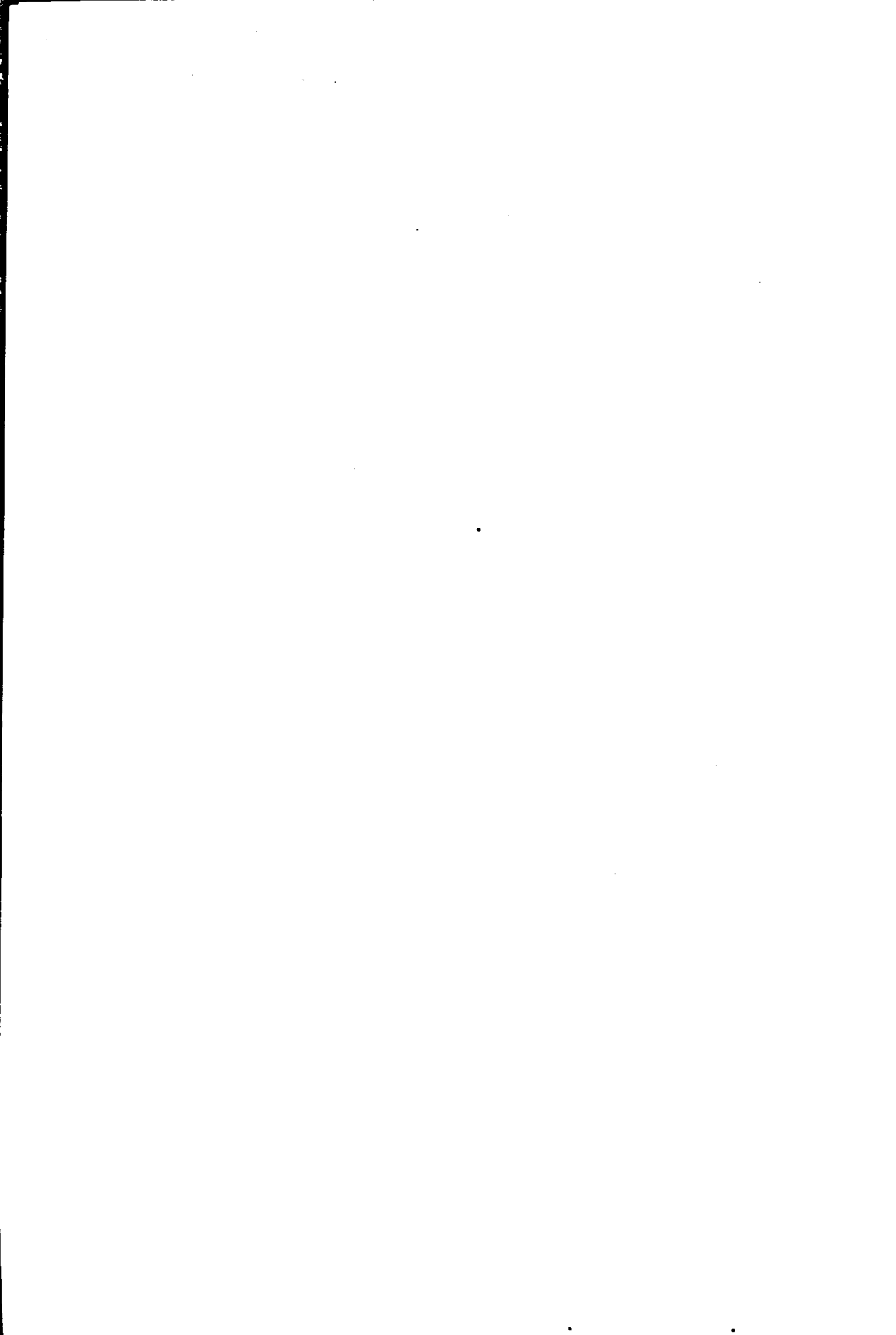# The Human Resources

The Human Resources

Foreword

The Canada NewStart program, a joint activity of the Department of Regional Economic Expension and certain provincial Departments of Education, was established on a term basis to develop new methods of training and counselling disadvantaged adults. Six NewStart corporations were formed, each operating within a clearly defined geographical area. They developed individual approaches to dealing with a variety of problems of human resource development and have attempted many innovative approaches.

While it is too early to evaluate effectively the total impact of the NewStart program, it is important to disseminate the major findings of this program. We have commissioned a series of concise reports based upon each of the major areas of concern to which the program was addressed. These are essentially descriptive reports, and the evaluation will be limited generally to: a review of methods used to evaluate products or techniques; the identification of each corporation's basis for judging its effects; the means used to resolve problems of evaluation; the pointing up of alternative interpretations, where indicated, to those drawn from the available data; and an identification of areas where solid evaluation has taken place, and of others where future verification may be indicated.

The data bases for the preparation of these reports have been obtained from published and unpublished documents in NewStart files. Each report includes a bibliography identifying its informational sources; copies of these are available in microfiche to those wishing a particular area in greater depth.

OTTAWA, Ontario
July, 1973

`Director
Social and Human Analysis Branch

Planning Division
Department of Regional Economic Expansion

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Introduction

This report is one of a series which attempts to summarize and consolidate the contributions made in several areas of human resource development by the Canada NewStart Program. The other reports treat the research and development activities and findings of the six semi-autonomous NewStart corporations in adult basic education, life skills training, occupational training, information giving, community development, indigenous paraprofessionals in the human services, research methods, and the dissemination of findings and program methods. This volume has essentially two themes that are sufficiently related to one another to be incorporated in one report.

The first theme is that of a description of the human resources of the NewStart target areas. The description is, for the most part, an attempt on the part of the various NewStart corporations to bring into focus the perceptions of their target populations. These perceptions were recorded in the documents which the corporations prepared. It was an on-going concern of all the corporations to identify the socio-cultural variables which may act as determinants of human resource development in individuals and in communities. Certain information of a simple demographic nature is presented, such as ethnicity, age, and educational level. Attention is also given to broader community characteristics and to the economic potentials and limitations of the target areas. To conclude this opening theme, a profile is constructed of the types of deficits which characterized the environments and the personalities of those who were unable to be economically self-sufficient. This focus defines the problem for which the Canada NewStart program attempted to devise and test solutions. In this sense, the first theme of this report serves as a preface to all the other consolidated reports. It establishes the context and a good deal of the rationale for the various kinds of training and developmental activities which took place under the NewStart Program.

In this report the opening theme, describing the target populations, leads into the second theme: the discussion of psycho-social adjustment approaches

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used to assist persons in overcoming those deficits which leave them at a disadvantage in society. Each NewStart corporation developed objectives in its dealing with representative samples of such people. These objectives are reviewed in the light of basic understandings of the processes of human behaviour and in terms of the cognitive, attitudinal, and behavioural changes which it was hoped would be effected. The programs by which these changes were to be achieved are reviewed in categories of functions which are characteristically assigned to guidance and counselling personnel: recruitment and selection, counselling and motivation, placement and follow-up.

The final chapter of the report attempts to discover some trends of thought and action among the developers and implementers of the NewStart program. These developing perspectives and approaches are offered as useful directions in which further research and refinement might move.

The People

A. SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC PROFILES OF THE TARGET AREAS

1. INTRODUCTION

The map (Figure 1) shows the locations of the six areas within which the semi-autonomous Canada NewStart corporations carried out their research and development activities. Even a general familiarity with the Canadian scene and its problems of regional disparity enables one to understand many of the social and economic problems which characterize some or all of these target areas. At the same time, however, some will envision the rustic charm of a Maritime fishing village or the unspoiled vastness of the northern bushland. We know that an analysis of the quality of life in these places will reveal not only some glaring deficits, but also other features which are the envy of many who live in more highly industrialized parts of the country. It is the aim of this part of this report to assemble a profile of the human resources and some description of the cultural and industrial environments which affect human development in these areas. The data upon which these descriptions are based are found in the publications of the various NewStart corporations.

Each NewStart corporation was located in an area in which federal government industrial incentives or development grants were offered. The area in each province in which programs were to be carried out was determined in such a way that the disadvantaged population of that area would be sufficient in number to provide for the staging of a variety of experimental training and community development programs, but not so large as to render general area surveys and program administration unfeasible. The total populations of the selected areas, the designation of the operating territory, and the name of the headquarters centre, are given in Table 1.
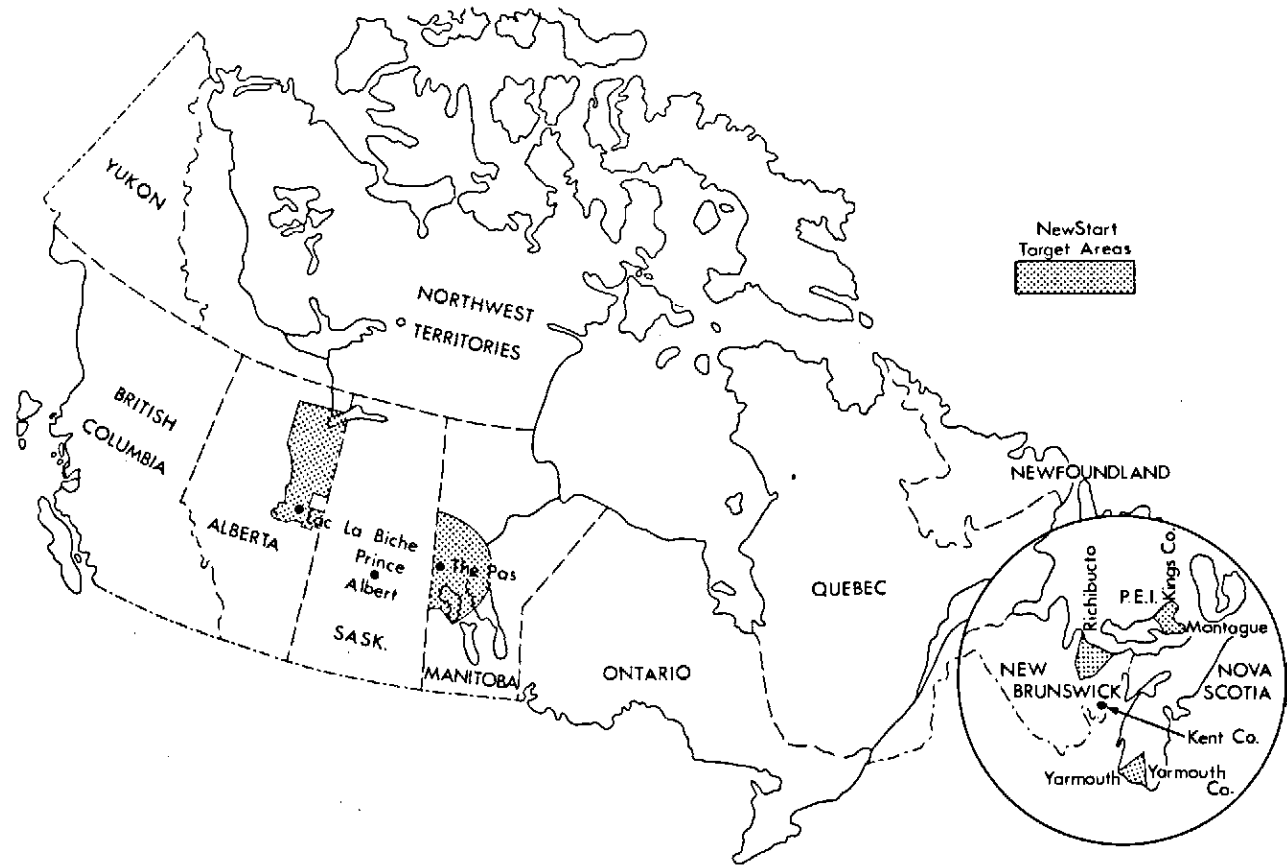
Fig. 1.   Location of NewStart Target Areas in Canada. (Maritime Provinces are drawn to double scale.)

Table 1. NewStart Project Area Descriptions, Headquarters, and Populations

Province	Area	Headquarters	Area Population [a]
Alberta	Northeastern Alberta	Lac la Biche	13,800
Manitoba	Half circle of 150 mile radius around The Pas	The Pas	31,500
New Brunswick	Kent County	Richibucto	22,000
Nova Scotia	Yarmouth County	Yarmouth	23,400
Prince Edward Island	Kings County	Montague	18,000
Saskatchewan	Not designated but focused upon the City of Prince Albert	Prince Albert	25,000

[a] Populations are rounded figures obtained in the 1966 census.

2. ETHNIC COMPOSITION

The two main ethnic concerns of the Canadian people are the survival and co-existence of the two founding European cultures and languages, and the redress of the conditions imposed upon the native peoples of the country by the entry of the Europeans and their industries and cultural ways. In each case, the concern is often expressed in terms of attempts to find ways in which the minority groups can gain the economic strength needed to keep pace with general development in the living standards of North American society. These two concerns were both reflected in the ethnic makeup of the areas selected for the NewStart Program. The presence of a significant proportion of French Acadians characterizes the areas chosen in the Maritimes (with the exception of Prince Edward Island); the NewStart corporations in the prairie provinces had large numbers of people of Indian ancestry among their populations. The ethnic proportions for each NewStart target area, as reported in the document of the respective corporations, are shown in Table 2.

Table 2. Ethnic Composition of NewStart Areas

Province	Indian or Métis [a]	French	Anglo-Saxon	Other	Total
Alberta	6,000 (43%)			7,800 [b] (57%)	13,800 (100%)
Manitoba	15,000 (48%)			16,500 [b] (52%)	31,500 (100%)
New Brunswick	660 (3%)	16,950 (77%)	4,400 (20%)		22,000 (100%)
Nova Scotia		10,050 (43%)	11,450 (49%)	1,900 (8%)	23,400 (100%)
Prince Edward Island		1,800 (10%)	15,480 (86%)	720 (4%)	18,000 (100%)
Saskatchewan	2,000-2,500 (8-10%)			22,500-23,000 [b] (90-92%)	25,000 (100%)

[a] Many of the reports prepared by the NewStart corporations in the prairie provinces refer both to Indians and Métis. "Indian" describes those who are registered as such with the federal government. "Métis" includes all non-registered persons of native ancestry.
[b] Non-Indian population is not otherwise identified.

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a. *The Prairie Provinces*

Alberta NewStart reported 6,000 people of native ancestry in north-eastern Alberta, almost all of whom could be described as disadvantaged in economic, social, educational, and occupational terms. The incidence of dependence upon public assistance was such that welfare was indicated as a primary source of income for these people [2, p. 5]. The effects of this impoverishment are nowhere more starkly evident than in the fact that, proportionately, eight times as many children die in the isolated Indian community of Janvier before reaching their first birthday as in the average community in Canada [12, p. 14].

The Manitoba NewStart area had the largest proportion of native people of any of the corporation areas, 48 per cent, largely in a state of "economic and social deprivation" [52]. Treaty Indians in Manitoba were increasing in numbers by four per cent each year during the 1960's. While only about one-third of all Canadians are under fifteen years of age, over half of the Manitoba Indian population is aged 14 or younger. The greater proportion of Indians in the child-bearing age range, and the much greater proportion who will enter that range in the next two decades, indicates that the population trend will be accentuated in the near future [60, pp. 9–10].

In 1969, Indians and Métis comprised roughly 40 per cent of the students enrolled in Saskatchewan NewStart's basic education courses [47, p. 13]. Grade level distributions, in terms of both stated grades completed and standardized achievement tests, were similar for natives and for Caucasians up to about the ninth grade. That is to say, the native trainees did not enter the programs at a lower level of basic skill [47, p. 13].

b. *The Maritime Provinces*

The major ethnic, cultural, and linguistic division in the Maritimes is that between those who trace their ancestry to the British Isles and those who trace it to France. The latter are the descendants of the French who came to the land they called "Acadie" in the 17th and 18th centuries. They formed an agrarian society, not sufficiently concerned with armed might to become a stronghold, and hence became the victims of the conflict between France and England which was raging on the other fronts. The tenacity which the Acadians demonstrated in withstanding the expulsion by the British in the mid-18th century is still evident in their resistance to the economic pressures of the 20th century.

Of the 77 per cent French population in Kent County, New Brunswick, nearly half speak French only. Half of the total county population is functionally bilingual [109, p. 4]. In Yarmouth County, Nova Scotia NewStart dealt with almost equal numbers of people of French and English origins, but in this case fewer than one per cent were unilingually French [37, p. 13]. (Yarmouth County also has about 80 Negro families, many of the members of

which are in need of training.) [37, p. 16]. The French ethnic element in Kings County, Prince Edward Island, was considerably smaller than that in the other Maritime provinces.

Economic and cultural disparity along ethnic lines is much less evident in the Maritimes than it is in the northern sections of the prairie provinces. The plight of Canada's native peoples seems to be bound very closely to the fact of racial and cultural identification, both by the Indians themselves and, more particularly, by the Europeans who came to colonize and exploit the resources of the nation. Because poverty in the Maritimes is no respecter of national origins, ethnicity is not a central concern in overcoming disadvantage. Nevertheless, it is an important fact of the historical, cultural, and psychological milieu in which the economic problems exist, and the solutions to these problems cannot ignore the distinctive needs of the major ethnic groups. As we proceed to an examination of the other human resource concerns of the NewStart corporations, particularly in western Canada, the discussion will inevitably return to the impact of ethnic origin and contemporary culture.

3. AGE AND DEPENDENCY CHARACTERISTICS

One of the most common characteristics of disadvantaged areas of Canada is a relative shortage of people in the job-holding age ranges as compared with the more urban industrial populations. For example, in Yarmouth County, the numbers of those between 25 and 44 years of age were 20 per cent lower than the corresponding levels for Nova Scotia and for Canada as a whole [75, p. 6]. Even the most urban of the NewStart sites, Prince Albert, Saskatchewan, was characterized by having fewer males between 15 and 64 than the province or the nation on a per capita basis [100, p.v.–1]. Where employment opportunities are limited, those in the age range in which employment and earnings are essential for the exercise of family responsibilities will tend to go to places where there are jobs. Often, however, mobility is most difficult for those who have grown up in the communities where there are the fewest opportunities for employment. The stereotype of the young Maritimer is of one who tries to make a go of it in "Upper Canada", but who sooner or later drifts back to his home town with its occasional chances for employment and income. If a local opportunity presents itself, there are many who are ready and waiting to take advantage of it. One type of opportunity is the establishment of a NewStart corporation. In Yarmouth, the Nova Scotia NewStart offices were besieged with requests for training and other forms of assistance. Over 500 persons out of school but under 25 years of age came to the corporation offices during the first year they were open. Most had never entered secondary education [78, pp.16–17].

A high birth rate, such as that found among Manitoba Indians, also tends to reduce the proportion of those in a position to work for the support of the more numerous children. The increasing provision of health and welfare services accentuates the dependency problems by reducing infant mortality

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and extending the years of the aged. But it is at the younger end that the age distribution of native society differs most markedly from that of Canadians in general. It was reported that, whereas in Canada, for every person aged 65 or over there are four persons under the age of 15, among the Indians of Manitoba there are 13 such young persons for every senior citizen [60, p. 19].

In Kent County, New Brunswick, on the other hand, the dependency ratio is moving markedly in the other direction. The principal factor is the declining birth rate. Coupled with out-migration of large numbers of persons upon reaching maturity, the result of the falling birth rate is a rapid aging of the population. It is projected that the school classroom requirements will be reduced by 60 per cent during the 1970's [67, p.v].

These data suggest that one symptom of economic and social deprivation is a loss of stability in the population structure.

4. POPULATION TRENDS

The effects of changes in birth rates in some of the NewStart project areas were discussed above in terms of the changing age and dependency characteristics that result. It is not surprising that the birth rate has a direct bearing on the total populations of these areas. As was the case in northern Manitoba, so in northeastern Alberta the native birth rate is about double that of the Caucasian residents [2, p. 75]. An Alberta NewStart study of upward trends in the birth rate and downward trends in infant mortality made it possible to project a doubling of the population in one Indian community (Janvier) in about twenty years [13, p. vi]. Janvier is typical of many isolated villages where there is virtually no change in the population other than as a result of the net difference between births and deaths. Even in communities where there is substantial out-migration of young adults, the birth rate has grown to the point where it more than offsets the subtractive factors. In a position paper prepared for the Manitoba Indian Brotherhood, Manitoba NewStart concluded: "The treaty Indian population . . . is reputed to be part of the fastest growing ethnic group in Canada" [60, p. 3].

