on Catholic social teaching; support Catholics in health care professions.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>(Poverty) Support low income communities by enabling the Diocese to make substantial commitments to direct service community organizing and empowerment of low-income persons.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Social Action Agenda of the CHD**

The Campaign for Human Development is very different from the other agencies studied because it does not promote direct social service delivery at all. The CHD
director explained that the primary focus of the agency is to empower community groups and to assist them in strengthening their leadership. The CHD aims to address the structural roots of poverty that are based in political, economic and educational disadvantages of individuals. Therefore, the Campaign supports community groups that are ready to organize and press for changes in the structural causes of social and economic disparities within their communities.

According to this director, providing direct services does not achieve the same objective as empowering groups to help themselves. Direct services are necessary and many agencies provide them, but very few organizations (both secular and religious) do what the CHD does: “The Campaign for Human Development does not fund social service activities because it believes that other agencies fill this niche” (Michael Stone, Director, CHD, Interview 4/27/95).

The history of the CHD suggests how Catholic social teaching influences the agency's goals. In particular, the Church teaching that mandates serving the poor and vulnerable and teaches solidarity motivated the establishment of this program.

The National Conference of Catholic Bishops (NCCB) established the Campaign in 1969 with two purposes. The first purpose was to raise funds to support 'organized groups of white and minority poor to develop economic strength and political power.' The second purpose was to 'educate the People of God to a new knowledge of today's problems...that can lead to some new approaches that promote a greater sense of solidarity' (CHD, 1993/1994 Annual Report).

CHD gives grants to community groups for their economic development, organization and leadership development, and to sponsor their education for justice. This program is “implemented in collaboration with the local Dioceses and is supported by an annual collection in the U.S. Catholic parishes. The annual funding averages $7 million in loans and grants to more than 200 grassroots, self-help community projects” (Building
Communities of Hope, CHD brochure, 1993). Table 4.6 shows the numbers of community groups receiving support from CHD, the OJP and also the number of refugees resettled by the RIS.

Table 4.6: Diocesan Social Service/Action Programs and Individuals Served: 1992-1995, Diocese of Richmond, VA

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date Founded</th>
<th>Diocesan Agency</th>
<th>Social Program</th>
<th>1994</th>
<th>1993</th>
<th>1992</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1972 (est.)</td>
<td>Office of Justice and Peace</td>
<td>Fuel and Hunger Fund (Total Grants)</td>
<td>$68,650</td>
<td>$64,450</td>
<td>$72,250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td># Agency Recipients</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Respect Life Fund (Total Grants)</td>
<td>$64,450</td>
<td>$46,450</td>
<td>$46,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td># Community Recipients</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>Campaign for Human Development</td>
<td>Total $ in Grants</td>
<td>$66,500</td>
<td>$96,000</td>
<td>$42,250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td># Community Recipients</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975</td>
<td>Refugee and Immigration Services</td>
<td>Number of Refugees Resettled</td>
<td>454</td>
<td>352</td>
<td>428</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Other Service Recipients</td>
<td>900</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Source: OJP, CHD, and RIS program documents and grant information)
Budget Information

The diverse funding sources for the six agencies reviewed here reflect the complexity of the fiscal management of the Diocese. Table 4.7 portrays the funding sources and cash income for the Office of Justice and Peace (OJP), Campaign for Human Development (CHD), and Refugee and Immigration Services (RIS). The information was obtained from OJP and RIS budget reports, and from CHD annual fund reports.

OJP Budget Information

Table 4.7 shows that OJP receives 100 percent of its funding from the Diocese. The budget information analyzed in this study does not include all of the OJP accounts because only 14 programs were consistent throughout the three year period. Table C5 in Appendix C lists the OJP programs included in the analysis and identifies the programs that were not included. The Diocese obtains approximately 60 percent of its budget from an annual seven percent tax (the Cathedraticum) on parish income. The other 40 percent (roughly, as the percentages fluctuate from year to year) is derived from interest income from endowment funds established from past major donations to the Diocese. In addition, special collections are taken at Thanksgiving and Christmas for specific programs. Most of the OJP budget goes to support direct services administered by Church organizations such as the RIS, the CHD and the three CCs. The OJP funds these services through the Fuel and Hunger Fund and the Respect Life Fund. The Bishop’s campaign (a separate Diocesan fundraising initiative undertaken each year) finances the Fuel and Hunger Fund.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>CHD</th>
<th>Other</th>
<th>Federal</th>
<th>State &amp; Local</th>
<th>Agency (§)</th>
<th>Agency (§)</th>
<th>Fed. Budget</th>
<th>Other</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1992</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>95.96</td>
<td>7.96</td>
<td>0.03</td>
<td>0.01</td>
<td>665,930</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1993</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>95.84</td>
<td>7.64</td>
<td>0.02</td>
<td>0.01</td>
<td>639,922</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1994</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>95.82</td>
<td>7.52</td>
<td>0.02</td>
<td>0.01</td>
<td>628,918</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.1: Funding Sources of the Social Services Department under the auspices of the Diocese of Richmond, VA
**CHD Budget Information**

The CHD is funded through a second collection on the Sunday before Thanksgiving. Initially, $5,000 is set aside for administrative costs and then 75 percent of the remainder is sent to the national CHD office and the remaining 25 percent is retained by the local Diocese to be used at its discretion. The Richmond Diocese uses its local share to provide grants of up to $5,000 to local community groups (Refer to Table 4.6) (Michael Stone, Dir. CHD, Interview 4/27/95). In 1994, the CHD funded a variety of community initiatives including the following: improving substandard housing; revitalizing a deteriorating black neighborhood; enabling residents to participate in democratic decision making (regarding a proposed powerline project through a rural county); providing technical support for housing rehabilitation; providing leadership training and helping residents organize for needed changes in their county; enabling a community to establish an office for community revitalization work; funding a local civic league’s advocacy training program. Figures C6 and C7, Appendix C describe the community projects funded by CHD in 1994.

**RIS Budget Information**

The RIS is contracted by the federal government to provide refugee and immigration services. Therefore, the funding for this agency arises primarily from the Department of State. Most of these grants are distributed indirectly to the RIS via a Virginia (state) agency. One exception is the Family Strengthening Grant which is given directly to the RIS through the Department of Health and Human Services. The RIS does not receive any state funding. “I find it easiest to be a direct grantee for the federal government because they don't require as much detailed reporting and they have a better appreciation of the tasks and context of our work” (Marilyn Breslow, Dir. RiS, Interview 4/27/95).
The Virginia State Department of Social Services partially funds the RIS Employment Services, English Language Training, and Support Services programs. A matching grant and some funding from the federal Department of Health and Human Services subsidize the remaining costs of these programs. Each RIS program stands alone and is funded by a variety of different sources. The director of RIS explained why this is so: "Sometimes it's not what the need is, but how much money is there. The Virginia State Department of Social Services does not provide enough money (for the Employment Services, English Language Training, and Support Services programs), so the RIS looks for dollars from other sources to finance the cost of the programs" (Marilyn Breslow, Dir. RIS, Interview 4/27/95). The Diocese provides substantial in-kind support to the RIS that exceeds the amounts received from private foundation grants.

**The Catholic Charities' Budget Information**

The Diocese supports the three quasi-independent Catholic Charities in four distinct ways. First, the Director of the OJP acts as the Diocesan Director for the CCs. Second, the Diocese provides in-kind contributions such as buildings and office equipment to all of the CCs. Third, each CC has received grants from the Fuel and Hunger Fund and the Respect Life Fund. In addition, the Diocese provides technical training and support, and informs the CCs about alternative funding sources. Fourth, there is a second collection in all parishes in the Diocese at Christmas specifically designated for the Catholic Charities.

Though the total cash and in-kind Diocesan contribution is significant, it does not provide the bulk of the budgets for these agencies. All of the CCs provide services for fees and that revenue provides over half of their total agency budgets. Table 4.8 lists the funding sources of the three Catholic Charities (CC).
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1993-1994</td>
<td>(CC) = Catholic Charities, Southwest VA</td>
<td>93.94</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1994-1995</td>
<td>(CC) = Catholic Charities, Harrison Road VA</td>
<td>93.94</td>
<td>79.70</td>
<td>100</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1995-1996</td>
<td>(CC) = Catholic Charities, Richmond VA</td>
<td>93.94</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1996-1997</td>
<td>(CC) = Catholic Charities, Richmond VA</td>
<td>93.94</td>
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<tr>
<td>1997-1998</td>
<td>(CC) = Catholic Charities, Richmond VA</td>
<td>93.94</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1998-1999</td>
<td>(CC) = Catholic Charities, Richmond VA</td>
<td>93.94</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1999-2000</td>
<td>(CC) = Catholic Charities, Richmond VA</td>
<td>93.94</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000-2001</td>
<td>(CC) = Catholic Charities, Richmond VA</td>
<td>93.94</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</table>

Table 4.8: Funding Sources of the Catholic Charities Organizations Under the Auspices of the Diocese of Richmond, VA
The difference in the size of their budgets reflects the different types of programs provided by each CC as well as each agency's particular preferences for funding sources. Richmond Catholic Charities has a significantly larger budget (over $5 million dollars) than the other two Catholic Charities (whose budgets each total less than $800,000) due to its contracting relationship with the federal government to provide settlement services to refugee unaccompanied minors. The majority (88 percent) of its total budget comes from fees (54 percent) and government contracts (34 percent). Private funding from the United Way (5 percent), individual donations (6 percent), and the Diocese (1 percent) make up the other 12 percent of its budget. The Director emphasized the importance of the state contract to this agency's services.

Without the contracts, there is no way we can provide the current level of service. You can look at our budget. While we do our work in the name of the Church, with the permission of the Church and with the vision of the Church, and hopefully, with the level of care that would make the Church proud, the fact of the matter is that the bulk of our budget comes from fees for service. As those fees are cut, then the service would not be available (Kitty Hardt, Co-Interim Dir. CC Richmond, Interview 4/26/95).

The Hampton Roads CC prefers not to solicit government contracts and relies instead on the United Way (37 percent) and fees for services (50 percent) for the bulk of its funding. The remaining 13 percent of its budget comes from the Diocese and donations. The fees collected, however, include insurance money from government programs such as Medicaid which implies both state and federal funding.

Our main fees are from our counseling program because we collect all kinds of insurance. We don't have any federal grants, except from Medicaid (Margaret Robertson, Dir. CC Hampton Roads, Interview 4/26/95).

The Southwestern Virginia CC relies on fees from its domestic and foreign adoption programs that comprise 57 percent of its total budget, and the other 43 percent
is received in almost equal portions from donations, the United Way, and the Diocese. This CC agency's director thinks that the Church is the easiest source to tap for funding because “the church is nationally, and locally, and statewide the biggest organization that people on an individual basis will give to” (Steve Ankiel, Dir. CC Southwestern Virginia, Interview 4/26/95).

The budget data suggest that these CCs operate much like secular nonprofits because they must look for funding from a variety of sources. As religious nonprofits providing social services, they must offer services that agree with the context (moral values) of Catholic social teaching while competing with secular nonprofits for funding. They do not depend upon the Church for their principal financial support, but their reputation is enhanced because of public trust in the Church, and in nonprofits in general, and they are able to offer services at reduced cost because of the Church’s financial support.

I think nonprofits have moved over the last ten years to being closer to profit businesses in that they cannot rely specifically on contributions anymore; unless that organization has been around a long time and they are blessed with quality administration and organization and have established an endowment fund so they have interest in income streams that are sufficient to have an impact on their services. They are moving more and more into contractual arrangements. There is a CC in New York that has 300 employees and is the largest employee assistance provider in the city. That’s a business that hospitals are in all over this country. They collect fees, but because of their church association and nonprofit status, their fees are a little lower, which draws people to them. (Steve Ankiel, Dir. CC Southwestern Virginia, Interview 4/26/95).

**Program Planning Within the OJP, CHD, and RIS**

Each of the agencies has a different purpose and a unique history that preceded their current social service or social action activity. When asked about their program planning and how they make budget allocations for each of their programs, the answers
varied depending upon their funding base and whether or not they provided direct services.

The Office of Justice and Peace and the Campaign for Human Development do not provide direct social services and most, if not all, of their funding, comes from the Church. Therefore, they are not involved in government or private foundation accounting processes. They do their own internal planning and evaluations which involve their advisory boards as consultants to evaluate their programs and grant projects.

They (OJP management and Advisory Boards) make budget decisions based on a planning process that they go through every year...They begin with an evaluation of the current programs: How they are going? Are they doing what they are intended to do? Did they meet their goals from last year? What was successful, and what was not? What are our strengths and weaknesses? What are the resources out there? How has our environment shifted and what is our internal environment as a church like? What's the external environment in society? What new social issues are on the horizon? We do an analysis every year and revise the previous year's goals and objectives to reflect the new social issues (Dr. Steve Colecchi, Dir. OJP, Interview 4/27/95).

This planning process seeks to identify unmet social needs.

For example, the Office of Migrant Ministry became aware of larger and larger numbers of migrant workers that were coming to the Diocese, particularly on the Eastern Shore, and more recently in Southside, VA to pick tobacco. As we became aware of those populations, we established the Ministries and then those ministries expanded as the numbers of migrants expanded (Dr. Colecchi, Dir. OJP, Interview 4/27/95).

