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**FEDERAL INFLUENCE ON ADULT EDUCATION:  
THE ADULT OCCUPATIONAL TRAINING ACT (1967)  
IN  
NOVA SCOTIA**

**KAIREEN MARGARET CHAYTOR**

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements  
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

at  
Dalhousie University  
Halifax, Nova Scotia  
Canada, 1991



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## **ABSTRACT**

The purposes and values of adult education have been embodied in and shaped by the arguments for a number of federal policy initiatives. Debate among adult educators is seldom concerned with the origins of legislation, what interests it advances (or undermines) or how the effects of the legislation will be evaluated. This thesis suggests the value of studying federal legislation to gain understanding of adult education in Canada.

To do so several pieces of legislation pertaining to adult education were discussed. The focus of the study was the Adult Occupational Training Act (AOTA) of 1967. The study pursued the suggestion that to create historical understandings we must be able to portray and evaluate experience, recognizing the theoretical pressures which accompany such evaluation. The AOTA was examined as federal theory and studied for its impact on provincial experience. The intentions of the AOTA were compared with the intentions of the provincial plan for adult education in Nova Scotia.

The AOTA, intended to promote the national economy, pursued its plan with little consideration of regional concerns or needs. Being dependent on federal funding, Nova Scotia accommodated the federal priorities. Accommodating federal priorities resulted in adult education playing a major role in the administration of social policy. The impact of the legislation is presented from the perspective of the participant, Nova Scotia.

## ABBREVIATIONS USED

ARDA	Agricultural and Rehabilitation Development Agency
AOA	Adult Occupational Training Act
BTSD	Basic Training for Skills Development
CAAE	Canadian Association for Adult Education
CEIC	Canada Employment and Immigration Commission
CMA	Canadian Manufacturers' Association
CMC	Canada Manpower Center
CMEC	Council of Ministers of Education Canada
NES	National Employment Service
NTA	National Training Act
OECD	Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
PPBS	Planning Programming and Budgeting System
TLC	Trades and Labour Congress
TVTA	Technical Vocational Training Act
VRA	Veteran's Rehabilitation Act

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## **I INTRODUCTION**

### **STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM**

The federal government has had for many years, despite the exclusive jurisdiction over education given to the provinces by the British North America Act, a substantial presence in adult education in Canada. The impact of federal legislation on shaping provincial plans for adult education has been, however, largely unanalyzed. Although education, including adult education, remains the constitutional responsibility of the provinces, their ability to exercise this responsibility independently is limited by the guidance and extent of federal activity in education or vocational training. To pursue this hypothesis, this study examines the influence of the federal vocational training policy on provincially supported government adult education in Nova Scotia through the Adult Occupational Training Act (AOTA) (1967).

Under the Technical and Vocational Training Act (TVTA) passed in 1960, the arrangements for federal-provincial cost-sharing encouraged the construction of facilities to promote vocational education. The TVTA expired on March 31, 1967, and was replaced by the AOTA which gave the federal government the power to control most aspects of adult vocational education in the provinces. In 1970, as an

example, expenditures in Nova Scotia under the AOTA<sup>1</sup> were almost \$30 million; this included approximately \$16 million for manpower training. By comparison, in the same year, the Province of Nova Scotia had a total budget of just over \$76 million for all aspects of education and allocated \$827,000 to adult education.<sup>2</sup> This large federal expenditure compared to the provincial expenditure, enabled the federal government to assume effective control over adult vocational education. At the same time that the federal government gained financial control of this significant aspect of adult education, the practice of adult education appeared to assume a service role for government priorities and policies.

To explore the impact of federal legislation on the practice of adult education, this study examines the impact of the AOTA on provincially supported adult education in Nova Scotia. It examines the assumptions underlying, and the intentions embedded in, the AOTA and its influence in shifting the focus of adult education in Nova Scotia primarily to the administration of federal policies.

The focus of this study is outside the dominant approaches to the study of adult education which tend to

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<sup>1</sup> Canada. (1970) Department of Manpower and Immigration Annual Report, p.16 and 20.

<sup>2</sup> Nova Scotia. (1970) Department of Finance Public Accounts p.112 and 119.

focus on the practice of adult education and which emphasize the learning needs of individuals and good educational practice.<sup>3</sup> The contemporary relationship between legislation and adult education can best be understood in the context of its history and through an analysis of adult education as the administration of social policy. Therefore the appropriate theoretical perspectives to interpret and explain the relationship are the history of policy and an analysis of the depoliticization of adult education.<sup>4</sup> The history of the policies expressed in legislation, specifically the AOTA, may be interpreted in light of that legislation's impact on the adult education plan in Nova Scotia. Research must focus on how and why those policies were developed. Policies are not studied in isolation but rather in the context of the economic, social and political environment of the time. In that context, then, were the intentions of the program embodied in the AOTA and those of Nova Scotia's existing adult education plans complementary or in conflict? In

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<sup>3</sup> The position that "adult education research and conceptualization (theory) has tended to focus on microelements with limited effort to relate the many elements to any kind of general organizing structure" (Long, 1987, p.65) is elaborated upon in Chapter 6.

<sup>4</sup> The depoliticization is examined through the work of C. Griffin (1983, 1987, 1988). It should be made clear that Griffin does not define depoliticization as removal from party politics. There is no evidence that adult educators in Canada had been involved in partisan politics. Griffin examined depoliticization rather as a process wherein the practice of adult education acquired mainly a service orientation, with its agenda set for, rather than by, adult educators.

interpreting the history of the creation and implementation of the AOTA, one may make visible the background to policies that have been largely invisible.

### **THE IMPORTANCE OF THE STUDY**

With the implementation of the AOTA the federal government assumed control of most adult education in Canada, albeit, under the name of training. The federal program was large and powerful. For example, it represented, in some years, 20 times the spending on adult education in Nova Scotia. Under this program the federal government was able to designate the areas in which vocational education would occur and exactly how the education was carried out. The size and design of the AOTA programs have several important influences. The provincial government, being unable to mount a similar or alternative program, cooperated with the federal plan. The province lessened its emphasis on its own adult education program. The federal priority of occupational training for industry dominated the adult vocational arena in Nova Scotia. Wayne Easter, President of the National Farmers' Union was reported to have said that part of an education at the Nova Scotia Agriculture College was to "basically accept what comes down in terms of government policy" (Begley, 1990, p.5). He described his work and teaching at the Department of Agriculture as the giving of

"welfare courses". Believing "it is better to act yourself into a new way of thinking than to think yourself into a new way of acting" he chose to work with the farmers to help them develop a voice on issues that concerned them (p.5). Through the National Farmers' Union, farmers were able to speak against the Comprehensive Development Plan, a federal-provincial agreement which would have lessened the farmer's role in the province's economy. Local farmers fought for a continued role for the family farm in Prince Edward Island. Easter was committed to a movement in which "we could be developing our own ideas rather than adapting to what government was putting our way" (p.6). Wayne Easter's story is important because it is an exceptional response to federal programs. The AOTA can be seen as a federal plan which caused a province to think itself into a new way of acting, one which continues to this day.

The federal plan embodied in the AOTA was closely tied to the perceived needs of the government and then directed by the government. The result was a polarization between what was defined as training and what as education. With the training function very well supported by federal funds, there occurred essentially a displacement of one form of adult education by another. The shift of emphasis from a provincial plan to the priorities of a federal program occurred almost with silence. Perhaps the most significant

aspect of this shift is the lack of analysis it has been given and the lack of understanding of the influences of the federal priorities on the practice of adult education.

The federal program, premised on human capital theory was promoted by the Economic Council of Canada, whose reports are an important source for this study. The Council worked on the assumption that a more educated worker is a more productive worker. It tested that proposition by examining the difference in income earned by more and less educated workers. The Economic Council therefore defined productivity as being connected with higher wages. Human capital theory<sup>5</sup> presupposes a positive connection between the interests of an individual and the interests of society. Using human capital theory, education and work were measured in ways that fit into a predetermined equation. Research was gathered on individuals in the labour force. All work was assumed to be similar except for its different places on the economic hierarchy. It is important to note how these models affect a provincial plan for adult education. The effect of federal priorities on the autonomy of a province, its communities, or individuals is a much neglected question. In "The Education of Wayne Easter", Easter reported that as a result of working with farmers to carry out what was meaningful for them and

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<sup>5</sup> The relationship between human capital theory and the AOTA is discussed in Chapter 6.

their community he learned that the most valuable form of education was "to discuss, to debate, and then to do" (p.7). It was this form of education that was, and is, prevented, by permitting federal priorities to shape adult education practice in the province.

#### **PURPOSE OF THE STUDY**

Preliminary investigation indicated that there had been very little analysis of the role of federal legislation influencing adult education in Nova Scotia. It seemed useful, therefore, to identify, describe and analyze the influence of a major piece of legislation, the AOTA on adult education in Nova Scotia. The study of federal legislation related to adult learning may enhance our understanding of adult education in this country in a number of ways. First, analysis of federal adult education policies can demonstrate how legislation has been created and used to carry out other social policies. Second, analysis of these policies enables assessment of the extent of federal control and thus the degree of centralization in many aspects of adult vocational education. Missing from much of the adult education literature is discussion of the direction and purposes of federal control, as is the perspective of the "controlled". Embodied in this case is the provincial perspective in relation to AOTA. Third, the study of legislation serves to

locate education in both the historical and social condition. This requires that both the political and social nature of education be considered. Fourth, analysis of policy provides important insight into what counted as knowledge and who decided what would count. The sociology of knowledge has focused at times on the politics and structures of knowledge, but more recently has taken an interest in the knowledge people acquire from those structures. Finally, the study of legislation helps to make clear the historical traditions that define jurisdictional responsibilities in adult education.

The need for analysis of the history of adult education policy is suggested in the work of Harold Silver, who made a case for the necessity of an historical perspective in order to understand education generally. Silver's approach to the study of the history of education, described in Education and the Social Condition (1980); Education as History (1983); and A Liberal Vocationalism (1988), suggests that, without a concern for the past, we try to understand contemporary problems only in terms of their present logic. The failure to develop an historical perspective often means abandoning the larger questions<sup>6</sup> to "whatever and whoever happens at the moment to have the largest visible amount of confidence"

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<sup>6</sup> An example of a "larger question" is to what extent do federal priorities control or influence the practice of adult education.



(1980, p.1). Silver stressed also that theoretical questions needed to be built into the historical search for explanations.<sup>7</sup> In his study of public policy and manpower development, Holland noted how a wide variety of educational institutions with some common qualities "are a source of political vulnerability, and can become the means for crude but effective popular control over such organizations" (1975, p.83). An historical inquiry into the influence of federal legislation on adult education, then, should contribute to our understanding of contemporary adult education. The following summary points are drawn from Silver's work as a rationale for the study of the history of vocational education policy as a means to understanding adult education. It is what Holland would consider "accommodating manpower activities in the public accounts" (p.82) and has not been adequately addressed in the study of adult education.

### **Education and Social Policy**

Silver wrote that a crucial feature of developments in education in England since 1944<sup>8</sup> had been the treatment of

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<sup>7</sup> Explanation for the changes that occurred in the practice of adult education is found in the work of Griffin and elaborated upon in chapter 6. Griffin's theoretical perspective provides explanation for adult education which evolved through federal-provincial-negotiation.

<sup>8</sup> 1944 marked the passing of the Education Act which laid the foundations of the contemporary education system. Although a number of subsequent education acts have modified certain features of the system, the 1944 legislation remains the basic framework.

education as an arm of national policy. As state supported and provided education had been used to carry out other social policies<sup>9</sup> it had become more related to underlying social and economic needs and difficulties: "At all levels the relationship between educational policy-making and national needs reflected a widespread awareness of deep economic, social and political difficulties, and the need (yet again) to harness education for the solution of the problems" (1980, p.31).

Silver suggested, however, that analysis of education and social policy required "an ability to portray and evaluate experience, a willingness to recognize the presence of theoretical pressures in such evaluations, and a readiness to conduct sensitive dialogue between the experience and the theory" (1983, p.240). Thus Silver attempts to move away from the economic history models that did not, in his view, account for participant experience. In this study a provincial plan of adult education rooted in participant experiences is examined in relation to a set of educational theories from the federal government embodied in its legislation.

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<sup>9</sup> The Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) Review of National Policies for Education, Canada (1976) confirmed that this was also the case in Canadian education. The OECD review noted that in Canada, which has no national education policies, education serves the mandates of other federal departments.

### **Education and Social Control**

Silver offered three concepts that could be used to study the history of education: (1) bureaucratization and centralization, (2) the growth of the professional, and (3) social control. An illustration of the first might be a study of an institution's movement from a caring role to a more bureaucratic one. The second is central to an analysis of the role of the expert in education. The concept of social control focused on social manipulation "with the intention to control for ulterior purposes, or with powerful forces which may drive or control the controller, as well as with the institutions created for the purpose of controlling" (1980, p.78). These organizing concepts are important to the study of federal influence on a provincial plan of adult education presented here. All three concepts can be found in the AOTA and in fact indicate the areas in which the federal relationship with provinces changed.

### **Education and the Social Condition**

Silver found it significant that since World War II western society had become totally engaged with the notion that education might or should contribute to greater social justice and economic opportunities. He noted that, since that time, educational policies have been based on that assumption. In Canada the federal legislation pertaining to

adult vocational education states specifically its intentions to assist national economic goals. In the early 1960s the Economic Council of Canada encouraged the government to adopt an active manpower policy which was based on human capital theory. This theory promoted investment in people as the means to improve economic productivity. In Canada, economic-based plans for adult education got support from both federal and provincial governments.

Silver noted that both conservative and radical critiques of education could be inadequate without analysis of what he identified as the social condition. Understanding the social condition required a re-examination of the past without over-emphasizing the place of education. It involved seeing education "as a necessary partner in improving the social condition" (1980, p.14). Knowing to what extent adult vocational education was a partner, and whose partner, is one of the ways of understanding contemporary adult education. An aspect of this study is to examine the extent to which the vocational program embodied in the AOTA was a suitable partner to existing adult education plans in Nova Scotia.

### **History of Education and Decision Making**

Silver has suggested that the study of decision making in education must take into account the fact that organizations and movements often shift their emphases over even a short period. Organizations have adapted in response

to government pressures: one of these pressures was manpower forecasts. Educational organizations have often abandoned their local emphasis and have accepted national or international roles. They have therefore modified curricula and altered structures. In doing so they may lose autonomy or their original sense of purpose. Understanding the shift in decision making from local communities to centralized authorities is an important part of the recent history of adult education in Nova Scotia.

### **History of Education and Vocationalism**

In A Liberal Vocationalism (1988), Silver suggested the history of vocational education originated in a conflict that reflected "different hierarchies of values (which) were established in the different countries, and (where) cultural and social traditions (were) weighed differently in determining the status of subjects, and institutions, and graduate employment" (1988, p.7). Policy making in vocational education has to be studied within the historical traditions (and legislation) that defined such jurisdictional responsibility. Policy making has also attempted to take into account a number of social needs. Vocational education policy, for example, wrote Silver, was usually manpower-oriented and designed on a short-term basis. It was "either confrontational or directed towards objectives of which the longer-term implications are neither clear nor considered"

(1988, p.250). He might have had the history of vocational education in Canada in mind when he described vocational education policy as zigzags of national planning rather than a demonstration of underlying structures and the relationships among them.

In summary, Silver emphasized that his approach was not to gain "relevance" for history by investigating "whatever is the current absorption of policy-makers" (1983, p.x). He looked beyond the current list of policy issues to ask who was defining events as problems and what structures of power lay behind the question mark. He saw this kind of historical inquiry possibly contributing to policy analysis "by subjecting the timing and definition of 'problems' to close analysis and by trying to gauge the trajectory of events against a longer and richer background than is customarily the case in policy analysis" (1983, p.xi). Finally, Silver suggested a pursuit of educational history that simply takes a closer look at the interaction of idea and behaviour. This thesis entails a close look at federal ideas and provincial behaviours and the relationship between the two.

## REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

### Sources of the Data

To analyze the history of policy pertaining to adult education it was necessary to go to many sources outside of the adult education literature. The primary source material was provincial and federal government documents such as Public Accounts, annual reports of departments and other departmental reports, Debates from the House of Commons and Senate, federal press releases, the text of speeches and interviews with a number of former administrators in the Nova Scotia government. Journals, books, unpublished theses and papers constituted the secondary sources. What emerged from the available material was the very different intentions of the federal plan for training and the provincial plans for adult education. Documentation of the federal perspective is extensive. The provincial story is almost non-existent; it had to be pieced together with great effort, interviews being an essential source. The disparate pieces of evidence that emerged to support the story presented here can be grouped into several subthemes. This section does not review extensively the content of the material. Rather it attempts to show what was available and how it is used to support the position taken in this thesis. The content of the documents

and the literature is analyzed throughout the text of the study where relevant.

### **The Federal Role in Adult Vocational Education**

The federal role in education is generally discussed through asking questions such as what type of involvement the federal government should have, what level of financing it should provide and how the funds are in fact used. Articles such as those of Stamp (1971) "Vocational Objectives in Canadian Education: An Historical Overview"; Wilson (1977) "Federal Perspectives on Education: Social, Political, and Economic Policies"; and Lazerson and Dunn (1977) "Schools and the Work Crisis: Vocationalism in Canadian Education" address the issues, but do not contain much critique of the status quo. The federal role as it existed was accepted. It was not the intention of these works to be critical of that role or to pursue alternative forms of adult vocational education. They documented what happened. Hodgson is much more critical of the federal role. His two books, Federal Intervention in Public Education (1976), and Federal Involvement in Public Education (1988), discussed federal spending on education in terms of the federal-provincial problems that resulted. He pointed out how education was a part of various roles and intentions of the federal government. The trends Hodgson noted in both the areas for which federal money was granted,



and the ways in which it was granted, help to demonstrate the gradual federal control in education in Canada.

Attempts to document the role of the federal government in education have been made in a number of reports. An often-quoted report on the topic is A Review of Federal Legislation Relating to Technical and Vocational Education In Canada (1968), prepared by Donald Glendenning for the Department of Manpower and Immigration. It covers the period from the federal government's first involvement with the Royal Commission on Industrial Training and Technical Education, beginning in 1910, to the introduction of the AOTA in 1967. The study is a descriptive survey of the administrative and curricular provisions and financial outlays for each program. Glendenning's study reports the federal activity in this field without providing any analysis of the political implications of federal involvement. Those studies that relied heavily on it have missed other valuable information such as discussion of the impact of the legislation on regions, provinces, cultures or individuals. Glendenning's study presents details of the legislation with no discussion of the power assigned to the federal government by virtue of the legislation.

A report by the Secretary of State (1975), Review of Educational Policies in Canada, presented the findings from various royal commissions and the content of a number of

programs which provided support to other governments, institutions, and students. The report also discussed various federal policies such as those of the Science Policy and Granting Councils, which bear on adult education. The review was useful for its broad look at influences on education, but there was no in-depth analysis of major federal initiatives or their impact. The AOTA, for instance, was covered in one paragraph. The OECD (1976) Review of National Policies for Education, Canada noted how, in the absence of federal policy on education, various departmental policies took the place of educational support for that department's mandate. These reports provide data. The data, however, lack a context. Such reports have to be read in conjunction with articles that take a stand on the issues, such as "A Report to the Canadian People on Manpower Development" by the Canadian Association for Adult Education (CAAE) (1967); Doern (1969) "Vocational Training and Manpower Policy: A Case Study in Inter-government Liaison" and Rubenson (1985) "Adult Education: The Economic Context". These articles discuss the participants and the impact of decisions. An important discussion of the policy context of federal-provincial relations in education is found in the collection of papers edited by Ivany and Manley-Casimir (1981) entitled Education Canada: Federal-Provincial Relations in Education. The papers were the result of a

national symposium on federal-provincial relations in education, intended to address "the policy vacuum evident on this question over the past several years" (p.vi). The federal role in education was discussed from a number of interesting perspectives. The publication provided excellent background material. It also pointed out the many unanswered questions on the role of the federal government in education such as the fit of the constitution, the appropriate place for adult education, or the need to take into account the rights of some cultural groups.

For the most part, the literature from the federal perspective on the federal role in vocational education is sophisticated, and that point alone is important to the history of policy in adult education. Silver noted: "What stands as the predominant account of our present or our past does so by virtue of the sophistication of its message, or the authority of its author, or the power of its sponsors, or the accident of its inception, just occasionally by some consensus as to its truth" (1980, p.2). To analyze the role of the federal government in vocational education it is necessary to examine the sophistication of the message and the authority and power of the federal government as the sponsor. The analysis in this study of the documents produced by the federal government illustrates how the

federal government used power that was not available to the provinces.

### **Employment Policies in Canada**

Employment policies in Canada are an expression of federal economic priorities. They contain national assumptions and goals. The debate surrounding the government's role in training has occurred mainly outside the education and even the adult education arena. The International Journal of Social Economics, for instance, has carried the debate with articles such as Gunderson (1977) "Training in Canada: Progress and Problems" and Pettman (1979) "Impact of Government Sponsored Training". Relations Industrielles/Industrial Relations has carried the most lively debate on employment policy in Canada. The debate is found in articles such as Jain (1969) "Manpower Projections: Atlantic Canada, Some Policy Considerations" (1969); Meltz (1969) "Manpower Policy: Nature, Objective, Perspectives" and Mehmet, (1970) "A Critical Appraisal of the Economic Rationale of Government Subsidized Manpower Training". Adult Training, published by the Department of Manpower and Immigration, contained a number of interesting articles such as Manion (1976) "Manpower Training: Aims and Issues" and Voisey (1976) "Manpower Training Needs Identification: Towards Greater Understanding", which served to clarify the government's position.