At the other extreme, the population of Kent County, New Brunswick, has declined since 1956 at a rate which accelerates with the still declining birth rate. Here, however, the trend is a combined effect of fewer births and large-scale out-migration. From a population of 25,000 in 1966, there was a decline to about 22,000 people in Kent County in 1970[1]. Such abrupt changes in the numbers of people in any area have serious implications for governmental planning.

The Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island target areas seemed, at the time of the incorporation of their respective NewStart organizations, to have relatively stable populations. Out-migration again characterizes Yarmouth

[1] Sismondo, Sergio, Research Director, New Brunswick NewStart. Personal communication. July, 1972.

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and Kings Counties, and it continues at a rate which just offsets the natural increase [90, p. 28; 75, p. 4]. The populations of Yarmouth town and county have remained virtually unchanged since the turn of the century, a period in which the Canadian population has quadrupled. During the same period, the population of Kings County, Prince Edward Island, declined by some 27 per cent [46, p. 2]. A research report by New Brunswick NewStart discussed the phenomenon of out-migration in meaningful terms: "In general, it can be stated that at least one out of two families in the county have . . . at least one child leave the county, and that figure is probably closer to two out of three families" [70, p. 86]. And in another report from the same corporation we read: "Kent County has the greatest loss of population of all counties and census divisions in the Atlantic Provinces (as high as seven per cent out-migration in recent years)" [109, p. 4]. The effects of such an exodus are not evidenced simply in declining or stable population totals. A more telling effect is that it drains off those who are vigorous and ambitious, the potential leaders, innovators, and entrepreneurs [34, p. 6].

Not all reported movements of population have been directed outside the NewStart areas. In some cases, notably Alberta and Manitoba, there have been and will no doubt continue to be significant in-migrations to certain communities where industrial development has provided employment opportunities for fairly large numbers of people. The Athabasca Tar Sands have turned Fort McMurray, Alberta, into a Canadian style boom-town. The population increased from 1,000 to 5,000 between 1964 and 1967. While there has been some movement of the native people of northeastern Alberta to work in this growing petroleum industry, the growth in population has chiefly been accounted for by people who have moved in from the south [2, pp.71–2].

An early Manitoba NewStart document projected that the growth rate of The Pas would continue at 20 per cent per year for several years with the development of a forest industries complex [50, p. 9]. Although the planned development fell short of providing the expected 2,000–3,000 new permanent jobs, the effects of incentives and grants due to the Special Area status enjoyed by The Pas have continued to spur economic and, therefore, population growth.

Again, the movement of native people into the new jobs is often frustrated by doubts about their skill and motivational levels on the part of potential employers, and uncertainties about the demands of the work environment on the part of the native workers. There is a clear need for programs which can effect a satisfactory transition for these people. Examples of such programs will be reviewed in Part II of this report.

While there is large-scale movement of people out of Kent County, New Brunswick, there has also been a significant internal relocation of people due to the expropriation of land for the establishment of the new Kouchibouguac National Park. The adjoining community of St. Louis is receiving most of the

forced migrants, and is, temporarily, the fastest growing centre in Kent County. The strain of this relocation, both on the migrants and on a community which does not have a strong economic base for the support of a considerably larger population, is the object of study and interventions by New Brunswick NewStart [68, pp. 52, 55].

5. EDUCATIONAL LEVELS

Perhaps the most reliable index of relative disadvantage is the limited education which characterizes large segments of such populations as were found in the NewStart target areas. Those NewStart corporations which reported the incidence of adult illiteracy (Alberta [2, p. 85], Saskatchewan [118, p. 2], and New Brunswick [109, p. 6]) showed that roughly one-quarter to one-third of the adult population could not read or write. It is also made clear that the functionally illiterate accounted for fewer than half of those whose education was insufficient to meet the requirements of any but the most menial jobs. In Yarmouth County, nearly half of the adults who came to the NewStart offices (45 per cent) reported that they left school after completing either grade six, seven, or eight [78, p. 17]. In Kings County, Prince Edward Island, the problem of minimal education was considerably more serious for adult males than for females. Sixty-one per cent of the men had not gone beyond grade eight, whereas only 41 per cent of the females had discontinued their formal education at that stage [64, p. 1]. The situation in Kent County New Brunswick, is even more severe. It was reported that 45 per cent of the adult population had less than a grade four education, and that among heads of households "the figure is much higher" [109, p. 6]. The northern prairie provinces, if the Manitoba situation is representative of all three, have somewhat higher norms. It was reported that communities ranged from 20 to 40 per cent in terms of the proportion of adults who had less than a grade six education. The higher proportions of undereducated characterized the outlying communities [50, p. 31].

The same report which contains the above figures suggests, as an implication of educational disparity, that there is a serious gap in communication between "technologically disparate groups" [50, p. 16]. Those whose work depends on the skills they acquired through formal training have, at the same time, acquired a sophistication in ideas and life style which places them worlds apart from their less well-educated fellow citizens.

It is a commonplace that educational levels have a bearing on employment levels. Although the relationship is not always so neat and orderly, the data from the Pine Creek Reserve in Manitoba (Table 3) provide a case in point.

Nova Scotia NewStart reported a relationship between educational levels and job satisfaction. Only one in a hundred of those who had minimal education (grade two or less) said that they were dissatisfied with their work. This figure rose to 22 per cent at the grade eight level, and then declined steadily

Table 3. Relationship Between Educational Levels and Employment on the Pine Creek Reserve, Manitoba [56, p. 31]

Grade Level	Per Cent Employed	Per Cent Unemployed
0-4	28	72
5-7	48	52
8-10	66	34
11-12	72	28

from grade nine through grade 12 [33, p. 19]. This finding suggests that a partial education may tend to raise aspirations more than it does the competency to get jobs in keeping with these aspirations. In general, the surveys conducted by the corporations suggest a great need for adult basic education programs, and that such programs should be geared directly to providing a foundation for occupational skills.

6. COMMUNITY TYPOLOGIES

Thus far we have been considering certain demographic variables and the ways in which they characterized the persons (usually the proportions of individuals) within the NewStart project area. We will also devote some attention in Section B (following) to some of the psychological factors in disadvantage, which again are variables in which the measured characteristics are observed in individual persons. It is also useful to define variables which can be used to describe whole communities. Two of the NewStart corporations (Alberta and New Brunswick) have attempted to conceptualize certain community types through factor-analyzing the data which pertained to individuals in the various communities. The importance of developing such typologies is evident on the basis that individual differences in needs require different kinds of program interventions. The general structure of any program must be adapted to the requirements of the community it is designed to serve. If there are differentiated types of poverty cultures discernible in different communities, then it follows that there will be "differential effectiveness of community-centered training programs" [10, p. vi].

The following independent factors were identified from the analysis of the data from the Alberta NewStart target area:

Socio-Economic Affluence.

Expanding Resources.

Stabilized Isolation.

White In-Grownness.

English Pioneering.

Every community in the area could then be typified in terms of the factor most strongly represented in the nature of its population and economy. For example, the boom-town, Fort McMurray, is an instance (the only one of its

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type in the area) of a community characterized by factor two, expanding resources. Factors one and three each accounted for two community types, one for native, and the other for non-native populations [10, pp. 7, 12].

Following the factor analysis, a test was made of differences in social norms between two native communities which scored high on factors one and three respectively. NewStart trainees from these communities made judgments of various social acts on a good-bad dimension. Those who came from the community characterized by socio-economic affluence (which does not mean that everyone was rich, but that there was a clear distinction between the poor and those relatively well off) placed a greater value on such behaviour as hard work. This finding tends to validate the distinction made between community types on the basis of the factor analysis [10, p. 17].

New Brunswick NewStart has combined demographic variables derived from individuals with structural variables based on the presence or absence of certain economic, social, or political institutions in the community. In general terms, these structural variables can be reduced to three which have been identified by Dr. Paul Eberts as the critical factors in a model of community change [26]:

1. Linkage — the extent to which the community has working connections of an economic or informational nature with agencies existing outside the community;
2. Differentiation — the extent to which there exists a variety of productive roles for the individuals in the community;
3. Fluidity — the extent to which representatives of the differentiated roles have access to the information and opportunities which the linkages provide, and can apply them competitively in the exercise of their roles.

The aggregate effects of psychological variables, a measure of disparity in incomes, and mobility factors are also examined. The outcomes of the factor analyses of these data provide community typologies by which pairs or small groups of communities having similar characteristics have been identified. One community of each type has been chosen to receive program interventions which have as their aim the manipulation of a specific community structural variable, rather than individual behaviours. It is hypothesized that adaptive changes in the community structures will engender more extensively beneficial and lasting changes in the economic well-being of the whole population [110].

7. THE ECONOMIC BASE

The economic survival of most residents of the NewStart target areas (other than in the wholly urban environment of Saskatchewan NewStart) was and is dependent upon marginal food producing industries such as farming and fishing, and a few other primary industries, notably logging, mining, and trapping. In Kings County, Prince Edward Island, fully 72 per cent of the

labour force are engaged in farming, fishing, and the processing of the food products from these primary sources [46, p. 25]. These occupations provide low income, and they make inefficient use of manpower because of their seasonal nature. In Yarmouth County, where fishing is the major industry in dollar value and employs 12 per cent of the labour force, unemployment is effectively doubled during the winter months when offshore fishermen are laid off. Seasonal employment is of such consequence that one in five wage earners in Yarmouth County works less than 26 weeks out of the year [75, p. 72].

In the northern regions of the prairie provinces, especially Alberta and Manitoba, the establishment of NewStart corporations coincided with the expansion of the extractive industries in the area. Unlike the case in the Maritimes, this created a situation in which the supply of jobs exceeded the supply of qualified manpower. This offered a special challenge to the NewStart Program. The earliest plan prepared by Alberta NewStart recognized that the area "can provide for full employment of its residents without the necessity of their migrating to other areas" [2, p. 71]. The entry of Manitoba NewStart into The Pas came at a time (mid 1969) when a forest industries complex, then under construction, was holding out a promise of employment for two to three thousand men. Because of concurrent expansion of the base metals mining industry and a boom in construction, this development was clearly going to call for more qualified personnel than were then available [50, pp. 9, 14]. Unfortunately, neither the forest industry complex nor Manitoba NewStart developed in ways that had been anticipated. The potential for economic development and the accompanying employment opportunities, however, remain relatively strong in The Pas area. That this is not an unmixed blessing is due to the fact that the indigenous people lack the fundamental skills required for most of the available jobs, and inmigration fills most of the manpower needs. Like virtually all the target areas, both in the east and in the west, unemployment was more than double the supposedly intolerable national level.

Public assistance is required by very large segments of the population of the NewStart areas. In Kent County, New Brunswick, it was estimated that one-quarter of all personal income was derived from transfer payments [67, p. 17]. In some parts of the county, as many were receiving welfare as were receiving earned income [68, p. 43]. Especially among the native people in the northern prairies, welfare dependency was growing at an alarming rate. With some communities already registering public assistance as the chief form of income, an emerging "total welfare community" was the pattern detected by the Alberta NewStart research staff [13]. If such massive public assistance did not characterize Kings County, Prince Edward Island, where only two per cent of households received welfare, it was, according to a Prince Edward Island NewStart report, due to the combined facts that the people did not know that they were entitled to assistance and that the administrators were adopting a restrictive policy towards the needy [91, p. 39].

In spite of its relatively low rate of welfare assistance, it is stated that in Canada only the Magdalen Islands have wage levels lower than in Kings County, Prince Edward Island. In 1966, 70 per cent of tax returns from the county reported incomes below $3,000 [89, p. 90]. Kent County, New Brunswick, had an income level which was no better, with 69 per cent of families living on less than $3,000 a year. In terms of *per capita* income, these levels are no more than a quarter of the national average [65, p. 3]. The western provinces seemed to be not quite so badly off (although no data were found for Alberta), with Manitoba NewStart estimating that 20 to 25 per cent of families earned less than $3,000 per year [50, p. 31], and Saskatchewan NewStart estimating that in Prince Albert incomes were only 15 to 20 per cent below the national average [99, p. v–2]. These figures, of course, conceal income in kind, which in the Maritimes may be more substantial than in the northern prairie provinces.

A final index of economic well-being is housing. Several of the NewStart corporations reported that a considerable proportion of dwellings ranged from "inadequate" to "deplorable". The latter description is provided in an early Alberta NewStart analysis, and conveys perhaps more than cold statistics could [2, p. 84]. Even in the bustling town of The Pas, Manitoba NewStart estimated that only about one-quarter of the houses were adequate [50, p. 9]. In Kings County, Prince Edward Island, one-third to one-half of the houses were judged to be inadequate, although the fact that two-thirds of all the houses were over fifty years old implies that the frequency and magnitude of needed repair might be a problem. One positive fact that should not be overlooked is that ninety-three per cent of the families in Kings County owned their own homes — half again as many as the national average [46, p. 29].

The generally negative and depressing tone of the foregoing analysis ought not to distract us from an important fact. In spite of economic stagnation, grinding poverty, and infrequent glimmers of opportunity, the regions we are examining are home to over 130,000 people. Presumably, most of these people would prefer to be living where they are than anywhere else in the world. By virtue of their birth, their culture, the network of their human relationships, and their appreciation of the beauty and value of their environment, it can be argued that they have a right to be there and to develop within themselves and within their environment the resources to support themselves.

B. THE DISADVANTAGED

1. DEFINITIONS OF DISADVANTAGE

Those whose economic well-being was particularly problematical in each area constituted the target group, either directly or indirectly, for the NewStart interventions. These persons were referred to as "disadvantaged". It became important for the corporations to develop suitable definitions of that term. It was used from the beginning of the NewStart program, but its meaning was

initially without operational precision. Even where there was consensus as to which characteristics were relevant to the understanding of the term, the norms of these dimensions had not been agreed upon. Furthermore, the variables under consideration often were interrelated in such a way that it was unclear as to which was cause and which was effect [79, p. 8]. Aumack, at Alberta NewStart, pointed out that if action research is seriously going to be carried out, then the specification of its terminology is of prime importance. Not only must concepts be developed to differentiate the disadvantaged from the non-disadvantaged, but the wide range of differences within the poverty culture must be delineated. "It becomes vital, " he argues, "that whatever new concepts, techniques, and facts there are be separated out from the heroics of the [war on poverty] movement" [10, p. 9]. In a later report, the same author still maintained that "to the extent that . . . researchers as well as the populace operate on one or another of the stereotyped perspectives, to that extent will the researcher's intervention efforts be selectively limited. An explication of assumptions, therefore, may be viewed as a first step toward developing hypotheses uncontaminated by connotative meaning" [11, pp. 58–9]. Denton, at Nova Scotia NewStart, kept the problem of definition in a "normative comparison frame". This approach avoids the pre-occupation with diagnostic description or explanation. On many dimensions which relate to socio-economic capacity, deviations will be found. The objective of such analysis is to establish "programs aimed at providing new behaviours to the deviates or in creating opportunities in the environment to utilize those behaviours they already possess" [22, pp. 5–6].

Before turning to a description of the dimensions used in the definition of disadvantage, attention should be drawn to the fact that the existence of several different perspectives inevitably means that quite different aspects of the problem of poverty will dominate the thinking of different groups and types of people. For example, Saskatchewan NewStart, in its first annual report offered quite variant definitions of disadvantage, from the perspectives of those holding either a "puritan" or a "communal" ethic. The former perspective concentrates on the absence of sufficient education and training, lack of motivation and discipline, and an insufficient work orientation. The communal ethic, on the other hand, perceives the problem in terms of the inability of persons to see a larger purpose in life for themselves and their associates beyond the immediate needs for employment and income [99, App. C]. Alberta NewStart adopted Rein's three perspectives in defining poverty. The *subsistence* perspective asks whether or not the person has sufficient resources available to maintain life, which, if reduced to dollar requirements, would fall within certain absolute limits. The *inequality* perspective can only perceive poverty in terms of the relative affluence of the well-off. The *externality* perspective asks about the effects of poverty on the whole of the community in such contexts as taxation for public assistance programs, property values, consumer demand, and so on [11, p. 46]. Nova Scotia NewStart conducted a

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study in which the basic hypothesis was that certain groups have their own definitions of disadvantage and their own corresponding perceptions of the persons who satisfy these definitions. The hypothesis was substantiated, and the report of the study implies that these perceptual judgments are powerful factors in establishing and maintaining the conditions of disadvantage [107].

The simplest way to define disadvantage, whether in absolute or in relative terms, is to use economic criteria. These may be stated in simple monetary terms or, slightly less directly, in terms of earning power. Nova Scotia New-Start, following the criteria of the Economic Council of Canada, defined economically disadvantaged persons as those individuals who earned less than $1,800 per annum, or married couples who received less than $3,000 [79, p. 11]. For each additional dependent, $600 was added [79, p. 11]. This same document, however, recognizes that there are many different kinds of disadvantage, and that any person may be the victim of any or all types. Other types of disadvantage listed are educational, occupational, physiological, attitudinal, and environmental. Alberta NewStart preferred to focus on earning power, and distinguished between the employed, the unemployed, the underemployed, and the unemployable [11, p. 55]. This is a reasonable approach for an agency holding a mandate to develop improved means to prepare people for employment and was indeed adopted by the other corporations in one way or another. The implication is that a person is disadvantaged insofar and in such areas as he has unmet needs. Those who have responsibility to assist in the meeting of specific needs may justifiably define disadvantage, for their purposes, in terms of these relevant need characteristics.

The human resource development agency, having identified areas of need, will, on that basis, seek to specify those behaviours which will make it possible for the person to meet his needs. The concern becomes one of assessing the learning requirements of the individual, more particularly in terms of observable coping behaviours and marketable skills. Jones, at Nova Scotia NewStart, suggested that "personality differences [between the disadvantaged and non-disadvantaged] may be much less striking than frequently supposed " [41, p. 5]. Denton expressed the Nova Scotia NewStart definition of the disadvantaged in a nutshell: "Disadvantaged persons are those who demonstrate an absence of behavioural repertoires necessary to function or cope adequately in reference to some specific tasks or situations deemed necessary for constructive personal and social adjustment in a society" [77, App. E, p. 5].

The same author goes on to say that three kinds of assessments are essential to a full understanding of the meaning of disadvantage in the individual case. First, you must describe the situation in which the person must function. Second, you must evaluate that he cannot function successfully in that situation. Third, you must determine the extent to which the existing environment needs to be modified in order to provide opportunities for the development of new skills or the effective use of the things he can already

do [77, App. E, p. 6]. It is significant that two out of these three assessments have as their focus the environment and its deficits, rather than the shortcomings of the disadvantaged person himself. This makes it appropriate to turn to a consideration of environmental effects.

2. THE EFFECTS OF ENVIRONMENTAL DEFICITS

When we examine the disadvantageous effects of the environment upon persons, it is possible to devote considerable attention to certain elements in the physical environment. It is evident that inadequate diets, contaminated water supplies, and ramshackle housing do have adverse effects on people's development and behaviour. None of these effects, however, impinge as forcefully upon the individual as do the various components of his social environment. It is to these components that the references in the NewStart literature almost invariably point. An early document prepared in Ottawa to help chart the course for the newly established corporations gave this factor prominent place in the statement of the problem facing the program:"Many people have suffered from the lack of positive direction from parents, from an absence of success models among relatives and friends, and unsatisfactory adaptation to school and work values and patterns. All these factors constitute barriers to skill development and employability." [87, p. 2]. The principle set out here includes both institutional and noninstitutional social pressures. Both can be so influential that the role others play in facilitating or inhibiting behaviour change becomes just as critical as the actions of the persons themselves.

The relevance of this analysis was to be attested to by the experience of the corporations. The research director of Nova Scotia NewStart wrote, "The most pervasive, probably most affectively intense, and thus most powerful, components of environmental influences on the individual are likely to be informal or noninstitutional: the family, social groups, peers, neighbours, community, etc." [25, p. 13]. Most behaviour change programs make no effort to control or utilize these potent everyday forces. Alberta NewStart attempted to do so by bringing whole families to the training site and by providing orientation and training for wives at the same time as the husband was being occupationally upgraded.

Institutional social environments are also acknowledged to exert as strong an influence in the maintenance of disadvantage as do any attitudes or behaviours of the poor themselves. Especially influential are the attitudes and beliefs held by persons in positions of authority[41, p. 7]. "If persons in authority hold negative expectations of subordinates, the latter may react negatively and fulfil these expectations", declares a Manitoba NewStart report [57, pp. 14–15]. That these effects are not confined to the institutional setting in which the actual social interaction occurs was an integral part of the hypotheses confirmed in the study conducted by Nova Scotia NewStart of the perceptions of the disadvantaged within the educational system [107].