The CHD depends solely upon Church funds and is accountable only to the Church. Its goals for grants to community organizations are based on three criteria that arise from Catholic social teaching: that community organizations or groups must be low-income, have low-income persons participating in their activities, and be seeking institutional change (Michael Stone, Dir. CHD, Interview 4/27/95).
In contrast, the Office of Refugee and Immigration Services is almost entirely dependent upon federal government contracts and grants from private organizations, (including, of course, the Church itself). The State Department, for example, funds the RIS through seven different grants. These are shown in the RIS 1994-1995 budget displayed in C8, Appendix C.

Each program within the RIS is independently sponsored by a different grant or funding source(s). Given the cost of its programs, the RIS must look for funding from a variety of sources in order to provide its services.

Program planning within the RIS is dependent upon the agency's ability to secure funding each year through these grants. Thus, the RIS confronts demands for accountability quite like those met by secular nonprofits. Much like her secular counterparts, the RIS director must constantly write grant applications and develop and provide program evaluations as a condition for receiving federal agency grant funds.

*Program Planning Within the Catholic Charities*

Each CC conducts annual evaluations of each of its programs as part of a strategic planning process. Like the OJP, these offices establish new programs in response to community needs and in accordance with their guiding philosophy under Catholic social teaching. Catholic Charities try to assure funding for these new programs either through direct fees for service, the United Way, or private donors and foundations. Money that the CCs cannot get from private granting agencies or through the Church, they try to get through fundraising activities conducted by their advisory boards.

Information from the CC Hampton Roads agency concerning their program planning process suggests that there is some systematic assessment of population groups that are served by the agency's programs. When they discover a group within their congregation that is not being served, they initiate a program to address their assessment
of the felt need of that group. For example, upon review, recently, of their programs in this CC office, the management realized that they were not serving the elderly in their local community. As a result, the office initiated the “Fix-It-Force” program which sends volunteers to provide minor repairs to the homes of the elderly. Similarly, the same CC agency began sending counselors to Catholic schools when public schools began providing counseling services to public school students.

Similar to the experience of secular nonprofit service providers, contracting agencies do have some influence over the service, programming and budgeting of the CC's programs. The Co-Interim Director of the CC Richmond explained how this happens:

United Way has a sophisticated way of establishing priorities and they rank all services. CC operates some priority 1, 2 and one priority 3 service programs. United Way this year said, ‘We don't want as much of our money in that priority 3 program (the Communication for the Deaf and Hard of Hearing program, for example). We don't have a lot of money and we want to see it spent in priority 1 and 2 programs (such as counseling programs).’ So CC must readjust and shift their funds from priority 3 to priority 1 and 2 programs. Managed Home Care is a priority 2 program. CC has gone to the advisory board for CC to say that they need to raise enough money to replace those services (in priority 3 programs) (Kitty Hardt, Co-Interim Dir. CC Richmond, Interview 4/26/95).

Accountability is one issue that was not asked about specifically but repeatedly came up, nevertheless, during discussions with interviewees about funding and service expansion. The CCs and the RIS are the only agencies dealing with contracts or grants from either the government or the United Way or both. Contracts come with regulations concerning use of funds and specific reporting requirements that directly affect the nonprofit management effort. For the CC's, public sector and donating agency fiscal and programmatic accountability concerns result in increased demands to behave in a more “businesslike” manner and to provide measurable, high quality services. One CC
interviewee described these pressures:

So now CC has to go and negotiate with the city, the county, and in every locality for potential service contracts...The need for accountability and the tracking for success and having measurable objectives has caused this. Everything has strings attached. To participate in United Way, we have to submit an application each year. We have to justify what we are doing. Here in the Roanoke Valley they are beginning community impact statements so we have to justify that we have measurable goals and we have to prove that we are having a positive impact on the community (Steve Ankiel, Dir. CC Southwestern Virginia, Interview 4/26/95).

Program Evaluations.

Each interviewee reported conducting annual program evaluations with the help of their advisory boards. The agency directors provided anecdotal examples of their planning process, but no actual evaluation forms were presented to the interviewer. For the purposes of the present study, the information about whether and how evaluations were conducted was sufficient.

The OJP director conducts annual appraisals with the directors of each of the ministries and evaluates their leadership in enabling their offices to meet goals and objectives and to function smoothly. The OJP director is also the Diocesan director of the three Catholic Charities and one of his responsibilities is to review their goals and objectives and overall program activities.

Responses suggest, however, that the evaluation process is somewhat informal for the CCs which are quasi-independent from the Diocese. The following statement by the CC Roanoke Director suggests that the evaluations are relatively unstructured.

We do give them (Diocese) information in which they can form opinions about how we are performing, but they do not come back and say you need to improve here and here. So it's an information gathering type of evaluation system but without the critique type of evaluative system (Steve Ankiel, Dir. CC Southwestern Virginia, Interview 4/26/95).
The Policy Advocacy Role of the Six Agencies Studied.

Advocacy is one way that nonprofits act as mediating institutions; and in the present study, all six agencies do some degree of advocacy work. None of the agencies, strictly speaking, are lobbyists, but the OJP is actively involved in legislative policy making at the state and national level.

The OJP refers to its work as advocacy and not as lobbying. The IRS does permit lobbying activities for Catholic organizations listed in the Official Catholic Directory if the lobbying activities are not a "substantial part" of their total activities. The advocacy work of the OJP is not a substantial part of the OJP's activities. Instead, the OJP is primarily a training, advocacy, and granting agency. Each OJP staff person, however, is responsible for particular political issues. The Director is responsible for state and federal legislation regarding poverty, welfare issues, and peace and violence issues. A second staff person focusses on women's issues, third world issues, health care, and Haiti. The third staff person, the director of CHD, manages the CHD and focusses on respect life issues, and the administration of the Respect Life Fund. This person also coordinates activities with the individual parishes and works with the Justice and Peace Commission (an OJP advisory board).

Currently, the OJP is pressing the Church's position on welfare reform before the State General Assembly.

Welfare reform is a major issue for us because it not only impacts (sic) the poor, it also impacts (sic) the ability of the church to provide services to that population. We cannot possibly, if the government cuts back in a

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1This information is from a report from the Office of General Council of the U.S. Catholic Conference. The report defines the type and degree of lobbying activity permissible for religious and nonprofit 501(c)(3) organizations. The definition states that these organizations "may lobby for changes in the law provided that such lobbying is not more than an insubstantial part of their total activities...There is no distinction between lobbying activity that is related to an organization's exempt purposes and lobbying that is not. There is no definitive answer regarding what percentage constitutes 'insubstantial' lobbying." The OJP of the Richmond Diocese interprets "insubstantial lobbying" to be less than 15 percent of their total program activity.
major way in welfare, pick up the slack. We know that. We are beyond our capacity at this point (Dr. Steve Colecchi, Dir. OJP, Interview 4/27/95).

The CHD does not do direct lobbying but the national CHD office does do some lobbying through its sister offices in the U.S. Catholic Conference (USCC). The USCC is the public policy arm of the U.S. Catholic Bishops who take positions on legislation that will affect poor and vulnerable people.

These are the Domestic Social Development and International Justice and Peace offices which are actively engaged in monitoring legislation, and helping mobilize diocesan telephone trees and legislative advocacy networks into (efforts to enhance) national legislation (Michael Stone, Dir. CHD, Interview 4/27/95).

Like the OJP and the CHD, The RIS and the CCs engage in policy promotion and advocacy activities aimed at both the national and state levels. At the national level, these agencies write letters to Congress and participate as members of professional associations advocating for particular stands on issues germane to them such as foster care and immigration policy.

At the state level, each of these agencies has testified before the Virginia State General Assembly on issues relevant to their programs. They do not, however, spend a substantial amount of time on these activities, nor do they employ staff specifically to engage in advocacy work. See Appendix F for the legislative and social agenda pressed by the CCs in 1994.

Issues CC is interested in are social welfare, family issues, child advocacy issues, insuring that families and people have the opportunity to achieve their human potential and that they have the financial resources to support their needs. CC does not promote dependency on the state or on the community. It promotes getting them on the right track with skill development and academic, social and relationship education (counseling) (Steve Ankiel, Dir. CC Southwestern Virginia, Interview 4/26/95).
All the CCs in Virginia were active through the Virginia Association of Licensed Child Placing Agencies in changing some adoption laws. We were expert witnesses who were helping to rewrite the adoption laws because there were some major flaws. Some of my staff are members of the National Association of Social Workers and this organization tries to work toward more appropriate work for social workers. CC USA is very active in lobbying (Margaret Robertson, Dir. CC Hampton Roads, Interview 4/26/95).

The agencies maintain a nonpartisan stance in their advocacy work. They are involved with issues that affect their programs and concur with the Church's social teachings.

We do not go at any issue with a partisan bent. If you looked at all the issues that we deal with, the common thread in our pursuits is church social teaching, a commitment to poor and vulnerable people. So, for example, on the issue of abortion we would be considered 'conservative'; on the issue of welfare reform we would be considered 'progressive'; on the issue of vouchers for school education- 'conservative'; on the issue of refugees- 'progressive'. We have no permanent enemies nor allies in the legislatures. We work with Democrats, Republicans and independents on the issue. We never endorse a candidate and we never oppose a candidate (Dr. Steve Colecchi, Dir. OJP, Interview 4/27/95).

Part II: Perceptions of the Agency Directors About Their Organizations’ Role in Social Welfare Service Provision

Perception of Current Capacity to Meet Local Need

When asked if they had sufficient resources to meet the current need for their services, all six directors responded with an emphatic “NO!” “No one ever receives enough money to underwrite all of the services that are needed in the community” (Steve Ankiel, Dir. CC Southwestern Virginia, Interview 4/26/95).
There is more need that we are not servicing. CC has to turn people away. Grants run out quickly. Daily, people call who fall through the cracks. "My wife lost her job, she has been out of work for a month. I couldn't pay the VA Power bill. I'm now $300 in the hole. I have four kids and I work at a building supply place....These are legitimate, not just loafers or people taking advantage of the system. I cannot help all of them so I have to find out who does and make referrals for them (Margaret Robertson, Dir. CC Hampton Roads, Interview 4/26/95).

The fee for service programs do not provide indications of unmet need. CC receives referrals of kids and there is a waiting list but there is no way to know how long the waiting list could or would be. Managed home care for the elderly and disabled and case management for AIDS patients- there is a crying need for that. We are one of the few places that has any subsidy. We receive United Way funds for that and we subsidize that service so that we are one of the cheapest providers in the area. There is a crying need for that(Kitty Hardt, Co-Interim Dir. CC Richmond, Interview 4/26/95).

The CHD director suggested that the unmet need for community organizing is so great that it cannot be satisfied by simply increasing the number of grants to community groups. The function of this agency depends upon the awareness of the public of the grants and how to apply for them. Therefore the need will appear to increase as public awareness increases.

We are the largest single funder of low-income community organizations in the country (reference to CHD nationally), and we fund $9 - $9.5 million dollars, but it's still not a whole heck of a lot of money. In place, there are enough organizations that could triple that funding easily, and if we had those sort of funds and could do more promotional effort, the probability is that even more groups would come forward looking for funding (Michael Stone, Dir. CHD, Interview 4/27/95).
Perception of Organizational Capacity to Expand Services

In response to the question about their organizational and financial capacity to shoulder additional responsibility for social services, all six agency directors argued that they would be unable to do much more than they are currently doing. They are limited by their funding and their staff size. They might be able to shoulder marginal additional responsibility initially because they have dedicated staff. However, each interviewee contended strongly that their organization could not maintain a significant expansion of services within the current political economy.

The Bishop (too) has been very firm on this. The Catholic Diocese of Richmond is already providing a multiplicity of services within the community to meet the needs of poor and vulnerable people. Can we do more? Yes, we can do more, we are always striving to do more. Can we pick up the slack if the government in a major way pulls back from social services? Absolutely not. It cannot be done (Dr. Steve Colecchi, Dir. OJP, Interview 4/27/95).

I don't know that we could shoulder more responsibility. The staff are very dedicated and hard working so in the short-term we could, but we couldn't maintain it. (Marilyn Breslow, Dir. RIS, Interview 4/27/95).

Yes, the organization is capable of expansion but I feel a tremendous amount of tightness. I have received a lot of letters from foundations saying your proposal sounds really good, but with limited funds, we are not funding. That's a reality...We are not feeling the governmental shifts in human services in the pocket book yet. But the shifts in Medicaid and the last figures that I saw for some shifts in the federal government are going to tear up foster care services (Kitty Hardt, Co-Interim Dir. CC Richmond, Interview 4/26/95).

The CHD is unique because it depends on a special collection from the Church for its grants to local communities and so this agency is not directly affected by current public policy except in the way that policies affect people's donations to the Church, and
in the way those policies affect low income people. The choices that leave the poor, disabled, elderly or other often marginalized groups with fewer public resources may rise. Interviewees suggest that their organizations are ill equipped to absorb sustained increases in their client pools without attendant increases in financial and administrative resources.