The reports published by the Economic Council of Canada contain perhaps the most extensive background material on employment policies in Canada. The Council's First Annual Review (1964), Economic Goals for Canada to 1970, outlined the need for the new Department of Manpower and Immigration and the need for an active manpower policy exactly as both were carried out. The Second Annual Review (1965), Towards Sustained and Balanced Growth, presented an argument for demonstrating the contribution of education to economic growth and suggested an outline for a plan, much of which is contained in the AOTA. The Eighth Annual Review, (1971) Design for Decision Making: An Application to Human Resources Policies which analyzed the processes of decision-making and focused on manpower training, stated: "...manpower policy since 1966 has become one of the most important federal policy areas in this country" (1971, p.87).

The various Acts pertaining to adult vocational education and their regulations are foundation for the story of the role of the federal government in adult vocational education. The Debates of the House of Commons and the Senate reveal the support or lack of support given the bills introduced in the Commons. The annual reports of the Department of Manpower and Immigration are important for the data they present. Legislation and programs provided under legislation are given their best assessment when new

legislation is being considered. A parliamentary task force was established in 1980 to study the mismatch between high unemployment and skill shortages. A report by a Parliamentary Task Force on Employment opportunities for the 1980s entitled Work for Tomorrow, which reviewed the programs under the AOTA was published in 1981. Also in 1980 a task force was set up by the Department of Employment and Immigration to explore the appropriate direction for the government to take in labour market policies. This task force produced a report, Labour Market Development in the 1980s (1981), which recommended that labour market policies be based on broader policies than those on which the AOTA was based. The Economic Council of Canada and the C.D. Howe Research Institute both assessed the federal manpower policies, particularly the high level of expenditure for training. A collection of study papers on manpower training entitled Manpower Training at the Crossroads was prepared by the CAAE for a conference on the topic in January 1976. These papers address the matter from a broad perspective.

Theses written on federal legislation pertaining to adult education include Dennison (1970) The Development of Vocational Education in Canada: A Study of Intergovernmental Relations and their Constitutional Implications; Bryce (1970) The Technical and Vocational Training Assistance Act of 1961-67: An Historical Survey and Documentary Analysis; Lucas

(1971) Federal Relations to Education in Canada, 1970: An Investigation of Programs, Policies, and Directions; Verma (1975) Technical-Vocational Education in Nova Scotia Within the Context of Socio-Economic Change 1880-1975; and Colvin (1975) Federal-Provincial Manpower Policies. The fact that these theses have been written in departments of political science or educational policy and were not a part of the study of adult education is in itself revealing. The adult education literature tends to overlook the role of legislation in its discussions of programs. Thus there is the need to bring the material noted here to this study.

#### **Adult Education in Nova Scotia**

The real story of adult education in Nova Scotia is finely woven into the social history of the province. This thesis deals only with that adult education that was supported by the Division of Adult Education, formed in 1945 as a part of the Department of Education. Department of Education reports prior to 1946 will be used to identify the intentions and accomplishments in vocational education in Nova Scotia. Early reports of the Department of Education and the Division of Adult Education both give some indication of federal involvement. They do not reveal the story of control by the federal government, which was told through the interviews with former provincial administrators conducted for this thesis. The interviews consistently brought out the

dependency of the provincial plans on federal priorities. The dependency of the province is therefore discussed as a means to analyze the impact of the legislation on the province. The work of Ralph Matthews, especially The Creation of Regional Dependency (1983), is used for its examination of the impact and meaning of economic policies.

Two reports that focus particularly on the intentions of the Division of Adult Education were prepared by Guy Henson, the first director of the division. They are A Report on Provincial Support of Adult Education in Nova Scotia (1946) and Adult Education in Nova Scotia (1954). A number of other reports provide excellent accounts of adult education in Nova Scotia. They include Maclean and Jones (1965) Feasibility Study of Centre(s) for Residential Adult Education in the Maritime Provinces; Connor and Magill (1965) The Role of Education in Rural Development; and Verma (1978) Four Problem Areas in Vocational Education. These reports contain valuable evidence on the adult educational needs in Nova Scotia but seem not to have been considered in the design and implementation of the AOTA.

The Journal of Education in Nova Scotia carried a number of articles supporting the role of adult education in a variety of settings. Articles explaining the nature and purpose of adult education included Timmons (1964) "Adult Education and Community Development" and Jones (1966) "The



Learning Society". Some of them were written from the perspective of the participant in adult education programs and indicate that the intentions of the Division of Adult Education were in fact carried out. An example of the application of the intentions of the Division is demonstrated in Shand (1961) "Adult Education Among the Negroes of Nova Scotia". It reported on community development in one area, the kind of activity that Henson saw as the ideal of adult education. Gunn (1967) "The Role of Atlantic Provincial Governments in Adult Education" and Timmons (1978) "Adult Education Services: 1945-76" document the Nova Scotia situation well. There were, however, no articles in the Journal of Education that took issue with the role of the federal government in education in Nova Scotia. Submissions to various commissions by different groups provide important perceptions of adult education in Nova Scotia. They are cited in the next section because of their relationship to adult education policy.

### **The Study of Adult Education and Policy**

The relationship between adult education and the legislation that empowers or constrains it is not a frequent topic of discussion in the adult education literature. A recent book by Cassidy and Faris (eds.) (1987) Choosing our Future: Adult Education and Public Policy in Canada brought together various policy issues on Canadian adult education.

Roberts (1982) in Culture and Adult Education analyzes policies pertaining to adult education in Quebec and Alberta to demonstrate the difference in policies in different cultures. Otherwise, in Canada Rubenson and Thomas seem to be the only adult educators who address the topic of adult education policy with any frequency. Rubenson's work focuses on the relationship between economic theories, especially human capital theory and adult education. Thomas's work pursues the connections between the role of governments, the legislation they produce, and the management of adult learning broadly defined. Thomas suggests that the study of adult education should include such analysis.

There is an interesting debate on policy within the British study of adult education which can be used to assess adult education in Canada. Griffin's two books Curriculum Theory in Adult and Lifelong Education (1983) and Adult Education as Social Policy (1987) analyze the practice of adult education as a form of social policy administration. His work can be used to shed light on the intentions of federal legislation in Canada. This thesis also draws on the work of Finch, who suggests applying the knowledge from educational experience to the policy-making arena. Silver's work, referred to previously, encourages the study of the relationship between policy and practice. Jarvis, in The Sociology of Adult and Continuing Education, (1985), said the

history of adult education could be written from a social policy perspective; such a history could illustrate how government had used adult education to promote the hopes of a new society or to fend off a crisis such as unemployment, and how the government, at the same time, controlled the choices within adult education. Jarvis said the government's use of adult education as a tool for economic development had gone almost unquestioned. His position was that since adult education is an object of social policy there should, in the interest of democracy, be public debate involving many parties.

An important study of public policy in Canadian adult education is the work of Dupre et. al. (1973) Federalism and Policy Development: The Case of Adult Occupational Training in Ontario. This analyzes the federal-provincial conflict which arose following passage of the AOTA. The study was set in the theme of a clash between two "grand designs", one federal, one provincial. Nova Scotia did not have a provincial grand design of the size or with the intentions of Ontario. However, their description of the clash of philosophies between federal and provincial policies is apt. The federal policy was guided by economists who thought exclusively of a trained labour force that would adapt to changing market demands. The provincial position was one in which the governing ideal was a person's overall development.

As a consequence of the power struggle between the two levels of government, the authors suggest that the needs of prospective adult learners were not met.

The reports of royal commissions provide a means for studying positions and beliefs on education at a given time. In using such reports it is important to note the context of their mandates. They must be assessed conceptually and within their historical context. Commissions often say about education what needs to be heard for the purpose of their mandate. Commissioned reports usually take a position on issues such as funding, expansion, cuts, or they may be about self-protection. Silver said that in such searches a concept like vocational education became "a political counter, more amenable to the taking of positions than to the reaching of understanding" (1988, p.13). Commissioned reports are useful, however, for their reporting of 'positions'.

Briefs to commissions on education also provide important information. Advocacy for Adult Education in British Columbia (1988) concluded that adult educators tended to lobby for their own professional needs more than for the needs of the learner. The British Columbia study probably reflects the general pattern of advocacy in a time of professionalization of adult education in other provinces. Adult educators taking on an advocacy role support the position taken by Griffin that the practice of adult

education can be studied as a form of administration of social policy provision.<sup>10</sup> The submissions reviewed from both British Columbia and Nova Scotia demonstrate that adult educators are interested in what Griffin called an ideology of "needs, access and provision". Griffin's position, as it relates to federal influence on adult education, is discussed in Chapter 6.

Reports of other commissions such as the Special Senate Committee on Poverty can shed light on the differences between the federal and provincial perspective on a social condition such as poverty. The submissions from Nova Scotia (Institute of Public Affairs), Frontier College and the Department of Manpower and Immigration are used to demonstrate the connections between the social condition, educational needs and federal legislation.

There is literature on federal-provincial relations in adult vocational education and the impact of federal policies

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<sup>10</sup> The submission by the Continuous Learning Association of Nova Scotia (CLANS) (1983) to the Royal Commission of Inquiry on Post-Secondary Education in Nova Scotia is an example of adult education advocacy. The brief stated: "Continuous learning addresses itself to providing permanent access to educational means whereby the creative intellectual and physical potential of very individual can be developed" (p.4). This brief was based on an assumption that an extension of the present institutional forms can solve the problems of all groups. CLANS (1984) in its "Further Submission to the Royal Commission" stated in the rationale for its proposal that "effective government social and economic policy presupposes an effective adult education programme with planning and central supervision" (p.4). While advocacy in adult education has not been systematically studied in Nova Scotia, there appear to be similarities with the situation described in British Columbia.

on provincial plans for adult education. The task has been to bring together sources from obscure locations, physically and categorically, to this study. Bringing federal theory to bear on provincial experience requires careful reading, not only of the published reports, but also of the text of speeches and papers still containing the word "draft". The challenge for this and other studies is to bring together these essential pieces of the adult education story.

#### **ORGANIZATION OF THE STUDY**

Generally the study seeks to examine the impact of major federal programs in education on provincial policy and practice, specifically it poses the question, what was the influence of the AOTA, on the province's plan in adult education in Nova Scotia? The evidence presented in Chapters 2, 3 and 4 suggests some inconsistency between the intentions of a federal plan and a provincial plan for adult education. Chapters 5 and 6 analyze the significance of this inconsistency for a provincial plan of adult education and the practice of adult education. Chapter 5 analyzes how federal policy such as the AOTA contributed to a provincial dependency on federal priorities. Explaining the implications of the dependency of the regions contributes to an understanding of the impact of the AOTA on adult education in Nova Scotia. The second part of the analysis, Chapter 6,

considers the influence of federal policy on the practice of adult education, particularly the relationship between educational experience and federal policy. Analyzing adult education as a form of social policy is distinct from the dominant approaches to the study of adult education. The position taken in Chapters 5 and 6 is that adult education has moved from being a social movement to a practice that has increasingly taken on the characteristics of other forms of social policy implementation. In Chapter 7 the conclusions are drawn and recommendations for further research are presented.

#### **EXPLANATION OF TERMS AND LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY**

Most of the terms used in this thesis are explained in the text. Adult education however is not given a single definition. Adult education has many interpretations and applications. Numerous articles are written for instance, just classifying the term adult education. Categories such as formal and informal learning, educational processes or the learner's motivation to participate are used.<sup>11</sup> Similarly,

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<sup>11</sup> Darenwald, G. & Merriam, S. (1982) Adult education: Foundations of Practice, Boshier, R. (1985) "The Houle's typology after twenty-one years: A large-scale empirical test." In Adult Education Quarterly and Jarvis, P. (1985) The Sociology of Adult and Continuing Education provide taxonomies which classify the field using various categories.

the term vocational education has many interpretations. Looking at the Canadian legislation pertaining to the area, we see the gradual move from the Technical Education Act in 1919 to the Vocational Training & Coordination Act in 1942 to the Adult Occupational Training Act in 1967. These were the names given the legislation intended to provide continuity in one area. The words moved gradually away from any intention to educate.

Definitions are often used to clarify the boundaries of an area or a task. In recent years, the concept of "training" has tended to apply to the participation of the federal government and the concept of "education" has been reserved for the responsibilities of the provincial government. Definitions always serve to limit participation to those areas within the definitions. In other words, definitions allow us to discount any activity which does not fit within the definition. Drawing definitional boundaries between categories of education such as vocational education or adult education also creates the boundaries for opportunities and action.

To undertake research with a view that adult education is distinct from vocational education excludes one from considering the impact of the growth of one area on the



other<sup>12</sup>. Creating this distinction precludes real consideration of the effect on communities or a region. Such definitions therefore seem artificial in light of the case presented here. The essence of this study is about displacement of one form of adult education by another, using different labels or definitions. Discussion of adult education is limited to the activities of the Division of Adult Education in the Department of Education and the definitions used by the Division. This study eschews the use of rigid definitions of adult or vocational education to show the gradual move of both areas toward the provision of state defined social services.<sup>13</sup> Adult education activities reflect the values and priorities of the providers. Thus the definitions applied to the processes of adult education are less important for this study than discussion of the values and priorities of the providers.

This study is not an analysis of vocational education - its curriculum or outcomes. While there is need for more information, especially evaluation and analysis of the programs offered, this is beyond the scope of this thesis.

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<sup>12</sup> The view that there is a relationship between vocational and adult education is similar to the position of Matthews, that there is need to understand the impact of economic policy on regions, communities and people. Matthews' position is explored in detail in Chapter 4.

<sup>13</sup> The emphasis in the practice of adult education on the administration of social services is the focus of Chapter 6.

Similarly, this study cannot address the perspective of the individuals participating in programs. This topic, too, warrants further study in order to gather this human perspective on a centralized and institutionalized form of education. In this thesis the province and its plan for adult education is the participant in the federal program; the study is one of federal influence on a provincial program.

## II THE EVOLVING ROLE OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT IN ADULT VOCATIONAL EDUCATION

### THE FEDERAL PRESENCE

A study of the federal government's evolving role in vocational education tells a story about adult learning opportunities in Canada. Vocational education surfaces regularly as an educational priority of governments, and it has occupied an important, if not disproportionate, place in the broader adult education movement. Reforms in vocational education are usually presented as a solution to a number of social ills and, more recently, to a variety of economic problems. Grubb, in a review of the stages of vocationalism in the United States, wrote that claims made on behalf of vocational education — the arguments that prove persuasive — had "displayed a remarkable similarity over the past hundred years" (1978, p.77). In each piece of legislation the promise for reform was present, even if, as Grubb observed, that promise was often not realized. Why have politicians continued to make the same arguments in favour of the development of vocational education? Grubb argued that politicians liked to promise solutions through the schools — a longer term process — allowing fundamental social or structural reforms to be postponed. Furthermore, vocational education has always been set in a strong political base, and there has been almost no constituency to resist

vocationalism.<sup>14</sup> Grubb added that when vocational education was so closely tied to the perceived needs of the state and then directed by the state, study and analysis of vocational education was important for understanding adult education generally.

Thomas (1987a) stated that "...the major problem with the education of adults in Canada was the absence of a 'master concept' for its elaboration and maintenance, particularly in terms of the language that governments understand..." (p.128). He noted there is an ever-increasing demand for education by and for individuals yet the government has no master concept for dealing with this demand.<sup>15</sup> Instead, government has what Thomas called four modes of response to deal with the demand: the government, permits, encourages, directs, or forbids some forms of education. During the 1960s, the main period of this study, Thomas considered the government particularly the federal government, to have been directive. For this reason he believes that attention "needs to be paid to how the agencies

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<sup>14</sup> In Canada the plans are designed and announced by the federal government. The plan often accommodates the training needs of Ontario but not the needs of other provinces. No one other province can have the same influence.

<sup>15</sup> Thomas isolated the four principal demands as: the succession of generations; changes in the organization or functions of the society within generations, uncontrollable disasters; problems of individuals or small groups arising from special circumstances (1987, p.110).

which are catering to increasing numbers of adults are governed" (p.124). When we consider adult learning, we are considering the very nature of society itself and the hopes a future society may have (p.128). A brief look at the evolving role of the federal government in adult education and an examination of the AOTA and its impact on adult education in Nova Scotia can shed light both on the changing nature of our society and the relatively unchanging nature of federal-provincial relations in education. The federal legislation is reviewed in part to identify the often unexamined assumptions which underlay this legislation and the programs in adult vocational education mandated by it.

The evolution of the federal government's role can be apprehended through an examination of the following major pieces of legislation: (1) 1910 Royal Commission on Industrial Training and Technical Education; (2) the 1913 Agricultural Instruction Act; (3) the 1919 Technical Education Act; (4) the 1937 Unemployment and Agricultural Assistance Act; (5) the 1939 Youth Training Act; (6) the 1942 Vocational Training Coordination Act; and (7) the 1960 Technical and Vocational Training Assistance Act. Federal legislation pertaining to adult vocational education is summarized in Table 2.1. The discussion will explore the background to each of the pieces of the legislation, particularly the crisis to which the government saw itself

responding; a brief description of the legislation, including who the legislation was attempting to reach; and the changes these pieces of legislation brought to the federal role in adult vocational education.

The legislation is well documented from the federal government's perspective. Statutes of Canada contain all the federal legislation pertaining to adult vocational education. Debates, House of Commons, tell a story of the adoption and implementation of the various Bills. Annual reports of the federal departments that provide any form of education also give details of their involvement. The report by Donald Glendenning (1968) A Review of Federal Legislation Relating to Technical and Vocational Education In Canada and the submission by the Secretary of State to OECD (1975) Review of Educational Policies in Canada are among the documentary reports detailing the role of federal involvement in education over a number of years and in a variety of areas. Young and Machinski (1969) An Historical Survey of Vocational Education in Canada also document the federal role. From the federal perspective they report a positive story, one of great growth and expansion. The federal story therefore constitutes what Silver has called the predominant account of our present or our past, by virtue of the sophistication of its message and the authority of its author.

**Table 2.1** Federal legislation providing vocational education.

	Act	Intended to:	Resulted in:
1913	Agriculture Instruction Act	fund provinces for promotion of agriculture	support of many provincial projects
1919	Technical Education Act	upgrade vocational, technical & industrial education	shared-cost presence of federal gov.in vocational education
1937	Unemployment & Agricultural Assistance Act	increase employability of young people	allowance for travel and training to be continued in future
1939	Youth Training Act	continued focus on young people	federal govt. making all rules & regulations & approving provincial rules & regulations
1942	Vocational Training & Coordination Act	continue previous arrangements and give training for war industries	provincial govt (N.S.) restructures to 'accommodate' federal plan
1960	Technical & Vocational Training Assistance Act	boost economy through increased technical training, especially at school level	expansion of capital projects (facilities)
1967	Adult Occupational Training Act	meet 'individual' training needs	Canada Manpower controlling vocational education

The story from the provinces' perspective does not exist in the same way. First, there would be ten different stories. Second, the position of the provinces is often one of response to federal initiatives. The very nature of response means it is less likely to be a coherent story. The story of the development of vocational education in Canada is one of the federal government initiating and controlling the legislation and the provincial governments responding to federal initiatives. The legislation discussed here provides examples of the framework for vocational education in Canada.

The administration of vocational education takes place within a broader framework of government, particularly within federal-provincial arrangements. Important to the study of the federal legislation is an understanding of the cost-shared programs provided for under that legislation. Cost-shared programs are a form of conditional grants by the federal government. Grant programs involve the transfers of resources collected within the jurisdiction of grantor and transferred to the lower level of government. With conditional grants the pattern of expenditure is required to correspond to the expectation of the grantor. Every piece of federal legislation from 1919, with the enactment of the Technical Education Act, up to and including 1960, with the enactment of the Technical and Vocational Training Assistance Act, allowed for cost-shared programs. Cost-shared programs



were indirect measures of federal control which differ from yet point toward the direct measures of federal control beginning in 1967 with AOTA, described in the next chapter.

A review of federal legislation can illustrate how the federal government gradually took responsibility for vocational education.<sup>16</sup> The relationship of the federal to provincial governments in early vocational education programs was perhaps best expressed by Albert Levesque, Québec's director of youth training, in his response to The Youth Training Act of 1939:

...the Province can understand that the real purpose of the Dominion does not consist in helping (all emphases his) the Province by way of financial assistance in connection with the carrying out of the Province's own educational measures ...but consists in having the Province assist the Dominion by making use of the Province's administrative and financial contribution for carrying out of educational measures proposed by the Dominion... (in Coulter 1986, p.10).

This view, that the provinces were being used to carry out the initiatives of the federal government, is central to understanding the role of the federal government in adult

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<sup>16</sup> The responsibility for education rests with the provinces. The federal government responded to certain national problems such as unemployment with legislation that provided for specific vocational education programs. These programs were both for minors, through the support of vocational schools, and for adults. These were intended to be separate from the provincial education system. The federal government's use of the word education was gradually replaced by the word training in its educational programs.

education. Each piece of federal legislation pertaining to vocational education was intended to solve a particular problem. The legislation thus gives the federal government responsibility for the vocational education programs developed to solve that problem. The following review of the earlier legislation attempts, first, to clarify how federal legislation, intended to solve a particular social problem, attempted to do so with little regard for the provinces, and second, to chart the changing role of the federal government in adult vocational education to the passage of the AOTA.