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New Brunswick NewStart operates on the conviction that the behaviour of individuals is to a large extent determined by certain measurable characteristics of the whole social structure of the community, including its linkages with the larger society beyond its own boundaries. This decision involved the conscious and deliberate "change from the view of the poor as inadequate persons in need of special treatment to cope with the world, and from the long series of programs concomitant with that view, to the view . . . that structural phenomena are impairing the ability of countless citizens to participate in the fruits of the developing economy" [70, p. xv].

References are also found to much less subtle and generalized kinds of influences exerted by the social and institutional environment. Alberta NewStart cautioned its counsellors to be especially sensitive to the effects upon native people when their rights were being denied or ignored by society [3, p. 33]. Such denial of basic human rights seems not to have been confined to the racial context. Prince Edward Island NewStart discerned "a serious degree of legal victimization of the poor" [91, p. 39]. In a report on a community development program, Nova Scotia NewStart summed up all the evidence about the effects of the social environment upon the disadvantaged by speculating that "it may be that poverty is the disease of the rich, and the poor are one of its symptoms" [72, p. 36].

The training and behaviour change focus of the NewStart program introduces environmental considerations with special relevance to the learning situation. Contemporary learning theory is really a theory of environmental control of behaviour. It is the environment which provides the reinforcing stimuli which strengthen the responses that comprise the learning goals. Both maladaptive behaviours and the skilled coping behaviours which are to replace them arise in response to environmental contingencies [22, p. 3]. Even in specifying learning goals, the environment must be considered, for behavioural adequacy can only be defined in terms of "the complexity and demand of the situation in which [the person] has to function" [77, App. E, p. 5]. While New Brunswick NewStart does not indulge in the fine-grain adjustment of environmental contingencies for each individual person which characterizes the behavioural approach to training, the structural change model to which that corporation is committed gives just as much importance to the broader strokes by which the community environment can be empirically portrayed. The assumption is made that without certain changes in the linkages, differentiation, and fluidity of the community, no significant, general, or lasting change can take place in the economic behaviour of the disadvantaged. It is acknowledged that structural changes may not be *sufficient* for the desired behavioural changes to take place, but that they are *necessary* is the foundation of the theory. There is a place for training programs, but "the need for simultaneity and the synchronization of the two approaches is emphasized" [70, p. xvi].

There seemed to be a consensus throughout the corporations that the traditional school classroom represents environmental elements almost entirely negative in their effect upon the student. To bring an undereducated person back into a classroom milieu "may easily destroy . . . whatever self- esteem, inquisitiveness, and hope is left in the adult" [6, p. 5].

Beyond the training concern, the environment maintains a good deal of influence in the world of work. For many of the residents of the NewStart target area, this is a closed world because employment opportunities are not sufficient in number to meet the needs of the people. Even this fact represents a telling influence on the attitudes and self-perceptions of the disadvantaged. His inability to secure employment is for the unemployed person and his family evidence that he is a failure. In spite of the reality that the deficit exists in the opportunity structure of his community, he will to some degree impute the deficit to himself [80, p. 5].

Those who do hold jobs in a slow-growth area may also have their attitudes shaped by the nature of the work environment. It was stated that, in Prince Edward Island, "those who remain [as opposed to the out-migrant] are mostly rural and have developed their attitudes and working habits in an environment which has been little affected by modern industrialized society" [90, p. 28]. It was the assessment of a 1966 paper prepared within the Department of Manpower and Immigration (really the parent document of the Canada NewStart Program) that "vocational and economic underachievement . . . is caused in part by . . . lack of adaptation to the conditions of modern industrial society" [86, p. 1]. The environment of economically depressed areas provides little evidence that there are advantages to be gained by further training and heightened ambition. The "options" in such a situation are not really options at all. Whatever can be done to earn a meager living must be done. The people of Argyle Municipality, Yarmouth County, for example, "have little or no control over their present or future . . . A number of fishermen would like to have a choice about what they would do for a living, rather than being channelled or funnelled into lobstering only" [18, p. 4]. The psychological effects of this usurpation of control by the environment will be discussed in subsequent sections of this report.

3. TYPES OF PERSONAL DEFICITS

The earliest published document in which the NewStart idea was enunciated stated that "programs developed for the disadvantaged must be based upon accurate understanding of the characteristics of these people" [85, p. 2]. Having examined some of the environmental elements which seem to be the prime factors in producing disadvantage, we can now turn to these personal and group characteristics. Several different areas of life in which deficiencies can exist are outlined in the literature emanating from the NewStart Programs. The most frequently mentioned area, and one which confirms the assessment of a strong environmental influence, is that of powerlessness to control one's

own destiny. Other areas which will come under scrutiny are social relation-ships, education, work skills and experiences, motivation, and emotional and physical characteristics. In each of these areas some evidence is provided to extend and make more accurate the profile of the disadvantaged. Some areas stand out more prominently than others, both in their apparent impact upon the history of the individual and in their pervasiveness among the disadvantaged population as a whole.

The issue of lack of power to control one's fate lies at the root of many manifestations of disadvantage. This may be regarded as the link between the forces exerted by the environment and the other attitudes and behaviours which tend to limit the person's ability to live productively. This focal nature of powerlessness was expressed in the experimental plan for 1969 prepared by Nova Scotia NewStart: "People living for any length of time in poverty develop a sense of hopelessness and powerlessness which interferes with their chances for upward mobility. This fatalism is reflected in defeatist attitudes and resistance to change. Cynicism frequently prevents them from seeking assistance or even from taking advantage of existing opportunities" [77, pp. 7–8]. Aumack, of Alberta NewStart, offers a more specific analysis of the phenomenon. He names three types of powerlessness. *Economic* powerlessness is the inability to establish one's earning power due to unemployment or underemployment. *Social* powerlessness is the effect of anomie and of self-defeatism, by which one's relationships to society and to significant other persons are impaired. *Political* powerlessness is perpetuated by one's minority status and the paternalism of government bureaucracies [11, p. 1]. The Treaty Indians, especially, find themselves in a situation where they cannot achieve economic success for a host of reasons, but neither can they fall below a certain minimal level because of federal support programs. There are no options either for economic improvement or deterioration. New Brunswick NewStart points out that welfare dependency is also gaining a firm grip on the aspirations and motivations of people in its target area [69, p. 1]. For Prince Edward Island NewStart it was becoming reasonable to assume "that the disadvantaged have lost the power to direct their own lives" [92, p. 50]. The stages of this process begin with frustration, proceed through apathy, and end in fatalism. The reversing of this process is challenging to program planners in the extreme. The great danger is that efforts to help are often perceived as further intervention from outside forces in the personal and career development of the disadvantaged person. The development of a sense of fate control or, as the psychologist Julian Rotter calls it, internal control of the locus of reinforcement, will be discussed further in Part II of this report in the context of the programs of the NewStart corporations.

The ability to relate well to other individuals, to social institutions, and to the society in which one lives, is perhaps the decisive factor in living effect-ively. "A sense of alienation from the main stream of society" was detected by New Brunswick NewStart as a generalized characteristic of the disadvan-

taged [69, p. 1]. It was the assessment of Alberta NewStart that even skilled workmen often failed socially during their after work hours and that this failure effectively eroded the value of their skills [3, p. 3]. The same corporation found that in some communities fighting, drunkenness, and refusing to work had become more or less socially acceptable. In other words, the social value system of the local community was in the process of becoming the antithesis of that of the larger society [10, pp. 17–21]. There is evidence that many poor people do enjoy closer relationships with family and friends than do the more affluent. Bentley, in a Nova Scotia NewStart study of life styles of the disadvantaged, reported that they "indicated less dissatisfaction with their marriages and indicated a greater degree of satisfaction with their children" reflecting closer family ties than prevailed in the advantaged neighbourhood [15, p. 67]. Apparently man's social needs cannot be denied; and where they are not met by his identification with the norms and institutions of his community, they tend more to be satisfied within the limited circle of home and neighbourhood.

Educational levels have been analyzed previously in this report, and the results indicated that a significant aspect of the deprivation associated with disadvantage could be identified in the limited literacy and other basic skills of many people in the project areas. New Brunswick NewStart suggests that learning ability is itself limited in many cases [69, p. 1]. Perhaps in part this limitation can be explained in terms of attitudes to education, which were found, among Nova Scotia NewStart trainees, to be related to other indices of skill deficits [87]. In the study of life styles of the disadvantaged, Bentley found that "educational deprivation, both in objective terms (more barriers to education) and in subjective terms (lower educational aspirations), is a very real condition that exists in the disadvantaged community" [15, p. 69].

The simple fact of not holding a job does not tell the whole story of those deficits which are related to employment among the disadvantaged. Frequently, while a person is still young, he or she has established a history of

Table 4. Reasons Employees Proved Unsatisfactory to Employers in the Areas Served by the NewStart Corporations in Manitoba [38, p. 56] and Prince Edward Island [44, p. 31]

Cause of Dissatisfaction	Manitoba	Prince Edward Island
Lack of ambition	34% *	51%
Lack of responsibility & honesty	37%	5%
Lack of appropriate training	20%	5%
Personality deficits	4%	4%
Alcoholism	—	14%
`Absenteeism	—	3%
Other causes	5%	18%

* Figures are percentages of employers who named each cause as the most frequent reason for dissatisfaction.

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many jobs, many of them offering only short-term menial employment, and many having been terminated in circumstances that reflect on the person's competence. Such a history tends to develop in the person an "ambivalence toward work" [69, p. 1]. Several of the corporations sought to determine the nature of those deficits which, in the view of employers in the area, served to reduce the employability of those who come to them for jobs. In other words, the question was asked, "What makes workers unsatisfactory?" Alberta New-Start reported that the answers "centered around family relationships and/or drinking, resulting in excessive absenteeism" [4, p. 32]. Because the categories used are more or less parallel, the data presented by Manitoba NewStart and Prince Edward Island NewStart are combined in Table 4. It must be remembered that these are interview responses, and are therefore the subjective judgments of employers about unsatisfactory employees. They represent perceptions and expectations which may well have the effect of aggravating those actual deficiencies which the disadvantaged worker brings with him to the job.

That the disadvantaged lack ambition or motivation, however, is not just the opinion of employers. The first plan of action drafted by Nova Scotia NewStart contained the caution, "lack of motivation is the greatest single problem" [73, p. 20]. Nor does the magnitude of this problem lie only in the fact that it seems to infect large numbers of people. It is recognized as one of the most intractable of the deficiencies which may be limiting any individual's success in training or work. Warren, in describing the motivational approach taken by the Saskatchewan life skills program, quotes Carl Rogers: "working with a lack of conscious motivation in the individual is more difficult than working with the problem of psychosis" [103, p. 144]. According to a study by Lafferty, for Prince Edward Island NewStart, this problem is more widespread among rural populations. While the population of Kings County, Prince Edward Island, is virtually all rural, it was found that levels of achievement motivation were significantly higher in communities numbering over 1,000 people than on the farms and in the smaller villages. In the towns, 45 per cent of adults scored high in achievement motivation; in the villages and on the farms only 25 per cent scored high. There were also sharp increases in achievement motivation with increased education and with increasing occupational complexity. Those who were self-employed were higher in achievement motivation, but the effect of a high motive to achieve in terms of better incomes was more strongly observed among those who worked for someone else. There was a tendency for the proportion of those men having high need for achievement to decline with age. No such decline was found among women [45, p. 28]. The means by which achievement motivation can be measured and suggested ways to heighten it will be discussed in Part II of this report. Other psychological factors in disadvantage will also emerge in the subsequent discussion of program foundations and procedures. For now, it is sufficient to relate that Prince Edward Island NewStart adopted

four psychological characteristics as a working description of the type of individuals whom that corporation was attempting to help. These characteristics were [114, p. 10]:

1. Low achievement motivation.
2. Infrequent risk-taking.
3. Belief in the futility of self-improvement efforts.
4. Low preference for occupational and geographical mobility.

While it was occasionally recognized that certain individuals required assistance with more serious problems of emotional adjustment, such problems were nowhere suggested to be in any way characteristic of disadvantaged people. Perhaps the same kind of proportion may exist as that reported by Nova Scotia NewStart with respect to physical disabilities. It was found that of those adults who were not working in Yarmouth County, 7.4 per cent were unemployed because of physical injuries or chronic illnesses [24, p. 3]. Problems requiring medical assistance of whatever type did not in general seem to afflict the disadvantaged adult more frequently than any other person in the project areas. An exception to this generalization is found in an Alberta NewStart report of alarming incidences of gastric and respiratory diseases in an isolated native community due to the very poor health practices which characterize the whole population [31]. This is one kind of characteristic which makes it necessary for us to examine special native problems of disadvantage, as well as special strengths which Indian people have to a greater degree than the majority groups in the Canadian society.

4. Special Native Problems and Strengths

The documents prepared by the NewStart corporations in the three prairie provinces highlight some of the special features of disadvantage among Canada's native people. The descriptions are generally couched in terms similar to those used in Alberta NewStart's first plan of action: "low socio-economic status, substandard housing, low educational levels, lack of vocational skills, chronic unemployment — a subsistence level of life" [2, p. 6].

Of course those living on the Reserves are not all to be characterized in the same way. A human resources survey report for Manitoba NewStart identified three distinct categories in terms of differential adjustment to Reserve life. First, there are those who reject the Reserve and wish to integrate themselves into the society beyond. They seek jobs and attempt to compete on an even footing with non-Indian Canadians. Second, there are those who like living on a Reserve. They are able to enjoy family life, hunting, and fishing, and only wish to work as long as these important features of their lives are not impaired. Third, there are the multi-problem families who are welfare dependent, frequently plagued by alcohol, and marked by marriage breakdown, desertion, and illegitimacy [39, p. 29].

The problems faced by the Indian people are frequently discussed in the NewStart documents in the light of the tensions which arise out of the interaction of the native and European cultures. "Because the coming of industry increases the population and decreases the natural environment, the Indian is driven more and more into contact with whites", explains a Manitoba New-Start report [53, p. 57]. On many points the cultural values and mores of the Indians are the reverse of those found in traditions imported from Britain and western Europe. The Indian tends to orient his life to the present, rather than the future; he values human relationships highly and possessions very little. For this reason he is often unmotivated to go to places where there are employment opportunities. He feels that it is preferable to remain where he is loved and owns nothing than to "prosper among hostile strangers" [2, pp. 74–5].

One frequent barrier facing natives who seek training and entry into employment is that of language. From his first day of school the Indian child is confronted with new ideas expressed in a new language. The result is that "he may become convinced that he is not able to learn; he may soon begin to build within himself a hostility to school" [102, p. 2]. A lack of effective understanding and use of English may be the most tangible limitation imposed upon him throughout life. It inhibits the growth of self-confidence and the ability to solve problems in the area where the two cultures overlap. Saskatchewan NewStart found that even in programs where special concern was exercised to achieve a successful orientation of Indian and Métis trainees, the dropout rate was considerably higher than for Caucasians [98, p. c]. The educative process brings the cultural tensions into focus, and the quickest relief is to go home.

Getting a job represents a considerable accomplishment for the Indian. Opportunities for employment are increasing in the north, but on the one hand (to use the words of an Indian man from The Pas Reserve) "The people cannot quickly adjust to the new way of life . . . as they don't know the meaning of industry" [56, p. 48], while, on the other hand, the white foremen and managers are often influenced in their hiring practices by sterotypes of laziness and unreliability associated with natives. Manitoba NewStart discovered evidence of discrimination in hiring practices, with the application of certain "unstipulated requirements" when the applicant was an Indian [50, p. 49]. If he is hired, it is often to do menial handwork of a routine nature. These kinds of jobs contribute to the worsening of attitudes. As expressed by Manitoba NewStart, "it is not a case of attitudes determining opportunity, but rather opportunity determining attitudes" [50, p. 128]. The baseline, however, of the Indian's attitudes to work does reflect the ethos of his culture. Regularity, promptness, and work for work's sake have little counterpart in his way of life. His whole cultural pattern is in conflict with the very attributes which the industrialized society expects of those who enter its occupations [2, p. 23]. There is some evidence of improving inter-ethnic attitudes in the world of

work. The effects of these improvements are seen in a study of persistence in employment in the mining industry of northern Manitoba. Native men were reported to continue to hold their jobs just as long as non-natives [59, p. 33].

The best evidence of change in the mutual orientations of the native and white societies in Canada is the rapid disappearance of an attitude of complacency on the part of the Indians. They are becoming more aware of the issues which confront them and more vocal in the assertion of their rights. This self-assertive movement represents a compromise with their cultural ways, but a compromise which they are increasingly prepared to make for the sake of preserving other elements of their past traditions, and for the sake of procuring a position of dignity in the Canadian society of the future.
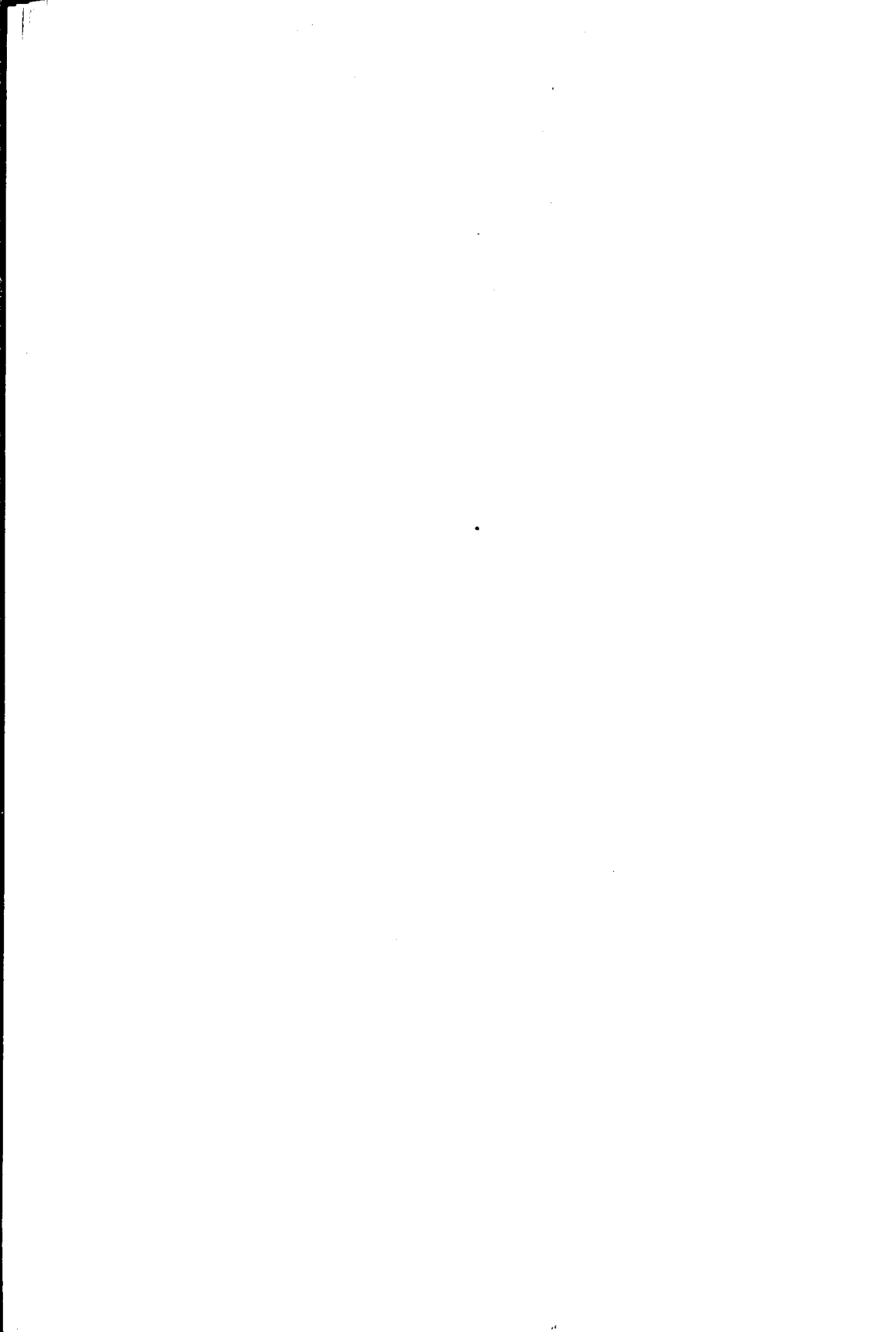
The Programs

A. THE VARIABLES OF CONCERN

1. CONCEPTUALIZATIONS OF HUMAN NATURE

Alberta NewStart expressed a "belief in the proposition that every individual can participate in activities that lead to a meaningful and successful life style and . . . has the right to be and to feel human regardless of circumstances" [4, p. 32]. In this part of this consolidated report we shall review some of the activities designed to effect adaptive changes in the psycho-social development of NewStart Program participants. Before doing so, however, it is of interest to examine some suppositions about human nature which served to inform the various corporations in their understanding of what this quality of humanness is which people have the right to actualize within themselves. Most of these theoretical models, in keeping with the orientation of the corporations toward training, are couched in the language of learning and behaviour change.