The RIS is completely dependent upon government contracts to provide its services. It is, therefore, the most vulnerable to public policy changes regarding social services that target specific populations.

Nobody knows how long these programs will last. The American Congress is very anti-social services and the American public is getting anti-immigrant. We feel like we are in danger and we really need to do advocacy, but we're just trying to do the work we have right now. They're giving us cases with 24 hours notice. It's really crazy (Marilyn Breslow, Dir. RIS, Interview 4/27/95).

The CC Southwestern Virginia agency has responded to the proposed shifts in public policy regarding social services by creatively “redefining” its programs to fit current funding objectives.

Three years ago, the state implemented the Comprehensive Services Act which is the centralization of decision making at the locality level. It increased funding to residential facilities. But how that funding became available got shifted. That's what created the contracting concept. As a result of that, agencies that were of any size diversified their services so that they provided the full continuum of services funded by the contracts. The agencies compartmentalized themselves over a wide range of services which then allowed them to dip into those public funding pockets where they needed to (Steve Ankiel, Dir. CC Southwestern Virginia, Interview 4/26/95).

Perceived Overlap with Public Sector Social Service Agencies

All of the agency directors described their services and program activities as “complementary” to existing social services provided in the public sector. However, each
director was able to describe at least one of their programs that fills a unique niche in social services, or serves a portion of the population that "slips through the cracks" of existing public assistance efforts. In this way, these agencies are adding services to fill unmet needs while not replacing or overlapping significantly with the social services provided by the public sector. Instead, they receive referrals (and offer them as well) from public sector agencies. They network with public social service organizations to serve the needs of clients.

**Overlap of the RIS, CHD, and OJP with Public Sector Programs**

The Office of Refugee and Immigration Services is the only agency that does refugee resettlement in Richmond, Roanoke and Norfolk.

We provide some unique services to refugees and networks with the Health Department and the Welfare Department (to provide public assistance for the refugees) if they (the refugees) do have a period of dependency. Though our refugees don't tend to go on welfare at all, they tend to get a job early (Dr. Steve Colecchi, Dir. OJP, Interview 4/27/95).

Similarly, the Campaign for Human Development is one of the few nonprofit agencies that sponsors community organization and empowerment: "Domestically, we and some of the other private and church foundations are the only ones who do this work. CHD does initiate a significant chunk of the overall impact (of community organizing and empowerment work)" (Michael Stone, Dir. CHD, Interview 4/27/95). The CHD fills a niche that is not met by government. It does not interact with social service providers because it is not involved in social service delivery. Instead, it networks with activists and community organizers.

The Diocese of Richmond plays a much smaller but necessary role in social service provision compared with public sector efforts. Diocesan social services are not as diverse nor as large in scope as public sector services. Appendix G shows the services
provided by the state of Virginia. The Appendix suggests that the Diocese supports programs that fill a gap in public sector coverage, or act as a safety net for those who do not otherwise qualify for public assistance. This takes a variety of forms as the following example suggests:

Direct assistance through the Fuel and Hunger Fund and the way it is multiplied by what individual parishes contribute...totals easily $1 million in total assistance provided by the Diocese. This assistance is a drop in the bucket compared to what government provides. However, what it does do is provide assistance to people who fall through the cracks. There are widening cracks in the social service delivery system. For example, a mother with two children on welfare gets $291 per month plus food stamps but this money does not hardly pay the rent or utilities or clothing...we are already subsidizing a welfare system that is inadequate because at the end of the month the lines are longer at all of our churches for assistance with food, clothing and shelter (Dr. Steve Colecchi, Dir. OJP, Interview 4/27/95).

Overlap of the CC Programs with Public Sector Programs

The CCs provide adoption and counseling services that do overlap to some extent with those offered by public sector agencies. They also receive referrals from public social service agencies, the United Way, and from the parishes. CC directors emphasize that their services differ from the public sector agencies because they have a reduced case load and they can provide quality services with a “human face.”

Also, because they are nonprofit organizations, they are more flexible and can respond quicker than public sector agencies can to changes in demand for services. In addition, these three CCs continually look for programs that can fill an unmet need in their communities. Some examples include the foreign adoption programs, the Adopt a Mom campaigns, and the Refugee Unaccompanied Minor program offered by the CC Richmond organization.
While social services provide foster care, they have proven time and time again that they cannot recruit fast, fill fast. Governments are not real good at hiring someone or contracting someone quickly. (I worked in the public sector for many years.) For instance, if we get a call from the U.S. CC tonight that says can you take a Ukrainian boy at 9:00 p.m. tomorrow night, then in all probability we will have a foster home and an interpreter by 9:00 p.m. tomorrow night. I don't know of too many public agencies that could do that (Kitty Hardt, Co-Interim Dir. CC Richmond, Interview 4/26/95).

The Department of Social Services in this area refers pregnant women who need counseling or are planning an adoption to us. They are so overworked, particularly in child protective services that they don't have time to do all this. There is a difference in quality of approach. CC provides a more human face and the clients see the same counselor every week. They sit in a nice office and we serve them coffee. They are treated with respect. There's no pressure to do anything with your baby except to do what is best for you and your baby...If a woman had an abortion and wanted counseling, we would provide post abortion counseling (Margaret Robertson, Dir. CC Hampton Roads, Interview 4/26/95).

The CCs also provide a safety net to the working poor who do not qualify for public assistance but who cannot afford health insurance.

The Family Place program (counseling) is carving out a unique niche because we are working with the 'working poor'...Most private practitioners and clinicians want the co-pay and the insurance (Steve Ankiel, Dir. CC Southwestern Virginia, Interview 4/26/95).

We get referrals all the time from the social service agencies who refer people who do not have health insurance who need counseling. We are filling a need that is not being met. Although if welfare reform happens, who knows what we are going to be called upon to do. The way I see it, many of our clients who now are getting service through state and federal programs will not, and so we're going to have to expand service to those clients (Margaret Robertson, Dir. CC Hampton Roads, Interview 4/26/95).
Perceived Leadership Role of the Bishop

The Catholic Diocese of Richmond is very active in social change and social justice and peace issues. Bishop Walter Sullivan was included in a recently published list of the 100 names of persons that citizens in Richmond should know signalling that he is well known for his justice and peace activism. He is the chief spokesperson for the Church's social mission within the Diocese and with his public standing, the Church is also recognized as a leader in social issues (Dr. Steve Colecchi, Dir. OJP, Interview 4/27/95).

I am the Chair of the Board of the VA Interfaith Center for Public Policy. There is no other religious denomination that is as active on social issues at the General Assembly as the Catholic church. The closest would be the United Methodists and that is largely through the efforts of United Methodist women who are very active. We are really recognized as a key player at the Virginia General Assembly (Dr. Steve Colecchi, Dir. OJP, Interview 4/27/95).

Bishop Sullivan has enhanced what we are doing. It is clearly his passion and that has given us more visibility in our Diocese and in our state than most social ministry offices or Offices of Justice and Peace in other Dioceses would have. We're more at the center of what the Church is doing here (Dr. Steve Colecchi, Dir. OJP, Interview 4/27/95).

Bishop Sullivan is described by all six agency directors as a visionary who gives direction to the offices and agencies under the auspices of the Diocese of Richmond but does not micro-manage them. He offers suggestions about what issues the offices should focus on but he does not tell the agency directors how to run their programs. He consults with the directors when there are problems but he does not resolve the problems himself. He is an affable man who is well respected and strongly appreciated by the agency directors. Each of them is aware of, and grateful for, the support they receive from the Bishop.

Bishop Sullivan's principal leadership of the OJP is to provide vision, motivation, overall direction. He does review the goals and objectives. He
does not micro-manage us. How we are going to achieve an objective is our decision. Once we determine what the objectives are, we check them out with him. Only if we have a major problem do we receive problem solving assistance from the Bishop (Dr. Steve Colecchi, Dir. OJP, Interview 4/27/95).

One of the reasons we have such a strong Campaign program is because of the Bishop's commitment to it. That's true of every Diocese; it all depends on their Bishop and their personal level of commitment...The CHD program in the Richmond Diocese is atypical for a Diocese of its size that normally would not have as large a staff and funding activity, and active advisory committee. This reflects the influence of the Bishop (Michael Stone, Dir. CHD, Interview 4/27/95).

He (Bishop Sullivan) is a leader for us. He established the office. He donates the office space. He forwards funds to the program which is at a significant cost because a lot of our programs run on a reimbursable basis. The Diocesan office is there to support us. The finance office runs our finances and writes our checks and keeps our ledgers. The personnel office gives us consultation and we follow their policies, belong to the plans that they negotiate. We use Diocesan newsletters to promote our program. We have been in the Catholic Virginian, we get into Just News. We use the parishes as a base of recruitment and have special events at parishes. It's a great support system (Marilyn Breslow, Dir. RIS, Interview 4/27/95).

It is more of a supportive presence. The Bishop is on our board. He is always here for at least one board meeting each year. Dr. Steve Colecchi is the Diocesan coordinator for the CC organizations and he is kept abreast of what is going on, the good news and the bad news; so the Bishop is informed in the directions that we go. There is a presence and direction but not direct involvement (Kitty Hardt, Co-Interim Dir. CC Richmond, Interview 4/26/95).

The Bishop gets the minutes of all of our board meetings. He reads every word. If something is not clear he calls up and asks us, not to control but to show his interest. He provides informal oversight (Margaret Robertson, Dir. CC Hampton Roads, Interview 4/26/95).
Theoretically, the Bishop has the power to dissolve any of the offices or to change their focus from social justice issues and toward direct social service delivery. Instead, he has elected to strengthen the activities of the OJP, CHD, RIS and the CCs by providing funding, in-kind structural donations (staff and space) and technical guidance and moral support. Bishop Sullivan's leadership is principled and in keeping with Church theology; but in addition, he places special emphasis on social justice and peace programs.

Another Bishop could move us away from social change and social policy and more towards direct social services because direct social services are less controversial. They generate less negativity; they're safer. The Bishop determines the overall goals and objectives (Dr. Steve Colecchi, Dir. OJP, Interview 4/27/95).

The Bishop can decide to terminate the CHD program within the Diocese. He can decide to terminate the OJP and to close the office of Refugee and Immigration Services. He has absolute control (theoretically speaking) (Michael Stone, Dir. CHD, Interview 4/27/95).

Bishop Sullivan is not a tight manager. He lets you function and do your work. He is a liberal Bishop. He believes very much in peace and justice issues. If we got somebody who was not liberal or who was much more into controlling from the top, they could have much more control over what we are doing (Margaret Robertson, Dir. CC Hampton Roads, Interview 4/26/95).

The director of the Office of Justice and Peace meets with the Bishop daily because the Bishop is interested in this office and because the OJP director is also the special assistant to the Bishop. The Bishop does not do direct evaluations of Diocesan social programs and agencies. Instead, direct evaluations of the agencies are handled by the OJP director who reports findings to the Bishop.
Chapter Five: Discussion and Analysis

The factual profile results of the six Diocesan agencies are summarized in Table 5.0 below. Two commonalities are shared by all six Catholic service/action agencies studied. The first is that each reflects Catholic social teaching in their organizational mission statements and in their choice of target populations to receive services. Each director specified the Catholic belief in human dignity of all persons and preferential treatment for the poor and vulnerable groups as the basis for their agency's service outreach. This finding indicates that these Catholic service/action providers will continue to seek to provide services to marginalized groups regardless of government policy action because they do so ultimately out of abiding belief in the social teaching of their Church.

The second overarching commonality among all six agencies is their connection to the Diocese of Richmond. Whether through a Diocesan director, direct financial support, special collections, or in-kind assistance, each agency is tied to the Diocese in different ways. For example, the Office of Justice and Peace and its Campaign for Human Development program are primarily sponsored by the Church. Refugee and Immigration Services is an office within the OJP that receives mostly in-kind support from the Church and relies more on contracts and fees for its services. The three Catholic Charities agencies receive special collections from the Church and in-kind support, but they depend mostly on fees for their services.