### THE LEGISLATION

Under the terms of Confederation the British North America Act placed responsibility for education with provincial governments. A number of social and, more specifically, economic changes since Confederation have brought the federal government into an increasingly active role of education. The federal government has therefore had a presence in education in the provinces through a variety of programs, not necessarily connected with the formal education system.<sup>17</sup> These programs are found in a number of federal

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<sup>17</sup> Description of the federal presence is well documented in E. Hodgson Federal Intervention in Public Education (1976) and Federal Involvement in Public Education (1988) published by Canadian Education Association.

government departments. The Department of National Defence, for example, is responsible for almost all military training and education of military personnel. The Department of the Solicitor-General through the Canadian Penitentiary Service is responsible for the education of the inmates of federal prisons. The Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development is responsible for the provision of educational facilities and services for registered Canadian Indians and Inuit. The Department of Manpower and Immigration has taken responsibility for the occupational training of adults.<sup>18</sup> It is the action of the federal government with respect to the vocational education of adults that is examined here.

#### **1910 Royal Commission on Industrial Training and Technical Education**

The federal government's involvement in vocational education began with the establishment of the Royal Commission on Industrial Training and Technical Education in 1910. The federal government under Prime Minister Laurier had been reluctant to get involved in education (Stamp 1971;

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<sup>18</sup> Jean Marchand and Tom Kent were first appointed Minister and Deputy Minister of The Department of Citizenship and Immigration. New legislation in 1966 brought together areas which previously had responsibility for vocational training such as the National Employment Service and those parts of the Department of Labour (technical and vocational training, manpower consultative services, vocational rehabilitation, and much of its research and economics branch) with responsibility for training and the Department was called Manpower and Immigration. Responsibility for Citizenship moved to the Secretary of State.

Stamp 1972; Stevenson & Wilson, 1977). There was pressure however, from business, through the Canadian Manufacturers' Association (CMA), and from organized labour through the Trades and Labour Congress (TLC), for the federal government to create both a ministry of industrial relations and a royal commission to study the needs of technical education in Canada. Labour Minister William Lyon Mackenzie King, convinced that technical education was important for Canadian economic development, played a crucial role in the establishment of the commission. The Minister of Labour wrote to the provinces seeking their opinion about the commission. The letter outlined the three main purposes of the commission. They were: (1) to inquire into the needs and present state of technical education in Canada and to study other nations in comparison; (2) to gather information which would be made available to the provinces; (3) to provide a national service by conducting an inquiry on a scale not possible by individual provinces. It was not until all the provinces indicated their support that the government announced the Royal Commission on Industrial Training and Technical Education in 1910 (Stamp 1971, p.415). The letters of response from all the provinces, published in the introduction to the commission's report, demonstrated a willingness to cooperate in the royal commission.

The commission was also referred to as the Robertson commission after James Robertson, principal of MacDonald College, who was appointed the chairman. Stamp wrote: "The establishment of the Robertson Commission in 1910 was an important landmark in Canadian educational history for two reasons: first, it drew to national attention some cogent arguments for a greater economic emphasis in education; secondly, it prepared the way for future federal financial support" (1972 p.251). The commission's report, a four volume report of 2,354 pages, recommended a substantial expansion of vocationally oriented education at a number of levels. The report encouraged participation by several groups who had expertise or would be affected by expanding vocational education. Throughout the report, the emphasis was on provincial control of education with the federal government participating in the financing.

The commission was appointed to "inquire into the needs and present equipment of the Dominion as respects industrial training and technical education..." (1913, p.viii). It was intended that the commission would be "solely for the purpose of gathering information, the information when obtained to be published in a suitable report to be at the disposal of the provinces and available for general distribution" (p.viii).<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> Stated in the letter from the Minister of Labour to the Premiers of the Provinces reprinted in the report of the Commission on Industrial Training and Technical Education.

The report of the commission indicated a belief that Canada's economic future depended on the improvement of technical education. The report stated, "Adequate training for the young, and appropriate instruction, under opportunities suited to the conditions, are needed and wanted everywhere for all industrial workers and industries" (p.14). The report said this was the responsibility of the schools. It claimed Canada was behind the times in preparing young people for a place in the world because "the educational work was becoming bookish in the extreme, and worse than that, was developing into school systems that had few points of contact with or relation to industrial, agricultural, or housekeeping life" (p.15). The report stressed the need for occupational training for youth and for adults in the labour force, and recommended the following underlying principles for the organization and administration of technical education. "The Commission is of the opinion that Industrial Training and Technical Education, in order to be of greatest benefit to individuals, to industrial development, to localities, to the several provinces and to the Dominion as a whole, should...

1. be under provincial control and regulation
2. receive financial support from individuals, from local authorities, from provincial governments, and from the federal government
3. have local participation

4. be available both to those already working and those who could train full time
5. provide equal opportunity to those entering industrial, agricultural and housekeeping occupations
6. cooperate with existing systems (summarized from Royal Commission 1913, p.21)

There was a clear linkage between manual training and moral education.<sup>20</sup> The report of the commission stated:

Manual Training, or "Hand and Eye" training has particular value in the biological function of education. It is a means of developing the sense organs and of training faculties and powers to meet the things and forces of the outer world with intelligent discriminations. Whether this results in an increase of brain power is a question elusive of proof. The evidence, however, is clear that it adds to the happiness of the pupil, causes the knowledge which he acquires to be retained and available for use, and quickens the rate of his progress in other school work (p.10).

The report stressed that education should have regard "to the growth of the powers of the body, mind and spirit concurrently, and that it should have regard to the preparation of the pupil for later life as an individual, as

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<sup>20</sup> In an article "Moral Education in Nova Scotia, 1880-1920, R. Bérard (1984) noted "Even the cult of manual training was as much concerned with the moral efficacy of the subject as with its practical utility for the student and society (p.59). Berard quoted from Bingay's work on early public education who noted "the aim of manual training was 'general and cultural, rather than specific and vocational'" (p.59).

a working earner, as a citizen and as a member of the race" (p.11). To encourage manual training-type studies in school programs the report of the commission recommended that the federal government provide \$350,000 per year for 10 years. This would be given to provinces on a per capita basis and the amount would not exceed 75 per cent of the provinces' expenses in the previous year on manual training. The report noted that manual training should be given from kindergarten until age 12 for "cultural or self-realization purposes" (p.10). Manual training or "hand and eye" training included programs of drawing, nature study, experimental science and pre-vocational work, including domestic or household science (p.11).

The commission warned against on-again, off-again operations, urging that legislation be framed in some means of permanence such that those committed to the planning would have "some reasonable confidence in the permanence of the undertaking" (p. 27). The commission saw the importance of a program of vocational instruction that would be responsive to local, provincial and federal needs. Glendenning described the commission as believing "it was... better to have a thousand men and women directly involved in the planning of programs than ten thousand implicitly doing what the Department directed" (Glendenning 1968, p.5). Therefore the



commission's view of a "Dominion Development Policy" sought to:

1. secure the largest degree of public confidence and maintain the largest measure of public interest and cooperation
2. preserve provincial control, encourage local initiative and develop local responsibility
3. represent manufacturing industries, trades, commerce, transportation, agriculture, forestry, mining, fisheries, housekeeping and education
4. (have) in each province a central body or authority, which would bring to bear on all proposals ...the wide knowledge and practical experience of capable men and women familiar with education and with local needs
5. adopt a plan whereby the Dominion, the provinces, the localities and individuals will cooperate and each contribute in some well-considered and equitable proportion to the cost of development undertakings
6. adopt a plan which will ensure that the national interests will be considered
7. create a Dominion Consultative Body to be at the service of all the provinces
8. create a Dominion Authority competent to provide expert counsel to any province (summarized from Royal Commission 1913, p.30-31).

The recommendations of the royal commission were not acted on immediately because of the outbreak of war and because of a change in government by the time the report was

submitted. Before the commission completed its study, financial assistance was provided for the provinces under the Agricultural Aid Act of 1912 and the Agricultural Instruction Act of 1913. These were the first major pieces of federal legislation enacted in support of vocational education.

Nova Scotia supported with enthusiasm the recommendations of the royal commission. Dr. Frederick Sexton, director of technical education for Nova Scotia, was a member of the commission and accompanied the commission on its tour of Europe for five months in 1911. As a result of his participation in the commission, Dr. Sexton foresaw federal participation in the support of technical and vocational education. Nova Scotia expected to receive about \$200,000 from the proposed annual fund.<sup>21</sup> This was about four times more than Nova Scotia's annual budget for the Department of Technical Education. Because the report was not acted upon, Nova Scotia did not get the funding. The report emphasized two aspects of technical education that are not found in later legislation. One is the belief that the

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<sup>21</sup> The commission recommended that \$3,000,000. be provided to the nine provinces in proportion to the population of each province. Of interest to this study is the recommendation that "in order that a provincial government... be entitled to receive a payment from the funds in a provincial account of the Dominion Development Fund, it will be necessary: That the Service and the Budget...have been approved by a Provincial Development Commission or other authority constituted by the provincial government for that purpose... (1913, p.37).

education and well-being of the individual is foremost. The report stated:

So far as the individual is concerned, education is required for the preservation of health, the development of powers, the increase of knowledge, the maintenance of justice and liberty, and the strengthening of desire and will-energy to give effect in everyday life to the concept of duty, truth, beauty and goodness (p.16).

Training and instruction were seen as the chief means for developing the powers, capacities and characters of people. The federal legislation between 1913 and 1967 gradually provided less emphasis on the education of the individual and greater emphasis on the needs of the national economy. Also in contrast to the contents of later legislation, the report stressed that, for Industrial Training and Technical Education to be of greatest benefit "to individuals, to industrial development, to localities, to the several provinces and to the Dominion as a whole,....It should be under provincial control and regulation" (p.21). However, the Report also included a number of proposals that reappeared in subsequent legislation.

### **1913 Agricultural Instruction Act**

The report of the Robertson commission, noting the needs of the rural areas in Canada, prompted the introduction of the Agricultural Instruction Act. There was no agricultural

instruction in the school system suited to the needs of the rural population. The Act was intended to overcome the shortage of instruction pertaining to agriculture by providing funding to the provinces for promotion and encouragement of agriculture in Canada.

The preamble to the Act stated: "Whereas it is desirable that encouragement be given to agriculture in all the provinces of Canada, and whereas great and permanent benefit will result through education, instruction and demonstration carried on along lines well desired and of a continuous nature..." (Statutes, 1913,p.135).

The Act allowed for the federal Department of Agriculture to pay \$10,000,000 to the provinces over a 10-year period. In fact, more than \$11,000,000 was paid to the provinces during a 12-year period. It was not required that this money be matched by provincial funds. Glendenning wrote:

The diverse nature of the agricultural undertakings in the various provinces made even a simple plan difficult to prepare and carry out, and there is reason to believe that the provinces would have resented any attempt on the part of the Dominion Government to restrict or supervise the projects for which the money was spent. It is generally recognized that assistance under the Act was not used effectively (p.11).

Glendenning's comment made in his 1968 report, serves to show the move away from the intent of the recommendations of the Royal Commission on Industrial Training and Technical Education. Bryce, (1970) however, suggested the "ineffective use" noted by Glendenning could be explained on the grounds that this was the first major federal aid measure and as such had no precedent (1970, p.10-11). Also, because of the diverse nature of agricultural undertakings in the various provinces it should not be surprising that a simple plan was not prepared and administered. The federal government's aims were not specified. The provincial governments, therefore, defined their own needs. Because the grants were unconditional, much of the money was applied to current provincial activities. Under the provisions of the Act Nova Scotia received additional grants over and above formula to assist in the amortization of their debts against school buildings. Nova Scotia used the funds, for instance, to pay for a director of rural science who was responsible for promoting agricultural education in the province. Projects which supported current provincial activities were viewed by the federal government as having benefit only to the provincial government. The wording of the Act which allowed for any project that brought "great and permanent benefit", did not specify whose benefit should be served. The provisions in future legislation demonstrate that the

provinces were never again given this degree of autonomy in federal legislation related to vocational education.

### **1919 Technical Education Act**

Although the Royal Commission on Industrial Training and Technical Education of 1910 submitted its report in 1913, it was not until after the First World War that its recommendations were implemented by the Technical Education Act of 1919. The report of the Robertson commission established the need for federal support in vocational education. The awareness of the need for increased technical education grew partly as a result of the war. Technical education was defined by the Act as

any form of vocational, technical or industrial education or instruction, approved by agreement between the Minister and the Government of any province as being necessary or desirable to aid in promoting industry and the mechanical trades, and to increase the earning capacity, efficiency and productive power of those employed therein (Statutes, 1919,p.665).

People were returning to civilian life from the war and there appeared to be a shortage of skilled labour. It was to this perception of a shortage of skilled labour that the legislation was directed.

Bryce pointed out two other aspects of the war that contributed to the federal role in technical education. The

first was the introduction of the personal income tax, which gave the federal government a greater ability to collect revenue. The second was the federal government's expropriation of all provincial technical and vocational training institutions to provide technological skills necessary to support a war effort. Although the institutions were "promptly returned to the provinces after hostilities had ended, the fact remained that the Federal Government had been - albeit for a short time - intimately involved in technological training" (p.44). The federal government's direct involvement with the student occurred again through the Department of Veterans Affairs following the Second World War. Both experiences are important to the gradual but growing federal involvement in adult education.

The Technical Education Act defined the responsibilities of the federal and provincial governments. The areas eligible for financial assistance under the Act were:

1. purchase or rental of land, building, furnishings and equipment
2. remuneration and travelling expenses of vocational education administrators
3. remuneration of vocational teachers
4. training of teachers for vocational work
5. maintenance of plant and equipment  
(Glendenning, 1968, p.16)

The Technical Education Act did not provide assistance for "courses of college grade," or for occupational instruction in religious or privately owned schools. Projects already being supported by the Agricultural Instruction Act were not covered under the Technical Education Act. The federal government granted \$10 million over a 10-year period so the provinces could upgrade vocational, technical and industrial education in the areas eligible for financial assistance. The Act required the federal government reimburse provincial governments for 50 per cent of their expenditures. MacDonald noted: "Money was claimed only after expenditures were made. Federal officials had the right to examine, at all times, facilities, textbooks, equipment, courses of study, discipline, qualifications of teachers and all work carried out under the agreement" (1986, p.27).

The poorer provinces were less able to take advantage of available funds. When the Act expired after its 10 years, Ontario was the only province which had used up the allotted fund. Glendenning said there was evidence to suggest that some of the programs funded were not strictly vocational, while at the same time the federal government had withheld financing when it considered a program had not met the conditions of the federal-provincial agreements. The federal government controlled the channelling of money to support vocational education through the various existing provincial



departments. The financial support was therefore contingent upon the conditions of the federal-provincial agreements being met.

The federal Department of Labour said in its second annual report that under the Technical Education Act, its policy was

1. to accept the work already done by each province and to cooperate with the provincial official in developing the system of education already established. By this procedure, the work in the various provinces may be gradually unified and placed on the most efficient basis
2. to give advice freely, but only when solicited
3. to direct the attention of the provinces to the importance of training for citizenship as well as for employment
4. to cultivate a spirit of goodwill and mutual confidence not only between the Department and the Province, but also among the provinces to the end that there may be a national co-operation in educational effort
5. to ensure through every possible agency the continued sympathy and co-operation of our industrial labour organization. (Dept. of Labour, Annual Report, 1920-21, p.100, quoted in Glendenning, 1968, p.17)

Items 1, 2, and 3 reflected the position of the Robertsc.n commission which recommended that training be under provincial control. Items 4 and 5 reflected a federal need for "national co-operation" and respect for "the industrial

labour organization". Funds were allocated on a per capita basis and a 50-50 cost-shared basis. Support was given for training that would fit young people for employment in industry or for the upgrading of adult workers already employed. While the provinces exercised some choice in the way they participated, a certain kind of federal presence was to emerge. The 1919 Act may be seen to have set the basic pattern for cost shared grants in technical and vocational education.

The Technical Education Act perhaps marked the beginning of federal control over vocational education. Nova Scotia's participation in programs funded by the Act was considerably less than that of most other provinces. "In the ten year period the amount available was \$662,113.94 of which only \$229,046.05 was used (Glendenning 1968, p.18). Nova Scotia expressed fears of being left without support at the end of the 10-year agreement period if the Act was not renewed. The Nova Scotia government argued that 10 years was not a long enough period of funding for the province to undertake major programs. Nova Scotia made this argument based on its experience with the Agriculture Instruction Act which lasted only 10 years. In the annual report to the Department of Education (1924-25) Sexton wrote:

There is no doubt but that this sum and more could have been spent effectively on technical education in Nova Scotia, but

the government is loath to embark on a more ambitious program just at present and then have the Dominion change its policy when the term of the present Act expires in 1929. The province had a bitter experience when the agricultural grants of a similar nature were cut off some two years ago and does not wish a repetition of this experience in technical education (p.144).

Nova Scotia argued for extensions to the Technical Education Act. Dr. Sexton also made the case on behalf of Nova Scotia that the conditions of the Act, specifically the requirement that provinces match the grants, were unfair to the poorer provinces. Verma noted, for instance, that during the 1919-1929 period the province spent less than half of its allocation. If the balance was to be secured before 1934, the province would have to spend in that period \$750,000 on secondary technical-vocational education. Taken on an annual basis, that could amount to \$150,000 a year, or more than double what it had been spending annually for the previous 10 years (1978, p.142).

Extensions were made to the life of the Technical Education Act allowing all provinces to claim their allotment. However, it was the requirement that provinces spend according to federal specifications that enhanced federal control over educational decision making within the provinces.

### **1937 Unemployment and Agricultural Assistance Act**

Because of the Great Depression the issue of youth unemployment assumed increased urgency. Coulter (1986) noted the relief camps for unemployed came under criticism. The relief camps were believed to exacerbate the problems that youth unemployment was thought to cause. The opinion developed that there should be "wages, education, training and work" for the men in the relief camps. Mackenzie King campaigned on a platform of improving the conditions for unemployed youth in the election of 1935. Once elected, he closed the relief camps, but little was done to replace them. In 1936 and 1937 an extensive study of training and work schemes for unemployed youth was conducted. The ensuing report provided justification for the Unemployment and Agricultural Assistance Act to be passed. The preamble to the Act stated:

Whereas it is in the national interest that Canada should co-operate with its provinces and with certain organizations and individuals in their endeavours to expand employment in primary and secondary production, to conserve and develop natural resources, to assist in the establishment and re-establishment of unemployed persons and to construct and assist in the construction of public works, for the purposes, amongst other things, of further accelerating the expansion of trade, industry and gainful occupation and thereby lessening the present governmental burdens consequent upon unemployment and agricultural distress... (Statutes, 1937, p.223).

As a result of the Unemployment and Agricultural Assistance Act, the federal government appropriated \$1 million for the training of those people between the ages of 18 and 30 who were unemployed and registered with employment services. The provinces had to spend an equal amount. Under this Act which was meant to increase the employability of young people, the federal government signed agreements with provinces for training assistance. These included:

1. allowances to trainees to enable them to take courses away from their own homes
2. travelling expenses for trainees, instructors and supervisory personnel
3. provision of organized recreation, physical education, instruction in health, citizenship etc.
4. training wages in forestry and mining projects  
(Glendenning 1968, p.27)

These provisions reflected less of a need for the technical skill emphasized in the previous legislation and more of a need to cope with the Depression. The courses included training in forestry, mine training, home service training for young women, occupational training for men and various apprenticeship courses where employers were paid for giving instruction. Emphasis was given to locating suitable employment for those who had undertaken training.

The provinces were asked to submit proposals for training programs that would qualify the unemployed youth for semi-skilled and skilled occupations. Verma noted: "It was definitely understood that the appropriation was made for only the one year, and there was no guarantee, expressed or implied, that any money would be available for this purpose after March 31, 1938. This led to much haste in formulating and organizing schemes of training for great numbers of small groups, and to planning for abbreviated periods of intensive instruction" (1978, p.29).

Nova Scotia took advantage of funds available under the Act to assist with the provision of training in mining and home services and leadership and apprenticeship courses. Again the provinces were required to accommodate the federal criteria. However, many of the arrangements set up under the Unemployment and Agricultural Assistance Act were continued later under other legislation. An example is the Dominion-Provincial Youth Training Program. Originally funded under the Unemployment and Agricultural Assistance Act, it was continued under the Youth Training Act of 1939.

### **1939 Youth Training Act**

With the passage of the Youth Training Act the Dominion Provincial Youth Training Program was given more security. Previously it had had only annual funding. The program was assigned \$1,500,000 a year for three years. The provincial

governments were expected to match their grants and cover all administrative costs as well (Coulter 1986, p.7). The assistance was specifically for:

1. occupational training to increase employability
2. learnership courses combining theory with specific employment<sup>22</sup>
3. reconditioning work projects which would combine training with the conservation or development of natural resources
4. physical training projects designed to maintain the health and morale of the young unemployed (p.8)

There was at that time a general consensus that such training programs served two purposes. They kept young people usefully occupied but off the current labour market - the 'warehousing' function of training.<sup>23</sup> Second, the training also satisfied the pressure that the more education or training young people had the more employable they would eventually be. There was some objection to the Youth Training Program; unionists argued that older men were being replaced by young trainees, wages being kept down by the

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<sup>22</sup> In a pamphlet entitled, Training Canada's Young Unemployed, published by the federal government it was noted: "By learnership is meant training in semi-skilled or specialized occupations which demand dexterity rather than a high degree of technical skill, and can be learned in a shorter period" (1939,p.12).

<sup>23</sup> People in training programs do not get included in the calculation of unemployment, thus enrolment in training courses is used to make unemployment rates appear lower.

cheap labour available through trainees, and businesses were using the Youth Training Program to obtain government subsidies (p.12).

For each project, an agreement was drawn up. The agreement stipulated that "...the federal Minister of Labour would make all the rules and regulations at the federal level, would approve all provincial rules and regulations and would be the final arbiter in disputes arising over financial liabilities" (p.9). Provinces were required to match federal funds for programs under the Youth Training Act. Coulter argued that although provinces were invited to submit proposals for projects, the legislation should have allowed for projects better suited to local needs. Instead all the provincial projects looked remarkably similar. This is not surprising when all projects had to meet one set of criteria.