Himsl, in a chapter on the philosophic basis for life skills training [104, pp. 128-36], discusses the nature of man in existential terms, such as "validating knowledge on the basis of personal experience and utility" and "strengthening his ability to account for his behaviours and his will to accept responsibility for his behaviours". This is an appeal for the understanding of humanity as *person*. My best clue to the nature of man is my awareness of the nature of my own experience, not of mankind in general or of myself as I once was or may some day become. Himsl demonstrates the utility of such a view in the life skills context, particularly in the light of the definition of life skills as "problem solving behaviours responsibly and appropriately used". The person who possesses life skills is saying, in effect, "the quality of humanness is determined by the quality of my day to day living".

The same author gives us a two-dimensional view by which the quality of life in the individual can be characterized in terms of two distinct kinds of

skills (Figure 2). Along one axis are saleable skills, while the other represents problem-solving life skills. The first represents the person's employment and earning potential, while the other represents skills of a personal and social nature.
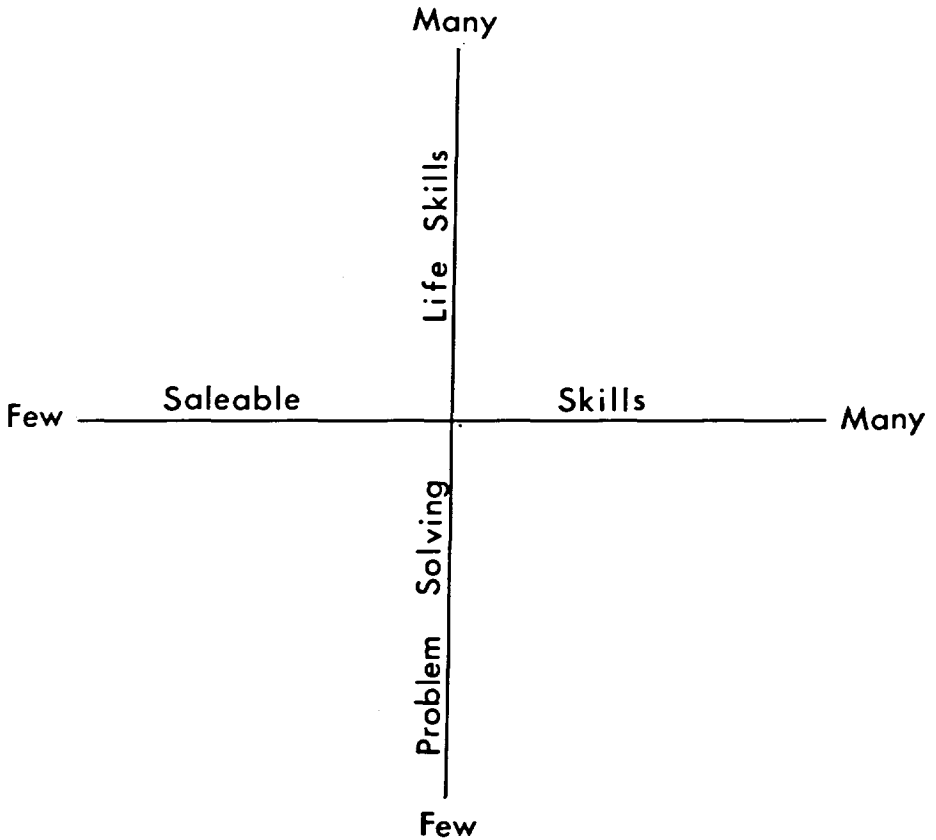
Figure 2. A Skills Axis

A paper by Warren, again related to the theoretical foundations of life skills training, offers a device to understand the person in terms of "levels of human functioning". Nine arbitrary levels are postulated for each of seven functions: emotion, persistence on a given course, expression of opinions and ideas, expression of feelings, handling of truth, handling of other persons, and handling of responsibility. At each intersect of a given level with a particular function, an operational statement is given by which it can be determined at what level the individual's behaviour can be assessed to lie. For example, "expression of opinions and ideas" ranges from "complete withdrawal from conflicting ideas" at level one to "searches for different viewpoints in order to broaden own knowledge and change own viewpoint" at level nine. "Handling of others" ranges from "no effort to control others" to

"gains support by enthusiasm and creative reasoning" [101]. Presumably, the functions are considered to be exhaustive. That is to say, the whole gamut of human living is subsumed within the seven functions.

Jones and Herzog at Nova Scotia NewStart analyzed in a comparative fashion the psychodynamic and behavioural models of human nature. Both theories are concerned with the question of what determines human behaviour. Psychodynamic theory supposes that an internal state exists in the individual, and that it is created out of the basic drives with which the person is born. These drives are modified and suppressed when they are subjected to certain forces stemming from the norms of the society in which the person lives. The result is an internal state or personality, the greater part of which is established and stored in the "unconscious" early in life. Behaviour is explained in terms of the occurrence of disequilibrium between the environmental situation in which the person finds himself and the deep needs which are rooted in his personality. His actions are designed to relieve this tension. The main difficulty with this theory is that it makes no provision either to explain or to effect changes in behaviour patterns during adulthood.

The behavioural model also starts out with the assumption that certain needs are inborn and that others are acquired in the course of the person's interaction with his physical and social environment. The satisfaction of these needs, however, represents for the behavioural school far more than a simple restoration of the equilibrium. Those events which satisfy needs (or withhold satisfaction) become reinforcers. This means that certain acts are rewarded or punished, depending on whether a need state is reduced or exacerbated. When a response is rewarded the probability increases that it will be repeated. If it is punished or its consequences are neutral with respect to the individual's needs, its probability of recurring diminishes. As Jones and Herzog put it, "in this model, man's internal state, consisting mainly of his learning history, culturally determined deprivations, and learned expectations of particular consequences for specific activities, can be changed at any time by judicious provision of those aspects of the social environment (contingencies) which constitute rewarding or punishing consequences for specific activities, and so behaviour patterns can be altered at any time" [42, p. 47]. The utility of this model for human development lies partly in the fact that it does not require any inferences to be made about the person's internal complexes of attitudes, values, and the like. These are no longer regarded as the *causes* of behaviour but as its *result*. Its primary advantage, however, is that it knows that behaviour changes and that changes can be systematically shaped by the arrangement of appropriate contingencies between the person's behaviour and its consequences. Some applications of this theory will be outlined in Section B following.

A summary report of the counselling unit of Nova Scotia NewStart offers a model of human behaviour, based on reinforcement theory, which attempts to give meaning to some of the terminology frequently used to

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describe internal states of the personality by those who are concerned with the training and counselling of disadvantaged adults. This model begins by identifying three types of activity which take place in the human organism: action, thought, and feeling. The contiguity of any activities which represent any two of these types is a reinforcement. For example, when an action is followed by a pleasant feeling the action is more likely to occur again. If the feeling is aversive, the probability of the action recurring is reduced. If one perceives that a complex action is correctly or incorrectly executed, the feedback of this information reinforces the appropriate chaining of responses which makes a correct reponse more probable the next time. The interrelationships of these types of human activity are demonstrated in Figure 3.
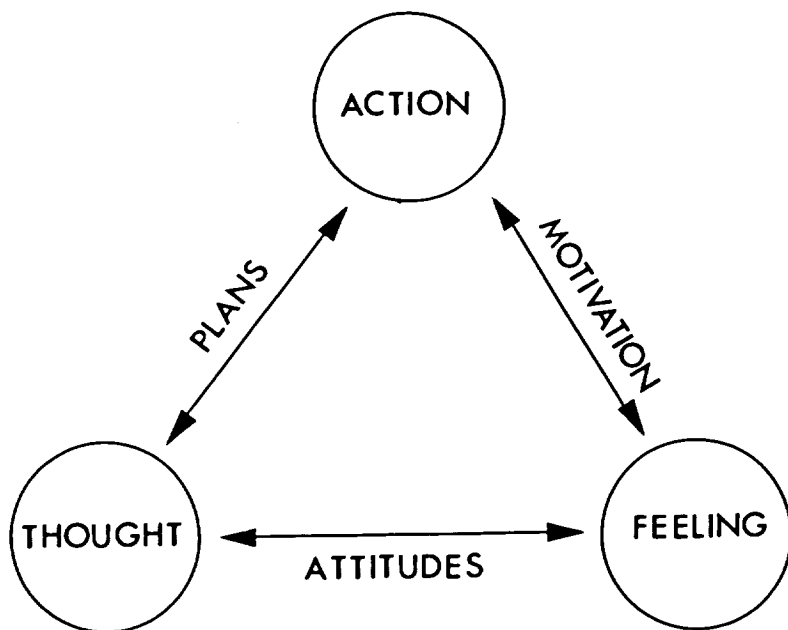
Figure 3. Hypothesized interrelationships among three types of human behaviour.

Repeated associations between activities of any two types represent categories of learned predispositions to behave in certain ways. The predispositions arising out of the association of thought and feeling are called attitudes; those between action and feeling represent motivation; and those between action and thought are the predispositions to plan and make decisions. These supposed intervening variables, which seem to be more stable and resistant to change than the single types of activity alone, represent qualities in the individual which are of prime interest to those who design and conduct programs of behavioural change for the disadvantaged. The utility of the model can be seen in two ways. First, it reminds program implementers that, ultimately, change in the personality is effected by activities occurring within

the person, and not by the activity of the teacher, counsellor, or anyone else. Second, change cannot be effected or in any way controlled if activity of only one type becomes the focus of the intervention. The processes of human development involve associated activities among the three types — action, thought, and feeling — which will "effect lasting and adaptive changes in the person's attitudes, motivation, and decision making capacity" [27, p. 6].

Tracey, writing as a member of NewStart support staff in the Social and Human Analysis Branch of the Department of Regional Economic Expansion, proposed the adaptation of Maslow's hierarchy of human needs as an appropriate model in view of the concern inherent in the NewStart mandate for the "unmet socio-psychological needs" of persons and their relationship to "the economic aspects of deprivation" [116, p. 1]. The supposition is that the personally experienced deficiencies which characterize the daily living of the poor can be subsumed under the general descriptions of the five levels of human needs in Maslow's hierarchy. These levels and representative specific needs which relate to the problems of the disadvantaged are listed in Table 5.

It is interesting to reflect that, if generally accepted observations are true, as higher levels of need are reached, the distance between the satisfaction levels of the rich and the poor becomes narrower. In other words, the gap between poverty and affluence in terms of shelter on level one may be very

Table 5. Maslow's Hierarchy of Human Needs, Incorporating a Multiple-Deprivations Definition of Poverty [116, p. 3].

Level 1* BASIC PHYSIOLOGICAL NEEDS
  Food
  Clothing
  Shelter
  Health
  Physical comfort

Level 2 SAFETY, SECURITY
  Stabilized income and employment
  Safe neighbourhood
  Financial independence

Level 3 LOVE, AFFECTION, SOCIAL ACTIVITY
  Family stability
  Feelings of community and sociality
  Deference value in community decision-making

Level 4 ESTEEM AND SELF-RESPECT
  Self-enhancing rather than self-defeating attitudes and behaviour
  Favourable self-concept
  Growth-promoting level of aspiration

Level 5 SELF-REALIZATION, ACCOMPLISHMENT
  Cultural enrichment
  Creative use of leisure time
  An enhancing interpersonal value system
  Fulfillment of potential

* Lower levels take precedence over higher levels.

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great, but the gap between the measures of the love and affection they receive (level three) may be much less [116, p. 5]. That this is not all that consoling to those in poverty follows from Maslow's observation that the satisfaction of needs on a higher level only becomes relevant to the person when he no longer has significant unmet needs at a lower level. That is to say, the person cannot really experience satisfaction of his needs for self-esteem (level four) if he has more pressing needs for income and job security (level two). In Tracey's words: "for the economically impoverished, the satisfaction of more basic needs must precede need satisfaction at higher levels" [116, p. 9]. This fact should not obscure the special kinds of needs which disadvantaged people have. Tracey provides examples. At level three, "real and significant alienation in relation to the majority society remains as a distinguishing characteristic of the poor". At level four, "self-esteem, self-respect, self-enhancing attitudes and behaviour, and pride in oneself and one's accomplishment" may all be particularly wanting [116, pp. 6–7]. But Samuel Johnson anticipated Maslow's views by two hundred years when he wrote of poverty, "the mind and body suffer together; its miseries bring no alleviations; it is a state in which every virtue is obscured and in which no conduct can avoid reproach; a state in which cheerfulness is insensibility, and dejection solemnness, of which the hardships are without honour and the labours without reward" [1].

The behavioural theory of the nature of man is based on extensive experimental evidence. In a sense, this school has been more successful than any other in bringing scientific principles of investigation to bear on its analyses of behaviour. Like the physical scientists who explore the nature of the physical universe, the behaviourists assume that they can, by painstaking and rigorous experimentation, discover the truth about the nature of man, and that this truth will stand henceforth as the foundation for a technology of human development. While the validity of their findings and the rigour of their attempts to develop useful applications has to be recognized, it is still legitimate and necessary to ask what would be the quality of life and even what would be the nature of man after years of using an experimentally based, empirically validated technology for behavioural change. The socio-behavioural universe seems to admit no ultimate descriptions of its properties. The discoveries of the behaviour analysts, should they reach the stage of widespread application advocated by Skinner [111], would themselves interject a host of new phenomena into that universe. It is the nature of man, both as an individual and as a society, to change and develop, even to the point where lawful relationships which once held can no longer be reliably invoked as the basis for the optimal development of human behaviour [2].

The existential man described in the Saskatchewan NewStart literature will himself determine what is reinforcing to him. This can be determined

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[1] Samuel Johnson, *The Rambler*. September 18, 1750.

[2] This critique of the Skinnerian position is based on a review of *Beyond Freedom and Dignity* by Chris Argyris in the *Harvard Educational Review*, Vol. 41, No. 4. November, 1971.

empirically in the particular case. Maslow's theory defines categories of environmental events which provide reinforcement differentially as human development takes place. The disadvantaged person will be rewarded by the provision of the physical necessities and a sense of security. At a later stage of development he will turn to the fulfillment of needs at a higher plane. Perhaps the self-actualizing man is the one who himself arranges the environmental events which are the reinforcers maintaining and further shaping his behaviour.

2. ADAPTATIVE BELIEFS AND BEHAVIOURS

If programs for the disadvantaged adult were to adopt a behaviour modification approach, the problem of specifying appropriate reinforcers would be the least difficult area of decision-making. The specification of behavioural goals is a more complex question. At the second NewStart Adult Basic Education Symposium, in the summer of 1968, an Alberta representative stated "there is a real need to know what produces self-sustaining men" [117, p. 7]. There are two ways in which that quest can be interpreted. It may simply be asking what program interventions are required to achieve a behavioural and attitudinal goal which is clearly defined in everyone's mind. On the other hand, the quest may be to find a combination of behaviours and beliefs which together define the self-sustaining man. It is the participation of the NewStart corporations in this latter quest which will be the subject of this section.

a. *Beliefs, Attitudes, and Motivational Variables*

The earliest statements of the objectives of Alberta NewStart take as their rationale the need for native people to adopt a new set of values congruent with those of modern society. A balance was to be sought between a growing sense of responsibility and duty as a Canadian citizen [2, p.9] and the maintenance of the right to belong to a culturally different group with pride and dignity [3, p. 32]. Manitoba NewStart began with the observation that former traditions were in fact giving way, but that "it would be unwise to assume ... that our task should simply be to hasten this acceptance" of the prevailing mentality of industrialized North America [50, p. 57]. The same corporation proposed to make a careful study of the value system operating in the native communities and in the potential work environments of the area. The value system of an individual was operationally defined as "the order of importance in which he arranges the general goals that he seeks in life and in work" [51, p. 16]. There seems to have been a general reluctance on the part of the NewStart corporations to attempt to produce changes such that the things that had been valued by program participants in the past were no longer of similar worth to them. This is an area of change in which a certain sanctity of the individual's right to maintain his value system is generally recognized. In none of the corporations was this reluctance more clearly articulated than

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in New Brunswick NewStart, which spoke of a "distinct break" with policies of manipulating value systems. The focus is rather one of producing conditions in the community at large with respect to which persons can alter their system of values as required to take advantage of the new structures of opportunity [109, p. 17].

The importance of values relating to work situations is frequently stressed in the documents of the NewStart Programs, and there seems to have been a greater willingness to attempt to effect changes in these kinds of values. Manitoba NewStart spoke of "value incongruity" between the person and his occupation as a prime cause of instability of employment [50, p. 128]. Training must devote itself in part to the achievement of congruent value profiles between the individual and his occupation. The definitive description of the NewStart Program published by the funding agency said that "accepting the work pace and work attitudes employers expect" is fundamental to the whole adjustment to the employment situation [83, p. 9]. We are reminded by Manitoba NewStart, however, that this must not simply be a passive acceptance of externally imposed standards of job performance. There must rather be a sense of identification with the task on the part of the worker so that what he does at work can be perceived as a part of the general concept of himself which he can accept and of which he can be proud. This identification with the task demands that the individual has autonomy in making decisions and that he be permitted a certain degree of diversity from time to time in the operations he performs. In short "the man must replace an old, non-occupationally valid self-image with a new one" [55, pp. 40-1].

A common characteristic of the personalities of disadvantaged people has been a lack of self-confidence and an inability to perceive oneself as a competent, independent, and achieving person. For such people, the development of a positive self-image has particular importance within the occupational context. As Donald Super said: "In expressing a vocational preference, an individual puts into occupational terminology his idea of the kind of person he is" [115, pp. 88-92]. The reports of interventions carried out by the NewStart corporations (with the exception of the Saskatchewan NewStart life skills program) contain surprisingly little evidence that attention was paid to the development of the self-concept as a key to overcoming the problems of disadvantage. In Alberta NewStart self-acceptance was listed as one of the goals of community counselling [4, p. 34], and in Nova Scotia NewStart an early statement of the research strategy stressed the need to develop criteria of change in the self-concept [22, p. 15]. An instrument was adopted by this corporation for the measurement both of attitudes to self and attitudes to the self perceived in others, and these measures were applied to all entrants to the Nova Scotia NewStart Program. The only finding reported was that a somewhat negative self-image is actually adaptive in certain low-status occupations [35, p. 45]. Apparently, if one possesses a concept of oneself as being less competent, less intelligent, and less deserving than others, then the

performance of menial tasks tends to be less incongruent with one's expectations. Such a finding has implications which are themselves incongruent with the commitment to the optimal development of human resources. Clearly, further correlates of this variable and means of facilitating the development of an adequate self-concept require a great deal of study.

The achievement motivation variable was the object of both investigative analysis and planned programming at Prince Edward Island NewStart. These studies were based on the work of David McClelland [63], and in fact involved direct participation on the part of McClelland and his associates. The essence of this area of investigation is that there is a "general relationship between the need for achievement at the individual level and economic development at the societal" [45, p. 3]. Of such a relationship it is legitimate to ask which phenomenon occurs first, the development of high achievement motivation in the individual, or the emergence of a society in which the motive to achieve is reinforced by payoff offered by a variety of options. Lafferty, in concluding the report he prepared for Prince Edward Island NewStart, states: "the exact linkage is probably reversible" [45, p. 36]. In any case, Lafferty reports that the motive to achieve tended to characterize those who were in more favoured positions within the structures of society. He also notes, however, the presence of considerable "reserves of motivation" at all levels of society [45, p. 37].

New Brunswick NewStart, in keeping with its policy of concentrating on community structural changes, predicted "achievement motivation can be changed by creating a more equitable economic reward system" [109, p. 18]. Of the interdependent relationship between personal and communal achievement orientations, this corporation has chosen to identify the latter as the cause and the former as the effect.