While these commonalities may have been suspected given their ties to the Church, the many differences among the six agencies studied were perhaps less obvious. These results suggest that analysts must differentiate between and among service organizations, even when, as in the case of the Richmond Diocese, the organizations are under the auspices of the same church. Clearly, the Diocese of Richmond's role in social welfare service provision is diverse and covers a wide range of programs that support local community organization and human services.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Profile Characteristic</th>
<th>Office of Justice and Peace</th>
<th>Campaign for Human Development</th>
<th>Refugee and Immigration Services</th>
<th>Catholic Charities**</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Primary Function</td>
<td>Social Advocacy</td>
<td>Community Organizing</td>
<td>Direct Social Services</td>
<td>Direct Social Services</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year Founded</td>
<td>1972</td>
<td>1970</td>
<td>1975</td>
<td>1923 CC (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1932 CC (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1976 CC (3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Target Population</td>
<td>Poor and Vulnerable Persons</td>
<td>Community Groups</td>
<td>Refugees and Immigrants</td>
<td>Everyone, especially Poor and Vulnerable Persons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Influence of Catholic Social Teaching</td>
<td>Organization Mission</td>
<td>Organization Mission</td>
<td>Organization Mission</td>
<td>Organization Mission</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of Persons Served</td>
<td>130 organizations‡ $133,100</td>
<td>7 communitiesΔ $66,500 total grants</td>
<td>454 Refugees 900 Other service recipients</td>
<td>10,213</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Principal Funding Source</td>
<td>Diocese</td>
<td>Diocese</td>
<td>Federal Government Grants</td>
<td>Fees</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Combined Revenue</td>
<td>$ 380,153</td>
<td>$ 66,500</td>
<td>$ 899,599</td>
<td>$ 6,561,639</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Staff</td>
<td>8 FT, 4 PT, 6 FT summer</td>
<td>15 FT</td>
<td>25 FT, 95 PT</td>
<td>88 FT, 87 PT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Volunteers*</td>
<td>135</td>
<td>15 ‡</td>
<td>315 + 80 - 90 parishes</td>
<td>384</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Number of Volunteers includes Advisory Board Members

** Includes CC Richmond, CC Hampton Roads, and CC Southwestern Virginia

CC (1) = Catholic Charities, Richmond

CC (2) = Catholic Charities, Hampton Roads

CC (3) = Catholic Charities, Southwestern Virginia

‡ = Total # Recipients and Total Grants from Fuel and Hunger Fund and Respect Life Fund

Δ = Total # Service Recipients from All Three Catholic Charities.
The primary differences among the six agencies are their ages, their primary social welfare function, their targeted populations, the numbers of individuals served, their principal funding source(s), their combined revenue, and their numbers of staff and volunteers. There is a correlation between function and size among these service organizations. The Diocesan direct services organizations are the largest of the six in terms of numbers of staff, volunteers, variety of funding sources, total revenue, and numbers served. The other two social action Diocesan agencies have less staff and volunteers, smaller program budgets, and are funded completely by the Church.

The four Diocesan direct social services agencies are the Office of Refugee and Immigration Services and the three Catholic Charities. The Office of Justice and Peace indirectly sponsors direct social services through administration of the Fuel and Hunger and Respect Life Funds. The Campaign for Human Development is not involved in direct services. Its primary focus is community organizing.

The largest Diocesan-linked provider of direct services is the Catholic Charities Richmond agency which manages 15 different service programs that are supported by a wide funding base that has generated an estimated $5,439,658, so far, in 1995 primarily through fees for counseling and adoption programs.

Following this agency in numbers of staff and volunteers, service programs, funding base and revenue is the Office of Refugee and Immigration Services (RIS). However, the RIS has a combined revenue budget of less than $900,000 which is about one sixth of CC Richmond’s revenues. Also, the RIS provides services specifically for refugees whereas the CCs provide services for all persons.

The CC Richmond agency was established in 1923 and therefore its revenue base results from 72 years of community service and contacts. The RIS, on the other hand, was established in 1975 and is one of the youngest Diocesan service agencies. Nevertheless, its reliance on federal contracts enabled it quickly to become the second
largest Diocesan service agency.

Analysis of program and office funding bases is necessary to determine their degree of autonomy, their program capacity, and to which agencies they are held accountable. Analyzing their revenue sources also reveals how vulnerable each agency is likely to be to policy changes and federal budget cuts. This information is useful for evaluating the question of whether and to what extent these agencies can increase their services in the near future.

Of the four Diocesan direct services agencies, the RIS is the most vulnerable to federal budget cuts and policy changes. The Catholic Charities vary in their vulnerability to federal and state budget cuts in social services. The variance stems from the difference in their revenue sources. Of the three CCs analyzed, only the Richmond CC agency manages state contracts (34 percent of its total revenue) for its Refugee Unaccompanied Minors program. That program may be vulnerable to federal budget cuts. The other CC Richmond programs are primarily fee dependent (54 percent of total revenue) which buffers the agency somewhat from policy changes at the national level. This is true for all of the Catholic Charities: they depend primarily upon fees for service and on donations from the United Way.

Though these CC service organizations are not directly affected by federal budget cuts for the most part, they are affected indirectly by political and economic changes in social services. For example, the directors of these agencies foresee an impact on their programs in the numbers of persons that will be coming to them for assistance when other public sector programs are cutback or terminated. Many of these persons are likely to need substantial assistance.

The least vulnerable to federal or state budget cuts for their program activities are the two Diocesan social action programs, the Office of Justice and Peace and the Campaign for Human Development. These receive 100 percent of their support from the
Church. Their grants and support of service programs and community organizing, however, are limited by the amount of money collected during the Church's annual special collections that are specifically dedicated to the CHD, the Respect Life Fund, and the Fuel and Hunger Fund.

A comparison of the total grants administered by these two offices over the past three years shows much fluctuation in total grants given from year to year. These agencies' overall impact on communities is therefore uncertain on a year to year basis because their grants depend on changing levels of Church donations (see Table 10). The OJP and CHD are also indirectly vulnerable to the economy with its possible effects on philanthropic giving, and to changes in tax laws or rules that might limit the deductibility of donations to church programs.

The directors' perceptions regarding their agency's current role in social welfare and future capacity as service providers are summarized in Table 5.1. Unlike the factual profile data which revealed a great diversity among the six agencies as social service/action providers, the perceptions of the agency directors about their agency's role and future capacity were virtually identical.

The four Diocesan direct social services agencies (RIS and three CCs) are both complementary and collaborative with public sector social service agencies. These roles will be discussed in more detail below. In general, the Diocesan direct services agencies are complementary because they fill a gap by providing services to people who do not qualify for public assistance but who also cannot afford private sector services. They also collaborate with public sector agencies to provide services to particular clients, and they receive referrals from public sector service agencies.

Each director described their program as complementary to existing social services because Diocesan programs fill a unique niche and serve people who "fall through the cracks". Diocesan direct services programs were established either because the program
was unavailable or because the initiative served a portion of the population not served by
public service agencies. In particular, each director acknowledged a growing number of
working poor participating in their programs. These persons often do not have medical
insurance and therefore cannot receive assistance from most public or private service
providers. Yet, they are not poor enough to qualify for public assistance.
Table 5.1: Summary of Perceptions of the Six Agency Directors Regarding their Organization’s Service/Action Capacity (Current and Future), Unmet Need, Overlap with Public Sector Services, and Role of the Bishop.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Perceptions of:</th>
<th>Office of Justice and Peace</th>
<th>Campaign for Human Development</th>
<th>Refugee and Immigration Services</th>
<th>Catholic Charities**</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Role of Programs</td>
<td>Fills Unique Niche</td>
<td>Fills Unique Niche</td>
<td>Fills Unique Niche</td>
<td>Fills Unique Niche</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overlap with Public Social Services</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Some programs-yes, some-no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Effect of Programs within Social Services Field</td>
<td>Complementary to Public Sector</td>
<td>Complementary to Public Sector</td>
<td>Complementary to Public Sector</td>
<td>Complementary to Public Sector</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Current Service Capacity</td>
<td>At Maximum Capacity</td>
<td>Depends on Donations Collected</td>
<td>Depends on Federal Grants Received and Federal Immigration Law</td>
<td>Almost at Maximum Capacity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Future Program Capacity Increase</td>
<td>Not likely</td>
<td>Depends on Donations Collected</td>
<td>Depends on Federal Government Funding</td>
<td>Can't do much more on fee for service basis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unmet Need for Their Programs</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Populations Suffering Most in Society</td>
<td>Working Poor</td>
<td>Working Poor</td>
<td>Working Poor</td>
<td>Working Poor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leadership Role of Bishop</td>
<td>Visionary, Moral Support, Direct Diocesan Financial Support</td>
<td>Visionary, Moral Support, In-kind Support, Direct Support via Special Collection</td>
<td>Visionary, Moral Support, Substantial In-kind Support</td>
<td>Visionary, Moral Support, In-kind Support, Direct Support via Special Collection</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

** Includes CC Richmond, CC Hampton Roads, and CC Southwestern Virginia
Each of the Diocesan direct services agencies collaborates with the public sector to provide services for particular clients. The RIS, for example, makes arrangements for refugees to obtain public assistance immediately upon arrival. Each director reported receiving referrals from, as well as to, public sector agencies. To illustrate, the CCs receive referrals from public sector counseling and adoption agencies, while the public sector agencies refer persons to the CCs who do not have medical insurance and therefore cannot be served by the public sector agencies.

The director's perceptions regarding their agency's social service/action role suggest that Diocesan direct services agencies do not overlap very much with public agencies. A listing of the state's social service programs, however, indicates that there may be some overlap. Appendix G lists 22 social service programs offered by the state, nine of which may overlap to some extent with the Diocesan direct services programs. These include Emergency Assistance, Family Planning, Refugee Programs, Refugee Resettlement, Foster Care, Adoption Services, Child Protective Services, Adult Services, and Volunteer Services. Complete descriptions of these programs were not available for analysis.

Besides the suggested collaborative relationship between the Diocesan direct services agencies and the public sector service agencies, CC directors also believe they must compete with the public sector service agencies. The Catholic Charities directors argued that their agencies may be small in comparison to public sector service agencies, but that they are competitive because they offer high quality service. Both the CC Hampton Roads and CC Richmond agency directors saw their programs as distinguished by their "human face" and flexibility to meet the local needs of the community, as compared to the public sector service programs which operate at a large scale and are less "friendly" and less flexible. The directors' descriptions fit the general attributes ascribed to nonprofit service providers (Kramer, 1987).
Thus, Diocesan direct services agencies are similar to secular nonprofit providers in their flexibility and quality of service. These characteristics also distinguish these four Diocesan direct services agencies as mediating structures. Like their secular counterparts, however, they are limited in their service capacity by their funding and numbers of staff. These constraints also limit the numbers of persons who may benefit from their mediating function.

Analysis of their total revenue and funding sources indicated that the six agencies were limited in their capacity to increase their social service/action programs. The perceptions of the agency directors concerning their agency's future role in social welfare confirmed this finding. All of the directors emphasized that they were already operating at or close to their maximum capacity and that they did not foresee an ability to increase substantially their services or social action activity in the immediate future. They do see an unmet need for their services but they are limited by their capacity to generate funds and staff resources to provide more services. These limiting factors (which reduce the scope of delivery of services) are typical of small and medium sized nonprofits (Gronbjerg, 1993).

Each of the interviewees disagreed strongly with the argument pressed by many GOP lawmakers in Congress today that nonprofits generally, and religious organizations in particular, can pick up the slack for social service delivery if the national government reduces its funding of social services programs. Dr. Colecchi (Director of OJP) emphasized that the Church's programs are already subsidizing an inadequate welfare system as evidenced by longer lines at parish soup kitchens and service programs. His argument implies that more people are in danger of "falling through the cracks" if the national and state governments significantly cut back their support of human services. The Diocese of Richmond cannot be counted on to help citizens who are otherwise without recourse in such a situation.
The Diocese appears neither to have the capacity nor the desire to replace government provided services. Their service mission is directed at achieving the moral principles of Catholic social teaching and providing outreach to the poor and marginalized groups in society. These agencies will collaborate with government social services when such action serves their ends. They do not, however, possess sufficient capacity to substitute for public services. Nor, is it clear that even with strong public funding, these organizations would be willing to compromise their aims when these contradicted public purpose or practice.

The perception of the leadership role of the bishop in the function of these six social service/action agencies was consistent among the six directors. The bishop is completely responsible for their existence but he does not directly control how the agencies are managed. He does not, the directors commented, "micro-manage" their agency affairs. He offers moral, technical, financial and in-kind support through the Diocese. The OJP and its CHD program, and the RIS are located within the organization offices of the Diocese and the bishop has daily contact with the director of the OJP. Thus, the bishop is kept abreast of the activities within these six social service/action agencies.

All of the directors were pleased with the bishop's support of their agency’s programs. The unanimous description of the bishop's leadership style offered by the agency directors, suggests that the bishop practices stewardship in his leadership role. Stewardship is promoted in Catholic social teaching as sharing and respecting the earth’s resources.

Block (1994) has developed a unique view of business management based on the concept of stewardship. He advocates that organizational hierarchies enable employees to make significant decisions at every level of the organization. In this case, the bishop respects the management capabilities of the Diocesan directors and shares his power and
authority by trusting them to make decisions regarding their agency’s operations. The bishop may guide them in determining their goals but he lets the directors decide how to achieve their goals and objectives.

Previous studies have suggested that the leadership role of the bishop is critical to the functioning of Church social programs. A Canadian case study found, for example, that the personal commitment of the bishop distinctly characterizes the extent and type of social programming and social advocacy work found in a diocese (Hewitt, 1991). Bishop Walter F. Sullivan’s influence over social services in the six agencies explored here corroborates this finding.

This analysis suggests that an evaluation of the service impact and mediation role of any diocese must consider the bishop’s leadership style and predisposition to achieve social outreach. Politicians, therefore, cannot generalize among dioceses about their ability or interest in playing a major role in social service delivery. Rather, each diocese is likely to differ in its interpretation of its role in social welfare. For that matter churches, in general cannot be depended upon to respond as if they are a unified group to government withdrawal of social service provision. Indeed, churches that are less hierarchical than the Catholic church may be at a distinct disadvantage for mobilizing church resources to fill the gap for needed social services. In the present case, the Diocese of Richmond will likely continue to sponsor and to support strongly social justice programs under Bishop Sullivan.