#### **1942 Vocational Training Coordination Act**

The Vocational Training Coordination Act was passed as a means for the federal government to continue many of the arrangements for vocational training that had already been put in place. The Act provided for continuation of projects begun under the Youth Training Act. It also provided training "...in war industries and the armed forces, the training of war veterans, the unemployed, persons involved in conservation and development of natural resources, apprentices, supervisors in industry, and for the promotion



of research and dissemination of information. In addition, vocational training at a level equivalent to the secondary school level was encouraged" (Glendenning, p.37).

The provisions of the Act were implemented through a number of federal-provincial agreements. Briefly, these were:

1. The Apprenticeship Agreement, signed in 1944, and administered by the provincial Departments of Labour, gave training to those apprenticing in trades. The costs were shared by the federal and provincial governments.
2. The Vocational Schools Assistance Agreement, signed in 1945, arranged for cost-sharing of vocational training at the secondary school level. This arrangement was agreed upon for a 12-year period.
3. The Vocational and Technical Training Agreement of 1948 consolidated a number of programs. The federal government agreed to pay 100 per cent of veterans training and 50 per cent of training costs for the unemployed, for youth and for foremen and supervisors. The agreement was revised to provide 75 per cent of the cost of workers in the defense industry and disabled persons were included in the 50 per cent category.
4. The Vocational Correspondence Courses Agreement was signed in 1950. The federal government shared in the costs of these programs provided the provinces would share their programs. One hundred per cent of the costs for federal government employees and service tradesmen were covered, and 50 per cent of the cost of all other participants was covered.

5. The Vocational and Technical Training Agreement No. 2 provided funds both for capital expenditure and annual allotments for the period 1957-1962 for the development of trade and occupational training courses and centres.

Unlike some previous agreements, Agreement No. 5 gave assurance to the provinces that there would be continuous help to keep the vocational schools going. Glendenning noted that the Vocational and Technical Training Agreement was the first to dictate to provinces the maximum and minimum amounts they could spend in specific categories. Through this direction the federal government gained increasing control of the activity. Verma wrote that to accommodate the federal government's plan, "it became evident soon after Nova Scotia entered into the agreement with the federal government under the terms of the Vocational Schools Assistance Agreement of 1945, that the existing administrative structure in technical-vocational education, established in 1907, needed reorganization" (p.198). Nova Scotia repealed its Technical Education Act of 1907 and introduced the vocational Education Act of 1947. The provincial reorganization brought with it the accommodation of the federal arrangements for financing occupational training courses and centres.

#### **1960 Technical and Vocational Training Assistance Act**

In the late 1950s, Canada experienced an economic slowdown. Unemployment increased although there was a

shortage of skilled manpower which the country could no longer rely on immigration to fill. The federal government believed these problems required federal action. The action it chose to take is found in the provisions of the Technical and Vocational Training Assistance Act (TVTA) passed in 1960. The Capital Expenditures Program - providing for the building of the vocational schools - was the dominant program, and set the scene for the arrangements under TVTA. (Table 2.2) MacDonald wrote: "The greatest vocational school building program in our history occurred in a period of recession and unemployment" (1986, p.30).

The Act grouped together all the federal-provincial activities in vocational education. Two agreements were entered into with the provinces: the Technical and Vocational Training Agreement and the Apprenticeship Training Agreement. Ten programs under the Technical and Vocational Training Agreement and the capital expenditures program are described in Table 2.2. The Apprenticeship Training Agreement, the second of the agreements under the Technical and Vocational Training Assistance Act, was intended to encourage and assist the development of organized training for apprentices in all skilled trades. This agreement was a continuation of previous apprenticeship arrangements.

The capital expenditures program was intended to assist the provinces with the construction or purchase of approved

facilities for technical or vocational training. It was the most significant part of the Act, representing about 70 per cent of the total expenditures under TVTA (Table 2.3). Like many other provinces, Nova Scotia expanded its facilities under the federal assistance available from TVTA. The capital projects approved between 1961 and 1967 included 11 vocational high schools, two institutes of technology, and 15 adult occupational training centres, providing places for 6,013 students. The major building program, which gave provinces elaborate training facilities, also made the provinces dependent on the federal government for some form of continued support.

The federal grant structure used for the distribution of TVTA funds was similar to the previous Act, with one important exception. Previous programs had a pre-determined quota for federal contributions. TVTA funds however, (for all but two of the original 10 programs) had no initial ceiling. The conditions and specific use of grants were made clear by the federal government.

Annual reports of the Department of Education report the building and expenditures that occurred under the TVTA. The reports do not discuss the connection between the training offered and the needs of communities or employers. Some communities may have received facilities for which there was no demonstrated need. Local school officials saw it as an

opportunity to build new technical schools, whether a local need existed or not. The cost-sharing requirement discriminated against the poorer provinces. Ontario was able to take the greatest advantage of the assistance (Dupre et al. 1973). Finally, the federal government thought it was not getting enough credit for its role. This was evident in the speech by Prime Minister Lester Pearson at the federal-provincial conference in 1966 when he announced that programs under TVTA would be discontinued. Bickerton wrote:

but the TVTA actually ended by discriminating against the poorer provinces since funds were distributed on the basis of the provinces ability to match the federal allotment. This fact, and the lack of federal control over TVTA expenditures, led to its demise under Marchand and Kent. If the federal government was to gain control in this area, then TVTA had to be ended (1990, p.192).

The termination of the arrangements under TVTA was followed by the introduction of new arrangements by the federal government in adult vocational education, those embodied in the AOTA.

### **Summary**

The federal government has been active in vocational education since early in this century, partly to solve certain social and economic problems. Federal legislation pertaining to vocational education often left the provinces

in a position where they could only respond to the initiatives of the federal government. The provincial governments therefore were not able to establish their definitions of the 'problem', particularly their needs. Freeman Stewart described the role of the federal government in vocational education as follows:

The Canadian Government will continue to make forays into education as some national need (vocational education, ETV, bilingualism) or political expediency justifies the venture and will as suddenly retreat. The provincial authorities will clear up the debris and make do with the leftovers from the raid. National planning, involving broad study and careful consultation, will, as in the past, be regarded as unnecessary and un-Canadian though billions of dollars are involved in educational expenditure (in Peterson, 1976, p. 20)

Coulter took a similar position in her analysis of the youth training program when she pointed out that "...the ideas and practices first developed under the auspices of the Dominion-Provincial Youth Training Programme remain with us essentially unchanged..." (1986, p.1). Coulter attempted to show how the federal government continued to appear to fix up another problem with yet another program. This position is consistent with that of Silver when he suggested that the policy-making process surrounding vocationalism is one in which policy-makers like to apportion blame. He says, "A brief account of the cultural context... has to be concerned,

however, not with apportioning but with hearing the messages of blame" (1988, p.24). Silver, like Stewart made the point that the provinces, which may have messages to give about their adult education needs, seem to have been silenced. This chapter attempted to show that provincial plans of adult education have been influenced throughout the century to some degree by federal attempts to solve social problems with vocational education programs. The growing involvement of the federal government through legislation was gradual. The TVTA, however, with the massive building program, was particularly important for setting the stage for the more directive role of the federal government taken in AOTA.

**Table 2.2** A summary of programs under the Technical and Vocational Training Assistance Act (1960).

Program	Provided for:
Capital	construction or purchase of facilities
1. Technical and vocational high schools	programs in regular secondary schools, technical, vocational or composite high schools where the full time courses had a minimum of 50 per cent of the time spent on instruction preparing for an occupation
2. Technician training	training in engineering, science and business at post-secondary schools excluding training at the university
3. Trades and other occupational training	training of those wishing to upgrade skills, enter employment, or change employment
4. Training in co-operation with industry	retraining for workers required by changes in industry; training to management personnel and to owners of small businesses
5. Training of the unemployed	training for the unemployed to improve their basic education, trade, technical or occupational competence
6. Training of the disabled	technical, vocational or professional training of disabled people for employment
7. Training of technical & vocational teachers	training of teachers, supervisors, and administrators of technical and vocational training
8. Training for federal department /agencies	tradesmen of the federal government or armed forces requested by the Department
9. Student aid	financial assistance (loans and bursaries) to nursing and university students
10. Manpower requirements and training research	research about manpower needs

Source: Summarized from D. Glendenning (1968) A Review of Federal Legislation Relating to Technical and Vocational Education in Canada. p. 50-62.



**Table 2.3** Federal expenditures under the Technical and Vocational Training Assistance Act for Canada over the period 1961-1967.

Program	Federal Expenditures	
	Total (000's)	Distribution
Capital	\$ 592,470	70.37 %
1. Technical and vocational high schools	14,139	1.68
2. Technician training	37,417	4.44
3. Trades and other occupational training	72,405	8.60
4. Training in co-operation with industry	2,327	0.28
5. Training of the unemployed	113,996	13.54
6. Training of the disabled	3,987	0.47
7. Training of technical & vocational teachers	2,953	0.35
8. Training of federal departments/agencies	404	0.05
9. Student aid	1,657	0.20
10. Manpower requirements and training research	127	0.02
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>\$ 841,882</b>	<b>100.00 %</b>

Source: Summarized from D. Glendenning (1968) A Review of Federal Legislation Relating to Technical and Vocational Education in Canada, p. 50-62.

### III THE ADULT OCCUPATIONAL TRAINING ACT

#### BACKGROUND

##### Introduction

At the federal-provincial conference in October 1966 Prime Minister Lester B. Pearson announced the introduction of the Adult Occupational Training Act (AOTA). In announcing the Act, the prime minister said:

...education is obviously a matter of profound importance to the economic and social growth of the country as a whole.... While education itself is provincial, the federal government accepts primary responsibility for employment and economic activity generally in the country (p.7)

The announcements at this conference marked a new era - the birth of a policy for manpower training. Jain & Hines (1973) note that "although the evolution of manpower education and training programs in Canada dates back to 1913, a policy for systematic development of Canada's manpower resources was not enunciated until 1966" (p.126). Thomas wrote in an editorial in Continuous Learning that "...this (AOTA) represents one of the most important pieces of federal legislation in the history of adult education in Canada.... The Federal Government, through its Manpower Centres, is now in direct control of a great range of adult education, labelled

occupational training" (1967, p.50). It is this control that has been overlooked in the study of adult education. The Economic Council of Canada, in its Eighth Annual Review stated: "...manpower policy since 1966 has become one of the most important federal policy areas in this country" (1971, p.87).

In this chapter, the reasons discussed in the literature for the creation of the AOTA are examined. The reasons cited reflect the dominant thinking, or the thinking of a dominant group, of the time. Such Acts are created at a certain time, by a certain group, consistent with the dominant ideology. Stated reasons for the creation of the Act therefore need explanation in the context of the period, the climate and the stated purposes for which it was created. The contents of the Act will be examined to demonstrate what areas and what activities were to come under the influence of the Act. Some important implications of the Act, particularly the changes in federal and provincial relations over adult vocational education will be discussed. Further implications of the Act for adult education in Nova Scotia and for the practice of adult education are considered in subsequent chapters.

The literature on manpower policy in Canada cites very different "reasons" as background to the creation of AOTA. Dupre et al. (1973) consider the main pressures to be population growth, increased urbanization and a demand for

government services. Jain (1969), Doern (1969) and Kent (1988) stress the jurisdictional issue as an important factor in shaping Canada's manpower training programs. Kent, for instance, writing 20 years after the implementation of the Act, said, "Control was, of course, the real issue" (1988, p.404). The federal perception that provinces had too much control under the previous legislation is discussed as background to the AOTA. The Economic Council of Canada assumed there was a need for federal government intervention in developing a policy for systematic development of Canada's manpower resources. The Economic Council's First Annual Review (1964) recommended a separate department to be concerned with employment and its Second Annual Review (1965) proposed a policy for more aggressive employment strategies, an active manpower policy. The federal government had had, from its vantage point, a positive experience in providing education under the Veteran's Rehabilitation Act (VRA) 1945. Under the terms of that Act the federal government had dealt directly with individual citizens by making allowances to veterans who were pursuing training and by paying the costs of such courses of training (Statutes of Canada, 1945, p.227). The federal government provided additional assistance to those educational providing agencies selected by veterans. Thomas and Gaskin wrote of this experience, "Therefore, despite the continued dependence upon provincial

delivery systems, the federal government was accumulating experience in dealing directly with individual citizens in the pursuit of its learning and educational objectives. This experience was to become a major factor in the introduction of the AOTA in 1967" (1987, p.8).

Drawing from the work of Dupre (1973), Sinnett (1974), and Holland (1975), and federal documents such as Technical and Vocational Education in Canada (various issues) it is possible to isolate for discussion five major issues which form the social background to the Act: (1) occupational shifts in society; (2) the decline in immigration; (3) the creation of the Economic Council of Canada in 1963 and the Department of Manpower and Immigration in 1966; (4) the promotion of manpower policy as a federal concern; and (5) the linking of education with economic growth. Although these are not, of course, completely discrete issues - for instance, discussion of the Department of Manpower and Immigration is related to the creation of manpower policy as a federal concern - they illustrate the social and political context of the period in which the legislation was developed.

### **Occupational Shifts in Society**

The 1950s produced a number of shifts in employment patterns. Increased automation and other innovations were partly the cause for decreased demand for manual skills. Another reason was the general shift from goods-producing

industries to service-producing industries. Tables 3.1 and 3.2 show the pattern of employment growth between 1956 and 1973. For the period 1946-1964 there was an almost steady level of employment in goods-producing industries (agriculture, forestry, fishing, mining, manufacturing and construction). For the same period, employment in service-producing industries (transportation, public utilities, trade, finance) more than doubled (OECD, 1966, p.25). The focus was on trade, health, education, government and related services. It was also a time of increased urbanization, population growth and higher demand for government services. The increase in population resulted in more young people entering institutions of secondary and higher education. Provision also had to be made for those finishing school but not going on to higher education. The composition of the labour force changed, changing the demands on the world of work. (Table 3.3). Bickerton, in his discussion of the politics of regional development in Nova Scotia notes:

The greatest gains in employment and growth terms in the 1960s occurred in the public and service sectors: health, education, government, and trade and services. Federal transfers to the provinces for education, health, and social services increased dramatically: by 1971 60 per cent of all provincial expenditures were in these three areas. In the process, the public sector became a major source of expanding employment opportunities and the most important provider of income in the region. (1990, p.175)

**Table 3.1** Industrial Composition of Employment Growth

	Average annual rates of growth		Percentage contribution to overall employment growth	
	1956-66	1966-73	1956-66	1966-73
Primary Goods	-2.9	-1.7	-16.6	-5.4
Secondary Goods	2.8	2.1	32.5	20.4
Services	4.2	4.4	84.1	85.0
Total	2.6	3.1	100.0	100.0

Source: Summarized from Employment and Immigration Canada (1981)  
Labour Market Development in the 1980s, p.24.

**Table 3.2** Occupational Composition of Employment Growth

	Average annual rates of growth 1966-73	Percentage contribution to overall employment growth 1966-73
White collar occupations <sup>1</sup>	4.4	84.7
Blue collar occupations <sup>2</sup>	1.0	15.3
Total economy	3.1	100.0

<sup>1</sup> Managerial, professional, clerical, sales and services occupations.

<sup>2</sup> Primary occupations, processing, construction, transportation, material handling and other crafts.

Source: Summarized from Employment and Immigration Canada (1981) Labour Market Development in the 1980s, p.24.

**Table 3.3** Composition of Labour Force by Selected Age and Sex Groups, 1955 - 1980

	Youth	Adult Women	Adult Men	Total
	(per cent)			
1955	22.8	14.1	63.1	100.0
1960	21.9	17.3	60.8	100.0
1965	23.4	19.6	57.0	100.0
1970	25.4	22.4	52.2	100.0
1975	27.2	24.6	48.2	100.0
1980	26.4	27.7	45.9	100.0

Source: Employment and Immigration Canada (1981) Labour Market Development in the 1980s, p.11.



When discussing the creation of manpower policy, some writers (Meltz, 1968; Somers, 1971;) referred to the slowdown in the economy between 1957 and 1963 and the emergence of unemployment as a serious problem. Unemployment was found to be concentrated among youths with lower levels of education. (Table 3.4 and 3.5) It was noted in Chapter 2 that the existing programs under the TVTA were seen to favour the wealthier provinces. They did not reach these occupational or geographical areas of high unemployment. New programs were deemed to be necessary. Tables 3.4 and 3.5 point out the real problems facing employment programs. However, these experiences of unemployment were simply absorbed into programs that dealt with the general efficiency of the economy.

**Table 3.4** 1964 Unemployment among men and women in age groups

Sex and Age	Unemployment Rate
Both sexes	4.7
Male:	
14-19 years	12.0
20-24 years	7.9
25-44 years	4.2
45-64 years	4.5
65 years and over	-. -
Totals	5.3
Female:	
14-19 years	8.1
20-24 years	3.0
25-44 years	2.0
45-64 years	2.1
65 years and over	-. -
Totals	3.1

Source: Adapted from Dominion Bureau of Statistics (1967), Special Labour Force Studies No. 1. Work Patterns of the Canadian Population, 1964 p.9

**Table 3.5** Unemployed as a Percentage of the Labour Force, by Level of Education, February, 1965

Level of Education	Both Sexes	Male	Female
Some elementary education or less	12.8	14.3	6.2
Elementary school education	6.6	7.5	3.4
Some high school education	5.1	5.6	3.9
High school education or more	1.9	2.3	*
Totals (all schooling)	5.8	6.9	3.1

\* Numerator estimate less than 10,000

Source: Dominion Bureau of Statistics (1966) Special Labour Force Studies No. 1. Educational Attainment of The Canadian Population and Labour Force: 1960-65 p.13.

### **Decline in Immigration**

Historically Canada's need for technical and highly skilled manpower had been filled by immigrants. The Economic Council of Canada reported that "between 1953 and 1963 for example, slightly more than 80,000 professional and highly skilled technical workers entered Canada from outside North America... three fifths of the total were British" (1964, p.166). Throughout the 20th Century Canada relied on

immigration and therefore did not develop its programs of technical training. It was not until the stronger demand for technical workers developed in Europe and the United States in the late 1950s that Canada had to take a hard look at its ability to educate and train its own people. As the demand for skilled workers increased in Europe and in the United States because of their own expanding economies and increasing prosperity, Canada could no longer recruit from abroad. Between 1951 and 1957 Canada's immigration averaged about 177,000 per year. In the succeeding six years, 1958 to 1963, immigration averaged only 96,000 per year (OECD, 1966, p.63) Meltz (1969) wrote: "Only now with the drying up of potential foreign sources of high talent manpower has there been an awareness of the full extent of the underdevelopment of education and training facilities" (p.46). He added: "Had we looked to developing our human resources instead of simply turning on the immigration tap we would not be in a crisis situation today" (p.52).

#### **Creation of Economic Council of Canada and Department of Manpower and Immigration**

Incentive for growth in manpower policies came also from institutional change. Examination of the Economic Council of Canada and the Department of Manpower and Immigration reports helps to tell the story of adult occupational training. The only recommendation of the 1961 Commission of Inquiry on Unemployment Insurance (Gill Committee) to be implemented was

the separation of employment service from unemployment insurance (Pal, 1988, p.74). The employment service was turned over to the Department of Labour in 1965 and a year later it became the responsibility of the newly created Department of Manpower and Immigration. Pal reported that this recommendation appears to have come from within the Gill committee itself and was not requested by business or labour. Pal suggested the government probably picked up this recommendation because of its preoccupation in those years with a new labour market strategy that would focus more directly on the supply of labour, its mobility and training.

The Economic Council became a persistent advocate of expanded manpower policies. In introducing in the House of Commons the bill to create the Economic Council of Canada, Bill C-72, the prime minister said:

It shall be the duty of the Council to advise and recommend to the Minister how Canada can achieve the highest possible levels of employment and efficient production, in order that the country may enjoy a high and consistent rate of economic growth and that all Canadians may share in rising living standards. (Debates, House of Commons, 1963, p.791).

Meltz (1969) pointed out that by assigning to the Economic Council of Canada a watchdog role for employment, the federal government had to take some interest in the labour supply and the operation of the labour market. Background for many of the manpower developments that

occurred in this period can be found in the recommendations of the Council. In its first annual review (1964) the Council recommended the adoption of an active manpower policy. In its Second Annual Review (1965) it recommended the establishment of a separate manpower department. In fact the Second Annual Review provides excellent background to the AOTA because it described the need for programs of training, mobility, and information gathering, as well as for the technical requirements of those programs.

The Economic Council stressed the need for information on the demand and supply of labour - the first step in creating a labour market policy. The Council said that labour market policy "must have the status of an important national economic policy integrated with general fiscal and monetary policy" (1964, p 170). The object of labour market policy was described as one "to bring about the matching of the supply and the demand for labour in specific localities and occupations in a way that manpower resources can be most productively utilized" (p.171). Active labour market policies were thought to be crucial to the attainment of national economic goals. It was on the basis of Council's promotion of these connections between labour market information, labour market policy and economic achievement that the Department of Manpower and Immigration was created in January 1966 under the Government Organization Act.

The creation of this department brought together programs previously operated by Department of Citizenship and Immigration, the Department of Labour and the National Employment Service. This amalgamation clearly set the stage for a comprehensive, expanded role for the federal government in training. Until the creation of the new department, Canadian manpower policy was created and implemented on a piecemeal basis. One single department now had the responsibility for creating, coordinating and implementing manpower policies and programs. Angood said:

No more vividly was the Canadian concern for the development of a rational coordinated manpower policy planning and policy making mechanism demonstrated than by the creation of the federal Department of Manpower and Immigration in the mid-1960s (1972, p.80).