"The expectancy that an individual has for the consequences of his action" has emerged as a variable of some consequence in the literature of human resource development [71, p. 88]. Where the person expects that there is a direct link between what he does and the consequences which are brought to bear upon him, he is said to possess an internal locus of control. On the other hand, there are those who have little sense of control over their fate. They believe that the things which befall them are the result of events which are external to them, such as chance, fate, or the actions of other people. People in this latter group tend to have difficulties in achieving satisfactory behaviour change, no doubt because they feel that they are powerless to change things for themselves. In the words of Prince Edward Island NewStart, they no longer have "the power to direct their own lives" [92, p. 64]. Nova Scotia NewStart reported relationships between externality and mental ability, academic achievement levels, and attitudes to education. All of these variables tended to score less favourably for those who had an external locus of reinforcement. It was also found that these people had more difficulty keeping a job, presumably because they felt that they were powerless to fulfil

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the requirements expected by their employers [81, pp. 99, 101]. New Brunswick NewStart further reports that "the I-E phenomenon has been found to be highly related to socio-economic status, to influence from external stimuli, to employment, to risk taking, and to interrelationships between powerlessness, social-political action, and social-political views" [49, p. 2]. The impression conveyed by New Brunswick NewStart's reluctance to conduct programs which have as their objective changes in the individual can perhaps best be understood in the context of this variable. Any evidence that he is being changed by outside influences will only confirm the levels of externality which already characterize the disadvantaged person. It is rather the policy of that corporation to work for the provision of a variety of intelligent options so that the people are able to begin to believe that the courses of action they take will in fact determine the subsequent rewards they reap.

b. Overt Behaviours

The most immediately apparent evidence of adaptive behaviour on the part of a person who needs employment is his manner of self-presentation. In a survey of employers, Nova Scotia NewStart asked what factors were considered most important when hiring a new employee. Fifty-three per cent of the employers said that the first factor they considered was that of appearance [37, p. 16]. The other factors named, in order of importance, were education, previous experience, age, and ability. The second factor, education, was favoured by fewer than one-third as many employers as was appearance.

"Knowing how to survive psychologically and socially" is offered by Alberta NewStart as the key to effective behaviour change and occupational adjustment on the part of the disadvantaged adult [3, p. 35]. Certainly, beyond the first impressions, a productive and continuing employment history is predicated more than anything else by the relationship the person has with fellow workers and superiors, and also with family and neighbours and other people outside the work environment. Especially among those corporations concerned with the orientation of native people to the industrialized way of life, processes of social adaptation involving the worker's whole family were regarded as essential if such productive relationships were to be developed. At Nova Scotia NewStart, "increasing interpersonal effectiveness" became a legitimate primary goal before either training or employment could be entered upon successfully [76]. New Brunswick NewStart, which makes sparing references to the idea of training, within the context of social behaviour, speaks of "training different sub-groups in the community to mutual co-operation and mutual understanding" as a means of increasing the level of fluidity of the community, and, therefore, the quality of life [68, p. 10].

Those behaviours associated with regularity of attendance at the work site, punctuality, and reliability on the job were of particular concern to Alberta NewStart. Such work habits are all congruent with an industrialized society, and so represent departures from the traditional cultural norms of native

people [2, p. 31]. If we seek to instill in these people behaviours which are incongruent with their values, we are expecting them to place themselves in a conflict situation if they expect to be employed. It was suggested that Indians should not be bound to long-term study or employment, but rather that these enterprises should be contracted over very brief periods [39, p. 101]. Such a solution would not be devoid of problems, particularly where the occupation involved some complexity, and the training program would normally take place over an extended period of time and would involve considerable investment.

Almost all of the NewStart corporations named geographical mobility as an adaptive behaviour within the context of their particular economic situations. This mobility in some cases would be within the project area (Manitoba and Alberta), whereas in other provinces the need seems to be for certain numbers of people to move outside the project areas altogether (the Maritimes). In all cases there was evidence that going to work in a different place is an extremely difficult thing for disadvantaged adults and their families to do. For example, Alberta NewStart suggested that Indians and Métis, even if they belong to bands that lead a nomadic life, are unlikely to entertain the idea of moving beyond the area to which they are accustomed [2, p. 73].

Such a reluctance to move does not simply represent irrational fear. Nova Scotia NewStart reminds us that in mobility a person may trade a situation in which he has been coping fairly well for another in which he will flounder unless he has some kind of assistance [77, App. E, p. 6]. In any case the preparation of workers for geographical mobility must be done with extreme care. Not only must the physical requirements of the move be clearly resolved, but a great deal of intellectual and psychological preparation must precede the move, and there must be concerted follow-up counselling in the new site [108, p. ix]. A study of those within the Manitoba NewStart project area who had made a successful adaptation to entry into the mining industry after leaving their former home communities reveals some useful insights. The characteristics of the adaptive miner were:

1. He had had prior exposure to the urban-industrial society (preferably as a worker).
2. He possessed a production-oriented motivation.
3. He did not bring his wife and family immediately to the new community, but waited until he had a "feel" for the job and the community.
4. He had few close relatives in the community he was leaving.
5. He spoke English predominantly both at work and at home.
6. He did not have unrealistic expectations with regard to his ability to save money or acquire consumer goods as a result of his new employment.
7. He was able to verbalize his dissatisfactions with the job.

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8. He mixed easily with people of different ethnic groups from his own [59, p. iii].

Obviously mobility, while in itself an overt behaviour, is highly dependent upon the building up of specific beliefs and attitudes which are relevant to the needs of adjustment to a new occupational and social environment. It represents the one case in which the full gamut of the foregoing adaptive beliefs and behaviours must be instilled.

3. TESTS AND MEASUREMENTS

If any of the foregoing adaptive beliefs and behaviours are to be regarded as legitimate objectives in human resource development, they must be reducible to operational definitions. For example, if it is regarded as important to know whether a person is characterized by externality in his locus of reinforcement, then he must be observed to make specific kinds of decisions in a given situation before it can be said that he is in fact so characterized. Decades of test construction activity have offered a host of instruments which set out such situations and decisions by which all manner of characterizations can be made. Aside from a general caution in the interpretation of the results of psychological tests, it can further be asked how realistically most tests can be said to tap behaviour patterns which exist or may be regarded as desirable in disadvantaged adults. Herzog and Denton, on the research staff of Nova Scotia NewStart, pointed out that "there may be adverse effects on examinee performance because of low reading level, poor test-taking motivation, failure to comprehend the middle class cultural content of the language usage found in such tests, negative attitudes toward academic activities such as test taking itself, lack of test-taking skills, poorly designed test format, and adverse attitudes toward the examiner. This, of course, increases the unreliability and reduces the validity of the test. When it is also the case that the norm group for the test has no possible relationship to the individual taking the test, the grade level score, percentiles, and standard scores are not easily interpretable" [32, p. 36].

These cautionary words seem to have been reechoed among the staff of most of the corporations. The documentation of their activities does not reflect an indiscriminate use of tests. On the other hand, we are not given a great deal in the way of a synthesis of the diverse aims and practices in the testing field which could contribute to the resolution of the problem of operationalizing the important variables associated with disadvantage and its alleviation. A more rigorous analysis of the use of tests and measurements in the NewStart program will be found in the companion report on research methods. The purpose here is to relate the relevant variables which have been discussed to those devices by which it was attemped to define them operationally.

Some efforts were made to devise new measurement instruments [4, p.16]. Time limitations imposed upon the corporations were such that the necessary procedures for refining such instruments, establishing reliability and validity,

and defining norms for various groups were out of the question. There was some tendency to adopt existing generalized devices for specific purposes within the context of the NewStart program. For example, Charles Osgood's semantic differential, a scale by which concepts of the investigator's choice are assessed by the individual with respect to 15 bi-polar adjectives such as "strong-weak", was used in the following ways:

1. To establish attitudinal differences between ethnic and cultural groups [50].
2. To assess various NewStart training facilities [9].
3. To measure attitudes to NewStart before and after a staff training session [23].
4. To measure attitudes to self and training group [94; 119, p. 50].

What follows is a discussion of certain specific assessments and evaluation objectives of testing in the NewStart corporations.

a. *Development in Children.*

Although the NewStart mandate was to work to improve the employment potential of disadvantaged adults, it was sometimes deemed useful to examine more extensively the characteristics of a particular type of community or group. One such instance is the exploration of factors which limit the development of isolated communities towards a better standard of living. The Denver developmental screening test was used by Alberta NewStart to compare readiness to learn in children of hard-core and the less disadvantaged native communities. This test measures gross-motor, fine-motor, personal-social, and language development in children between the ages of one month and six years. It was found that the backwardness of children in the hard-core poverty community was comparable to the deficiencies among the adults in terms of occupational potential [24].

b. *The Need for Achievement.*

Measures of achievement motivation seem to have been undertaken only at Prince Edward Island NewStart. Here there were two instruments used to establish levels of this variable. One, called the "ambition scale", consisted of only five items. Each item is a statement about life with which to disagree is to indicate a higher level of ambition than to agree. Those who disagree with all five statements are considered to be very high in their need to achieve. Such an instrument is hardly precise enough for use with individuals, since it offers only five levels of scoring. Its value lies in its potential application for the survey of achievement in large groups or community populations, which was the objective in the Prince Edward Island NewStart study [45].

The investigation of the need for achievement in which Prince Edward Island NewStart collaborated with David McClelland and his associates used the test device associated with McClelland's world wide exploration of the achievement motivation variable, namely the Thematic Apperception Test

(T.A.T.). This test consists of a series of pictures of people in situations which are somewhat ambiguous. The test taker relates stories about the people in the pictures, and the presence of themes relating to goal setting and achievement in these stories constitutes a measurable degree of achievement motivation [21, p.4]

c. *Internal Versus External Control of Reinforcement.*

The development of a test to measure the internality-externality dimension of human personality is due to Julian Rotter [27]. This test was adapted for use at Nova Scotia NewStart under the title "For the Sake of Argument". The test consists of pairs of statements, of which the person must choose the one which he most strongly believes to be true. The following is an example of such a pair: "a) I have often found that what is going to happen will happen. b) Trusting to fate has never turned out as well for me as making a decision to take a definite course of action" [81, p. 80]. References are also found to the use of this test at Saskatchewan NewStart to measure the effects of life skills training [119, p. 50] and at New Brunswick NewStart, where the internality-externality scale is said to measure "the expectancy that an individual has for the consequences of his action" [71, p. 88]. This corporation proposes to use the aggregate of these individual expectancies to characterize the communities of Kent County as being differentially internal or external.

d. *Attitudes Toward Self and Others.*

At Saskatchewan NewStart the semantic differential was used to secure ratings of trainee attitudes both to their real self and to their ideal self. "The magnitude of the discrepancy between these two ratings is used as a rough index of maladjustment" for purposes of determining the effects of life skills training [119, p. 50]. A corresponding approach was taken at Nova Scotia NewStart, where trainees were asked to rank themselves with respect to other members of their group on several characteristics that were judged to be important to them. They also ranked these characteristics in order of importance, and a correlation was calculated between their own rank and the rank value they gave to each characteristic. A high positive correlation was taken to indicate a high degree of self-acceptance, and a negative correlation suggested a lack of self-acceptance. Attitudes to the self and perceived attitudes of others to the self were measured in the Nova Scotia NewStart test battery by means of a series of statements and an accompanying five-point scale ranging from strong agreement to strong disagreement with the statements. These two measures tended in several programs to correlate highly with one another [89, p. 81].

e. *Interpersonal Behaviour.*

New Brunswick NewStart proposed the use of the scale known as the "Fundamental Interpersonal Relations Orientation — Behaviour" (Firo-B) [68, p. 7]. This test measures both the behaviour of the individual towards others and the way he would wish others to behave towards him. It also

measures inclusion (behaviour designed to establish association with others) and control (behaviour designed to establish control and power over others). In keeping with the stance taken by New Brunswick NewStart, this test will also be used to establish an aggregate level of interpersonal relations within communities. It is hypothesized that where there is a greater compatibility of people within a community there will be greater achievement and productivity goals and more cohesiveness. At Saskatchewan NewStart the "Bales Interaction Process Analysis" was used to assess behaviour displayed in group interaction during life skills training sessions. Individual behaviour displayed in a group was analyzed along a continuum ranging from showing solidarity at one end (raising the status of others, giving help and reward) to showing antagonism (deflating others' status, defending or asserting oneself) at the other. There are twelve such categories, and the upper six are in essence the positive mirror image of the less constructive behaviours which make up the lower half. The resulting indices provide information both about the individual group participant and the development of the interactive process within the group over time [101, p. 6].

f. *Mental Abilities*

Four tests of mental ability published by the Industrial Relations Centre, the University of Chicago, were a part of the Nova Scotia NewStart test battery. These were understanding communication, verbal reasoning, nonverbal reasoning, and closure flexibility [81, p. 69]. The scores on these tests were found to correlate positively with various measures of achievement in training programs. At Saskatchewan NewStart the Raven Standard Progressive Matrices test was administered to all program entrants. Some groups also received the oral directions test, and a test of the primary abilities required in order to learn to read was also under development [17, p. 3].

g. *Skill Development*

The life skills training course developed by Saskatchewan NewStart was accompanied by an extensive battery of tests designed to measure various kinds of personality and occupational development as a result of participation in the program [101]. None of these tests is a direct measure of the competences which the course attempts to develop, but they are instruments of proven validity in areas of personal and vocational functioning which represent general goals of the training program [36, Annex A]. Nova Scotia NewStart's approach to the measurement of skill development was to create a companion rating scale for the DACUM system of curriculum development and instructional design. This system is described in more detail in the consolidated report on occupational training. Briefly, the rating device takes advantage of the fact that the DACUM system analyzes the area of occupational or academic skill development in many discrete statements of the skill behaviours which the trainee is expected to manifest. The rating scale, then, simply asks whether the behaviour has been manifested or not, and if so,

with what degrees of assistance from more competent persons or, if without assistance, with what degree of efficiency and satisfaction. The objective is to make the goals of learning in their totality the criteria for evaluation by the cumulative development of ratings, rather than by measuring a sample of behaviours which may or may not represent direct program objectives [1].

B. THE MANIPULATION OF THE VARIABLES

1. RECRUITMENT AND SELECTION OF RECIPIENTS

Recruitment and selection for the NewStart training programs had particular kinds of problems associated with conducting experimental and developmental programs for disadvantaged people. These problems were inherent in the fact that such programs characteristically enroll relatively small numbers of people. Ordinarily, where spaces in a training program are limited, selection procedures are designed in such a way as to enroll those who are most highly motivated to learn and reveal the greatest potential for exercising the skills they have acquired. The NewStart corporations, however, were required constantly to ask if their programs were in fact being designed for and offered to representative samples of those categories of disadvantaged people who might conceivably benefit from them. In many cases this meant deliberately encumbering programs with persons whose problems would, in the ordinary course of events, have prevented them from being recruited in the first place. We shall see that a great deal of effort was made to devise ways to minimize these problems by carefully orienting trainees to the new training and vocational environment.

a. *Recruitment Strategies*

The initial contacts with potential participants in NewStart programs involved combinations of passive acceptance of applications and the more active outreach policy of establishing recruitment centres in certain communities and sending in staff for organized recruitment campaigns. During the first year of its activities, Nova Scotia NewStart received about 1,000 persons who had come to the corporation offices usually with the request that they be chosen for participation in its programs [78, p. 16]. Four of these offices were extension centres in outlying communities. The fact that a person comes to a centre to seek admission to a program is in itself an indication of a level of motivation beyond that of those who do not seek out the opportunity. Prince Edward Island NewStart established community service centres which served as depots for program recruitment. Certain outreach efforts seem to have been designed to instill a degree of motivation among a fairly wide group. An example of such a strategy is that utilized by Prince Edward Island NewStart in its attempt to secure well-motivated participation in a course for potato growers. To quote the report on this course, "We called upon a few of the most belligerent growers to see whether or not they were interested, to

mention the names of other growers who would be participating in the course, and to stimulate them to start thinking and talking about the course. The program was then dropped for about a month to give the growers time to either build up support for the course or opposition to it". The report adds that when active recruitment resumed, "all were interested in the possibilities of the course" [62, p. 6]. This was not the only imaginative approach to recruitment taken by Prince Edward Island NewStart. Recruitment for the day care centres was carried out "by driving around the community and ... picking out houses that had small children as identified by the wash on the clothesline" [92, p. 126]. Saskatchewan NewStart had recruitment officers on its own staff, and also solicited recruits through welfare offices and other agencies. Some intakes of students were of particular relevance to certain agency concerns, and in these cases such agencies were closely involved in the program arrangements, including the selection of recipients.

b. *Selection Criteria*

Considerable care seems to have been exercised by the NewStart corporations to ensure that the programs they offered were in fact available to those who needed them most. In some cases recruitment and selection were left entirely in the hands of the local Canada Manpower Centre. Saskatchewan NewStart found that this procedure tended to bring into their programs persons who, on many different counts, represented more difficult training problems· than are generally found in those adults seeking training [104, p. 13]. Alberta NewStart, in some instances, operated on a "first come, first served" basis, thereby availing itself of at least that level of motivation indicated by eagerness to participate in programs. The only stipulations were that entrants had to submit to a medical examination and agree to observe the regulations of the training centres. Further, in the mobile centres applicants had to be recognized as man and wife. Outreach and recruitment to programs became one of the duties of the community counsellors [3, p. 42].

The foregoing were programs in adult basic education, and required no prior commitment on the part of the entrants as to their occupational goals. Where a training program was directed towards a particular occupation, it became necessary to apply some specific positive selection criteria. New Brunswick NewStart provides an exception in its oyster culture training program. Selection policies for this program stipulated a number of negative criteria, such as having been on welfare for at least a year, and having had a long history of employment problems. The only positive requirements were that the entrants be physically capable and have a potential for the development of the required skills [69, p.2]. In selecting for its Housekeeper/Homemaker training program, on the other hand, Nova Scotia NewStart specified a list of ten general criteria which were in keeping with the nature of the occupation for which these persons would be trained [81, App. E]. Apparently these criteria were realistic, for we read that "those to whom the selection committee had given more favourable ratings proved to be the ones who

worked for a greater proportion of their post-training time" [81, pp. 104–5]. The nature of certain occupations requires that particular care be exercised in selecting those who are going to enter programs of training for these occupations. This does not necessarily apply only to those occupations characterized by a great deal of complexity. The example given of the Housekeeper/Homemaker program at Nova Scotia NewStart is one where issues of the status of the occupation and the interpersonal relationships involved had to be weighed very carefully. Nova Scotia NewStart also points to the occupation of deckhand on the deep-sea fishing vessels as one in which selection is perhaps the most fundamental aspect of the whole program of preparation for the occupation. Not only must the offshore fisherman exhibit extraordinary physical stamina, but he also must be capable of developing the personal-social skills required in spending periods of from one to three weeks confined at close quarters with six to twelve other men [14, Vol. II, pp. 8–9].

c. *Orientation to Training Program*

Once the person has been selected to participate in a program of training, the way in which he adapts to the requirements of the new situation will be extremely critical for his successful completion of training and eventual occupational entry. This orientation period is as important for the training staff as it is for the program participants. Particularly in those programs which attempt to cater to the individual learning needs of the trainees, as was characterized by most of the programs offered by the NewStart corporations, it is essential that these needs be discovered and integrated into the training approach as early and as thoroughly as possible [2, p. 9]. In some instances, this orientation period was used as a time in which vocational choice could be exercised. Alberta NewStart spoke of this stage of training as "vocational orientation" in which the primary objective was "to expose the trainees to the different trade areas, enabling them to make a vocational choice and possibly to proceed to Fort McMurray for further training, and to give the basic training in their chosen field" [5, p. 6]. Nova Scotia NewStart used direct occupational orientation as the final phase of the selection procedure for those who were to enter training as fisheries deckhands. All applicants participated in a three-day trip on the training vessel during which actual fishing operations were carried out. On the basis of their experience the men were able to decide if they wished to enter the deckhand training program [14, Vol. II, p. 4]. Alberta NewStart emphasized the importance of involving not only the trainee himself, but his whole family in the orientation phase. This procedure is of particular importance where entry to a new occupation means a total change of living environments and style of life for the whole family [2, p. 9]. Regardless of the nature of the specific occupation, most employment situations impose upon the person demands for the exercise of social awareness and skill, and the development of such skill can appropriately take place from the beginning of the occupational training program.