This profile highlights how the four Diocesan social service agencies differ from secular service providers. It also allows an analysis of their capacity to function as mediating structures. This effort involves identifying managerial and fiscal variables which correlate with six issues (drawn from the nonprofit literature) that potentially limit the service capacity of nonprofits. These issues are: accountability, professionalism, program evaluation, autonomy of decision making, susceptibility to goal succession, and
particularism. They are summarized in Chapter 2, pages 33-38. Table 5.2 below summarizes how the six Catholic agencies studied relate to these issues.

Table 5.2: Summary of Management Issues Affecting the Nonprofit Sector and Their Relevance to the Six Social Service/Action Agencies Under the Auspices of the Diocese of Richmond, VA.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Issue:</th>
<th>Office of Justice and Peace</th>
<th>Campaign for Human Development</th>
<th>Refugee and Immigration Services</th>
<th>Catholic Charities**</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Professional Staff</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conducts Program Evaluations</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accountability</td>
<td>to the Diocese</td>
<td>to the Diocese, to the National CHD</td>
<td>to Federal and State Governments, to the Diocese, to Foundations, to Private Donors, to Clients</td>
<td>to Clients, to the Diocese, to Foundations, to Private Donors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Particularism of Focus</td>
<td>Advocacy for Social Justice and Peace</td>
<td>Community Organizing and Leadership Training</td>
<td>Refugee Resettlement</td>
<td>Counseling (Pregnancy, General) Adoption Youth, Elderly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Autonomy (from narrow funding base)</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goal Succession</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Possibly, through contract relationships</td>
<td>Some program priorities influenced by donors</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

** Includes CC Richmond, CC Hampton Roads, and CC Southwestern Virginia
In general, these six Catholic service/action agencies exhibit many of the same responses to the current political economy that secular nonprofit service providers reveal. Marketization pressures have infiltrated the Church as they have every other sector of the political economy. These pressures are reflected in the language used by the agency directors, in their professionalism, and in their planning and evaluation processes. Indeed, the director of CC Southwestern Virginia characterized his agency as becoming more "business-like" in its management style and in its focus on providing competitive services (Steve Ankiel, Dir. CC Southwestern Virginia, 4/26/95).

**Professional Staff**

All of the Diocesan social service/action agencies employ professional staff who receive additional training from Diocesan agencies. A large portion of service agencies’ budgets is used to pay the salaries of these professional staff persons. In addition to hiring professionals, some Diocesan agencies have professionals who volunteer their services. Catholic Charities Hampton Roads, for example, has local health, psychiatric, and legal aid professionals as volunteer consultants for the programs.

Hiring professional staff is a necessity for most nonprofit service providers in order to legitimate their services and compete for funding. This fact implies that these agencies are limited in the amount of services they can provide by their capacity to raise funds to pay for the number of professional staff they need to run their organization. This reality distinguishes nonprofits from public sector agencies whose ability to hire more personnel and professional staff and serve a larger number of clients is less sharply circumscribed. The literature suggests that nonprofit social service agencies do not have the fiscal capacity or staff necessary to replace public sector social services. This study suggests that religious nonprofit service providers also do not have the numbers of staff or fiscal capacity necessary simply to replace public sector services.
Program Evaluations

All six agencies studied engage in strategic planning processes and program evaluation. The advisory boards of each agency include professionals and these boards act as consultants that aid the organizations in their program decision making and evaluation efforts. The Diocesan agencies that relied most on contracts engaged in constant program evaluation, and report writing. This was especially true for the Office of Refugee and Immigration Services and for the larger Catholic Charities agencies.

Program evaluations are necessary accountability mechanisms and the pressure to do them frequently arises from an inability to measure directly and easily the efficiency and effectiveness of nonprofit service programs. Funding agencies require program evaluations as assurance that the funding was spent for its intended purposes. As a group, the Diocesan agencies are not comparable to other nonprofit social service providers because of their unique reliance on Catholic social teaching instead of cost effectiveness, to shape their missions and program goals. The Diocesan agencies base their program evaluations more on their fulfillment of Catholic social teaching and Church goals than on market objectives of cost effectiveness and efficiency.

Accountability

The main accountability issues noted in the nonprofit literature that were analyzed in this study are the regulations and "strings" attached to funding received whether from public or other private sources that reduce the autonomy of nonprofit management in decision making, control how the money is spent, and consume a great deal of management energy and effort writing grants and evaluation reports.

The six agencies studied differed in their reactions to accountability pressures. First, only the RIS and the CC Richmond office received government contracts which implies that their programs are subject to government influence through contract
regulation. The RIS director confirmed that the majority of her time was spent writing evaluation reports, and constantly writing grants for continued funding.

When non-governmental parties become implementers of public services, accountability becomes very complicated (Saidel, 1991). The six agencies studied cannot easily be held accountable for their programs. All of the direct service agencies studied, (the RIS and the three CCs), have a broad funding base which makes them accountable to more donors and funding agencies than the two Diocesan agencies that rely solely upon the Church for funding (the OJP and the CHD). Each of the interviewees reported that they are accountable ultimately to the Church whether or not they receive direct funding. They believe in Catholic social teaching and its mandate of community service and they do not want to provide a poor service that will reflect badly upon the Church.

Allegiance to the Church distinguishes these agencies from secular nonprofit service providers. The public expects religious service providers to set and uphold high ethical principles and to use donations for the public good (Jeavons, 1994; Wuthnow, 1991). This study did not analyze in detail the financial record keeping of the six Catholic agencies so there is no way of judging whether there was any misappropriation of public funds or private donations. It appears, however, that the general public trust in nonprofit service providers is validated by the service mission, approach and efforts of these six Catholic social service/action agencies.

**Particularism**

These agencies all evidence a particular mission focus, program objectives, and targeted population. Their particular services are complementary to the services provided by the public sector, but they report that they cannot replace, nor do they aspire to replace, the scope and variety of services provided by government sponsored programs.

Particularism can be considered either an asset or a disadvantage. On the one
hand, these six Catholic service/action agencies have the advantage of providing particular programs to fit their community's needs within the Church's philosophy of social teaching. On the other hand, however, they do not provide these services on a broad scale nor do they possess fiscal or organizational capacity to diversify greatly the services that they now provide. As Table 5.2 illustrates, these agencies have their particular missions that only partially overlap with state service programs. These agencies are ill equipped to replace public services, if the federal or state government significantly reduced its role in social service funding and/or delivery.

Even if the Catholic organizations had the fiscal and organizational capacity to replace government services, there is a limit to the types of services that Catholic organizations are willing to provide. These religious service agencies are providing exactly the types of services that suit their particular service mission under the mandate of Catholic social teaching and they cannot be expected to provide the wide range of services currently provided by government agencies.

Also, it is not certain that services provided by Catholic agencies are readily recognized by persons outside of the Catholic faith. While the Diocesan agencies proclaim that their services are available to all persons regardless of their creed, clients may choose the services because of their affiliation with the Church. The client mix of the programs explored here was not examined.

**Autonomy**

The degree of operating autonomy of the six agencies varies with the specific character of their funding base. Autonomy refers to the extent of vulnerability within the current political economy to governmental policy changes and budget cutbacks. As discussed earlier, the direct service agencies studied have a broader funding base and are accountable to more funding agencies, individual donors and clients. The RIS is the most
vulnerable and least autonomous from political and economic changes because it relies most heavily upon federal contracts.

The CCs vary in the degree of operating autonomy each enjoys. Only the Richmond CC has state contracts that wholly fund one of its programs (the Refugee Unaccompanied Minors program) which makes this particular program vulnerable to political changes. However, all three CCs receive grants from the United Way and other foundations that involve contracts and imply accountability-related demands.

While direct services programming may not be affected directly by specific federal political choices to reduce public funding for social welfare programs, they are indirectly affected. These Diocesan agency directors all noted a tightness in funding, for example, due to increased competition for funds from foundations and other non-governmental sources. The same “pie” of money is divided up into more pieces as governments reduce their overall level of funding for social services. Also, as the director of CC Hampton Roads commented, many foundations used to focus their support on social services primarily, but now they also support environmental causes and community development. There is, therefore, less money available for social services.

**Goal Succession**

Goal succession was not obvious within the six agencies studied. Goal succession refers to the replacement of the nonprofit's original program mission objectives by a funding agency’s goals. More research is necessary to determine the extent that this happens within Catholic service/action agencies.

There was certainly some evidence that program priorities are influenced by funding agencies. The Director of CC Southwestern Virginia commented that he must redefine his programs to fit existing criteria for funding. Whether or not this also affects service delivery was not studied.
The CC Richmond Co-Interim Director suggested that the United Way specifically mandates how it wants its money spent according to a priority ranking system. The CC Richmond agency has some priority 3 programs that will not be funded by the United Way this year and so this CC agency must look for funding for this program elsewhere. If that funding cannot be found, individuals receiving assistance/services from these initiatives will lose that support.

Both of these examples indicate that these Catholic Charities are experiencing the same funding pressures on their program management activity that secular nonprofit service providers often experience. One principal problem with nonprofits as service providers is that they often do not have a stable funding base. This reality of contracting requirements often causes management to focus on budget concerns and grant writing to the detriment of creative program design, implementation, and expanded outreach (Gronbjerg, 1993).

Another frequently documented consequence of unstable funding of nonprofit service providers is their inability to stabilize or expand their service programs (Smith and Lipsky, 1993). This seems less relevant for the two larger Catholic Charities which have long histories in Virginia in service delivery, but that stability arises in good part from the influence and support of the Church. The CCs have an advantage over secular nonprofits because they have a guaranteed income (though the yearly amount fluctuates) from the Diocese which supports them every year through an annual special collection at Christmas. In addition, each of the CCs receives substantial in-kind support from the Diocese which includes rent-free buildings. The CCs may be more stable than secular nonprofit service providers due to their financial ties to the Church.

An analysis of whether, how, and to what extent these six Catholic social service/action agencies act as mediating institutions in social welfare in Virginia is summarized in Table 5.3. The three criteria depicted in this Table represent mediating
structures as defined by Berger and Neuhaus (1977) and to some extent, by Tocqueville (1840). Tocqueville also specified the role of mediating structures as facilitators of civic acculturation and moderators of governmental oppression. First, these six organizations will be judged according to the model proposed by Berger and Neuhaus. Then, the six Catholic social service/action agencies will be analyzed according to Tocqueville's vision of mediating structures.

Table 5.3: Summary of the Mediating Role Qualities of the Six Social Service/Action Agencies Under the Auspices of the Diocese of Richmond, VA.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mediating Role</th>
<th>Office of Justice and Peace</th>
<th>Campaign for Human Development</th>
<th>Refugee and Immigration Services</th>
<th>Catholic Charities**</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Advocacy on Behalf of Vulnerable Persons</td>
<td>Extensive Advocacy</td>
<td>Some Advocacy Through National CHD, and Through Grants Directly to Groups Themselves</td>
<td>Some Advocacy, and via Coordination of Public Sector Services, and Direct Services Provision</td>
<td>Some Advocacy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Representing and Responding to Local Needs</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Empowerment of Others</td>
<td>Through Grants to Groups</td>
<td>Through Grants to Groups, and Through Leadership Training</td>
<td>Through Job Skills Training and Employment Services</td>
<td>Through Youth Support Programs</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

** Includes CC Richmond, CC Hampton Roads, and CC Southwestern Virginia
Berger and Neuhaus defined mediating structures as “people sized” institutions that reflect the local needs and values of our pluralist society and its many diverse communities. The size of mediating structures, their accessibility, their responsiveness to local needs, and their empowerment of individuals were key criteria for distinguishing which institutions act as mediating structures. With these criteria in mind, the six Catholic service/action organizations vary in the degree that they act as mediating structures as defined by Berger and Neuhaus.

Each agency studied mediates to some degree through its advocacy and empowerment activities that maintain the “safety net” in social service delivery in Virginia. Interviewees used the term “safety net” to describe their function of filling the gap in existing social services in their communities and in their outreach to the working poor.

All six Diocesan agencies do some advocacy work on behalf of poor and vulnerable people which puts them in a mediating position between vulnerable individuals and the megastructure of government. The OJP is the Diocesan agency that is most involved in advocacy on behalf of the poor and vulnerable populations, but it does not have much contact with local community groups, except through its Fuel and Hunger and Respect Life Funds. Through these two grants, the OJP is able to respond to local needs and to empower groups and individuals to help themselves.

Berger and Neuhaus argued that mediating institutions enabled individuals to gain ownership and control over their lives. The RIS's work in refugee resettlement and job placement achieves this goal. This Diocesan direct services agency mediates extensively between refugees and the megastructures of public service agencies and legal service agencies.

The CHD focusses on community organizing, empowerment of local community groups and training of local leaders. This work fosters local development and response to
local needs and as such fits the Berger and Neuhaus mediating structure model. Also, the CHD USA office does extensive advocacy work placing it in a mediating role between poor and vulnerable groups and government decision making and legislative bodies.