Essentially the blueprint for the department is found in the recommendations of the Economic Council's First Annual Review. The following is the gist of the recommendations:

1. National Employment Service

The National Employment Service (NES) had been primarily a servant of unemployment insurance. What was recommended was an employment service that had the means to "promote the occupational, industrial and geographical mobility of the labor force to meet the requirements of a changing industrial economy" (p.173).

## 2. Advisory Committees

The Economic Council said that in the development of labour market policy, "there should be consultation with the parties directly involved with the employment service, particularly management and labour" (p.176). This could be done, it was suggested, by establishing strong advisory committees at the regional office level, and at the local office level in the larger urban centres.

## 3. Labour Market Information

The Economic Council claimed that a serious weakness of the NES was its lack of information about job vacancies from employers. "A major function of any employment service should be the collection, analysis and dissemination of labour market information" (p.173).

## 4. Labour Market Services

The Council said it would be necessary to have facilities to help workers "undergo both occupational change and geographical movement" (p.179). It was suggested that the NES should provide the necessary services for all workers who needed to relocate or who needed retraining to become employed.

These and other recommendations made by the Council profoundly resembled both the structure and policies of the Department of Manpower and Immigration. The first annual



report of the Department of Manpower and Immigration prepared by the then deputy minister, Tom Kent, begins:

Today, more than ever before, the way in which manpower resources are used is critical to the economic growth of Canada. The recognition of this fact was responsible for the creation in 1966 of the Department of Manpower and Immigration (1966, p.1).

The report said the central feature of the new department was the creation of the Canada Manpower Centres. These centres were meant to provide employment service to workers and employers at the local level. Steps were taken to develop a comprehensive manpower information and analysis system that would inform the training program. The department took on the additional responsibilities assumed by the federal government under the AOTA.<sup>24</sup> The provisions of the AOTA were easily implemented partly because they fitted well with the organization and orientation of the department. This is not surprising since the Economic Council was influential in creating both the plan for manpower programs and the plan for the Department.

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<sup>24</sup> The Economic Council of Canada stated in its Second Annual Review: What is needed is a manpower agency which would be more than a placement service, important as this function is. It should be a key operational agency for implementing manpower policies and the sole coordinating agency of all policies and programmes related to the labour market (1965, p.71).

### **Manpower Policy as a Federal Concern**

Employment policy very gradually became a federal concern, often in response to a defined crisis. The more an issue can be perceived clearly as a national need, the easier it has been for the federal government and its agencies to play an active role. Increasing federal involvement in vocational training as shown in Chapter 2, had been sanctioned because it had been perceived as a solution to various national crises. In 1966 the perceived crisis related to a shortage of skilled workers and the high unemployment rate, especially among young people.

Some of the controversy over the jurisdiction of technical-vocational education was based in a constitutional dispute. Section 93 of the British North America Act had assigned education to the provinces. Section 91, however, had charged the federal government with providing the economic requirements for nation building. Who, therefore, is really responsible for technical education? Whether vocational-technical education is based on Section 93 or Section 91 is important. How this is decided is what determines whether the main concern of a program of vocational-technical education is enhancing economic growth through supplying industry's need for skilled labour, or providing education as defined by the individual. In the House of Commons, David MacDonald (PC-Prince) raised a

question about an announcement Jean Marchand, the minister of manpower and immigration had made. MacDonald said:

...that as of April 1, I believe, the encouragement and activities... to further training at the secondary school level will be abandoned, by reason of the rather paradoxical suggestion at this late date that it is not, after all, his constitutional responsibility. One could well raise the question of why the department entered into it in the first place, if it has now concluded it is no longer its constitutional responsibility. I wonder when we shall have an opportunity, in fact, to discuss the constitutional responsibility exercised by the department of manpower (Debates, House of Commons, 1967, p.15322).

The responsibility for economic growth and fiscal equity (the distributive effects of our fiscal system) are, according to the divisions under the BNA Act, federal responsibility. It then seems to follow that the federal government should have taken the responsibility for manpower planning. Where, then, did this leave the provinces on the matter of manpower training? It is difficult to find much on the voice of the provinces at this time. Stevenson described the situation for the provinces this way: "For most of the decade it was not an appropriate time for looking federal gift horses in the mouth, and it was hardly necessary to make the protection of the provincial autonomy too big a political issue in English speaking Canada" (1981, p.13).

The provinces seemed administratively unable to speak against the federal government's plan for adult training.<sup>25</sup> If provinces were fighting for control in an area the federal government had established as a national matter, then the struggle became a political one. Simeon describes some of the characteristics that determine this struggle. He takes the stand that it is "almost impossible for Members of Parliament to push for policies favourable to their regions if they clash with government policy" (1972, p.26). Federal ministers operating in the federal environment, according to Simeon, are concerned with federal policy making and execution.

The federal role in education took on broader responsibilities in 1967. Thomas stressed (1967) the importance of understanding the significance of the introduction of the federal-provincial Fiscal Arrangements Act, 1967, at the same time as the introduction of the Adult Occupational Training Act. The Fiscal Arrangements Act changed the federal government's participation in higher education. Under the Fiscal Arrangements Act, the federal government agreed to pay to the provinces the greater of (1) an amount as determined by the Secretary of State, equal to 50 per cent of the operating expenditures for post-secondary

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<sup>25</sup> The place of the provinces generally vis-a-vis this program is explained by the various strategies discussed in this chapter. Nova Scotia's position is described in Chapter 4.

education in the province in the fiscal year, or (2) the product obtained by multiplying \$15 by the population of the province for the 1967 calendar year. As a result of these two Acts, the federal government's role in education was to be different from its role in training. Thomas found this situation to be partly understandable for constitutional reasons, but he put the Canadian Association for Adult Education (CAAE) on record as saying:

...as far as the management of learning, individual or collective in this society is concerned, we regard it as specious and dangerous. It is not possible to train without educating; it is not possible to educate without training. In part, it is precisely this distinction which is causing a great deal of unnecessary trouble (p.242).

There seems to have been no discussion of the philosophy of the program, or its fit with provincial programs. One therefore needs to look at policy creation through a study of the motives, beliefs and external pressures that shape the policies by which the educational programs were administered. Hargraves (1981) observed that the OECD Review of National Policies for Education, Canada (1976) took the position that because Canada lacked education policies, the prerogative for determining what should be education policy had been taken over by other federal agencies. Such agencies view education as an instrument for their particular missions, rather than as a field of policy in its own right. The creation of the

federal training program in Canada illustrates the OECD point. Not only did the adult training program serve a particular policy, it also served a particular policy at a particular level of government.

When manpower policy became the preserve of the federal government, the education and training components also became the preserve of the federal government. The federal government defined both the problem and the solution. A provincial challenge to these definitions of the problem seemed not to be part of the debate. The definitions and roles created by the federal government were, however, challenged in the House of Commons and will be presented to explain the implications of the Act.

### **Linking of Education with Economic Growth**

Just as there were shifts in the occupational structure of society, commonly held beliefs about the purposes of knowledge in our society underwent shifts. The Economic Council of Canada observed that knowledge and skills once used mainly for purposes of survival would have to be applied to new means of production. (1964, p.161)

Economists debated whether manpower imbalances were caused by a general economic slowdown, or whether inadequate manpower policies were part of the cause of the slowdown. There were two schools of thought. The "deficient demand" school argued that manpower problems were only a small part

of a deficient aggregate demand. This school felt the problem was a result of larger fiscal and monetary policies. "Structuralists" argued that inadequate manpower policies caused the slowdown. This school saw the problem as largely a mismatching of labour skills to job requirements.<sup>26</sup> It was the structuralists argument that informed the manpower policy work of the Economic Council.<sup>27</sup> The Council was instrumental in the creation of the Department of Manpower and Immigration and the Adult Occupational Training Act. Explanations here therefore borrow from, and focus on, the arguments of the structuralists. The Council promoted the belief that investment in education would improve the quality of the labour supply. The Council's First Annual Review made an often quoted statement:

During the post war period it has become increasingly apparent that the future prosperity of a nation will depend in large measure on its success in creating and maintaining an adequate supply of professional, technical, managerial and other highly skilled manpower (1964, p.160).

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<sup>26</sup> G. Peter Pentz (1969) Structural Unemployment Theory and Measurement. Ottawa Program Manpower and Immigration describes structural unemployment and its application to the study of Canadian Manpower.

<sup>27</sup> Economic Council of Canada (1971) Design for Decision Making in its review of Canadian Manpower Policy explains that following a widespread debate over the sources of unemployment, the consensus was that structural transformation of the economy lay at the heart of the problem (p.95-133).

The Council clearly promoted the position that nations would prosper in accordance with their "organization and technical skills". In its Second Annual Review (1965) the Council linked investment in education with improvement in the economy:

Education is a crucially important factor contributing to economic growth and to rising living standards. This has been the conclusion of a growing body of economic analysis in a number of countries. This is the conclusion also reached in our exploratory analysis of the contribution of education to the growth of the Canadian economy and to the welfare of its people. (p.71)

The Council had gathered data from the United States on the average level of annual income from employment, by levels of education for the male non-farm labour force. It concluded that a very strong relationship was indicated between income levels and educational attainment. From this and data on return on investment in education, the Council recommended greater public investment in Canadian education.

In discussing Canadian manpower policy, Dymond said the program was "largely economic rather than social, focusing on increasing the productivity of the labour force in the long term and in making a contribution to economic stabilization in the short term" (1970, p.545). Similarly the Council said, "The Canadian Government's strategy in the field of manpower policy is primarily a growth strategy, with the



objectives of equity and stabilization policy clearly being secondary" (1971, p.98). Meltz expressed a common belief of the day when he said manpower policy should have two objectives:

- a) to promote the general economic goals set by the Economic Council of Canada: full employment, stable prices, economic growth, favourable balance of payments, and an equitable distribution of income; and
- b) to enable each person to obtain the highest earnings he can... (1969, p.49)

Meltz believed that public support for training programs was justified if these objectives were sought. Meltz made the point that the manpower field had to be understood for how it fitted into the overall operation of the economy. Yet manpower policies are just one set of tools which can be used to achieve economic and social goals. In the 1960s the federal government began to act on the conviction that conscious management of human resources may result in economic growth. Manpower policies as an economic tool were the basis for the creation of a number of programs.

The assumptions that Canada was experiencing changes, that it required a highly skilled labour force, which could no longer be filled by immigration, and that the federal government should assume responsibility for the creation of the labour force, underlay the creation of AOTA. Human capital theory, the belief that economic growth was dependent

on investment in human capital was the basis for much education planning, particularly adult education.<sup>28</sup> The overriding assumption, that economic growth was dependent on a skilled work force, was the basis for the creation of new departments within the federal government. The focus of the legislation on economic concerns over the social concerns, and the accommodation to this legislation by the provinces resulted in the provinces, with the possible exception of Québec, accepting the questionable distinction of education and training and incorporating it into their fiscal and administrative structures. The provincial adult education approach to economic problems through community development was, therefore, overshadowed by programs rich in training money directed at specific economic problems with the apparent acquiescence of the provinces in distinguishing education and training. The federal government acted in the area in which it claimed jurisdiction.

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<sup>28</sup> Human capital theory came under criticism in the 1970s as a basis for educational planning. Bowen (1974) for instance noted misconceptions such as the belief that the economy requires a more or less fixed inventory of occupational skills, that we can predict forces in the economy that determine skill requirements for periods long enough that educational planning has meaning, and that education should be used to prepare people for quite specific jobs. The economic context of human capital theory and its application to the AOTA is discussed in Chapter 7.

## **THE ACT**

### **Introduction**

The Adult Occupational Training Act was intended to change radically the provision of adult vocational education in Canada. The manner in which the Act was implemented also caused much controversy. The Act was introduced through speeches and announcements by senior federal politicians and appointed officials. The review of the Act in this chapter is intended mainly to demonstrate the new role of the federal and subsequently the provincial governments in the adult training arena.

### **AOTA: announced by the Prime Minister**

In his opening statement to the Federal-Provincial Conference in October 1966, Prime Minister Lester Pearson announced a number of new arrangements for higher education in Canada. The role of the federal government in the new arrangements was stressed in his statement. The prime minister proposed, for instance, the Federal-Provincial Fiscal Arrangements Act, described previously, which altered federal payments to provinces for higher education. The direct financing of adult education and indirect financing of other forms of higher education resulted in the two forms of education being treated differently.

The prime minister spoke to the jurisdictional problem of higher education, recognizing that education was a provincial responsibility. He noted, however, that it was the responsibility of the federal government "to devise and apply national policies and measures that are necessary to ensure that the economy of Canada will continue to expand and will become increasingly productive, in order that there may be full employment and an increasing level of prosperity for all our citizens" (p.8). He described the federal role as one of helping to alleviate the financial difficulties of the provinces while not imposing on the provinces the federal government's view of how much should be spent for education or in what way. This statement reflected the restrictions of the existing arrangements under the Technical-Vocational Training Assistance Act. "The federal government wishes by its actions to recognize the needs and priorities of the provinces. It is for provincial governments to take the action that, within their fields of jurisdiction, they think most appropriate and desirable", the prime minister said (p.8). The federal government would make clear its own field of jurisdiction.

In discussing the expiry of the TVTA agreements, the prime minister noted how these agreements had transferred large amounts of federal resources to the provinces, especially for the building of vocational high schools. He

also noted that the public seemed to have little awareness of the federal government's contribution. Pearson said no one intended the federal government to become involved permanently in any form of post-secondary education. He also said that cost-shared programs had some distorting effect on provincial priorities. The distorting cost-shared programs referred to the funding of vocational schools which were operating along side provincially funded high school programs under very different arrangements. He announced that the existing agreements would therefore lapse on March 31, 1967.

In place of the provisions provided under the TVTA, new arrangements were proposed. Pearson restated the federal government's position that the training and retraining of adults for participation in the labour force was well within the scope of federal jurisdiction. Training for the labour force was not seen (or defined) as education. Training was intended to increase the productivity and earnings of Canadian workers. "In short, the federal government believes it has a constitutional and necessary role in the training and development of our adult labour force for economic growth and full employment" (p.15).

Pearson noted the need to respond to the employment difficulties created by (1) older workers with little formal schooling or technical skills facing unemployment; (2) urbanization; and (3) changes caused by increased

industrialization. The existing arrangements for vocational education did not address these needs. Workers who needed training the most could not afford it. The federal government therefore intended to purchase training for them. The government was to provide "all allowances which are necessary in order that adults may take the full-time training required for employment" (p.16). The allowances were to be paid directly to the people eligible for them and the provinces were to be paid for offering employment-oriented training to adults.

The federal government recognized and encouraged the potential for training in industry and created incentives for industry-based training. Firms offering training programs were to be reimbursed 100 per cent for out-of-pocket costs and employees were to receive a training allowance. These provisions were intended for training of a general nature, not job-specific training. Reimbursement was to be made for job-specific training only if the employees had lost their jobs through technological change. Consideration was also to be given to fee-charging institutions for training which could not be provided by the province or by industry. The prime minister concluded his announcement by saying he had given a clear definition of "the federal role that should, we believe, end the confusion of policy and action that has sometimes resulted from the federal government's financial

involvement in the exclusively provincial field of education" (p.18). The AOTA made clear the nature of federal jurisdiction.

**Announcement about AOTA by Minister of Manpower and Immigration**

Jean Marchand, the minister, also gave an address on federal training programs at the (1966) Federal-Provincial Conference. His address was specific about the arrangements for adult training. He announced that the federal government would get out of the existing cost-shared programs. He also described the previous arrangement in technical and vocational education as distorting the school system. The federal government's new arrangement to finance adult training was based on a number of premises. He said the federal government was not attempting to draw distinct lines between education and training and the plans for adult training should not create this distinction. Marchand said the government would be creating a distinction between "students in the ordinary sense and... men and women who are or have been earning their living but who need further training or re-training for productive employment" (p.50). The need of the adult for training support was likened to the need for unemployment insurance.

Marchand implied that with government support, industry would offer training of a general nature. He also stated

that adult training would be most directly related to full employment and improved productivity and that was mainly why it was of direct concern to the federal government. The plan allowed the provincial governments and industries that were already providing training, to continue to do so, while the federal government would supply the "customers". Supplying the customer meant the federal government would take 100 per cent of the financial responsibility for the trainees who, to be eligible, must have been in the labour force for three years. The federal government was mainly concerned with training that would require an interruption to employment for a period of less than one year and that was designed to create or improve a skill in a particular occupation. Speaking for the federal government, Marchand claimed for the federal government the right to say "whether the public investment in training a man for one occupation, rather than another, makes economic sense..." (p.51).

In summary, the responsibility of the government was to pay training allowances, to pay the costs of occupational upgrading and retraining in industry and to pay 100 per cent of the costs of courses in occupations approved by the federal government. The significant change was that the federal government would decide who and what should be funded. The federal control was not just over programs but over people, too. Mr. Marchand's closing remarks expressed



the firm stand of the government which later came under a lot of criticism: "What I have described is what we are going to do. We believe it is what we ought to do, for full employment and economic progress" (p.52).

**AOTA announced by The Deputy Minister of Manpower and Immigration**

In September 1967 Tom Kent, the deputy minister of Manpower and Immigration, addressed The Institute of Public Administration of Canada with a talk entitled "Intergovernmental Responsibility for Manpower Training". The Institute of Public Administration is an organization of career public servants from all levels of government and academics who study public policy issues. He began with the premise that "the responsibility for manpower training is bound to be intergovernmental" (p.2). He described this as a "basic truth". Kent juxtaposed the responsibility assigned to the provincial governments for education with the responsibility assigned to the federal government for the growth and development of the Canadian economy. He then defined manpower policy as one of the instruments of economic policy.

An active manpower policy, he said, included career counselling, placement services, relocation assistance, immigration as a response to critical manpower shortages and, of course, manpower training. Developing human resources in

response to economic and technological change would be the major economic concern of the nation. Kent reviewed the Technical and Vocational Training Assistance Act and noted its shortcomings. The problems he cited with the TVTA, i.e., the failure to meet the high need group and the wealthier provinces getting most of the resources, have been mentioned previously. He also discussed the problem of drawing a distinction between training and education:

We should not distinguish a so-called training component within education but instead should make a much more meaningful distinction based on people: people who are in the school system, and people who are in the labour force and whose needs, whether you call them training or adult education or basic skill development or re-training, are a supplement of some kind to what they got at school (p.15).

The new Act claimed to finance the training needs of the individual. The major difference between the arrangements under the TVTA and the AOTA was mainly, according to Kent, how manpower training was financed. Kent presented the new financial arrangements as improvements that would serve the Canadian economy as a whole. The essence of the scheme, was that the individual would deal directly with the federal government.

Kent admitted he was defending his department against the accusation that there had been inadequate consultation saying: "Nothing could have been further from the truth"

(p.25). He said that "at the turn of the year" the provinces were sent a comprehensive discussion paper, spelling out proposals and inviting comment. He went on to say gently that the federal government had done what had to be done under the circumstances. But he almost implied recognition of the problem of inadequate consultation<sup>29</sup> with the provinces when he said, "In future good intentions to consult will be as effective as we possibly can make them" (p.27). It is interesting to note that the discussion paper followed the federal-provincial conference in which the new program was described as "what we are going to do".

Kent then announced that there would be a continuing consultative committee to discuss strategies of adult training. He noted that the decisions on what to train people for would remain with his department. The department would improve its capacity to handle this task. Occupational forecasting would take into consideration the needs of a particular province through the joint federal-provincial committees established to assess manpower needs.

Speaking five months after the implementation of the regulations covering the new federal-provincial arrangements, and four months after the debate in the House

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<sup>29</sup> The announcement of what would occur in October, combined with Kent saying the provinces were consulted with a discussion paper and the turn of the year is important for understanding the power of the federal government. The relative lack of power and input by the provincial governments is elaborated upon in Chapter 5.

of Commons, Kent had now heard opposition from the provinces.<sup>30</sup> He announced in this address a number of arrangements that would actively include the provinces in the process. The government was to assign to each province one person whose job would be to see that the province was informed and consulted about everything pertaining to the industrial training program. The province would be informed about any contract made with industry for training. The provinces would be asked to administer and monitor these programs. He stressed the need for an atmosphere of trust in order for the arrangements to work.

In his address, Kent recognized that the perspective of the federal government was different from that of the provincial governments. "From our point of view, we were making a necessary change of method. From the point of view of the provincial departments and school boards, we were doing something much more fundamental" (p.31). He was able

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<sup>30</sup> There was an Advisory Council under the TVTA. Thomas wrote, "the intention to change the TVTA, and invitations to consult were made repeatedly by the Federal and representatives to that Council in the year leading up to the introduction of AOTA. I have always been a little puzzled by the cries of "foul" launched by the provinces when they were warned". (Personal correspondence, A. Thomas, 1991). Despite the warnings, perhaps the provinces could not grasp the extent of the changes. Kent suggested the provinces were resistant to changes for very good reasons, "...provincial departments of education, especially in the richer provinces, had made a great thing of the TVT program. They were hooked on it. Enforced withdrawal involved unpleasant symptoms" (198 , p.403). Kent said about the announcement of the new arrangements. "The provinces were stunned" (p.402). Bryce, in his thesis, does not mention the role of the Advisory Council or any other consultation process regarding pending changes.

to announce one of the amendments in the regulation in which the federal government was now willing to give the provincial governments assurances in writing that provincially sponsored training programs would be given first consideration. The provinces were also given guarantees of minimum levels of use. These assurances were intended to develop trust and confidence in cooperation. He finished by saying that cooperation was essential for the intergovernmental responsibility required for a successful manpower training program in Canada.