2. COUNSELLING

a. *Counselling the Disadvantaged: A Special Kind of Helping Relationship*

That the disadvantaged persons in our society need help is self-evident in the meaning of that designation. The whole concept of NewStart centres around the discovery of better ways of offering this help. It is not surprising that one of the ways in which it was offered in every NewStart corporation was in the form of a helping relationship, or counselling. Nova Scotia New-Start provided an early definition of those behaviours which it was hoped, through counselling, would help the disadvantaged perform more success-fully: 1) relate to each other — interpersonal skills; 2) relate to self-accepting responsibility for decisions; 3) relate to the environment — discriminating between those things one can and should change and what one must accept; 4) change attitudes, goals, and life style — personal change to match the demands of a changing society; 5) understand and capitalize on experiences — using day-to-day experience to design better problem-solving strategies; 6) find appropriate motivation for decisions and action — recognizing specific rewards which are attainable through one's own action; 7) become inde-pendent of supportive involvements — maximizing one's own self-develop-ment within the range of choices society offers [77, App. B, pt. 2, pp. 1–3]. These all, to varying degrees, represent behaviours which the disadvantaged have a special need to develop. Furthermore, the absence of such behaviours often prevents the effective acquisition of skills in instructional programs or their application in the occupational setting. Some care appears to have been taken to limit these objectives to general statements, with the specific nature of the behaviour change left to be determined in the light of individual needs and aspirations.

Some of the corporations espoused counselling objectives which they stated in more specific terms. Alberta NewStart spoke of the "acculturation" of native people to a system of values, attitudes, and habits more congruent with modern society [2]. New Brunswick NewStart, in an oyster culture training program, sought to impart to the fisherman a degree of "enthusiasm for competitive living" [69, p. 2]. These instances reflect the varying degrees of confidence on the part of NewStart staff members that adaptive behaviours and attitudes can be specified within the context of particular populations and areas.

A Saskatchewan NewStart analysis of the existing traditions of counselling and psychotherapy finds both the Freudian medical model and the Rogerian non-directive technique inadequate when dealing with disadvantaged persons. Both restrict themselves to a verbal exploration of inner psychological pro-cesses within the confines of the counselling room. Consequently, "psycho-therapeutic approaches have in general been relatively ineffective with dis-advantaged, non-verbal, multi-problem people" [106, p. 20]. The primary response of Saskatchewan NewStart to this inadequacy of traditional coun-

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selling methods was the development and implementation of a program of training in life skills. This program, which will be treated in a separate consolidated report in this series, is essentially a curriculum for behavioural counselling. The goals which constitute psycho-social adjustment are accordingly translated into educational objectives. Most of the other corporations also developed life skills training approaches, and these efforts will also be treated in the consolidated report on life skills.

Prince Edward Island NewStart outlined a five-step counselling procedure for those who were recruited for programs of basic skills and vocational training. The steps were: 1) information gathering, drawing upon a wide range of sources, such as interviews, third party reports, and test results; 2) analysis of data, by which the important factors pertaining to the trainee's problems can be tentatively identified; 3) problem description, involving the client in a search for a mutual understanding of the problem; 4) problem solving, on the basis of the feasible alternatives and the awareness of the relevant attitudinal and emotional characteristics of the client; 5) termination of contact and/or referral. Within this program, two "therapeutic tools" were used: the supportive relationship with the counsellor and the manipulation of relevant environmental conditions [29, pp. 2–4].

Saskatchewan NewStart adopted four rules for the helping process with disadvantaged people.

1) Work in the present. Beyond the provision of useful information about the person, the past should be de-emphasized. This is especially true in the case of past failures.

2) Deal with behaviour. Discussion of motives or intentions is not helpful, even if they can be believed to exist. Problem situations arise when others respond to the way the client *acts*, not to his motives.

3) Get a commitment for change from the person. Discuss what he *can* do about his problem, and then go to the next step and elicit a realistic commitment about what he *will* do.

4) Take no excuses. Commitments which are not kept ought not to be cancelled on the pretext of an excuse, because this tends to demean the worth and problem-solving competence of the client. Only if it is mutually agreed that a commitment was unrealistic is it legitimate to change it [104, p. 107].

While these rules were suggested for a group counselling situation, they are no less relevant to individual counselling of the disadvantaged.

Several references draw attention to the importance of a counselling program which is sufficiently comprehensive to meet the needs of the disadvantaged. This comprehensiveness can be expressed both in terms of the whole training continuum from recruitment to follow-up on the job (longitudinal) [3, p. 37] and in terms of the breadth of its concern for the whole range of the person's life experiences (latitudinal) [96, p. 18]. Nova Scotia NewStart

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provided a model by which the principle of longitudinal comprehensiveness can be illustrated (Figure 4). The same concept is inherent in the Comprehensive Manpower Development System implemented by Prince Edward Island NewStart, in which the guidance component formed an integral and on-going aspect [29, p. 1]. The implication of these approaches is that the concern for the person is maintained and manifested throughout the training continuum. Trainee movement from one stage to the next is achieved with greater facility. This becomes particularly important in the case of multiproblem individuals who require multiple interventions to achieve the necessary skills to become self-sustaining, and are also faced with the necessity of relocating in order to find employment.

The concern about latitudinal comprehensiveness is expressed by Prince Edward Island NewStart: "The majority of the trainee problems arise outside the direct area of program content and deal more with placement and social problems of a family nature" [96, p.18]. This fact is basic to the rationale underlying the life skills training approach and its focus on skills for living to complement skills for making a living. It is also recognized in Alberta NewStart's commitment to total family upgrading in its programs.

The good sense of these comprehensive approaches to counselling the disadvantaged is evident. It should be pointed out, however, that an attempt to develop a total helping relationship with the disadvantaged can limit the opportunities for the practice of self-directed problem-solving skills. The directive, action-oriented approach ought to be balanced by a systematic build-up to self-determination.

b. *Group Counselling*
Several organized group counselling programs were reported, apart from the Saskatchewan NewStart life skills course which was designed to capitalize on group interaction and which will be treated in a separate report. Perhaps the earliest of all the NewStart projects was a six-week series of interpersonal competence training sessions conducted at Nova Scotia NewStart early in 1968. The target group for this program consisted of nine men in their late teens or early twenties who had dropped out of school between the fourth and ninth grades, and had experienced chronic unemployment. They all showed evidence of poor work habits and low motivation, and were assessed to have been ineffective in their relationships in family, social, and employment settings. The program, which consisted of two-hour sessions on four consecutive week-day evenings each week, was called "Opportunity Analysis", indicating that the content was focused upon career exploration and decision-making. The *process* of the sessions, however, was designed to help the participants achieve greater interpersonal competence. Both feeling and idea processes were encouraged during the sessions, and audio tape feedback and group evaluation were used to interpret and learn from these processes. Anecdotal reports indicated instances of improved relationships both within
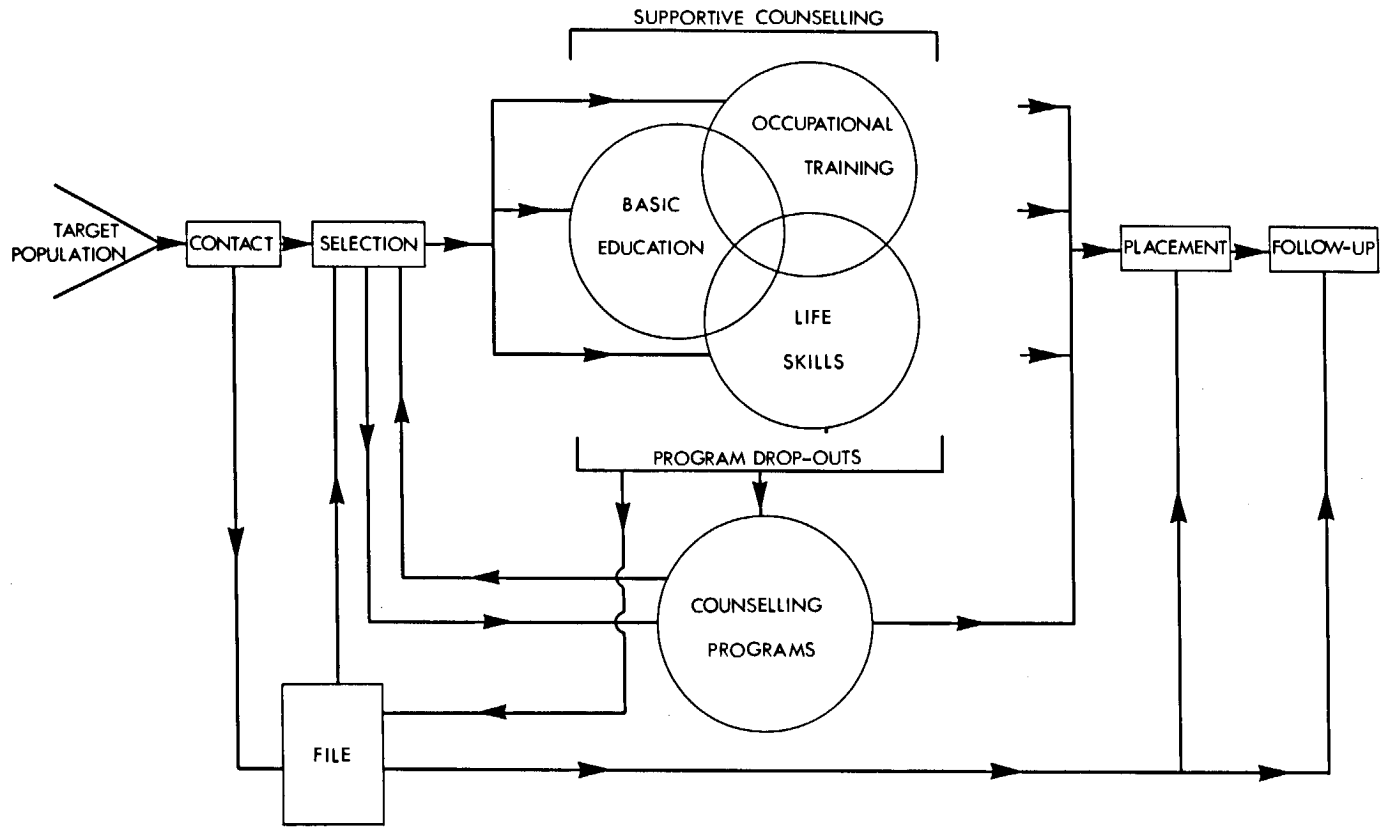
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Fig. 4. Guidance and Counselling Contexts in Human Resource Development.

and outside the group. The participants proceeded directly to on-the-job training in the trades they had chosen. From this point on, individual counselling was the norm, although some group sessions were held to review the learning experiences of the program and to exchange new experiences gained in their work situations [27, pp. 88–92].

Group counselling at Nova Scotia NewStart was undertaken as a component of several training programs. In a personalized adult basic education program, in which the learning goals and activities were selected on an individual basis, group discussions served a need for interaction and exchange of experiences and ideas relating to the training objectives. Group discussion was held three times weekly in the presence of both professional and paraprofessional counselling staff. This seemed to provide sufficient opportunity for joint program activity to balance the emphasis on individual needs and learning levels [27, p. 17]. In the same corporation, some occupational training programs utilized group counselling activities to prepare the participants for joint action to achieve common goals. In one case the objective was to form a handcraft producers' co-operative organization [8]. In others, the objectives were less extensive, involving the setting of standards for job performance and remuneration. In an on-the-job training project, group counselling was discontinued when it was observed that the sessions tended to heighten dissatisfaction among the trainees. If one voiced a problem in his work situation, the others began to think that they had a similar problem [80, p. 21]. In a housekeeper training program, indigenous counsellors had difficulty in managing group interaction, and again it was decided to restrict counselling activities to individual contacts [16, p. 14]. These instances point out the care with which group counselling activities must be designed and controlled, and with which the decision to implement them must be weighed.

c. *Family Counselling*

Reports of a family counselling approach are found almost exclusively in the literature of Alberta NewStart. One exception is that the Prince Edward Island NewStart's comprehensive manpower development system "endeavoured to deal with [the] total family . . . and to consider the wide range of personal factors involved in underachievement" [93, p. 6]. Those corporations which involved themselves in actual geographical mobility of program participants also revealed an active concern for the families who were moving [82, pp. 109–10].

A total orientation to family upgrading, however, characterized a great deal of the work of Alberta NewStart. A central hypothesis of the approach adopted by that corporation was recognized in a study by Kassirer of the involvement of females in the Canada NewStart Program: "The most effective way to change behaviour patterns is by upgrading the family as a unit, rather than the breadwinner as an individual" [43, p. 21]. From recruitment to job placement, the target population for most of the Alberta NewStart programs

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consisted of family units. Each of the centres operated by the corporation was to provide guidance and counselling services designed for the family as a whole. The rationale for such an approach was stated in the first proposed annual plan: "Cultural change and social adaptation must be provided in the communities where the target populations live ... The family is the appropriate unit for the accomplishment of social and cultural adaptation" [2, p. 18]. The annual report of Alberta NewStart for 1969 admitted that family relationships were still at the root of most instances of termination of training and employment and that "family counselling efforts must be increased" [4, p. 32].

The actual program of family counselling at Alberta NewStart was conducted by indigenous counsellors. Direct assistance was offered to families relocating to Fort McMurray in handling problems of "community orientation, home adjustment, school enrollment, recreation, and any factors related to their total participation in the training program and community generally" [4, p. 58]. The goal of the program was "to assist the wives and their husbands to gradually acquire the skills and confidence to perform the social roles that will be expected of them as citizens in an urban community" [4, p. 58]. It was reported that involvement with the families was high during the first two weeks, and that it reduced gradually over the following three to four weeks. The description of this program places considerable emphasis on the solution of problems inherent in making the first move to the urban environment. It is not suggested that the staff of the program was competent to deal with the more severe problems which arise in the interaction of family members.

d. *Indigenous Counsellors*

It was particularly in the field of counselling that several of the corporations recruited staff members from the indigenous populations of their respective target areas. (The various NewStart contributions to the "new careers" movement are treated in a separate consolidated report of programs involving paraprofessionals or aides in social work, teaching, and health care fields, as well as in guidance and counselling.) Nova Scotia NewStart stated, in a summary of its first annual plan: "The need for counselling for unemployed persons and potential trainees is apparent. It is felt that successful persons from their own peer groups can, in many cases, effectively serve these needs" [74, p. 14]. The paraprofessional guidance worker was to be "a behaviour change agent ... helping people to want to change and break out of their powerlessness" [77, App. B, p. 5].

The indigenous counsellor both understands and can portray those kinds of behaviour change which are appropriate for the person in the light of his background and the requirements of his present environment. Alberta NewStart "hired strong men of Indian ancestry who were encouraged not only to retain their identity with the community but assist other staff ... to recognize the conflicts that may arise" [4, p. 38]. In other words, the indigenous para-

professional is sensitive to the perceptions and fears of the disadvantaged person, particularly when faced with the necessity of a change in his style of life. The assistance paraprofessionals can offer to the professional counsellor, far from being a mere exercise of trivial ancillary functions, is based upon a unique insight into the special personality and environmental factors which characterize the particular community. They are factors with which he has had to come to grips in his own life. Moreover, the example of the indigenous person can serve as a model not only for personal change, but also to convince the seemingly powerless person that he is capable of taking action to change the situation around him. At Alberta NewStart, the phrase "community counselling" was used, and was defined as "the meaningful participation of people in their everyday lives" [4, p. 33]. The role of the "strong men of Indian ancestry" who were hired as community counsellors was central to this process. Both that role and that process are of particular relevance for Native people, who are constantly in danger of becoming completely dependent on outside direction and planning. Alberta NewStart reported, "Community counsellors work for constructive interdependence, for what we usually call independence is really the ability to manage our interdependence in effective ways" [4, p. 38].

The staff of the family counselling program in Fort McMurray could also be called paraprofessional counsellors. These six women were qualified because they had "first-hand knowledge of the adjustment problems relating to education and integration into a white community" [4, p. 58].

Prince Edward Island NewStart employed one indigenous counsellor at each of its two community service centres. These centres served as recruitment and information depots and offered counselling, referral, and day care services. They also promoted community action. The indigenous counsellors were chiefly responsible for supportive counselling, especially with respect to family and home life, for recruitment to the corporation's manpower development system, for referral to other appropriate agencies, and for information giving and data gathering [92, pp. 72–74]. An evaluation of the work of these centres says that the "backgrounds and personal life styles [of the indigenous counsellors] suggested a good understanding of the rural poor. Because of this they were initially well prepared to bridge the gap between the service donors and the recipients" [95, p. 9]. The final report of the program summarizes the counselling relationship from the point of view of the participants: "Community members identified with a person, rather than with a role" [95, p. 42].

Nova Scotia NewStart operated four extension centres, offering services similar to those in Prince Edward Island's community service centres. The extension centres were staffed by 16 paraprofessional guidance workers. Two additional guidance workers served only in relation to specific training programs. These persons were all selected within the target area. The following selection criteria were applied:

comprehension of the needs of disadvantaged people;
openness to the various avenues of meeting these needs;

concern to be a part of programs which will do this;
identification with peers in the community;
apparent relationship with members in the community;
acknowledgement of uncertainties and confusions;
healthy attitude towards change, both in self and community;
optimistic dissatisfaction with the *status quo*;
ability to assess and evaluate a situation;
absence of a "middle class" outlook [27, p. 117].

Those who were selected participated in a two-month training program before the opening of the extension centres. They then spent four months in an on-the-job training phase, working in the communities where the centres were located. After one year of operation, the extension centres were phased out and the guidance workers concentrated their efforts on the maintenance of trainees in the variety of basic education and occupational training programs which the corporation conducted. It was reported that these programs "relied heavily on the role of the guidance worker as the bridge between the newly selected trainee's home and community experience and the new environment of the training program" [27, p. 14]. This reliance did not diminish as the program progressed beyond the orientation stage. In the case of the fisheries training program for deckhands, it was the full-time responsibility of one guidance worker to bolster the morale of the trainees and to help them straighten out "troubles at home, financial problems, troubles with the police, personality problems, problems arising out of drinking, and lack of judgment" [84, p. 15]. When trainees left the training program, once more a set of circumstances prevailed in which the indigenous guidance workers were particularly well qualified to offer assistance.

For a fuller understanding of the indigenous counsellor program at Nova Scotia NewStart, its underlying rationale, the selection procedures, a description of the training offered, a listing of appropriate tasks for these personnel, and an evaluation of their work, the reader is referred to the Nova Scotia Scotia NewStart report *Counselling in Human Resource Development* [27, pp. 21–86]. The consolidated report on paraprofessional occupations in the Canada NewStart Program, *New Careers for the Disadvantaged,* also offers an extensive analysis of indigenous counselling, as does the Prince Edward Island NewStart report, *Community Service Centres in Rural Settings* [95].

3. MOTIVATION

Page, in his introduction to the Canada NewStart Program, stated that "The purpose of the program is to help the disadvantaged to acquire the motivation and preparation necessary for stable and rewarding employment" [83, p. 1]. There is considerable evidence that the corporations took this statement seriously. Saskatchewan NewStart, in which there was more emphasis on highly developed pedagogical systems than in any other corporation, recognized the fact that "good pedagogy has failed to reach the unmotivated"

[118, p. 9]. New Brunswick NewStart, which has elected to focus its interventions at the community level and generally to forego attempts at direct behavioural change in individual persons, offers this analysis: "Historical exposure to disadvantage creates perceptual systems which function to impede the individual's rapid grasping of opportunities opened by structural change, and ... these perceptual systems must be modified and evolved" [70, p. xvi]. A wide variety of means were used by the NewStart corporations in an attempt to effect such a development of the motivation of disadvantaged persons to grasp opportunities.

a.   *Social Reinforcement: Authority and Influence*

Motivation has been defined earlier in this report in terms of the individual's expectance of satisfaction in his striving after goals. These goals are usually many. At any given time, a person has immediate goals as well as long-range ones. He has very pressing needs to be satisfied and he has lesser needs which can afford their own measure of satisfaction as he pursues the more important goals. Many systems of reward are active in every person in his every waking moment. One of the most common and most influential of such systems is centered in the person's interactions with other people. If other persons are in positions of authority, he may wish to be recognized as an obedient and reliable worker. At Alberta NewStart, a motivational approach which drew upon this type of social reinforcement was that of maintaining standards of behaviour in the training centres. It was understood that if these standards were not complied with, the trainee could be asked to leave the program. Provision was made for intensive counselling before dismissal would be contemplated, and readmission was possible after a three to six months period [2, pp. 10, 34]. The rationale for this kind of a motivational approach (which can scarcely be called innovative) was that the native who aspires to enter the employment market in the industrial setting must be given a concrete introduction to the realities of being an employee. In Page's words, the training can "duplicate the social demand of various work situations" [83, p. 10].

Of course, not all social relationships in the world of work involve such negative reinforcers. Nova Scotia NewStart listed praise, prestige, promotion, status, job security, and upward mobility as incentives which can be used to shape effective work patterns [77, App. D, p. 1]. A follow-up of the fisheries deckhand training program speculates that some of the men developed skills during training because their progress was recognized and praised by the crew of the training vessel, but that they did not continue in the occupation because "the captains and mates of commercial vessels are perhaps less visibly impressed by the adequate performance of their deckhands" [84, p. 52].