The Catholic Charities agencies do not fit the Berger and Neuhaus model as well as the other diocesan service/action agencies studied. These agencies do engage in some advocacy work but they focus primarily on direct services. They do not aim to empower individuals through political consciousness raising as does the CHD, but some of their youth and counseling programs may have an empowering effect on the beneficiaries. More study of their program implementation and effects is necessary to determine the extent that these CC direct social services empower individuals.

Empowerment implies a political consciousness raising that not only educates individuals about their rights but enables them to make better decisions for themselves. This goal is not stated in the CC mission statements. The director of the Hampton Roads CC did suggest, however, that the philosophy behind the social service programs offered by the agency is to help people get back on their feet so that they can be active and productive citizens.

The main advocacy work of the Diocese is carried out at a higher level of the Church organization. The Catholic Charities USA, for example, like the Campaign for Human Development USA agency, engages in substantial advocacy work and acts as a mediating structure in social services. Both of these organizations are mediating organizations at the national level, however, their efforts are not specifically targeted at social services within the state of Virginia.

Berger and Neuhaus argued that the public sphere should not be dominated by government which imposes uniform values and responses to social needs. Instead, governments should sponsor nonprofit service providers that represent and best serve local community values and needs. Yet they do not clearly grasp the fact that mediating
structures do not just provide services, but also reinforce local values and empower individuals by linking them with the larger community through shared values. In fact, governments often support nonprofits by contracting their services (Stephenson, 1994), but the result is not always an enhanced quality of service delivery nor a more representative service delivery structure. Nevertheless, under the Berger and Neuhaus model, the RIS (which is heavily dependent upon government contracts) best characterizes a nonprofit service provider that is a mediating structure sponsored by federal and state government funding.

The adequacy of the Berger and Neuhaus model of mediating structures which gives preference to nonprofit service providers over government agencies, is questionable given the dilemma of particularism and the limitations on service capacity imposed via accountability mechanisms. Nonprofit service providers simply cannot provide the same scale of services provided by government agencies (Ostrom and Davis, 1993). The Diocesan directors underscored this point in their descriptions of themselves as complementary service providers and not substitutive of public sector services.

The Berger and Neuhaus model is useful, however, to begin to explain how religious service providers function within the social services network. Each of the six service/action agencies studied referred to their role in filling a gap in social service delivery. In this way, they maintain the safety net of social services and function as mediating structures on behalf of vulnerable persons. This is exemplified by the Catholic Charities agencies which reported servicing persons who are not readily served by the public or for-profit service providers.

Tocqueville believed that voluntary associations were valuable facilitators of civic acculturation that empowered citizens to have a political voice and made them less dependent upon the government to meet their needs. Members of these associations are then able to check the balance of power of government and prevent government from
manifesting its natural tendency toward tyranny (Stephenson, 1994). He also believed that voluntary associations counter individualistic tendencies and encourage more communal bonds by drawing individuals out of their private lives and into the public sphere. These associations, in effect, mediate between the authority of the state and the will of the people (Wuthnow, 1991).

For voluntary associations to function in this capacity, a degree of separation between the state and voluntary associations is necessary (Wuthnow, 1991). Under the current contracting regime, this separation and the autonomy of the voluntary sector is threatened. Accordingly, the role of voluntary associations as mediating structures (Jeavons, 1994) may be threatened as well.

Of the six Catholic social service/action agencies studied, the OJP and the CHD are the most autonomous from political and economic shifts that affect the third sector (except as government might influence gift giving by changing tax policies toward donations). This is due to their total dependence upon the Church as discussed above. These organizations focus on mediating activities such as advocacy, training, and empowerment and their activities are oriented toward serving the common good of the community (CHD programs) or society in general (OJP activities). Thus, the OJP and the CHD are mediating institutions as Tocqueville envisioned because they promote values that acculturate individuals to work toward the common good.

The RIS also mediates according to Tocqueville’s model as it strives to acculturate refugees and recent immigrants to the social structure and laws of U.S. society.

The Catholic Charities agencies studied are questionable mediating structures according to Tocqueville’s definition because their focus is not on political acculturation or democratic decision making, but rather on direct service delivery. Further study is needed of these direct service agencies to determine the extent that clients are empowered through their participation in these agencies’ programs.
Catholic social teaching acknowledges the mediating role of the Church, the family, and neighborhood groups. Subsidiarity as defined by Catholic social teaching encourages the participation of individuals in decision making in local communities and institutions. The Campaign for Human Development best illustrates this concept. Church teaching fits Tocqueville’s model by deferring to governments to oversee the equitable provision of social welfare services. As Tocqueville cautioned, mediating institutions play a particular service and political acculturation role.

The Diocesan agencies provide their services to empower people to realize their greatest potential but it is not clear that the beneficiaries of these Diocesan mediating structures become politically active as Tocqueville envisioned. The CHD provides the clearest indication of empowering and politicizing beneficiaries. Further study is required to determine the political role of these Catholic social service/action agencies.
Chapter 6: Conclusion and Recommendations

This study sought to explore the role of religious nonprofit social service agencies in the context of the Roman Catholic Diocese of Richmond. The Diocese includes two thirds of the land area of Virginia. Six of the largest Diocesan social service/action agencies were selected for study: the Office of Justice and Peace, the Campaign for Human Development, Refugee and Immigration Services, and three quasi-independent Catholic Charities organizations located in Richmond, Hampton Roads, and Roanoke. The directors of these agencies were interviewed in order to develop an empirical profile of how these organizations function as service providers in Virginia.

The profile contained both factual information and agency head perceptions. Factual information included how each agency defined its mission and in turn, how those aims reflected Catholic social teaching; evidence concerning organizational structure; service/action programs and individuals served; target populations; revenue sources and combined total revenue from 1992-1995; as well as advocacy activity.

The six agencies studied proved quite diverse across these measures. The Catholic Diocese of Richmond is involved in a wide range of social service activity and in a complex array of ways. Two of the agencies studied were not direct service providers but granting agencies. The Office of Justice and Peace administers two grants that support direct social services, while the Campaign for Human Development administers grants to foster organization of local community groups. Both of these agencies depend on the Church completely for funding of their operations and grants.

The other four direct service agencies operate very much like secular nonprofit service providers. They do, however, receive support from the Church, either in direct financial assistance or in-kind (including office space). In addition, their program missions are shaped by Catholic social teaching which is why they target the poor and vulnerable
groups in their communities. These Catholic service providers continue the historical role of religious organizations providing services and outreach to marginalized groups in society. However, their operations and organization are changing as they respond to increased competition for resources to continue their programs. The Diocesan direct service agencies received their funds from a variety of sources but depended primarily on grants and contracts. In so doing, they evidenced the same responses to accountability pressures from their grantors that are already well documented in the nonprofit literature (Smith and Lipsky, 1993; Gronbjerg, 1993).

Each agency director was asked to share their judgement of their organization's current role in social services compared to that of the public sector; their organization's capacity to increase its service delivery in the future if the federal government reduces its role in social services; and their perception of the leadership role and power of the bishop over their agency's operations.

Interviewees argued that their agencies are already operating at, or close to their maximum capacity and that they do not foresee much change in the capacity of their organizations in the near future. The two social action agencies that depend solely upon the Church for their funding (OJP and CHD) are limited in their service reach by the amount of donations received in special collections for their programs. And these are influenced by trends beyond direct agency or Diocesan control. As the economy tightens, for example, people give less although, in general, people now give more to religious organizations than to any other form of philanthropic organization. The trend, however, has been uneven at best in recent years. Analysis of the OJP and CHD grants for the three year period from 1992-1995 shows much fluctuation in total grants from year to year indicating instability in Church donations.

The sources of limitations of service capacity for the other four direct service providers varies. The Office of Refugee and Immigration Services depends heavily on
federal contracts and fills a unique niche in areas in which it operates. This agency is the most vulnerable to political and economic shifts at the national level. The three Catholic Charities depend primarily on fees for their pregnancy counseling, family counseling, and adoption programs. They also solicit grants from the United Way and other private foundations and individuals and are therefore subject to the management constraints implied by the contract reporting and grant writing requirements that accompany such funding.

The directors all argued that the assumption that religious organizations can do more than they are doing now should the federal government reduce its social service funding is erroneous. Religious organizations do receive donations and do play key roles in inculcating volunteerism and a sense of community within their congregations, but they are already doing all that they can do in social service provision.

A comparison of Virginia’s social service program titles with those provided by the Diocesan agencies studied suggests very little overlap. Thus, there is little reason to assume that religious service providers can substitute for government provided services. Agency directors described their services as complementary and collaborative with existing public social service programs. The exception is the Office of Refugee and Immigration Services which provides a service that is not provided by a public sector agency. In this case, the Diocese collaborates to fill a gap in public service delivery.

These Diocesan agencies do not have any more resources to tap unless their congregations grow and/or people donate proportionately more of their incomes. In any case, their services are neither designed nor sufficiently funded to serve the large numbers of individuals that governmental services address. The idea that these organizations are somehow equipped to replace previously provided federal funding or to replace ongoing public institutions is not supported by this study. The Diocesan agencies are limited by their fiscal and institutional capacity from playing a much larger role in social service
delivery. Moreover, they are not necessarily willing to provide the wide variety of services that are available through public service agencies. Rather, Diocesan agencies provide only those services that reflect Church values and adhere to the service goals mandated by Catholic social teaching.

Another potentially limiting factor in the operations and the social advocacy role of these Catholic agencies is the commitment of the bishop to their program objectives. This finding confirmed a previous study which suggested that the personal interest and commitment of the bishop to social issues determines the extent of diocesan social service/action programs.

The Diocese of Richmond has a long history of socially oriented programming due to the strong commitment of Bishop Walter F. Sullivan, and his predecessor, Bishop John Joyce Russell, to social justice and peace. Bishop Sullivan strongly supported the six agencies studied here. It cannot be assumed that such will be the case in other dioceses, nor perhaps, the case in Richmond when Bishop Sullivan retires. The social service role of Catholic organizations may be expected, therefore, to vary depending upon the leadership of the bishop. Policy makers may not simply assume that religious nonprofits are a homogenous framework to which government may turn to assume functions that it previously provided. Rather, church agencies represent a complex system of varying competence, capacity and willingness to provide services.

This profile provided an interesting comparison with secular nonprofit service providers. The comparison suggested that religious organizations confront the same issues of accountability, marketization (as evidenced by professional staff and strategic planning and formal program evaluations), and particularism as their secular counterparts. These agencies differed only in respect to the degree to which each is susceptible to goal succession and in their degree of operating autonomy because of their support from the Church.
Finally, this study sought to determine whether and to what extent these Catholic service/action agencies act as mediating structures. The result was mixed depending upon the agency studied. In general, all six agencies serve as mediating structures due to their advocacy activity, their response to local needs in their communities, and their common goal of empowering individuals. As a group, they do mediate between poor and vulnerable persons and public and private megastructures in Virginia.

The extent to which these programs fit the specific models of mediating structures offered by Berger and Neuhaus (1977) and by Tocqueville (1840) differed. Overall, the direct social service agencies (the RIS and the three CCs), represent mediating structures as defined by Berger and Neuhaus. The two social action/advocacy agencies (OJP and CHD) function as mediating institutions as envisioned by Tocqueville.

These six Catholic social service/action agencies play a vital but limited role in assuring social welfare. These six Catholic organizations provide complementary services to those offered by public agencies, and advocate on behalf of the "working poor" and other groups that “fall through the cracks” or are not served by the public and private sectors. Further research is needed, however, to determine under what circumstances they may prove more efficient or effective than public agencies as service providers to marginalized groups.

**Suggestions for Future Research**

Many scholars who have studied the nonprofit sector and its interdependence with the public and private sectors suggest that service delivery should be a coordinated effort among all three sectors that maximizes the strengths and controls for the limitations of government, nonprofit, and market organizations (Ostrom and Davis, 1993; Hammock and Young, 1993; Smith and Lipsky, 1993).

In human services, this concept clearly involves coordinating public services with
those offered by religious organizations. Therefore, it is important to explore the role of religious organizations in social welfare so that policy makers and social service planners can make more substantiated judgements about their operations and delivery capacity. This can be done through case study research of religious service agencies that represent a variety of denominations within specific localities.

Further study is needed to determine whether state social service agencies serve the same clients as the Diocesan direct services agencies in order to determine the degree of overlap, if any, between the secular and religious nonprofit service providers. Also, the total number of clients served by the state was not available for the present analysis for comparison to the Diocesan agencies’ total direct services outreach by programmatic area.

Future research should profile the social service/action programs offered by other major religious groups. Case studies are an especially useful tool for gathering detailed information about an agency’s operations and service objectives. Such evidence can be generalized to broaden findings of the overall impact of religious social service organizations in social welfare provision compared to secular nonprofit service providers and to public sector social service agencies.

The influence of Church leadership should be studied further to validate the findings that exist currently for the Catholic dioceses and to see if they hold for other religions. This issue adds another dimension to religious nonprofit service providers that must respond to the current political economy and also to the influence of Church leaders. The Catholic bishops enjoy a measure of hierarchical authority that is not present in many other religious groups. That authority may enable Catholic organizations to achieve a sharper focus on social justice concerns than might otherwise be obtained. It also implies that the “network of services” will vary by community and by church. This issue deserves further study.
Because of the diversity that exists among religious organizations, even within the same sect, social service analysis needs to be conducted at the local level. Social service planners should map the social service network inclusively seeking to understand and informally coordinate the activities of the nonprofit, religious, public and private agencies in their communities to assist individuals with the most need. This may already occur to some extent as previous studies indicate but this effort ought to be standardized as a social planning tool.