#### **Contents of the Adult Occupational Training Act**

On March 3, 1967 Marchand introduced into the House of Commons for its first reading, Bill No C-278, respecting the occupational training of adults. The minister said his proposal was "a greatly extended program for the training and retraining of members of the labour force. It is an explicit recognition of the federal responsibility for the over-all performance of the economy, and the advancement of the workers on whom that performance depends" (Debates House of Commons, 1967, p.13737). The minister pointed out that for the past several years the federal government had contributed substantially to the capital costs of provincial facilities for technical training. Such cost-sharing arrangements were terminated, as announced by the prime minister. Marchand stressed that provincial governments and industry, already in

the business of providing training, should continue to do so. The federal government would see to it that the providers of training had customers, "and that means we have to pay the customers' bills" (p.13738).

The minister's remarks introducing the bill touched on the major changes for adult occupational training such as new funding arrangements which resulted in new federal and provincial arrangements. It was what Marchand called "different principles of cooperation which I believe will be healthier in every way and give us better value for money" (p.13739). Another important aspect of the program also touched upon in his introductory remarks was its implementation through Canada Manpower Centres. These and other provisions of the Act made clear the intentions of the federal government in occupational training.

When Bill C-278 was introduced in the Commons for second reading on April 24, 1967, John Munro, the parliamentary secretary to the minister of manpower and immigration, began by saying, "...the bill... is not new in principle,... The policy on which it is based was made clear by the Prime Minister last October" (p.15259). Munro explained that the bill gave the Government of Canada power to buy training for Canadian workers. It therefore made the government responsible for seeing that training responds to the needs of the economy.

The intent of the federal government was to give adults access to the training they needed for employment in the modern economy. The important features of the Act, such as the control taken by the federal government, the power given to manpower counsellors and the disregard for local needs are discussed as separate issues in this thesis. The Act (Appendix 1) defined occupational training as "...any form of instruction, other than instruction designed for university credit, the purpose of which is to provide a person with the skills required for an occupation or to increase his skill or proficiency therein;" (Statutes of Canada, 1967, p.1205). Section 3 of the Act defined as eligible for training allowances, those people who had been members of the labour force for the past three years - or for one year if they had dependants. Who might enrol and how was described in Section 4.(1):

Where an adult who has not attended school on a regular basis for at least twelve months informs a manpower officer that he wishes to undertake occupational training, the manpower officer may, subject to subsection (2), arrange for the enrollment of that adult in any occupational training course that will, in the opinion of the manpower officer, provide training suitable for that adult and increase his earning capacity or his opportunities for employment (Statutes, 1967 p. 1206).

The core of the program was a 10-month skill course and basic upgrading if necessary for entry to the skill course. The

Act permitted the federal government to purchase training from the provinces when it was available and to place trainees in privately-operated courses with the approval of the provincial government. The financial arrangements between the federal and provincial government were generally stated in Section 5. The federal government would pay the province or municipal authority for "training in an occupational training course operated by the province or the provincial or municipal authority to adults whose enrollment therein was arranged by a manpower officer" (Statutes, 1967, p.1209). It was also specified that payment would be made for courses other than those operated by the province, if a manpower officer arranged for the enrolment of the person in the course, not offered by a provincial or municipal authority.

Section 6 provided for the purchase of training in industry. This did not cover routine on-the-job training but rather classroom training of the type that might be given in a public institution. On-the-job training was accepted in cases where technological change was going to displace long-time employees. The federal government agreed not to enter into a contract with an employer without consultation with the province in which the course was operated.

Sections 7, 8, and 9 of the Act address the payment of training allowances, one of the significant changes brought



about with this Act. The federal government agreed to pay a training allowance related to family circumstances and living costs of every adult who was being trained in courses arranged by a manpower officer. The training allowances were set at a rate higher than unemployment insurance benefits and would be paid for a maximum of 52 weeks of training. Training allowances could also be paid to an employer when employees were engaged in training at their place of work.

Section 10 provided for cooperative research projects concerned with developing new ways to teach adults and with designing courses to fit adult needs. The federal government would pay up to 50 per cent of the costs incurred by the province for such research. Section 11 provided for the federal government to make loans to the provinces to build facilities suitable for operating the courses that would be purchased from them. The federal government's powers to make regulations were outlined in Section 12. This gave the federal government the power to make regulations defining eligibility of an adult for training, the means of calculating training costs, and specifying when an adult had been a member of the labour force or when a person was a dependant or had dependants.

A careful reading reveals that the ultimate authority rested clearly with the federal government by virtue of all the "the Minister may..." statements. This is inherent in

the fact that it was a federal Act but it begs the question, what then was the power of the provinces? What was the real meaning of the cooperative venture referred to by the minister and the deputy minister of manpower and immigration? Both of them referred to the Canada Manpower Centres as significant innovations. What was perhaps even more significant was the role of the Canada Manpower Counsellor or "Officer". The Act defined "manpower officer" to mean "an officer of the Department of Manpower and Immigration designated by the Minister" (Statues, 1967, p.1205). The power of this officer is suggested in Section 4.(1) quoted above. The Act allowed for the officer to accept an adult into a training program which, in the opinion of the officer, was suitable training for that adult. The manpower officer in this case played an important role in defining the needs and controlling access to adult vocational education in this country.

The terms of the application of the Act to Nova Scotia are described in the agreement between The Government of Canada and The Government of the Province of Nova Scotia attached as Appendix 2. The agreement reflects the provisions of the Act, once again stressing the power of the federal government in the arrangement. For instance, the federal government was to be informed of curriculum outlines and the use of other course materials and any changes made in

these areas. Explanation must be provided for dismissing a student and federal officials had stated access to the training facility. The federal authority was designated to the Regional Director of Manpower for the Atlantic Region.

## **IMPLICATIONS OF THE ADULT OCCUPATIONAL TRAINING ACT**

### **Introduction**

The Adult Occupational Training Act was introduced at a time when there was growing concern over, and financial support for, the educational system. Furthermore adults were participating increasingly in programs that were part of the formal institutional structures of public education. Vocational education courses available under the TVTA had already begun to displace the community based activities organized by the Division of Adult Education. The AOTA provided additional formal training opportunities specifically for adults. These opportunities were unavailable through provincial programs.

The very presence of such a large program in a small province such as Nova Scotia<sup>31</sup> led to the development of a particular type of adult training available under particular circumstances. These arrangements were quickly adopted as

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<sup>31</sup> The expenditures by the federal government compared to provincial spending on education are discussed in Chapter 4.

the accepted form of adult training and diminished the role of the Division of Adult Education. The first implication of AOTA was the redefinition of adult training and adult education to conform to the new federal priorities. The particular fit of the AOTA with economic policy was the second implication. The third is found in the debate over federal and provincial authority for vocational education, out of which each level of government acquired new roles.

#### **AOTA, Adult Training and Adult Education**

The initial reaction from the adult education community centred on the ways in which the AOTA would separate training from education. The CAAE, for instance, expressed concern over the act's narrow definition of training, the powerful role of manpower counsellors, and the lack of prior federal consultation with adult educators. Thomas was critical of the paramount principle of reaching directly to the citizen without going through a provincial administration (1967, p.245).

Thomas noted in an editorial in Continuous Learning (1967) that the CAAE had had very little participation in developing and very little opportunity to comment on a piece of legislation that would seriously affect adult education in Canada. He added that there was an unwillingness on the part of the two levels of government to take many of the people "...on the front lines into their confidence. These

were the people closest to the students, who now must deal with these new procedures, and whose opinion and advice might have been helpful in framing the legislation and its inevitable regulations" (p.50). The legislation "treat(ed) the training opportunity as a staple good rather than a somewhat perishable commodity which it more nearly is" (p.51).

The CAAE argued that the legislation dictated an administrative and financial distinction between education and training and took the stand that the two were not separable. In A Report To The Canadian People on Manpower Development (1967) the CAAE said the entire direction of the program should be subject to intensive investigation and discussion. The report included an interview with a representative from the Department of Manpower and Immigration who argued that the program should be seen not as a training program but as an employment and placement program for which training was merely incidental. The argument was built on a federal government belief that people did not have a right to training and certainly no right to choose their training, which should be determined on the basis of labour market needs. David MacDonald was among the members who argued in the Commons that:

the distinction the Minister and others make between education and training is not a valid one, because basically

whether a person is referring to his own education or his own training, it is by and large directed toward his future, or ongoing employment, and it is employment that concerns us .... I think it has been a phony division, to draw a line between training and education, because I do not think it squares with the reality of the situation as it exists today.  
(Debates House of Commons, 1967, p.15321)

The minister (Marchand) defended the program by saying that in the past the provincial attitude tended to be to fill up the courses that were available. Now there would be more direct pressure to pattern the courses to meet the employment needs of the individual and he recognized that the change is disturbing some officials: "...That is the one difference we are making that affects the relationship between education and training and the structure of training courses" (p.15344). Marchand argued, however, that from the perspective of the public, there was no distinction between education and training. Training would now be provided without charge to adults in the same way that education is available to children. Marchand insisted that he was not creating a difference between education and training. A statement made in the House of Commons would reveal otherwise: "...people to be trained will not themselves decide to follow this course, or that.... It is the manpower training centre which will decide what course is to be followed. This must be so, because we have to analyse the market to make sure as far as possible that the men, once

trained, will have jobs in their new skills" (p.15348).<sup>32</sup>

Marchand refused to hear the criticism levelled by the provinces,<sup>33</sup> which accused the Act of creating a distinction between training and education.

One question overlooked in the adult education literature in Canada is whether AOTA intentionally kept educators out of the policy arena. There is no way to be sure what educators would have done had they been more involved. The program operated as an adjunct to a predetermined set of labour needs. Provinces and institutions willing to work within the definitions of the program were eligible for the large sums of money outlined previously. Projects that were outside the boundaries of the program did not receive the same level of funding as those within the defined limits. While a polarization occurred between what was training and what was education, adult

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<sup>32</sup> The use of the word "men" as opposed to the word people, was partly an expression of the day, but it may also have been an expression which appropriately reflected the industrial training orientation of the legislation. The statement by Marchand provides a good contrast between orientation toward a mobilized labour force with any orientation toward community development. Community development was not about the training of men.

<sup>33</sup> While Members of Parliament do not represent the official views of the provincial governments, they do reflect the concerns of various regions. MPs expressed concern over the fit of this new plan with existing federal plans in operation in the provinces.

educators found themselves the poor cousins to the more wealthy dominant training program of the day.<sup>34</sup>

The traditional adult education role in Nova Scotia described in Chapter 4 was based on a belief in the strength and resources of individuals and communities. This belief explains the use, by the Division of Adult Education, of field workers whose mandate was to work with individuals and community groups. The emphasis on field workers to carry out community needs ensured the focus was on the community and not a plan based on centralized goals or policies. Education was integrated with the values of the individuals and their communities. They were values people were comfortable with, values people used to look at, interpret and experience the world. The manpower training program appeared not to have any regard for the values of the person (the adult student). The value stressed in the manpower training program was only that of economic development with no regard for whether that value is in any way suitable for the individual or for the culture to which it was applied. It was a program in which people could not themselves decide on the form and content of adult education.

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<sup>34</sup> It is noted in Chapter 4 that the Government of Nova Scotia increased its spending on Adult Education from \$126,885 in 1960 to \$1,146,949 in 1974. Provincial support for vocational education went from \$250,000 in 1960 to \$59,456,201 in 1974. Similarly, the federal support for adult education increased from \$2,845 in 1960 to \$4000 in 1974 while federal support for vocational education went from \$340,437 in 1960 to \$,655,570 in 1974. (Table 4.3)



### **AOTA and Economic Policy**

How manpower policy became a facilitative resource in the process of economic growth and change during the 1960s is a revealing story. The AOTA was created within the overlapping of traditional jurisdictions: the federal government's responsibility for economic matters and the provinces' responsibility for education. The federal government explained its new involvement in adult training as contributing to economic growth and full employment. The manpower policies were developed in response to national economic policies. They were based on labour market analysis and the belief that employment was above all a matter of federal jurisdiction and responsibility. The federal government was concerned with the "selection of the trainees whom it would finance... the kind of training to be provided... (and) the purposes of training" (Dupre et al., 1973, p.27). The federal government sought to mould training into a tool of economic policy.

Most provinces responded to the federal government's priorities by reorganizing their departments of Education and Labour.<sup>35</sup> In Nova Scotia the reorganization, which is

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<sup>35</sup> The Act stated that the federal government could not enter into any contract with an employer without consultation with the province. The provinces managed to secure for themselves the position of sole vendor of vocational training. This position was not part of the original intent of the federal government. The provinces bargained for and got this provision which they held until the AOTA was replaced in 1982 by the National Training Act.

described in Chapter 4, created a place for technical and vocational training within the provincial bureaucracy. Dupre et al. noted that this reorganization "may well have had as significant long-term consequences as the growth in training activity itself" (p.72). The authors described the interaction as that of a buyer and seller relationship. The provinces' role really became one of seller of training services with the federal government being the exclusive buyer.

Given the federal government's challenge, that training was to promote economic growth, the provinces were forced to apply the federal criteria to the training process. "The individuals selected for training should be those whose present labour force participation is less than efficient... the training purchased on behalf of these individuals should be such as to improve the efficiency of their subsequent labour force participation" (p.119). Decisions about training therefore were left to the judgment of the Canada Manpower counsellors. This power is given them in the provisions of the Act.

Dupre et al. gave considerable emphasis to "the buyer's organizational framework". They noted that Canada Manpower Centre (CMC) counsellors were constrained from developing or applying their own expertise in the selective use of training to achieve an economic objective. It therefore behooved the

federal government "to communicate the clearest possible guidelines as to how this objective is to be reflected in operational reality" (p.136). If the counsellors had little or no input, they were probably operating within guidelines but without any awareness of the philosophy of the program. The buyer's organizational framework was never reconciled with local concerns. In fact Dupre et al. noted that CMC's establishing credibility in their local settings implied a distortion, if not an outright rejection, of the federal objective. How could any adult educational needs or priorities of local areas be considered under this arrangement?

Not only were the provinces required to be sellers of adult training, they were required to do so under very specific criteria. A critical factor in the development of programs became "the source and nature of the information system upon which the development... is based" (p.162). The juxtaposition of what Dupre et al. called two types of intelligence in rivalry reveals the essence of the problem. The effect this had on Nova Scotia will be explored later. Neither the provincial nor the federal governments wished to admit to the validity of the other's information. The conflict was therefore one of "who should judge demand", since each side defined demand differently. Each level of

government viewed the other as being "incapable of properly assessing the need for training" (p.166).

The clash was philosophical: "the jargon of economists wishing to train in accordance with a strict set of economic priorities clashed with the vocabulary of educationists desiring to train each individual to his maximum potential" (p.198). The two sides were, however, in a buyer-seller relationship. Under the guise of buyer the federal government established criteria for the sellers that served national economic policy. At the same time, adult educational needs or priorities of the provinces which did not serve national economic policy were disregarded.

#### **AOTA and Federal-Provincial Relations**

One of the reactions to the new manpower training program was some tension in federal-provincial relations. The federal-provincial interaction can be viewed in a number of ways. Angood described the stress of the interaction:

When people live 2,000 miles from the capital, they naturally believe they know more about their own business than the federal bureaucrats. Unless Canada can achieve a broad consensus despite deep-seated regionalism, it will be very difficult to determine a path for development, to keep the economy growing, or to design sensible manpower policies (1972, p.79).

Federal-provincial relations were strained over the Act. It seemed the provinces objected more to the way the new

legislation was implemented than they did to what it contained. Regulations pertaining to the expenditure of funds approved in the Main Estimates of the Department of Finance took effect April 1, 1967, before the Act was approved. When Bill C-278 was introduced in the Commons for second reading on the evening of April 24, 1967, several members questioned the timing of the debate in view of the fact that regulations were already in effect. Stanley Knowles (NDP, Winnipeg North Centre) observed that the regulations covering payment for training and training allowances went far beyond what was needed. The regulations approved to cover the department's estimates were the same as the regulations that were to be passed under Bill C-278. Knowles said, "It is my contention that the government had no legislative authority to enact these regulations... I mean that Parliament has not by any statute given the government power to enact these regulations" (Debates, House of Commons, 1967, p.15337). Knowles said further:

The parliamentary secretary in my view admitted as much when he said that they had taken this course 'in order that we might get it under way.' 'It' relates to the program. In other words...the government wanted this legislation by April 1, that it wanted to get it under way; it did not have statutory authority for action and it found a solution.... Read the regulations again and read the bill which is before us.... the regulations are virtually the same as the bill. The government has admitted that

because it did not get this bill through it achieved the same end by passing these regulations. (p.15338)

Knowles added that he agreed with those who suggested that this was probably the most important bill discussed in the session. His point was over a matter of principle, the principle being that "the executive does not have the right to legislate except when authority to do so has been specifically given to it by statutes of parliament" (p.15338). And he went on to say the government did not have authority for these regulations and should not have acted as it did. Knowles' criticism reflected the frustration and annoyance with the use of federal powers and reported by many members in the Commons during second reading. Provincial officials had obviously reported to members of Parliament their confusion over getting new regulations effective April 1, before the bill was passed. David MacDonald expressed this concern. While stating that occupational training might be the most important issue in terms of its long range effects for the overall good of the country, he asked:

...Why is it that we should be discussing legislation in this chamber under which regulations have already been in force for some 25 days.... All of a sudden within a matter of days we find our government quite willing to bring in regulations, put them into effect and then attempt to match up whatever legislation they might like to push through the house (p.15320).

MacDonald was concerned not only about the irregularities but about the precedent that was being set. He said, "We should not establish a whole new trend in federal-provincial relations without considering where we are going and when we hope to arrive" (p.15324). Marchand's response was to admit that this was not the best procedure, but because the agreements came into force on March 31

our only alternative was to leave the workers without allowances and without help until the government decided to pass the new legislation.... And so, even though I do not like the procedure, that is strictly from a parliamentary and democratic point of view, the best thing we could do in a case such as this was to go ahead with a bill giving authority to the governor in council<sup>36</sup> (p.15341).

Knowles' concern was more over parliamentary procedure than the effects of the Act. His pointing out of the irregularities of parliamentary procedure in fact point to the determinations of the government to implement this Act.

A member of the Opposition Michael Starr (PC, Ontario) also asked, "Why has this bill been put forward in such an arbitrary way, without the knowledge of the provinces and without their participation in any talks prior to the issuance of the regulations? Where is all this cooperative

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<sup>36</sup> It can be noted from chapter two that several earlier acts pertaining to adult vocational education were extended. It is surprising the opposition did not confront Marchand with the record of extensions.

federalism that the government has been talking about for so long?" (p.15329) Starr suggested holding up the bill until the provinces had proper input. Marchand was not as responsive to the criticism of Starr as he was to the criticism of Knowles. His retort was:

Some people contend that we trampled over the provinces and proceeded in an autocratic way. I believe we should distinguish between the dissatisfaction of the provinces in seeing the old system come to an end and the dissatisfaction expressed under the pretence that we have proceeded too hastily and in an authoritative way, which is not true (p.15340).

The criticism in the Commons focused on four or five general concerns. Perhaps the most frequent request was for more information to be given to both provincial officials and the public. Members of Parliament wanted to know more about the background research justifying this program, and several wanted to see evidence of cooperation between programs, particularly those under the Agriculture and Rehabilitation Development Administration Act (ARDA). There were requests for more flexibility in training, and the new and arbitrary division made by the government between education and manpower training and the power given to manpower counsellors also came in for considerable criticism. Many members of the Opposition declared their support in principle for the bill, their concerns being mainly about the approach of the federal



government, particularly as it concerned matters of jurisdiction.

Doern (1969) summarized the intergovernmental liaison that occurred by saying: "The growth and evolution of manpower vocational training policies serve as a particularly salient example of both the promise and the inadequacies of intergovernmental liaison in Canada" (p.63). Doern said we must understand the difference between "the liaison that accompanies the operation of these programs and that form of liaison (if any) which precedes the political initiation of these programs" (p.65). Doern claimed that in the initiation of this legislation, "there had been little meaningful contact at the political ministerial level, and the massiveness of the federal offer and its demands on provincial treasuries were made without real consultation" (p.66). Doern pointed out that once programs are initiated, a very close and continuous liaison develops among the program officials and very little criticism can be made of the government liaison at this stage. This, however, illustrates the service orientation of the provincial government, the level responsible for education. The CAAE discussed the provinces' reluctance to participate and noted, "The wording of the draft agreements seems arrogant, placing the Provinces in the position of the most subservient

suppliers of manual services, without any respect for professional or experimental competence" (1967, p.248).

The proposed structure and the offer of money seems to have silenced any critical response from the provinces. Doern pointed to an editorial in The Globe and Mail March 22, 1963, that, described earlier manpower training programs as the "money now, plans later" approach. Much of the literature discussed the provinces' rapid expansion of the technical and vocational areas with very little sense of what they were doing. Doern claimed that politics in Canada was in part "a competition between federal and provincial leaders whose political success is based ultimately on their role as initiators of action in solving the frontier problems of public policy" (p.70). The federal government decided in the 1960s to be initiators in manpower training.

The provinces were also in some state of stress over what was being done. Some provinces were asking for more answers as to the long-range connection between skill training largely for work in industry and the local identification of problems. Angood, for instance, observed: "The provinces commit resources for the delivery of programs in response to the federal policy, and at the same time endeavour to concentrate their efforts on the development of more broadly based human resources development policies and programs to meet the unique needs of their populations"

(1972, p.83). How were the provinces to respond to the federal government's demand and respond as well to their own communities? The resources of the provincial government were used to maintain the large federal programs now operating in their territories. The provinces, put in the position of provider of training services, were having their services rented only for specific functions. The provincial governments were living with the withdrawal of a federal program (TVTA) they had been encouraged to support for a number of years. The CAAE report noted also that now not only did the federal government insist on all the control, initially it refused to give the provinces any assurances of their participation.<sup>37</sup> The provinces were assigned a restricted role. Their battle now became one of defending their participation within their restricted role.