Prince Edward Island NewStart attempted to develop "motivation through job restructuring", by training food processing supervisors in managerial methods which place more initiative in the hands of the workers. Unfortunately, most of the supervisory staff could not be motivated to continue with the course, so no effects in the worker's behaviour could be observed [20].

The influence of peer relationships in motivating achievement during training was observed at Prince Edward Island NewStart. In a study of group differences in the adult basic education program of that corporation, it was hypothesized that achievement is facilitated by the presence of "natural leaders" among the trainees in a group. Four groups were observed, two female and two male, with those of each sex again divided according to whether the individual's score on the Stanford Achievement Test was above or below the grade six level. It was observed that in each group at least one person displayed qualities of natural leadership, and that these qualities could be measured in terms of group participation, personal deportment, interest level, dominance, nurturance, and leadership ranking by the training monitors. The numbers of such natural leaders in each group and the mean grade level increase during the program achieved by the other members of each group are shown in Table 6. The rate of increase among nonleaders varied directly with the number of natural leaders present. Such a finding is strongly indicative that a study is in order, in which the effects of sex and grade level would be controlled for. If this relationship is found to occur reliably, the next objective would be to find ways of identifying and perhaps developing the qualities of leadership in some trainees who could then be "seeded" in training groups. There is every reason to expect a similar enhancement of learning in groups undergoing occupational training.

Table 6. Numbers of Natural Leaders and Mean Grade Level Increases During an Adult Basic Education Program [64].

Groups	Number of Natural Leaders	Mean Grade Level Increase Among Non-Leaders
Females below grade 6 (N=15)	4	1.69
Males above grade 6 (N=14)	3	1.24
Males below grade 6 (N=12)	1	1.10
Females above grade 6 (N=15)	1	0.88

b. *Financial Incentives*

The official euphemism for training allowances in Canada is "income replacement". Clearly, when a disadvantaged adult undertakes training, especially if he or she has dependents, some provision has to be made for the essential living costs. The Occupational Training Act makes such remuneration a matter of right for all Canadians who enter basic skills or occupational training and who fulfil certain requirements of past participation in the labour force. At Alberta NewStart, steps were taken to relate the training allowance to the trainee's participation in the program in much the same way as the person's wages are related to his attendance at work. It was felt that this was

especially important in the case of Natives who had had no experience of exchanging their time and work for wages [113, p. 2]. It was further suggested that relocation grants at the conclusion of formal training should be calculated dollar-for-dollar according to the amount the family had saved out of the training allowance during the course of the program. This practice, too, would be analogous to earned income [4, p. 59].

Another motivational factor which implies a financial incentive is the guarantee of employment when the person has acquired the necessary qualifications. Nova Scotia NewStart stated: "The implication of any type of intervention is that at the end of the process there is a promise of rewarding fulfillment. Nova Scotia NewStart must make sure that the implied promise of a job is kept" [77, App. F]. This stipulation, which was really understood to apply in every corporation, created difficulties for an experimental training program in areas where employment opportunities are few. New Brunswick NewStart pointedly refused to run training programs which did not have as their direct objective the entry of the trainee into satisfactory, secure, and remunerative work.

The reward value of money came under question in the analyses of the follow-up data from two Nova Scotia NewStart projects. Among those who participated in the fisheries deckhand training it was reported that "incomes of those who fished were more than eighty per cent higher than those of the subjects who held jobs ashore" [84, p. 52]. In spite of this, fewer than twenty per cent of the former trainees had continued to fish. Again, in the follow-up report of the program in on-the-job training, we read, "it is interesting to note . . . that those who said that they would prefer a different job were, . . . without exception, those who were earning the highest wages" [80, p. 58]. These findings can hardly be taken as evidence that financial incentives are of little value in motivating skill acquisition and work. Rather they illustrate that the use of these incentives must be carefully related to the actual preferences of the person and to the whole complex of other incentives and disincentives which are operating in any given situation. An example of this systematic application of financial and other incentives will be discussed in subsection f., below, which deals with contingency management.

c. *Informational Feedback*

Saskatchewan NewStart expressed the conviction that "most students will work hard when they can see that they are making progress" [98, p. C1]. The use of Individually Prescribed Instruction (I.P.I.) made it possible to maximize this effect. Knowledge of results, both in terms of the appropriateness of a specific response and in terms of the general enchancement of one's self image as a competent person, was recognized as a potent motivational force. In one of its presentations to an orientation conference of staff members of the first four corporations, the Pilot Projects Branch of the Department of Manpower and Immigration stated: "Realistic success experiences . . . reinforce

interest and development" [87, p. 19]. This principle was one which guided the development of the DACUM system of curriculum design and training implementation [1]. This system analyzes an occupation into specific skills in which the person must be competent in order to enter the occupation. The trainee is able to rate himself in his acquisition of each skill, and to determine that level of skill which is appropriate to his personal aspirations in the occupation.

In some of the corporations a broader kind of informational feedback was advocated, in which persons would supposedly be motivated to change their behaviour in response to an increased awareness of the opportunities and barriers affecting them in specific groups and communities. This corresponds in some ways to the informational linkage element in the change model adopted by New Brunswick NewStart. At Manitoba NewStart it was proposed that the members of a native community undertake their own survey of the economic resources upon which their future depended. It was hypothesized that the results of the survey would prompt some community members to seek employment elsewhere. Because of the early termination of this corporation, such a survey was never carried out, however [50, p. 81]. At Alberta NewStart, Aumack spoke of the necessity for "downward accountability", by which he meant the transmission and interpretation of the findings in poverty research to the poor people themselves. Armed with such information, he argued, they would be better able to determine and adopt appropriate goals for their own joint and individual action [11, p. 86].

d. *Familiar and Novel Experiences*
A training environment and regime which is strange to the participants can draw upon certain elements familiar to their experience for motivational enhancement. For example, the concept of skill and its acquisition can be communicated to an Indian by referring to the way in which skill in hunting is acquired and exercised [3, p. 32]. Alberta NewStart established mobile centres in the native communities because it was felt that the people would be better able to accept new ideas and enter into new experiences within their familiar surroundings [3, p. 3]. In a preliminary survey report, it was recommended that Manitoba NewStart should maintain, as far as possible, familiar patterns of behaviour during training and employment, such as the provision for short-term commitment on the part of natives who are unaccustomed to being tied down to a particular program or job indefinitely [39, p. 101].

Conversely, motivation can often be built up by exposing persons to new situations which expand their awareness of opportunities and styles of life which characterize communities beyond their own limited horizons. New Brunswick NewStart planned field trips to Ontario, Quebec, and other Maritime centres for disadvantaged persons from Kent County. The impact of this exposure was said to have "shock treatment value" [71, p. 43]. Prince Edward

Island NewStart sent some of its trainees on similar exploratory journeys, and reported that these experiences were means of effecting marked changes in behaviour.[1]

e. *Control over Fate*

New Brunswick NewStart has identified internal control of the locus of reinforcement as a variable which can serve as a useful index of the motivational level of the person. (We discuss this variable on pages 35–36.) Moreover, induced changes in the locus of control in response to varying styles of presentation in training programs were reported in a study by Maillet [48, p. 29]. One program was a course in home management for women, in which the trainees "were consulted as to their needs and desires for course diversification" [48, p. 4]. Another program involved men in a navigation course, which was presented in a traditional manner, with "basic bits of information" being imparted in a course of lectures which had been worked out before training began. The women arranged conferences and field trips and selected films which they thought would be useful adjuncts to their program. The I-E locus of control measure was administered to both groups both before and after training. The results are displayed in Figure 5. The women who participated in the home management course scored markedly more toward the internality pole on the post test, whereas the men in the navigation course apparently became more external in their locus of control. Maillet offers certain qualifying remarks about this study. Sex differences may have had a confounding effect, since one group was entirely male and the other female. The I-E levels of the instructors were not measured. It is conceivable that they were, in subtle ways, "teaching" their own beliefs about the locus of control of reinforcement. Finally, it has yet to be shown that such dramatic effects have sufficient stability over time or generalizability to real life situations to warrant the special design of programs in order to induce a desired change in this variable [48, pp. 9, 11].

f. *Contingency Management*

The experimental analysis of behaviour has identified three categories of events which occur in a learning situation. These categories and their temporal relationship were illustrated by Pond of Nova Scotia NewStart as follows [88, p. 5]: Antecedent Events → Behaviour → Consequent Events.

Contingency management is a motivational technology which systematically arranges the antecedent and consequent events in such a manner as to evoke desirable behaviours and to extinguish undesirable ones. According to Pond and Denton, "One fundamental rule incorporated in contingency management is that behaviour is strengthened or weakened depending upon its consequences" [89, p. 7].

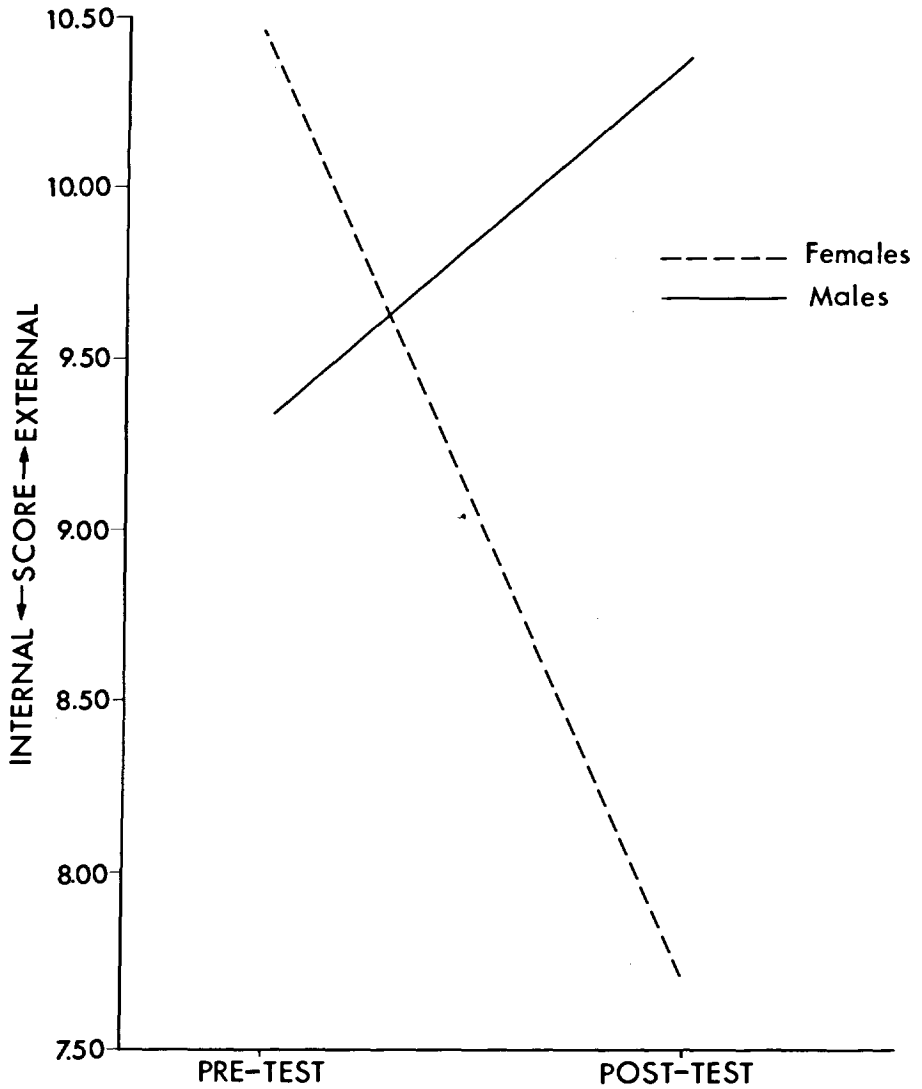[1] R. Seaman. Oral report to Life Skills Seminar, Ottawa, January, 1971.

Fig. 5.   Changes in Internal-External locus of control in training groups where opportunity
to determine course content was given (females) or withheld (males) [48, p. 5].

Pond points out two interrelated implications of behaviour theory. First,
it is the environment, rather than the learner himself, which is assumed to
control his behaviour. Second, whether the learner responds in a satisfactory
or unsatisfactory manner is traced to the nature of the antecedent and/or
consequent events, rather than to some assumed characteristics in the indivi-

dual such as intelligence, laziness, or learning blocks [88, pp. 6,9]. A person's motivation, then, as a total phenomenon, has its source and its means of adjustment outside the organism. It is constantly subject to variations according to the environmental events surrounding the person. Contingency management says, in effect, that since these manipulations of the person's behaviour are constantly going on anyway, it is a reasonable and a humanitarian thing to establish a system of environmental events which can be shown to effect adaptive behavioural changes, especially in the disadvantaged.

Pond and Denton note that "the first steps in using contingency management as motivational management are (1) specifying the task, i.e. something the person has to do, and (2) finding an appropriate reinforcer, i.e. something the person would rather do" [89, p. 12]. The determination of what is reinforcing for an individual is an empirical question, and will ultimately be decided by recourse to the person's response profile to find out what really is reinforcing to him. It may be a mistake, for example to assume that knowledge of results will function alone as a reinforcer for all course behaviours, for all students, and at all times. To be a reinforcer, an event usually depends on a more or less complex system of potentiating events. These are internal and/or external conditions which temper the effects of the reinforcer [88, p. 18].

A basic literacy training program for adults was conducted at Nova Scotia NewStart using the principles of contingency management. The reinforcements provided were monetary rewards offered for attendance and punctuality, vocabulary training, oral reading, silent reading, and answering questions about the material read. The learning curve for one mentally defective 22-year-old female is shown in Figure 6. This case was representative of the gains recorded by the subjects in this experiment.

The performance of the instructors in the program was strengthened by the observation of student gains as a consequence of the procedures. Such reinforcers, it was suggested, can "carry the primary motivational burden" for the teacher or instructor aide in a contingency management learning program [89, p. 21]. Pond and Denton review several areas of potential application of contingency management, such as education, mental retardation, juvenile and adult delinquency, emotional disturbance, and the training of practitioners to use the technique in these areas. They also list a variety of events which can serve as reinforcers when they occur as consequences of the desired behaviours in different programs [89, pp. 16 and ff.].

4. PLACEMENT AND FOLLOW-UP

The real meaning of the name chosen for the Canada NewStart Program can only be fully understood and validated when we focus upon the points at which the transition is made from the program of psycho-social adjustment, skill acquisition, and community development into the employment situation
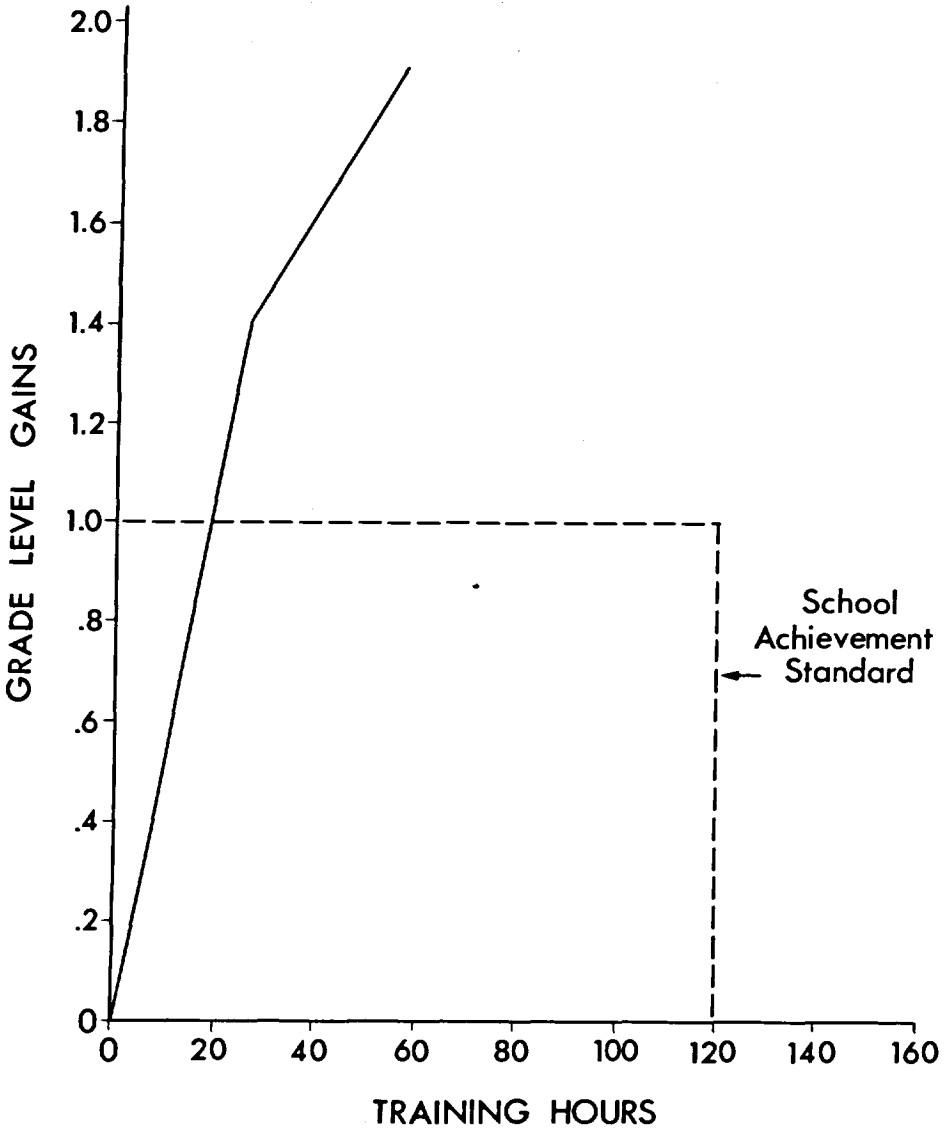
Fig. 6. California Reading Test grade level gains associated with enrollment in a contingency managed reading project by an illiterate 22-year-old female (I.Q. 67) [89, p. 59.]

in which the disadvantaged can begin to become self-sustaining persons. Perhaps "point" is the wrong word. The practices of the corporations generally were to treat this transition as a somewhat extended phase of the over-all manpower development activity. Within that phase, certain program components and special recipient requirements can be identified.

a. *Placement*

In a summary statement, Nova Scotia NewStart expresses the conviction that "the placement of persons from a disadvantaged background is a very critical operation. It is at this stage that the newly trained person's capacity for independent action meets its greatest test. The personnel of the employing firm must be made aware of the difficult transition the new employee is making" [27, p. 18]. In a sense, this stage also tests the capacity of the training agency. Up until now, the trainee has been operating in an environment which was designed and controlled by the training staff. When the trainee enters the work environment, however, he encounters, perhaps not for the first time, a set of conditions and demands which are not tailored to fit *his* needs and abilities, but the production requirement of the employing firm.

Alberta NewStart recognized the importance of establishing a liaison with potential employers in the area. Such a liaison, it was argued, is useful on two counts. First, it helps the training agency to develop programs which are appropriate to the personnel needs of the firms which are most likely to be able to provide jobs for the newly trained persons. Second, it facilitates placement by establishing lines of communication. By this means, the placement officers and the trainee can be informed of the characteristics of the job and of the employing firm. Similarly, the employer is given a realization of the qualities of the person he is hiring and the nature of the training experience he has had [3, p. 70]. Prince Edward Island NewStart adopted similar measures to enhance these lines of communication. In fact, we are told that arrangements were made for citizens to meet and get to know trainees during the course of upgrading programs. The placement officer, as "middleman", far from being by-passed in such a scheme, is really taking steps to make his job easier and his objectives more likely to be achieved [93, p. 45]. Where training is given on the job, rather than in an institutional setting, this liaison with the employer can be optimized. He can be carefully briefed ahead of time about the special needs of the trainee and about the nature of the training process which the agency is to help him activate in his place of business. A careful matching of trainees and work situations can then be effected [80, p. 44].

Some specific programs of job placement and orientation were undertaken where the nature of the occupation warranted the use of particular approaches. The major industry in northeastern Alberta is the extraction of petroleum from the tar sands along the Athabasca River. A firm which is engaged in this industry employed several of the native men who had participated in the basic upgrading and vocational orientation programs of Alberta NewStart.