This study did not distinguish between particular services supported by contracts and those supported by donations. This distinction may prove interesting for future research to determine the types of services most vulnerable to changes in public policy.

Planning curricula should include analysis of informal as well as formal service providers in communities. This study shows how religious organizations play a vital role in collaborative and complementary service delivery with public service agencies.

Advocacy planning is presented in most planning curricula as a historical movement but the concepts of advocacy planning correspond closely to certain values inherent in religious service programs. The shared values include empowerment of marginalized individuals and groups in society, special targeting of services to poor and marginalized individuals, and acculturation of individuals to work toward shared community goals. Norman Krumholz and John Forester argue that planners can work to serve those most in need and that their work can produce tangible benefits for their clients (Krumholz and Forester, 1991). Advocacy planners subscribe to certain social values that motivates their concern for marginalized groups in society. Values do play a role in social service delivery by both secular and religious service providers and it is an interesting issue determining which values to promote in establishing social service delivery networks. There appears to be some overlap of the objectives of advocacy planners and religious service providers. Future research might compare the issues
pressed by planning activists, community activists and advocacy work by religious organizations to determine the degree of overlap and the links among them.

The current social welfare system is systematic, cost effective, and mechanically determines an individual’s eligibility based on established criteria. This system evolved to process large quantities of clients. In contrast, the religious service organizations are motivated by the values their faiths espouse to provide particular services with a “human face” in order to respect and promote human dignity. These are two distinct approaches to service delivery that can be analyzed in future research to determine which services are best provided by religious organizations and which are best provided by public sector agencies. This could be used to formulate a model for policy decision-making regarding contracting of religious service organizations.
References


University Press.


Appendix A:

References to Catholic Social Teaching
Core Themes of Catholic Social Teaching:

1. Human Dignity - Every social decision and institution must be judged in light of whether it protects or undermines the dignity of the human person.

2. Participation/Rights - All people have a right to participate in the life of society. Human rights are the minimum conditions for life in community.

3. Option for the Poor - All members of society have a special obligation to poor and vulnerable persons. The justice of a society is measured by how it treats its most vulnerable members.

4. Solidarity - We are called to global solidarity, peace and ecological responsibility. We are one human family living in a linked and limited world cherished by the Creator.
The ART of Justice & Peace

Act → Reflect

Transform

Act to meet urgent needs.
Reflect on root causes and basic values.
Transform the root social causes.
Table A3:  The Ministerial Priorities for the 1990's of the Diocese of Richmond, VA.

**Prayer and Worship:** Celebration of the sacraments, preserving and deepening our identity as a Eucharistic people, developing and nurturing an active and reflective contemporary spirituality.

**Justice and Peace:** Witness in the workplace and in the public arena, option for the poor, solidarity with the marginalized, legislative advocacy, peacemaking.

**Formation for Mission and Ministry:** Differentiated programs of religious education/formation for all members of the community throughout their lives.

**Ministerial Leadership:** Calling forth, forming, empowering, supporting and evaluating people to lead the official ministries of the Diocese.

**Reconciliation and Evangelization:** Reconciliation with estranged, alienated Catholics, active ecumenical involvement with other believers, bringing the Gospel to the unchurched.

**Family:** Ministry to the family in all of its diverse contemporary forms.

**Environment:** Preserving the environment, promoting responsible stewardship of creation.

**Planning and Stewardship:** Comprehensive, consistent planning for mission and ministry, increasing support, financial and personnel, for the Diocese's mission and ministries.

+Walter F. Sullivan
Bishop of Richmond
October 22, 1989

(Source: *A Shared Vision for the Nineties, Diocese of Richmond, 1989*)
Appendix B:

Interview Questionnaire
Interview Questionnaire

Regarding (moral) beliefs and philosophies underpinning the programs:

1) What is the purpose of the Catholic Charities (CC)?

2) When was Catholic Charities established?

3) What are the goals, objectives, and operating philosophies of the CHD?

4) What Catholic beliefs about the role of the church in social welfare underpin the

5) What principles underpin the provision of social welfare services to non-Catholics?

Regarding organization structure and scope of service delivery: (empirical data about capacity)

1) What is the organization chart of the CC?

2) How many staff and volunteers manage each program within the CC?

3) What is the training and professional background of the management

4) What are the functions of the volunteers? (ie. staff assistance, co-management, consultants)

5) What are the various service activities of each program?

6) Who are the social service programs targeted for and why these particular groups? (ie. immigrants, refugees, homeless etc.)

7) How many people are served by the programs?

8) Do the beneficiaries have to be Catholic? No.
Regarding funding: (empirical data about capacity)

1) What are the main funding sources for the CC?

2) Are there preferences for particular funding sources, if yes, why?

3) How much funding was raised for CC through the Bishop's Appeal campaign during each of the past three years?

4) Does the CC command sufficient resources to address the scope of need as they understand it now?

5) How does the CC decide how much funding to allocate to its various social programs?

6) How would the CC cope if asked to shoulder additional responsibilities for social services? (i.e. increase their service delivery, intensify their fundraising, publicize their capacity limitations, solicit government assistance etc.)

7) Within the jurisdiction of the Diocese, what percentage of social service delivery is provided/sponsored by the CC compared to services provided by the state or other nonprofit social service organizations?

Regarding perceptions of purpose:

1) How does the CC determine which social programs to sponsor?

2) What does the CC perceive as its role in the provision of social welfare compared to that of the state and national governments?

3) Does the CC have a preference for working with a particular level of government? If yes, which level: city/county, state, or national?

4) Does the CC organization see itself as providing services to augment those already offered by the state, or providing services because there is a need that is not otherwise addressed by the government? or for other reasons? (additive vs. substitutive role)

5) To what extent does the CC receive referrals from federal and state agencies?
6) Does the CC lobby any government offices or agencies to provide social programs/services?

**Regarding organization and leadership:**

1) What is the leadership role of Bishop Walter Sullivan in determining the operations of the CC social service programs? (ie. more visioning or management?) (internal planning)

2) What is the anticipated impact on the CC's sponsorship of social service programs when the bishop retires?

3) What degree of control or influence does the Diocese employ over social welfare program activities sponsored by the CC?

4) Does the Diocese evaluate the activities of CC? If yes, how and how often? (internal planning)
Appendix C:

References to Catholic Social Service/Action Programs of the Diocese of Richmond, VA
Table C2: Extended Social Services Affiliated with the Diocese of Richmond, VA, 1994-1995.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Social Service</th>
<th>Location</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Day Care and Child Learning Centers</td>
<td>Norfolk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Richmond (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health Care Facilities, Hospitals</td>
<td>Newport News</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Norfolk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Norton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Portsmouth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Richmond</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neighborhood Centers</td>
<td>Portsmouth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Richmond</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nursing Homes</td>
<td>Newport News</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Suffolk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Residences for the Aged</td>
<td>Charlottesville</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hampton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lynchburg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Norfolk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Richmond (4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Roanoke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Virginia Beach (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Services for the Disabled</td>
<td>Lynchburg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Richmond (3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Services for Unmarried Parents</td>
<td>Charlottesville</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Richmond</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Special Services for Children</td>
<td>Norfolk (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Richmond</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Roanoke (2)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Source: Social Service Program Pamphlets of the Diocese of Richmond, 1994)
Table C3: 1994-1995 Social Service/Action Programs Under the Auspices of the Diocese of Richmond, VA

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date Founded</th>
<th>Diocesan Agency</th>
<th>Social Service/Action Programs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1972</td>
<td>Office of Justice and Peace</td>
<td>Fuel and Hunger Fund&lt;br&gt;Respect Life Fund&lt;br&gt;Office of Migrant Ministry&lt;br&gt;Older Adult Ministry&lt;br&gt;Appalachian OJP&lt;br&gt;CHD (listed below)&lt;br&gt;RIS (listed below)&lt;br&gt;Catholic Charities&lt;br&gt;(listed in Table X)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>Campaign for Human Development&lt;br&gt;(program within OJP)</td>
<td>Grants directly to community groups for community organizing and empowerment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975</td>
<td>Refugee and Immigration Services&lt;br&gt;(office within OJP)</td>
<td>Employment Services&lt;br&gt;Job Referral&lt;br&gt;Job Placement Employment Counseling Orientation to World Work&lt;br&gt;Job Upgrading Employment (Work) Registration&lt;br&gt;Vocational Skills Training&lt;br&gt;English Language Training&lt;br&gt;ESL&lt;br&gt;VESL (Vocational)&lt;br&gt;Supportive Services&lt;br&gt;Translation/Interpreter&lt;br&gt;Services Information and Referral&lt;br&gt;Transportation&lt;br&gt;Day Care&lt;br&gt;Home Management&lt;br&gt;Adjustment Counseling&lt;br&gt;Health Services&lt;br&gt;Skills Recertification&lt;br&gt;Outreach&lt;br&gt;Newsletters&lt;br&gt;Brochures&lt;br&gt;Flyers&lt;br&gt;Educational Meetings</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Source: OJP Brochure 1994, CHD Annual Report 1994, RIS Grant)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date Founded</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Social Services</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1923</td>
<td>Richmond</td>
<td>Adoptions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Pregnancy Services</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Specialized and Foreign Foster Care</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Case Management for People Living with HIV/AIDS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Communication Assistance for the Deaf/Hard of Hearing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Independent Living for Teens</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Individual and Family Counseling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Services for Refugee Youth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>intensive Family Services</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Emergency Food and Financial Assistance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1932</td>
<td>Hampton Roads</td>
<td>Child Welfare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Pregnancy Counseling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Adoption Program</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Mental Health Counseling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Student Assistance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Family Life Enrichment and Community Outreach</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Marriage Preparation Program</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Repairs to Homes of the Elderly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Adopt a Mom Campaign</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976</td>
<td>Southwestern Virginia</td>
<td>Cyesis (Pregnancy Counseling)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Adoption Option</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Intercountry Adoption Program</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Family Place (Counseling Program)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Source: Catholic Charities Annual Reports 1994 for each location)

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Table C5: Programs Included and Excluded from the OJP Budget Analysis for 1992-1995.

Programs Included in the Budget Analysis

1. AOJP Advisory Committee
2. Appalachian Office of Justice and Peace
3. Campaign for Human Development
4. Catholic Charities Director's Commission
5. Commission on Healthcare Reform
6. Diocesan Ecological Working Group
7. EPC of Richmond
8. Justice and Peace Commission
9. Migrant Ministry Eastern Shore Advisory Committee
10. Office of Justice and Peace
11. Prison Ministry
12. Respect Life Fund
13. Socially Responsible Investment
14. Women's Commission

Programs Excluded Because Data was Unavailable for All Three Years 1992-1995

1992-1993:

1. AOJP Housing Project
2. Commission for Older Adults
3. Migrant Ministry Eastern Shore
4. Ministries Conference
5. Office of Ministry with Older Adults

1993-1994:

1. AOJP Housing Project
2. Hispanic Ministry
3. Hispanic Ministry-Richmond

1994-1995:

1. AIDS Task Force
2. AOJP Grant Program
3. Migrant Ministry Eastern Shore
1994 CHD FUNDED PROJECTS
IN THE
CATHOLIC DIOCESE OF RICHMOND

NATIONAL GRANTS

NORTHAMPTON HOUSING TRUST
Nassawadox, Virginia (Eastern Shore)
$35,000

The Northampton Housing Trust was organized in 1990 to respond to the problems of poverty & substandard housing in an isolated rural county on Virginia's Eastern Shore. This national CHD grant was awarded to the Trust's program to organize the fragmented low income communities in Northampton County. Six neighborhood groups and two county-wide organizations have been formed to work on a wide range of problems - including substandard housing, lack of indoor plumbing, drug trafficking, education reform, illegal dumps, and lack of economic opportunities for low income residents.

OLDE HUNTERSVILLE DEVELOPMENT CORPORATION
Norfolk, Virginia
$23,000

Olde Huntersville Development Corporation (OHDC) was formed in 1984 by area residents to revitalize a deteriorating black neighborhood. Over the past nine years this Norfolk community organization has forged creative partnerships with the city government & local banks to develop low income housing. OHDC has built twenty-five new homes on vacant lots and rehabilitated ten other houses. All of these homes have been sold to neighborhood families with annual incomes as low as $10,000.

ARCS, INC.
New Castle, Virginia
$27,000

ARCS, Inc. is a coalition of ten grassroots groups in Virginia and West Virginia that was organized in 1991. The coalition was formed to oppose a high voltage power line proposed by one of the largest utility companies in the country. Thousands of people in poor rural counties have come together to oppose the power line for a wide range of economic, health, and environmental reasons.

CHD and the diocese have no position on the proposed power line. That is a decision for the State Corporation Commission which regulates utility operations. This national CHD grant enables the people of isolated rural communities to participate in the democratic decision-making process concerning the proposed power line. CHD's grant is an investment in the empowerment of these communities whether or not the power line is ultimately built.