The story shows that the provincial governments were not at all aggressive in the manpower policy arena. Could they have been aggressive? Did the provinces have any alternatives to the master plan of the federal government? If not, then what alternative was there for the provincial

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<sup>37</sup> Debate in the House of Commons brought about the following additional clause, not contained in the original bill, C-278: 6(4) "The Minister shall not enter into a contract under this section with any employer described in subsection (1) or (3) unless he is satisfied that the content of the occupational training course described in that subsection has been the subject of consultation by the employer with the government of the province in which the course is operated or to be operated. (Statutes of Canada, 1967, p.1207).

governments but to go along with the masterplan of the federal government? Doern suggested that when such major programs were involved it might be necessary for political leaders to "forego imaginary political advantages" and communicate in more meaningful ways with their provincial counterparts. He summarized the situation as follows:

For 'cooperative federalism' or the notion of a partnership in key policy areas, such as vocational-manpower policy, to be converted from euphemism to living reality, ultimately a new and difficult exercise in political discipline by both federal and provincial political leaders will be required (p.71)

Dennison (1970), in his discussion of intergovernmental relations and their implications, said of the decrease in autonomy of provincial governments: "The assumption by the federal Department of Manpower and Immigration of full control and responsibility over manpower training... effectively usurped the planning and decision-making functions formerly held by the provincial Department of Education and the local boards of education" (p.59). With the increase in federal responsibility, the split between adult education and training became more rigid and in Nova Scotia there was a relative decline in the provincial program of adult education.

#### IV ADULT TRAINING AND ADULT EDUCATION IN NOVA SCOTIA

##### FEDERAL THEORY AND PROVINCIAL EXPERIENCE

This chapter examines the impact of the federal legislation on one province, Nova Scotia. Much of the evidence that contributes to the examination from the provincial perspective is not well documented. It had to be drawn out of various sources.<sup>38</sup> One way of reporting the impact of legislation is by comparing the intentions of the AOTA programs with the intentions of the existing adult education program in the province. Silver has advocated an approach to the study of history of education which takes account of social processes coterminous with education (1983, p.241), in opposition to economic history models which did not account for participant experience.<sup>39</sup> In the case of Nova Scotia, it is necessary to examine, as intrusive theory, the intentions of federal policy which influence the province. Silver has argued for a study of education, based not on models but on identifiable assumptions and intentions, and

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<sup>38</sup> Reports indicating particular needs in Nova Scotia such as Maclean and Jones (1965) Feasibility Study of Centre(s) for Residential Adult Education in the Maritime Provinces; Connor and Magill (1965) The Role of Education in Rural Development; and Verma (1978) Four Problem Areas in Vocational Education and annual reports of provincial departments help provide a provincial perspective.

<sup>39</sup> The AOTA provided for the kind of vocational education which can be assessed by some economic measures and lends itself to an economic history which leaves out the participant.

which takes a closer look at the interaction of idea and behaviour. The AOTA is examined not just for what it offered, but for the intentions which lay behind its introduction.

Dupre et al. (1973) studied the impact of AOTA in Ontario and reported that federal legislation entrenched certain priorities that were not necessarily the same as the provincial priorities. The federal manpower policies were enacted in response to national economic policies and were created from labour market analysis. The federal government made a strong case that its economic responsibilities gave it "an interest in providing the necessary education for productive employment prior to a young person's entry to the labour force" (p.38). Ontario understandably made the argument that adult training should be one component in a total educational package, but this was unlikely with the federal government having so much control. In fact, communication between the provinces and the federal government was difficult because of different philosophies. "Educationists remained obsessed with the whole man and with making their services available to all the people. Economists wished to promote economic growth by training or retraining adult members of the labour force for more productive employment" (p. 108).

Dupre et al. noted that two kinds of rival intelligence emerged from the different perspectives of the federal and provincial governments. The rivalry was between the economists in Ottawa who designed a system based on a blend of intelligence and quantitative data originating from Canada Manpower Centre (CMC) staff not held in high esteem by educators, and the educators in the provinces who relied almost entirely upon the kind of intelligence that stemmed from their knowledge of their own setting. The authors noted that even the jargon of economists who sought to train people in accordance with a strict set of economic priorities clashed with the vocabulary of educators who sought to train people to their maximum potential. When federal and provincial officials could not even understand one another's vocabulary, it was difficult to agree on the issues, let alone on solutions.

Despite these differences, Dupre et al. observed that provinces reorganized their departments of education to accommodate new federal arrangements. (p.72) The reorganization which created a place for technical and vocational training within the provincial bureaucracy also created between the federal government and the provinces the buyer and seller relationship described previously. The reorganization was necessary to accommodate the large amount of federal funds available. The manpower policy which was

embodied in the AOTA was in considerable contrast to the existing adult education program in Nova Scotia. Contrasting the two programs helps to isolate the critical questions around intentions and methods in the hope of understanding the influence of federal intentions on the provincial adult education program in Nova Scotia.<sup>40</sup>

#### **INTENTIONS OF THE ADULT OCCUPATIONAL TRAINING ACT**

In this case the intentions of the federal program, skill training under the Canada Manpower Training Program, was the focus for comparison with the adult education activity in Nova Scotia. The intentions of the Canada Manpower Training Program were in no small measure shaped by the Economic Council of Canada's support of the federal expression of the need for a more effective training program for the work force in Canada.

Manpower policies were directed toward the achievement of three broad socio-economic goals: growth, stabilization,

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<sup>40</sup> Such a contrast must take into account the fundamentally unequal power relationship between the provinces and the federal government under the constitutional arrangements. Housego in "Democratic Decision-Making in Education" (1965) discusses the role of the provincial government as a client of the federal government. In this role, provincial governments have been required to alter the priorities and practices of their own Departments of Education. The analyses of the general dependence of the province on the federal government discussed in Chapter 5 and of the role of adult educators as being increasingly occupied in administering social services, contribute to understanding the relatively passive role of the province in the implementation of the AOTA.



and equity.<sup>41</sup> Growth relates to increased production of goods and services in total and in per capita terms. The role of manpower planning in the growth context is to reduce bottlenecks in the adjustment of labor supply and demand in occupational, industrial and regional terms. Economic growth is accommodated when adjustment to change in labor market conditions is made as quickly as possible so that the flow of production is interrupted as little as possible. This can be accomplished through effective programs in mobility, training, information, counselling and placement. Stabilization seeks to minimize the rate of unemployment and the rate of inflation. The stabilization case for manpower policy lies in the assistance such policy may give to the achievement of a more acceptable rate of unemployment and price inflation. The relationship between this goal and the growth goal is a close one. Equity refers to the distribution of goods and services and the income generated in their production. The equity goal relates to the impact that manpower programs have on income distribution among persons and among regions.

The federal program had three goals: to upgrade the labour force, to train people in accordance with a labour market policy which should be part of a national economic

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<sup>41</sup> Canadian Manpower Policy was described in the Economic Council of Canada's Eighth Annual Review (1971) as directed at these three goals.

policy, and to take control of the training.<sup>42</sup> The Economic Council focused on the need for the Canadian labour force to become more highly skilled. In its First Annual Review (1964) it stressed both the need to train for the skills and develop much better information on the demand and supply of workers and their skills. The Council claimed that a country could not achieve efficient use of manpower resources without an effective labour market policy. It emphasized that labour market policy had to be an "important national economic policy integrated with general fiscal and monetary policy" (1964, p.170)

The Council made it clear that a labour market policy could be the responsibility of the National Employment Service (NES), but it called for the NES to adopt a new approach by promoting "the occupational, industrial and geographic mobility of the labour force to meet the requirements of a changing industrial economy" (1964, p.173). The means for doing so included labour market information, an excellent placement service, and a well-developed system of labour market services to facilitate labour mobility, including the power to grant allowances for moves to other localities for employment.

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<sup>42</sup> The intentions are outlined in the Economic Council's First Annual Review (1964) and Second Annual Review (1965) and stated in an address by W. Dymond to the Industrial Relations Research Association entitled "The Canadian Experience." Proceedings (1970) IRRA, p.543-552.

The Economic Council's recommendation that the NES be given considerable power is significant. The Council's perspective was:

Those in need of such programmes are often the most uninformed concerning the reasons for their own economic plight, and often they have no understanding of their own training needs and how these needs relate to their own employment prospects (1964, p.183).

Embracing the assumption that people did not know their needs gave the federal government the power to say both what should be done and to whom it should be applied. An underlying intention of the federal government clearly was control. This was confirmed in Kent's statement outlining the federal government's rationale for involvement: "The need for training was great, but it was not an effective demand because few of the people who most needed training were in a position to pay for it. The federal government's role was to make the demand effective, by paying for the training" (1988, p.401). The federal government would now pay for the training which people did not understand they needed. Even though the federal government would buy training from the provinces, the provincial direction and administration which was permitted under TVTA programs would be terminated. The person was in effect a ward of the federal government. The matter of control was not stated at the time. Kent's remark,

quoted earlier, that "control was of course the real issue" was only conceded in his writings, some 20 years later.

This belief that people did not know their needs justified the control taken by the federal government through the National Employment Service. Exercising the power to structure a program, the federal government designed one with very particular intentions. The Economic Council recommended in its Second Annual Review (1965) the promotion of education that would contribute to national economic growth. From a study of education in Canada, the Council concluded the average level of educational attainment was increasing at a slower rate than it was in the United States, thus producing a widening "educational gap" between the two countries. The Council stated: "Differences in the average educational attainments appear to be an important element in the difference in living standards between Canada and the United States" (1965, p.75). It follows, then, that increased educational attainments would produce economic benefits to Canadians and the Canadian economy. The Council recognized that many factors besides education played an important role in differences in earnings between individuals. However, it noted: "Accumulating evidence and analysis point more and more to education as a pervasive and basic element contributing to the income potential of people, and therefore

also of a whole economy or society, or of particular regions or localities" (1965, p.85).

When the Economic Council calculated the economic value of expenditures on education as an investment yielding income benefits, the calculation did not take into account the public costs of education, either capital or operating costs. It calculated only the rate of return to individuals. The Council claimed that the public costs were small in relation to private costs. When only the rate of return to the individual on educational investment was taken into account, the return compared favourably with capital investment or investment in other financial assets. The Council said therefore "that relatively greater emphasis should be placed on facilitating expanding investment in education in relation to expanding investment in other assets" (1965, p.91). The lack of investment in education, the Council claimed, partly explained the shortage of skilled and trained technical, professional and managerial manpower in Canada. The Council recommended advancing educational levels by, among other things, a general upgrading of education and skill qualifications of the existing labour force.

Nowhere in the Second Annual Review did the Council reconcile its conclusions from the research based on U.S. private investment with the Canadian approach of public sector investment. Nor did it reconcile the rate of return

to individuals based on private investment with a program based on public funding. The Council assumed that the returns on private investment in education would be similar to the returns from public investment. It appears that based on the U.S. data, Canada made its decision to enter into a major program requiring public investment. Statements by the Department of Manpower and Immigration contain many references to the Economic Council research with no reference to the possible inappropriateness of the Council's research.<sup>43</sup>

The annual reports of the Department of Manpower and Immigration reiterated the intentions of the program, that it should provide a general upgrading of the labour force, train in accordance with a labour market policy which is part of a national economic policy, and be under federal government control. The 1969 annual report stated: "The Department's primary objective is to contribute to Canada's economic and hence its social progress through the maximum development of human resources" (p.1). The department made an assumption that social progress follows from economic progress. That connection was never discussed in departmental reports. The department stated only that the primary concern of manpower policy was to facilitate the economic growth of Canada by endeavouring to ensure that the supply of manpower matched

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<sup>43</sup> The research by the Economic Council of Canada was relied on heavily by the government in its defence of the Act and its programs in the House of Commons.

the demand both qualitatively and quantitatively as well as geographically. The intention of the government here was to supply a demand which it defined, again with no discussion of what type of demand merited response. If the assumption by the federal government was that not every demand warranted training, the question becomes, how then did it decide what did warrant training?

The annual report of the following year may provide a partial answer. It said that the primary purpose of the manpower policy was to further economic growth and that this would be done by improving the efficiency with which manpower resources were allocated in a manner consistent with national goals (1970, p.2). The department noted that the economic well-being of Canadian workers varied: "Without the training and skills necessary in this technological age they have little hope of improving their lot. By allocating proportionately more funds to areas where unemployment is high and economic growth is slow, the Department of Manpower and Immigration is helping to reduce regional economic disparities and pockets of poverty" (1970, p.1). The assumption by the federal government was that unemployment, regional disparities, and poverty could be alleviated through training and skills. That may have been a reasonable assumption if the training did in fact enable the person to gain satisfactory employment, but there was no evidence that

the provision of training in itself necessarily led to an improved economic situation.<sup>44</sup>

This assumption, however, remained central to the position of the department. The importance of manpower training as a tool of national economic policy was described as "...improving the productivity of Canadians and the efficiency of the labour market by providing industry with skilled workers. It enables Canadians to adjust to rapidly changing economic conditions and to take advantage of emerging employment and income opportunities throughout Canada. It thus spurs economic growth and productivity" (1971, p.7). This connection may have been credible provided there was industry and rapidly changing economic conditions demanding the training given.

Writing 20 years after the provisions in the Act were announced, Kent said that the programs assumed, reasonably enough at that time, that the economy would continue to be capable of providing plentiful employment. "Our concern was to help people to be employable, to have the right skills at the right time in the right place. In the event, the economy did not continue to expand, and in that changed environment, no manpower service could contribute as much as we had hoped

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<sup>44</sup> Human capital theory, the belief that investment in people led to economic growth, influenced the design of the AOTA. Rubenson's criticism (1987) of human capital theory as the basis for adult education is elaborated upon in Chapter 6.



either to efficiency or to equity" (1988, p.407). The architect of the program was very clear about the intentions of the program: that it would supply skilled labour, assuming a growth economy. He added that "the failures of economic policy do not, however, make it any less important that a manpower organization of high quality should be in place, to help both workers and employers to make the most of reviving opportunities" (p.406). His comment that the manpower program had not changed over the years, implied that the original intentions, which addressed mainly the economic need of the time, would continue to be appropriate regardless of changing economic circumstances.

How the intentions of federal programs found their way into programs in the provinces is not easily understood. Federal reports contain numerous charts on expenditures and participation. That information is useful if it assists with the question asked. The focus of this discussion, however, is to compare the intentions of the federal program in adult education with those of the provincial plan.

## **INTENTIONS OF ADULT EDUCATION IN NOVA SCOTIA**

### **The Adult Education Division**

The Department of Education in Nova Scotia created the Adult Education Division in 1945 partly to bring together the

work of existing efforts in adult education in the Saint Francis Xavier Extension Department, the extension services of the Department of Agriculture and Marketing and the Home and School Movement. The philosophy of the division was essentially that adult education has to be geared to "the vital needs of life in these times in Nova Scotia; ...(it must) enable the people to use their intelligence, their skill and their finest qualities for economic and social progress, and for achieving a richer and happier standard of life" (1946, p.10). Timmons, in his review of the Division for the period 1946-1975 claimed that this philosophy, stated at the outset of the creation of the division, continued to be the working philosophy of the division and was applied consistently to all program areas.<sup>45</sup>

Guy Henson, the first director of the division, prepared and circulated a document issued in May 1946 entitled A Report on Provincial Support of Adult Education which served almost as a constitution for the division. It outlined some general principles of adult education, making them applicable to conditions in Nova Scotia. Adult education was defined as "the continuous learning and adjustment in the minds and hearts of people... as they deal intelligently with the day

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<sup>45</sup> H. Timmons (1979) Adult Education Services: 1945-76. Journal of Education. p.12-22. This article demonstrated how that philosophy pervaded the areas which the adult education division continued to be involved with until many of the areas were moved to other Departments in the government.

to day problems of living" (1946, p.8). Henson began with the premise that "the present and the future lie mainly in the hands of the adult population of the Province; it is the adults who make and change the world, and the children largely fit into it" (1946, p.8). And, he added, for adults "the educational influences are mostly indirect, diffuse, and hardly distinguishable in the warp and woof of life" (1946, p.9). He urged people to use their various life settings as learning sites. Henson stressed that learning especially about one's circumstances is necessary "for economic and social progress, and for achieving a richer and happier standard of life" (1946, p.10). Here Henson made the assumption that life was enriched by a conscious use of the means of education. Henson also worked on the assumption that people wanted to be part of and contribute to their community. He identified four general needs of Nova Scotia to which adult education processes might be applied (1946, p. 10-13). They were, in summary:

1. economic, scientific, marketing and political questions pertaining to provincial resources (agriculture, coal mining, fishing and lumbering)
2. the quality of community life in face of the rural exodus to other parts of Canada
3. groups with special needs such as veterans, blacks, school drop-outs, the illiterate and those in remote communities

4. citizenship awareness, especially a capacity to understand and debate public affairs issues

Henson defined education as the process by which we learn how (1) to make a living; (2) live with others; and (3) live fully. The challenge was first to apply this approach to education to the process of adult education, and second, to make adult education the "democratic instrument of progress" in the needs of Nova Scotians. He saw as the ideal process into adult education the description given it by an English writer as "friends educating one another" (1946, p.21). Henson simply saw the need to bring an educational process into the social and work lives of Nova Scotians. He believed that the solution to local economic development was the application of this adult education process. "Adult education worthy of its name cannot evade the responsibility of equipping people to think for themselves and of enabling them to have access to the best available information and thinking about their needs and problems..." (1946, p.26). The form of adult education that Henson advocated was guided by three freedoms which he outlined as follows:

1. the freedom of the adult to choose, and to join with others in continued self-education
2. the freedom of the adult teacher or educator to help people find methods

and materials meeting their interests,  
and to present points of view

3. freedom from bias within and special  
influence from without

For such an education "leadership (is) given to people in their own search for truth" (1946, p.27). Henson believed most education was a social process. Therefore, group effort was necessary in order to bring the means of education within reach of the individual. He stressed throughout that the best judge of what was needed were the people themselves and cautioned that "the greatest danger to adult education was the dead hand of paternalism or prescription" (1946, p.40).<sup>46</sup> In a program that should be carried on by the people, Henson considered one of the overriding questions to be: what would be the proper role of any government? The central problem of administration of government support was two-fold:

1. avoidance of the danger of political interference and influence or of any degree of regimentation and
2. avoidance of the danger of prescription from above - the dead hand of formalism, of education regarded as subject matter rather than learning motivated naturally by the needs and impulses of adult life. (1946, p.45)

Henson investigated what styles of administrative machinery would support the kind of adult education he

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<sup>46</sup> It is interesting to wonder if Henson, when writing in 1946, meant by "the dead hand of paternalism or prescription" relationship such as that between the federal and provincial governments in the AOTA.

proposed. He discussed various approaches taken in a number of countries. Without prescribing, he suggested that independent boards were appropriate. This was in keeping with his philosophy that adult education be used as an instrument to promote participation by the people of Nova Scotia in what they defined as needs. Henson continued to be optimistic about the contribution of adult education to provincial life. In an annual report of the Division of Adult Education he maintained (1952, p.3) that its working philosophy in Nova Scotia was similar to that of the Extension Division of the University of Virginia, which he described as follows:

It proposes no quick panacea. Instead it proposes a long-time concerted program of helping people to learn to help themselves. From such a program our national fiber and unity may be strengthened, our understanding and belief in the democratic processes and institutions made more firm (1952, p.3).

In his report for the year ended July 31, 1955, Henson again expressed a belief in the process: "The view can also be confidently advanced that adult education processes will be at the heart of basic improvement in economic and social conditions, unless reliance is to be placed on defense spending or on resources or innovations wished for rather than presently foreseeable" (1956, p.5).

A brief review of the division's activities (Timmons 1979) also testified to the dominance of the philosophy outlined by Henson. Timmons referred to a part of a report prepared by an inter-departmental committee on agricultural education which stressed the need for successful adult education to be initiated and carried on voluntarily by the people themselves. Timmons observed that the beliefs in that statement were the guiding philosophy of the Adult Education Division. The division participated in the lives of Nova Scotians in a number of ways. A report written by Henson entitled Adult Education in Nova Scotia, prepared for the Canadian Association for Adult Education in 1954, gives an excellent account of how the division managed to maintain its philosophy in all its work throughout the province. Five categories containing several examples of programs which embodied this philosophy are discussed below.

#### **Discussion Methods and Folk Schools**

A major activity of the division was leadership education for members of organizations. Workshops were given in methods of conducting study groups, program planning and committee work. Bringing people together through the workshops also gave the participants a chance to exchange views and develop a sense of community and their personal responsibility in it. Henson considered this interaction an essential ingredient of education for citizenship. The

discussion method was held by Henson as an important form of education. By using discussion methods, groups were able to "set in motion an educational process leading up to practical decisions and actions" (1954, p.24). Groups also used panels, talks, films, and plays to start "an informal discussion and have multiple discussion groups for gaining participation and intelligent consensus" (1954, p.25).

Developing a sense of community and learning methods of problem solving were the basis for residential discussion groups, called folk schools. Henson described the folk schools in these terms:

At the heart of the folk school is an educational idea. It is the Grundtvigian idea, developed in the Scandinavian countries, which is the school for life embodying "the living word". This is not liberal education in the classic sense or vocational education as we know it, but it includes some of the best elements of both (1954, p.27).