It was found that these placements tended to be of short duration due to many difficulties which arose in the work environment. In an attempt to remedy this situation, an on-the-job orientation program was devised, consisting of the following four elements:

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a tour of the plant a month before placement, involving wives as well as trainees;

a one month in-plant orientation, in which emphasis was placed on "adequate social adjustment";

a tour of Alberta NewStart facilities at Fort Chipewyan and Fort McMurray to familiarize the personnel of the firm with the home and training environments of the trainees;

an "early warning system" by which the firm's personnel could notify Alberta NewStart's staff of developing problems before they were out of control [40, pp. 3, 6].

Prior to the program, seven men had been placed with the firm without orientation, and only one remained on the staff. Of the four who participated in the orientation program, all but one stayed with the firm.

Nova Scotia NewStart realized that placement of newly trained deckhands in the fishing industry involved more difficulties than are ordinarily encountered in land-based industry. For this reason a subsidized placement phase was designed to effect the transition from training to employment. When training came to an end, the new deckhands were assigned to various fishing vessels for a period of approximately one month, during which time training allowances were continued. The crews of the co-operating vessels provided the opportunity for these men to begin to utilize their skills in the context of full commercial fishing operations. The ships involved were sailing out of ports other than that in which the training program had been centered, and capable liaison officers were selected in these other ports to assist in the solution of problems that might arise both while the newly trained men were fishing and while they were ashore in a strange community. In spite of the care with which this program was designed and executed, it was reported that nine of the men who participated in the subsidized placement did not continue fishing for the arranged period of time [84, pp. 34–6]. The implication of this experience is not so much that a placement program failed as it is that placement frequently requires particular effort on the part of the training agency, the new employer, and the newly trained person himself.

b. *Follow-up*

Contacts between NewStart and former program participants seem generally to have continued well past the termination of training. Alberta NewStart committed itself to such a follow-up training "for a minimum of three months" [4, p. 31]. While this period was shorter than those suggested by some of the other corporations, it was supposedly used for more intensive support activities. Interviews were planned with the employers of former trainees, and the follow-up process, like the program as a whole, was to involve the whole family.

The follow-up period was used to achieve a number of objectives. The most obvious was to continue and bring to a satisfactory conclusion the program of supportive counselling which had been undertaken during the training process. This is a critical phase of the helping relationship, in which the person must begin to perceive that he is self-supporting, not only in financial terms, but also in terms of his ability to solve problems and maintain his own emotional strength. A Nova Scotia NewStart report stated, "there was evidence in the corporation's experience that as much support is needed during the first few months of employment as is needed during the training program" [27, p. 18]. The follow-up period was also used in some instances for a continuation of formal educational upgrading [78, p. 10]. The word "graduation" is rarely encountered in descriptions of the termination of training in the NewStart documents. The principle of continuous learning is implied. Finally, follow-up in the action-research situation provides an opportunity for the gathering of data by which it can be determined whether the long-term objectives of the training programs are being met. Unless some pertinent questions are put to the former trainees, their employers, and/or their families at least a year after formal training has terminated, it is impossible to know to what extent a program is fulfilling the needs of unemployed and underemployed persons.

c. *A New Start in a New Community*

All of the NewStart corporations were faced with the reality that the employment which could absorb those needing jobs in the target areas almost always existed in communities other than where these people were living. This fact raised two compelling questions: How can people be motivated to move to other communities to seek employment? and: How can they be helped to adjust to their new surroundings without major disruptions in their emotional and social well being? Extensive attempts to answer these questions are being made by New Brunswick NewStart, although even there the first question is not directly addressed. The supposition of that corporation is that, as linkages with outside communities increase, migration will increase. It is suggested, however, that the propensity to migrate can be measured in individuals or families by observing their history of geographic mobility in the past, their present attitude about their own community and about the centres to which they potentially might migrate, and the steps that they have taken to explore the possibility of moving [28, p. 9].

New Brunswick NewStart also offers an extensive listing of those variables of which adjustment to a new community might be a function. It is hypothesized that adjustment will vary *inversely* with:

amount and complexity of change

amount of immoveable investment in the former community

number of social links with the former community

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age

family size

gap between aspirations and expectations.

The suggested *positive* correlates of adjustment to mobility are:

education

intelligence

socio-economic and occupational status (provided these are not diminished)

socio-psychological autonomy

presence in the new community of family and friends

job satisfaction

personal involvement in the decision to move

number of previous moves

income level

accessibility of schools and other social services, including counselling in the receiving community [66, pp. 139-51].

It is further suggested, in the context of the discussion of the internal-external control construct, that migrants who are external are less likely to persist in making a place for themselves in a new community. If they remain in the new community there is a danger that they will isolate themselves from contact with their new neighbours. "Only the very internal migrants will persist in their struggle for adaptation" [49, p. 8].

That the difficulties in adjustment to urban life are particularly acute for native people scarcely needs to be said. The magnitude of the problem was illustrated by Manitoba NewStart: "the adjustment to the urban scene just with regard to the few conveniences (indoor plumbing, telephone, automobiles) is major. Coupled with social and psychological adjustments such as forming new relationships, making new friends, seeking new forms of recreation, and performing on the job, it becomes immense" [54, p. 30].

Just as the purpose of the mobility of people is primarily to get potential wage earners to the places where jobs are available, so too a fundamental area of adjustment is that involved in settling into one's new employment. Manitoba NewStart conducted a study of behaviour related to persistence in mining employment [59]. The mines involved were all in northern Manitoba, but in communities other than where the men had lived before they became miners. These communities were relatively large, with predominantly white populations. Most of the subjects in the study were of Native ancestry. An "adaptive" miner was defined as a man who persisted in mining employment for more than one year. The characteristics of such men are listed on pages 37 and 38 of this report.

Saskatchewan NewStart offers a summary of the needs of persons who migrate from rural poverty areas to the economic growth centres of the na-

tion. As well as the upgrading of academic, vocational, and life skills, stress is laid upon the need for a social, economic, and psychological orientation to the urban environment. In part, this orientation consists of the provision of information about the costs, reasonable expectations, and services likely to be found in the urban community. It is further suggested that an important part of the preparation for migration is that the potential migrant should be helped to determine for himself his capacity to benefit from the move [105, pp. 3–4]. As a result of such a program, it is conceivable that the potential migrant can begin to form the perception of himself as a resident of a modern industrial community.

In this part of the report, attention has been devoted to the basic assumptions about human behaviour and to the program techniques by which these assumptions were translated into action. Both the assumptions and the techniques were varied, as might be expected of semi-autonomous corporations in a program charged to be inventive and innovative. The following part will attempt an integration of the material reviewed here, in order to reveal more clearly the potential of these programs for further application and development.
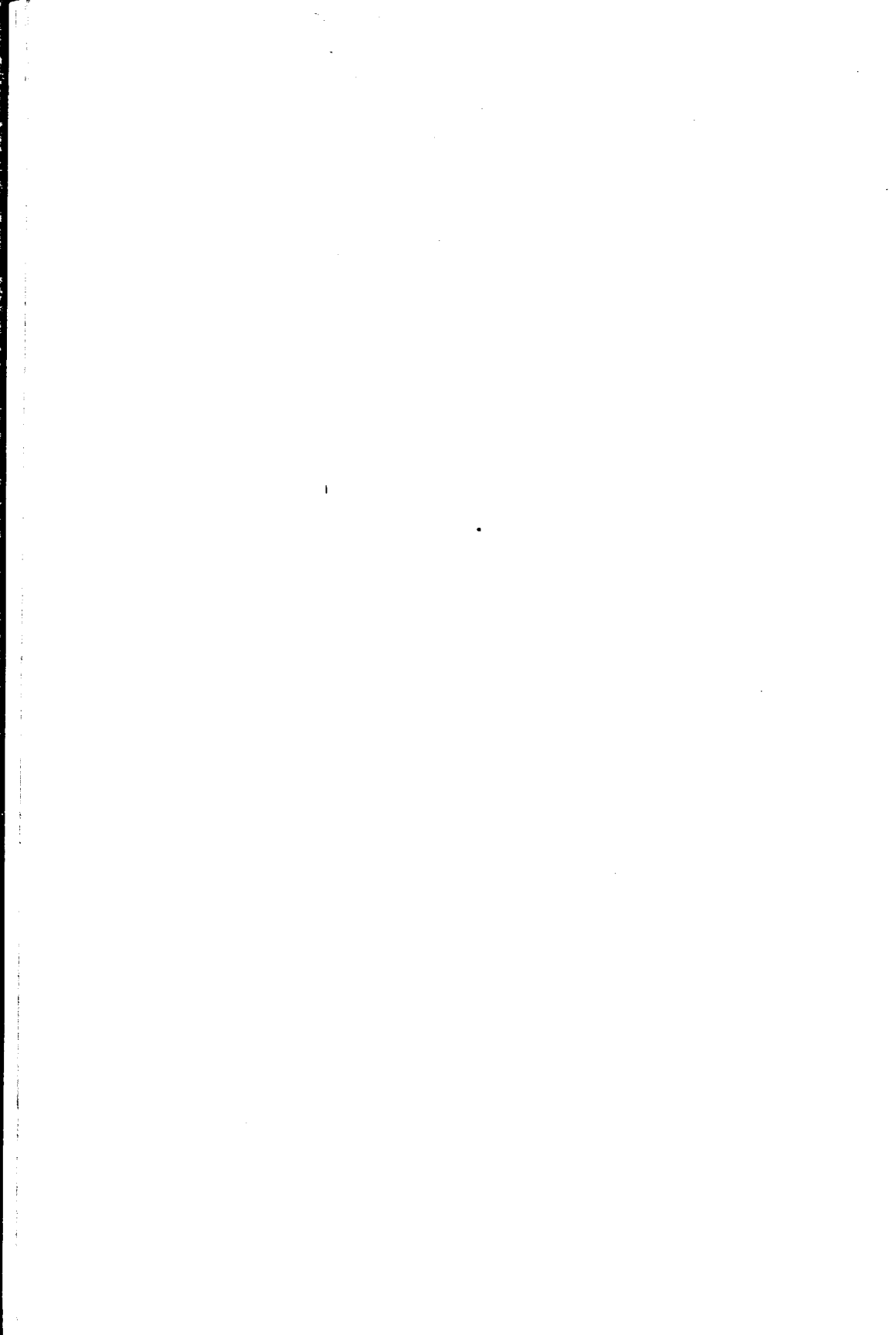
The Potential

A. THE DEVELOPMENT OF PERSPECTIVES

1. BEHAVIOURAL ENVIRONMENTALISM

The work reviewed in this report lends some clarity to the developing perspectives on the issues of behaviour change in overcoming disadvantage. One of the most useful of such contributions is the assertion that is made, in various ways, of the importance of environmental factors. The NewStart staff members, while they subscribed to diverse theoretical positions and indulged in different approaches to training and social adjustment, could perhaps be commonly categorized as "behavioural environmentalists". Firstly, attempts have been made to analyze the ways in which the environment contributes to the problem of disadvantage as a *causative* factor. Both historical events involving different groups in Canadian society and the personal experiences in an individual's lifetime of disadvantage have exerted a measure of control over the abilities and aspirations of people. Even the fact that one is perceived as disadvantaged represents a telling environmental influence which perpetuates and aggravates the condition.

Secondly, the environment has been invoked to define "disadvantage". The term can only have meaning in the light of the situation faced by the person and the standards of culture and wealth which prevail in his society. Where the situations impose demands and responsibilities which overtax the behavioural repertoire of the individual, his life experiences do not seem to him to be controlled by what he does. He perceives that others are in positions where they can exercise choice with regard to day-to-day living and long range planning. He begins to conclude that the events which befall him are all set in motion by forces which are controlled by others.

Finally, the environment has been regarded as the key element in those procedures which can help to *overcome* disadvantage. From the point of view of learning theory, the events in the environment can be so arranged as to

reinforce responses which are adaptive to the individual. The sociologist and the economist detect structural variables in the environment of communities which, if appropriately adjusted, can be expected to result in improvements in the quality of life in aggregate terms. The social worker recognizes that certain components of the social and physical environments of individuals and families must be adjusted in order to permit and restore human dignity and health.

2. BEHAVIOURAL SCIENCE FOR THE PEOPLE

This general tendency to focus on the environment in the attempts to examine and do something about disadvantage removes the aura of mystery which has sometimes surrounded problems in human development. The environment is out where it can be observed and adjusted, unlike the unconscious, the intellect, or the will. One implication of this posture is that behavioural change can be regarded as less dependent upon the esoteric knowledge of the expert. The principles by which human development occur can be shared with all those to whom it is a concern, not least with the disadvantaged themselves. Rather than thinking something is wrong with them which others can either put right or make allowances for, they can begin to see the clues to their situation outside themselves and to work co-operatively with others to bring about the necessary immediate and societal changes.

Basically, this means that programs of training and social adjustment must give a role to the people who constitute their target in making decisions and carrying them out. Such programs must correspond, as nearly as possible, to the whole range of life problems experienced by their recipients. They must also be geared to the reality that the recipients are adults who are capable of making decisions when they are presented with real options. Even the assessment of programs can usefully involve those for whom they are intended. Such persons need the opportunity to recognize changes in their own levels of competence as well as to have such changes recognized by others. Furthermore, the usual instruments which are used in behavioural assessments may be inappropriate both because they constitute a perceived threat to the disadvantaged person and also because they fail to measure behaviours which represent suitable objectives for him to pursue. The measurement of adult behaviour must not only be as accurate as possible, but it must also be useful. This usefulness is maximized when the person can be shown the purpose of the assessment and when he can be allowed to share in the interpretation and application of the results.

3. THE EDUCATIONAL MODEL

The objectives in human resource development are related more and more to the concept of competence. The notions of therapy, philanthropy, correction, and the like are not relevant to the needs of the great majority of disadvantaged people. It is skill they need — skill to cope with personal and

interpersonal problems, and skill to acquire and retain rewarding employment. This educational or training model must not, however, be clouded by the imagery of schooling as it has traditionally been experienced. The very word *school*, along with *class, course, grade, achievement*, and *teacher*, for example, is in the process of being reinterpreted, if not replaced altogether. The model now taking shape stresses individual needs, objectives, and pace of learning. Training can thus become directly relevant to the person's own life and work. Learning is increasingly recognized as an activity of the person by which knowledge and skill are acquired, rather than as an activity of a teacher who educates students. By these developments, learning becomes more intrinsically challenging and rewarding. It becomes a process of developing one's own skill profile in a cumulative fashion, rather than of endlessly and hopelessly competing for grades with everyone else. It becomes a characteristic of the person throughout his life, rather than ending at graduation.

B. THE DEVELOPMENT OF PROGRAMS

Perspectives on human resource development such as those outlined above were the theoretical counterparts to certain practical approaches which can te discerned in the action components of the Canada NewStart Program. Several areas of developmental activity in the NewStart corporations suggest either procedures for immediate application or promising approaches which require further development and validation. It is not the purpose of this report to state which are more ready for implementation than others. Rather, approaches will be listed which have been attempted and which deserve to be considered by human resource development agencies. It is assumed that this consideration will include reference to the source documents and, where possible, to the developers themselves. In this way the assessment can be made of the need for adaptation and testing in any given setting.

1. BEHAVIOURAL APPROACHES

The technique of training known as contingency management was reviewed in pages 57–59. It was noted that this represents a class of systematic behaviour change methodologies that have a wide potential application. It should also be noted that a variety of reward strategies can be contemplated [89, pp. 41–55]. One such strategy is the token economy system, in which points in the form of tokens are received for appropriate responses. These points, after sufficient numbers have been accumulated, can be exchanged for privileges or goods which are listed as being available. The example of contingency management already referred to offered a straight financial incentive which took the place of, and never exceeded, the training allowance. This raises the issue of the extent to which training allowances are simply replacement income. If they are in some sense a reward, then what behaviours are being rewarded? The only behaviour upon which they are

contingent is attendance at a training program. The longer the trainee can stay in the course or the more different programs he can enter, the greater will be his accumulated reward. Can replacement income also serve to facilitate learning if contingencies are arranged between the allowances and the rate and level of skill acquisition?

Other behavioural approaches use less tangible reward systems. Behavioural counselling, for example, helps the person to select a course of action which, in the face of his particular situation, holds some promise of resulting in an effective solution to his problem. The reward is the sense of satisfaction which comes through coping effectively with the situation. In this way the adaptive behaviour is strengthened.

Knowledge of results can also serve as a reinforcer. This is one of the strengths of the DACUM system of training, where the learning objectives are defined in specific statements of skill. The trainee learns to recognize when he has achieved a particular level of competence with regard to the skill definition which he has chosen as an objective. The DACUM system is described in detail in *Skill and Employment*, the consolidated report on occupational training in the Canada NewStart Program.

2. HUMANISTIC APPROACHES

It is not implied that programs based on a humanistic approach do not overlap in several areas with the behaviourally oriented programs. Perhaps the main link between the two is that the humanistic approaches rely on reinforcements which are inherent in interpersonal and introspective events. Such events may often serve to strengthen behaviour more successfully than do more tangible rewards. On the other hand, such events are not as easily controlled by the trainer, and for this reason they do not ordinarily have a place in a *technology* of behaviour change.

Of the humanistic approaches to behaviour change in the Canada NewStart Program, the Saskatchewan NewStart Life Skills Course is the most thoroughly developed and the most original in its conception. This program has not been treated in this report because it seemed appropriate to review it, along with life skills programs developed by the other corporations, in a separate consolidated report in the series titled *Life Skills: A Curriculum for Counselling*.

Other humanistic approaches to behaviour change programming among the corporations included the measurement and development of achievement motivation and internal control of the locus of reinforcement. Both of these variables have been shown to bear a relationship to measures of personal potential for growth in occupational and economic capacity. The identification of natural leaders among training groups at Prince Edward Island New-Start warrants further exploration to determine ways in which the exercise of such leadership can be carefully arranged by the trainers in charge of group

learning situations. Attempts to develop more adaptive concepts of the self, of one's ethnic or cultural group, and of the industrialized and urbanized society of the nation were also reported. All of these attempts to develop personality variables for the advantage of the individual or group, merit further critical study and application where they are relevant to the concern of the human resource development agency.

3. INDIGENOUS PARAPROFESSIONAL WORKERS

The program and research staffs of the NewStart corporations were, for the most part, recruited from all parts of Canada and from other countries as well. The main exceptions to this rule were the indigenous people who were recruited to gain for the corporations a greater capacity to understand and to communicate with the socio-economic and cultural groups which made up their target populations. The programs which involved these paraprofessional workers were a part of the new careers movement which has grown up in several areas of concern, such as the war on poverty, civil rights, and mental health. The paraprofessional involvements in the Canada NewStart Program (which are reviewed in considerable depth in the consolidated report *New Careers for the Disadvantaged*) served, in some instances at least, as a demonstration of the ways in which members of the indigenous population of a disadvantaged area can begin to achieve by their efforts, their personal and common goals. The potential reserves of natural leadership among disadvantaged people were evident in the NewStart reports and in the personalities and competence of the indigenous staff members themselves.

4. MOBILIZING FOR MOBILITY

The NewStart experience in all the corporations reached the point in the continuum of human resource development where the developmental tasks included the relocation of persons to communities where employment was available. It becomes increasingly apparent, given the existing governmental policies on regional economic expansion and the difficulties encountered by the disadvantaged in adapting to new occupational, home, and community environments, that the preparation for mobility is perhaps the chief issue facing the public agencies of the country. The literature reviewed in this report contains segments of population assessment and program implementation methodologies which can form important links in the needed approach. For example, the study still going on at New Brunswick NewStart of those variables which indicate successful migration will no doubt offer a useful starting point from which to develop programs. Such programs will have to be comprehensive, both in terms of an integrated sequence of orientation, basic skill development, occupational training, job placement, and follow-up like Prince Edward Island NewStart's comprehensive manpower development system, and also in terms of a total family rehabilitation program like that to which Alberta NewStart committed itself. The role of the various

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training methodologies and also of paraprofessional guidance workers will require particularly careful consideration in the development of mobility programs.

C. EPILOGUE

There is a sense in which the programs which provided the material here consolidated were generally not really "finished", in that they seldom recounted a complete test of the hypotheses with which the program plans began. The brief time-frame of the Canada NewStart Program imposed restrictions which tended to reduce the probability that the applications of the emerging principles would result in programs which were optimally designed, evaluated, and documented. As desirable as such methodologically complete research and development might be, the utility of what was done was sufficient to warrant continuing development of many of the approaches reported in this and the other consolidated reports. Indeed, the most compelling reason for the preparation of such reports is to provide summaries of the important beginning in human resource development made in the Canada NewStart Program so that further extension, application, and validation can take place.

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