Figure C6: 1994 CHD Funded Projects in teh Catholic Diocese of Richmond, National Grants
1994 CHD Funded Projects in the Catholic Diocese of Richmond
LOCAL GRANTS

NEW ROAD COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT GROUP $ 5,000
Exmore, Virginia (Eastern Shore)
The New Road Community Development Group was formed in 1993 to fight for sewer service for 75 homes that had no indoor toilets or running water. This grassroots organization decided that the best way to accomplish their goal was to buy-out the absentee landlords and to renovate or replace all substandard housing in the area.

This local CHD grant will help the New Road Group and its technical assistance providers to package a buy-out deal and begin the massive housing rehabilitation work.

McCLURE RIVER VALLEY COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT CENTER $ 2,500
Norton, Virginia
For the past fourteen years McClure River Valley Community Development Center (MRVCDC) has been carrying out a wide range of services for the people of Dickenson County — including adult education, pre-school programs, emergency assistance, anti-hunger efforts, and cultural programs. For the past two years MRVCDC has gotten involved in housing issues and in organizing efforts to make Big Caney Water Corporation, a public service company, more accountable to the needs of local people.

CHD funding will help MRVCDC to provide leadership training and to organize local residents to advocate for needed changes at both the county and state levels.

MAX MEADOWS COMMUNITY IMPROVEMENT LEAGUE $ 1,000
Max Meadows, Virginia
Max Meadows is a small rural community in Wythe County. The Max Meadows Community Improvement League (MMCIL) was organized in 1991 to revitalize this isolated town. The group was formed to oppose a landfill and has initiated adult education classes, a youth recreation program, and other community-building activities.

This local CHD grant will enable MMCIL to establish an office, raise its visibility in the local community, and increase the effectiveness of its programs.

IVANHOE CIVIC LEAGUE $ 3,000
Ivanhoe, Virginia
The Ivanhoe Civic League has been carrying out a wide range of programs for the past eight years — adult education classes, youth recreation, a clothes pantry, a town history, and economic development initiatives. The Civic League has developed an intensive leadership training program to enable low income people to become better advocates for better housing, roads, and schools in this isolated corner of Wythe & Carroll counties.

Local CHD funding will help the Ivanhoe Civic League to get this advocacy training program started. CHD money will be utilized primarily for travel and training purposes.

Figure C7: 1994 CHD Funded Projects in the Catholic Diocese of Richmond, Local Grants
### REFUGEE AND IMMIGRATION SERVICES

**ANTICIPATED SUPPORTING GRANTS AND OTHER REVENUES IN FY95**

**JULY 1994 - JUNE 1995**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SOURCE</th>
<th>FUNDING BY/ FISCAL YEAR</th>
<th>AMOUNT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

**SUPPORT REFUGEE SERVICES**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Service Description</th>
<th>Fiscal Year</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Federal State Social Services</td>
<td>10/94-9/95</td>
<td>$324,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(annualized)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Federal USCC - Reception &amp; Placement Serv.</td>
<td>1/94-12/94</td>
<td>$95,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Federal USCC - Direct Assistance</td>
<td>1/94-12/94</td>
<td>$93,750</td>
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<tr>
<td>Federal Match Grant</td>
<td>1/94-12/94</td>
<td>$132,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School Liaison</td>
<td>7/94-6/95</td>
<td>$18,173</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Language Bank</td>
<td>7/94-10/94</td>
<td>$2,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U.W.S. Donor Designation</td>
<td>7/94-6/95</td>
<td>$8,102</td>
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<tr>
<td>Federal Interaction (Amerasian Support)</td>
<td>7/94-9/94</td>
<td>$5,793</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Federal Family Strengthening</td>
<td>10/94-9/95</td>
<td>$125,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private Virginia Literacy Foundation</td>
<td>7/94-6/95</td>
<td>$1,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religious Education Fund</td>
<td>7/94-6/95</td>
<td>$4,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Respect Life</td>
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<td>$2,450</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United Methodist Bd. of Global Ministries</td>
<td></td>
<td>$800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Federal VISTA Transportation</td>
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<td>$1,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**SUPPORT CROSS-CULTURAL TRAINING**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Service Description</th>
<th>Fiscal Year</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Federal Dept. of Criminal Justice Services</td>
<td></td>
<td>$4,640</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Juvenile Delinquency Prevention</td>
<td>7/94-9/94</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**SUPPORT IMMIGRATION SERVICES**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Service Description</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Private - Virginia Law Foundation</td>
<td>$40,146</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private - Raskob Foundation</td>
<td>$5,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**FEE FOR SERVICE**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Service Description</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Immigration Counseling</td>
<td>$4,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fingerprint &amp; Photographs</td>
<td>$3,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Project Maintenance, Interpreter Services &amp; Emergency Needs</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fundraising - Basic Needs</td>
<td>$3,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interpretation - Project Maintenance</td>
<td>$5,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Revenues</td>
<td>$899,599</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Diocesan in-kind support is estimated at $82,993 in 1994-1995**

**VISTA in-kind support is estimated at $60,000 in 1994-1995**

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Figure C8: Refugee and Immigration Services' Anticipated Supporting Grants and Other Revenues in FY95, July 1994–June 1995
Appendix D:

Organizational Charts of the Six Catholic Social Service/Action Agencies of the Diocese of Richmond, VA
Organizational Chart
Office of Justice and Peace
Diocese of Richmond, VA

Office of Justice and Peace
Director (also Diocesan Coordinator of three Catholic Churches
2 Associate Directors (including CHD Directors)
1 Tidewater Resource Person
2 FT Support Staff Persons

Appalachian OJP
Director
1 FT Field Staff Person
1 FT Support Staff Person

Refugee and Immigration Services
Executive Director
Regional Office Director
Employment Specialist
Job Developer
Bilingual Job Developer
Caseworker Supervisor
Education Coordinator
E.S.L. Aide
Outreach Coordinator
Volunteer Coordinator
Outreach Worker

Office of Migrant Ministry
1 FT Coordinator
6 FT summer employees

Older Adult Ministry
1 PT Coordinator
1/4 PT support staff person
Organizational Chart
Campaign for Human Development
Diocese of Richmond, VA

NATIONAL ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE:

U.S. Catholic Conference
Campaign for Human Development Committee

- National CHD Office
  15 FT Professional Staff

- CHD Advisory Committee
  28 Members
  (divided into six regional teams)

LOCAL ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE (within the Diocese of Richmond):

Bishop Sullivan

- CHD Diocesan Director
- Diocesan CHD Advisory Committee
  (12 People)
Organizational Chart
Catholic Charities, Hampton Roads, Inc.

Administration
Executive Director
Associate Director (also Director of Child Welfare Services)
Director of Family Enrichment
Director of Clinical Services

Clinical Staff
Director
8 FT Professional Staff

Child Welfare
Director
5 FT Professional Staff

Family Life Enrichment Staff
Director
2 Professional Staff

Student Assistance Program Staff
4 Professional Staff

Development Staff
Director

Clerical Staff
7 Support Staff Persons

Diocesan Director, OJP

149
Appendix E:

Characteristics of Clients
Served by Catholic Charities
(Richmond, Hampton Roads, Roanoke)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Specific Populations</th>
<th>A Specific Program</th>
<th>B Advocacy Efforts</th>
<th>C Parish Context</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. People with addictions</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Women who have had abortions</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. People suffering from grief/loss</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Victims of family violence</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Victims of sexual abuse</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Victims of elder abuse</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Runaway youth</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Unemployed persons</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Pregnant teenagers</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Homeless persons</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. People with HIV/AIDS</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Prisoners/ex-offenders</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Juvenile offenders</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Families of prisoners</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Victims of crime</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. Persons with physical disabilities</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. Persons with mental disabilities</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. Refugees/immigrants</td>
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</table>
Specific Populations Served

Catholic Charities, Hampton Roads

**Column A:** Check if this population is served in the context of a specific program.
**Column B:** Check if your agency was involved in advocacy efforts on behalf of this population.
**Column C:** Check if this population is served in the parish context.

<table>
<thead>
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<th>Specific Populations</th>
<th>A Specific Program</th>
<th>B Advocacy Efforts</th>
<th>C Parish Context</th>
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<td>2. Women who have had abortions</td>
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<td>3. People suffering from grief/loss</td>
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<td>4. Victims of family violence</td>
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<td>5. Victims of sexual abuse</td>
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<td>7. Runaway youth</td>
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<td>11. People with HTV/AIDS</td>
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<td>12. Prisoners/ex-offenders</td>
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<td>14. Families of prisoners</td>
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<td>15. Victims of crime</td>
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Catholic Charities, Southwestern Virginia
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Appendix F:

Advocacy Activity of the Catholic Charities
Under the Auspices of the
Diocese of Richmond, Virginia
Catholic Charities, Richmond

SOCIAL ACTION

Legislative Action

During 1994, was your agency involved in legislative action? [ ] Yes [ ] No

If so, please identify which issues and the applicable government level.

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<td>3. Criminal justice, prison reform, capital punishment</td>
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<td>5. The economy, employment</td>
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Catholic Charities, Hampton Roads
SOCIAL ACTION

Legislative Action

During 1994, was your agency involved in legislative action?

Yes  No

If so, please identify which issues and the applicable government level.

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Catholic Charities, Southwestern Virginia
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Appendix G:

Public Social Service Programs, Virginia
Social Service Programs, Virginia 1995

General Relief
Emergency Assistance
Family Planning
Auxiliary Grants
State and Local Hospitalization
Woman, Infant and Children Supplemental Food Program (WIC)
Medicaid Health Checkup Program
Employment Services Program Participation
Refugee Programs

Misc. Service Programs:
Foster Care
Adoption Services
Child Protective Services
Day Care
Family Planning
Adult Services
Early and Periodic Screening, Diagnosis, and Treatment
Employment Services
Spouse Abuse
Refugee Resettlement
Volunteer Services

Food Stamps
Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC)

* Programs in italics are similar to programs provided by the case study agencies

(Source: Virginia Social Services Benefit Programs, Virginia Department of Social Services, 1995)
Vita  Tracey Chew

Education
Virginia Polytechnic Institute & State University, Blacksburg, Virginia
Master of Urban and Regional Planning (August 1995)

University of California at Los Angeles, California
Bachelor of Arts, Sociology (June 1987)

Professional Experience
Director of STEP, Service Training for Environmental Progress, (March 1995 to the present).
• Recruited student interns, and matched students with community groups to assess and evaluate environmental problems.
• Designed and conducted three training/evaluation workshops.
• Developed the budget, managed finances, wrote monthly financial statements.
• Grant writing.
• Coordinated training and program evaluations with faculty advisors, business executives, environmental engineers, scientists, undergraduate and graduate students, and with a wide range of rural community group members ranging from educated, retired professionals to low-income residents.

Graduate Research Assistant Virginia Polytechnic Institute & State University, Sociology Department, (January - May 1995).
• Created two annotated bibliographies about the sociological impacts of non-traditional exports on the indigenous cultures and small farmers in Guatemala and in Jamaica.
• Created a separate annotated bibliography about participatory research methods.

• Teaching assistant for Dr. Marsha Ritzdorf.
• Conducted a ten year follow up study for Dr. Ritzdorf and analyzed 132 zoning ordinances from across the United States surveying changes in zoning regulations regarding the family.

• Prepared feasibility studies of small businesses in small towns in the interior region enabling entrepreneurs to make financial planning decisions and determine the profitability of their investments and their capacity for loan repayment. Also conducted marketing studies for the entrepreneurs.
• Peace Corps Volunteer Coordinator, acted as facilitator in the settlement of new volunteers.
• Wrote an internal document for use by Peace Corps volunteers to plan, present and evaluate training workshops.

- Taught health education at the local clinic to pregnant women, and mothers of small children.
- Participated in vaccination campaigns in the isolated rural villages.
- Taught nutrition education in the primary and secondary schools.
- Trained and supervised women's groups in three villages to operate child nutrition centers.
- Awarded funds to construct and operate a grain storage and sales facility.
- Trained ten small farmers to run a small business grain supply project that provided corn and beans at reasonable prices that cut the existing market prices by 150 percent. This project was the first of its kind sponsored by the Peace Corps in Honduras and it established a model for other volunteers in other sites. The project is still in operation.
- Solicited funds and oversaw construction of a gravity pull water system that brought stream water to 67 households that had been dependent on a polluted river for all of their water needs.
- Solicited funds and oversaw construction of two room additions for a secondary school in Marale, Francisco Morazan.

Language Skills
Fluent in Spanish, FSI level 4 (level 5 is a college educated native speaker)

Computer Skills

Awards
- Brenda Crawford Award for demonstrated commitment to social justice and professional responsibility (April 1994)
- Virginia Citizens Planning Association's Achievement Award for demonstrated academic and professional activities excellence (April 1995)

Activities
- Community Service Coordinator (1993 - 1995) Graduate Urban Affairs and Planning Association
- Student Representative, Planning Accreditation Board (April 1995)
- Crisis Intervention Counselor (1984 - 1985), U.C.L.A. Crisis Hotline