Folk schools were sponsored in Nova Scotia by community groups such as the Federation of Agriculture, Home and School Councils, Women's Institutes, and the Co-operative Union, to name just a few. The folk schools were staffed cooperatively by the Extension Services of the Department of Agriculture and Marketing, and the Physical Fitness and Adult Education Divisions of the Department of Education. Henson was satisfied with the folk schools mainly because they were



sponsored by a number of local organizations. The role of his division was to assist the sponsoring organizations.

### **Services to Organized Groups**

#### **1. Home and School**

In 1954 Henson reported that the Home and School movement in Nova Scotia had a membership of 20,000 in 500 associations in every corner of the province. The movement brought parents and teachers together for the benefit of the child. "Child study" was therefore an important part of the organization's program. To assist child study, the division developed a parent education service. The division also assisted the movement with leadership training for officers and members. Henson observed that in some communities, Home and School became the main organization of the community and became, in effect, the community. As a result, "the range of interests, activities and works of the Home and School has been almost as broad as life itself" (1954, p.40). The division viewed the Home and School movement as "adult education about education" (1954, p.42). Home and School associations called on the resources of the division accordingly, and touched all aspects of the division's activities.

## 2. Community Schools

Most communities regardless of size had a school. Henson observed: "School buildings in Nova Scotia have been set apart from the stream of life, dark, unused, aloof and bare" (1954, p.28). The division worked with the thriving Home and School movement to change this state of affairs and to strengthen its nourishment of local education. Gradually, cooperation between the school administrators and the community grew. The benefit to the community was observable. Henson said that those communities in which schools were used frequently were clearly taking a greater interest and pride in them and were more ready to pay for good educational facilities. The integration occurred when members of the community could hold the trustees and school boards accountable to the community for public school property. Schools had to be seen as belonging to the public.

The regional high schools built in the early 1950s were backed by government policy that "these should be community schools in an active sense" (1954, p.31). Thus they were available for use for any activity affecting the consolidated school district. Henson stressed that a community school was more than one with a convenient physical setting, it was one which "...helps young people and adults to understand and to take more effective part in the economic forces at work..." (1954, p.32). These individuals had to be integrated with

the community. For this to happen required a realistic idea of what should be done, an administrative plan, and a number of people trained in adult education methods. "The special adaptation of school buildings, finance, community organization and leadership are important factors, but they will look after themselves if we have first: the idea, a plan, and the right kind of trained people" (1954, p.34).

### 3. Labour Education

Organized labour also went to the division for assistance. The education committee of the Halifax and District Trades and Labour Council asked the division to assist with the training necessary for union officers, committee members, and rank and file members to better perform their tasks. The committee sought assistance with conducting meetings, using committees effectively, negotiation strategies, processing grievances etc. The division helped labour to assume more responsibility for its own educational policies and projects. The division also cooperated with the People's School of St. Francis Xavier Extension Department and the Maritime Labour Institute of Dalhousie University, which also provided labour education.

### 4. Association for the Advancement of Coloured People

The Nova Scotia Association for the Advancement of Coloured People was organized in 1944 to combat

discrimination and improve the condition of Blacks in Nova Scotia. The association requested assistance from the Adult Education Division with its educational program. Henson reported that the division may have put extra effort into helping members of this group analyze their needs, train themselves, discuss their problems and organize their action. He added however:

(W)e have sought not to violate the principle of voluntarism in adult education, and to see that the essential decisions are made by the people themselves as a result of their own processes of thought and not as a result merely of our suggestion or persuasion. What is done, they do. We help (1954, p.50).

An article by Gwendolyn Shand on adult education among Nova Scotia blacks reported the move to self-sufficiency was encouraged by the approach of the Adult Education Division. Shand said that by 1956-1957 there was a noticeable shift in emphasis in adult education among blacks. Community activities were undertaken by means of community councils, credit unions and other organizations. She reported: "Communities were encouraged to provide their own leadership, and adult education was now being provided mainly by means of these informal groups" (1961, p.18).

### **The Arts**

The intent of the division was to "nourish the arts as they exist in a creative way in the life of the people" (Henson, 1954, p.54). Dramatic Services gave assistance to amateur theatrical groups. The annual report of the division in 1952-53, for instance, reported it gave help and adjudication to 24 drama festivals across the province. The plays were often produced under the auspices of a community organization which meant the dramatic groups were closely linked with their communities. Henson wrote that the players were not striving for positions on Broadway, they were instead playing out meaningful issues and community struggles.

The division provided modest resources to promote music in the communities. Music teachers reported their work with children in schools was lost once the children left school because there was no on-going organization. The music festivals were directed mainly to school children. Again the division recognized the need for community leadership. Short courses were held for musicians active in school and community, and music was encouraged at folk schools. The Federation of Home and School and the Adult Education Division sponsored conferences on festivals and community music. Out of these conferences grew the Federation of Music Festivals representing a wide range of groups. Henson

described it as an area where so much was accomplished with so little.

### **Elementary Education for Adults**

There was a need for basic education such as literacy training especially in rural Nova Scotia. The division therefore assisted communities with the provision of basic education and it was consistent in its approach to the problem:

The first step is to help them to see and feel that better basic education is necessary to higher incomes and better living for their families and for their districts. Then they must come to realize that they can learn. Fundamental education, like all informal adult education, must spring from the aspirations of people themselves. We stress that the three R's and other class subjects are the means to the end of personal reading and thinking, vocational efficiency, and worthwhile group action (1954, p. 48).

In this area, Henson said, the division made considerable effort and had some success but "failed in the light of what might be and should be done" (p.48). It was difficult to organize community resources, especially capable teacher-leaders.<sup>47</sup>

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<sup>47</sup> Federal programs under AOTA provided basic education necessary for entering skill training. This differed from Henson's view of fundamental education based on people's own aspirations.

### **Field Service**

The idea of field service was really the basis around which the adult education work centred. The "field representatives" worked with communities in the areas of adult education discussed here. The description of their task is long but merits mention because it serves to illustrate what constitutes a community, and the complexity of community life. Henson stated that "the general outline of their work was to:

1. help individuals to meet intellectual and cultural needs, and advise them as to sources of help in vocational matters
2. assist local educational authorities and local citizens' committees in developing community evening schools and institutes for adults, and in community life generally
3. put individuals, groups and communities in touch with universities, government departments, and voluntary associations offering services of value to the adult population, and co-operate closely with these bodies by helping them to reach the people
4. pay special attention to the needs of young people who have left school, and to activities for the development of the spirit of community service and leadership among them
5. work closely with veterans, women's groups, coloured people, and other sections of the population having special interests

6. promote interest in the development of libraries, in the effective local use of radio and films, and in other instruments for an active and enlightened knowledge of public affairs, and for the furtherance of education
7. foster the enjoyment of art, music, drama, and the crafts, and the growth of a natural and creative culture
8. to work in closest co-operation with the inspectors of schools and the county agricultural health and other officials
9. to advise and assist voluntary organizations and local government bodies at all times (1954, p.17).

Henson had a community development approach to adult education. This list points out the complexity of community development. It is this complex (but subtle) need that is often not understood or taken into account by some agencies which attempt schemes of economic development. Economic development schemes often do not seem to take into account the local need or local educational arrangements developed through the field work of agencies such as the Adult Education Division.<sup>48</sup>

The division was proud to say that it had a plan, not a program. Their plan was to give "a goodly number of people an informal but live study of their personal and community needs" (1954, p.13). The division understood itself to be

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<sup>48</sup> Neither the wording of the AOTA (Appendix I) nor the agreement entered into with Nova Scotia (Appendix II) made reference to accommodating local agencies.



only one of the agencies of adult education and thus did not offer a program. In Henson's view, the division supported primary groups and other agencies, but the first-hand initiation of work among the people themselves was the responsibility of community groups and leaders and of other agencies. Henson based the success of the division on its ability to build up local initiative and maintain decentralized control.

#### **Decline of Adult Education in Nova Scotia**

Henson left the Division of Adult Education in 1957 and joined the Institute of Public Affairs at Dalhousie. While the activities of the Division continued to be based, it has been claimed, on Henson's philosophy of adult education (Timmons, 1979) it was probably difficult to continue with the commitment to Henson's approach in his absence. Henson's success was partly due to his own background, personality, and beliefs, a combination which is difficult to duplicate. Annual reports of the Adult Education Division (1957-1967) of the Department of Education show some continuation with the activities described here. Through working with School Boards the Division increased its emphasis on evening classes in general education for adults. There was less emphasis on the role of the field worker who worked with members of a community to accomplish the community's goals.

A report prepared in the Department of Education reviewing the contribution of The Adult Education Division noted the perceived changes in educational requirements by Nova Scotians. The report pointed to the post-war need to assist people in gaining "economic advantages at a community level" adding, "What they learned flowed over into every phase of the community. Secondary effects included the opening of schools as community resource centres, upgrading classes for adults began and study club members joined other organizations" (1984, p.6). The report noted that in the early 1960's "in response to the changing needs of the province remarkable growth took place in other aspects of the program and new programs were introduced" (p.7). An emphasis was placed on adult education classes designed to enable adults to achieve at a Grade 10 level. There was a move from the needs of the community to the necessary prerequisites for occupational training courses. The new emphasis for gaining economic advantage became one of preparing for employment - employment not necessarily related to the community. The Deputy Minister of Education, in the 1960 annual report of the Department stated:

In the past few years, the attention of the public and of educators has been increasingly focused on the provision of vocational and technical training at all levels. Some five years ago the Department of Labour of the Government of Canada, in co-operation with provincial

officials of labour and business, instituted a research study in the training of skilled manpower. Reports of this little-known study have been coming out during this period, indicating the need for much greater attention to the training of skilled workmen, and they have, of course, been reinforced by comparisons between vocational education in Canada and in the European countries, including Russia (1960, p. xi).<sup>49</sup>

A large role for the federal government in skill training was being created. The activities promoted by the Division of Adult Education therefore became less important. While some shift was inevitable, there is no evidence to support the extent of the shift in emphasis in Nova Scotia toward preparing for employment (Fig. 4.1). The opportunities made available by capital expenditures and programs under the TVTA, described in Chapter 2, dominated the adult education scene. Hodgson noted that in the federal-provincial power struggle, the stronger position of the provinces in the 1950s was overtaken by the federal government, partly "because of Ottawa's skillful use of conditional grants" (1976, p.61). The TVTA was a part of a stronger federal priority using conditional grants.

The acceptance of the change in emphasis was a decision of the provincial government. The activities of the adult education division did not qualify for financial support from

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<sup>49</sup> It appears from this report of the Deputy Minister, there was no consultation with the Department of Education over the five year period of the study.

the federal government. The federal government did not see these areas as contributing to its national goals. The adult education program was simply not supported by the federal government and therefore not given the support by the provincial government that areas supported by the federal government were given. Table 4.1 reports the total education expenditures in Nova Scotia and the allocation to three areas where the education of adults occurred for the years 1960-1974. Figure 4.1 displays the comparison of some of these data in the form of a graph. Table 4.2 illustrates how the Adult Education Division allocated its money. In the cultural category were the costs for many of the conferences, the work in the arts and handcrafts and the salaries related to this work. Salaries are for all the staff. Travel was a major expense for working with communities. The administrative/miscellaneous column covers the operational costs of the division. The increase to school boards reflects the increased emphasis on classes preparatory for entering training etc. Table 4.3 reports the assistance provided by the federal government to the three areas of education pertaining to adults. This demonstrates the point made that the eligibility of the adult education program for any federal assistance was low.

The lack of support for adult education resulted in the decline in its activities compared to the increase in

activities in those areas supported by the federal government. The activities of the adult education division cannot be considered to have died on their own or to have been directly killed. It was a form of education which was not supported by either the federal or provincial governments.<sup>50</sup>

The importance to this study of the change in emphasis is the basis on which change occurred. There seems to be no evidence, such as reports from studies that there was anything wrong with the adult education plan in Nova Scotia. There is no evidence that the needs served by the adult education division somehow went away or did not require community-based adult education. The adult education plan simply was not supported and lack of support is difficult to document. Other forms of adult education were supported by large amounts of federal funds and replaced the provincial plan.

The relationship between Nova Scotia and the federal government over the implementation of the AOTA is difficult to present with any precision. There is a vagueness on the part of both sides. Manpower programs are intended only as means to specific social and economic objectives. Holland notes therefore, it is not plausible "to present a normative

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<sup>50</sup> This is elaborated upon by the reports of the interviews in Chapter 5.

model for public expenditures for manpower activities that cannot be extended to all other areas of public expenditures, and to public expenditures collectively" (1975, p.82). In other words, Holland was suggesting the relationship that occurred between the federal government and Nova Scotia over the AOTA was characteristic of federal-provincial relations generally at the time.

### **IMPLICATIONS OF "THEORY-EXPERIENCE" SEPARATION**

The theory-experience dichotomy suggested by Silver and discussed in Chapter 1 provides a means to analyze the federal and provincial interaction. Both the federal and provincial strategies obviously contained elements of both theory and experience, although they were not always mutually relevant. It is clear that federal training policy was rooted far more in fashionable economic theory than in an understanding of the diversity of local experience in adult education activities. Similarly, the provincial adult education program, while based upon a theory of community development, attempted to respond to local needs identified by the experience of participation in adult education activities. The federal theory of adult training and the provincial experience of adult education as different perspectives, are quite legitimate within their own mandates. As Tom Kent said about the provincial reaction after the implementation of the Act (and cited previously), "We were doing something fundamental - they saw it differently". Bringing the two perspectives together would not have been easy but there is no evidence it was attempted. What appears to have happened instead, is that the federal theory of training displaced the provincial experience.

**Table 4.1** Expenditures by the Government of Nova Scotia on education, in total, and in categories of adult, vocational and university education, 1960 - 1974.

Year	Total	Adult *	Vocational	University
1960	\$ 20,076,880	\$ 126,885	\$ 557,606	\$ 250,000
1961	22,537,992	152,388	457,513	250,000
1962	24,289,495	169,800	561,685	250,000
1963	25,907,328	193,322	833,182	564,560
1964	30,672,734	212,414	1,190,134	564,560
1965	32,831,192	244,003	1,445,419	564,560
1966	34,946,650	282,587	1,777,402	4,414,532
1967	43,190,336	365,575	2,476,797	5,570,397
1968	57,653,972	459,830	4,880,512	14,500,000
1969	71,345,369	753,966	7,205,083	19,097,090
1970	76,769,254	827,182	8,382,178	25,051,148
1971	95,993,721	1,003,604	7,027,146	32,902,921
1972	103,951,145	1,002,528	7,652,909	36,131,820
1973	123,373,006	1,088,379	8,491,529	47,363,742
1974	135,553,745	1,146,949	17,223,992	59,456,201

\*Expenditures by the Division of Adult Education

Source: Government of Nova Scotia, Public Accounts, 1960 to 1974.



**Table 4.2** Expenditures by the Adult Education Division (Nova Scotia), by Allocation, 1960 - 1974.

Year	Cultural	Salaries	Travel	School Boards	Admin /Misc	Total
1960	\$ 3,416	\$80,051	\$19,631	\$12,705	\$11,082	\$ 126,885
1961	30,031	82,532	18,256	14,170	7,399	152,388
1962	31,758	90,828	20,313	12,658	14,243	169,800
1963	38,127	101,939	19,640	21,829	11,787	193,322
1964	40,643	108,190	19,829	29,137	14,615	212,414
1965	39,086	118,114	23,105	32,816	30,882	244,003
1966	43,296	133,568	27,146	57,572	21,005	282,587
1967	52,005	153,239	25,488	102,530	32,313	365,575
1968	57,972	199,520	26,711	144,066	31,561	459,830
1969	67,997	237,253	32,229	376,989	39,498	753,966
1970	75,241	253,704	30,714	426,969	40,554	827,182
1971	129,966	240,894	30,139	557,869	44,736	1,003,604
1972	145,332	289,971	28,763	489,852	48,610	1,002,528
1973	133,904	303,482	29,514	552,389	69,090	1,088,379
1974	121,614	333,890	34,957	586,046	70,442	1,146,949

Source: Government of Nova Scotia, Public Accounts, 1960 to 1974.

**Table 4.3** Federal grants to  
adult and vocational  
education in Nova  
Scotia, 1960-1974.

Year	Adult	Vocational
1960	\$ 2,845	\$ 340,437
1961	1,564	469,499
1962	1,524	690,093
1963	1,243	845,116
1964	1,271	1,042,586
1965	1,137	1,238,647
1966	17,782	1,547,130
1967	1,994	5,231,562
1968	1,954	3,340,164
1969	1,795	822,854
1970	3,526	4,287,306
1971	3,795	5,019,490
1972	4,505	4,844,714
1973	4,056	4,719,848
1974	4,000	8,655,570

Source: Government of Nova Scotia,  
Public Accounts, 1960 to 1974.

## IMPACT OF AOTA ON NOVA SCOTIA

### Influence on Provincial Budgets

The 1960s marked the period when the federal government began to play a major role in occupational training. Between 1913 and 1960 the federal government spent \$110 million on all vocational education programs. In the six years under TVTA the federal government spent \$851 million (\$592 million on capital and \$259 million on operating).<sup>51</sup> That was \$851 million in six years compared with \$110 million in the previous 47 years.<sup>52</sup> The expenditures by the Department of Manpower and Immigration in Nova Scotia and specifically for occupational training are reported in Table 4.4. The total training costs are the amount the federal government spent on that one approach to manpower policy. A comparison of Tables 4.1 and 4.4 shows that the federal expenditure was much greater than the money spent on all the adult education activities by the provincial government. The expenditure in Nova Scotia of one federal department is almost half the total budget for education in Nova Scotia. (Tables 4.1 and

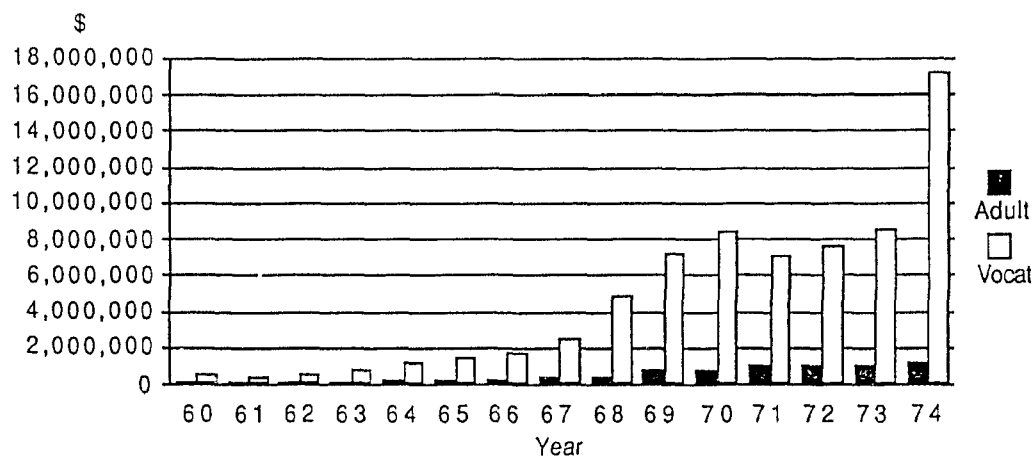
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<sup>51</sup> D. Glendenning (1968) A Review of Federal Legislation Relating to Technical and Vocational Education in Canada. Ottawa: Department of Manpower and Immigration. Various Tables.

<sup>52</sup> The spending by the federal government under TVTA, particularly the capital expenditure program, left the provinces dependent on continued federal financing. The provinces had to accept almost any proposal at the time the arrangements under the AOTA were announced.

4.4) These figures help to explain the compliance of the provincial government with federal government policies. Non-compliance with the federal approach would have been an option only if a province did not need the federal money. The level of federal expenditures partly explains why all the provinces participated. The balance of the explanation is that there were no alternative programs which offered assistance for training.

Fig. 4.1 Government of Nova Scotia Expenditures on Adult and Vocational Education by Year, 1960 to 1974.



Source: Government of Nova Scotia, Public Accounts 1960 to 1974.

Figure 4.1 portrayed the spending by the province for vocational education compared to spending for adult education. This pattern for spending was influenced by federal legislation which required the support of provincial funds. Provincial governments found themselves responding to

the priorities of the federal government making it difficult to attend to their former priorities.

### **Influences on Provincial Bureaucracy**

Another change resulting from the AOTA should be mentioned. In 1968 the provincial Department of Education reorganized vocational education. It was noted earlier that Dupre et al. had said the provincial reorganizations of departments of education to accommodate the federal funding might well have had as significant long-term consequences as the growth in training activity. The annual report of the Department of Education explained the reorganization was necessary in order to implement properly a federal planning, programming and budgeting system (PPBS), which grouped specific functions for the purpose of budgeting. Vocational education programs for youth were segregated from adult education. Since adult vocational programs were largely funded by the federal government, and secondary vocational education by the province, they were reorganized as separate programs. Under the Vocational Education Division, four sections were created: regional vocational schools, adult vocational training centres, applied arts and institutes of technology, and administration and financial management. The arrangement in the province was designed to accommodate federal funding to the province. Regional vocational school programs became the responsibility of the province.

Provincial expenditures on youth vocational education are indicated in Table 4.1. Adult vocational centres, the institutes of technology and various manpower training programs were federally funded. Federal expenditures on adult vocational education are noted in Table 4.3. The funding for various forms of vocational education compared with the funding for the Division of Adult Education left adult education, relatively speaking, a country cousin. Funding is an important message in a bureaucracy such as a provincial government. People within the bureaucracy take on the organization's priorities. A trend is quickly accepted and established, defining some programs, such as those of the Division of Adult Education, to be clearly outside the trend.

Federal control of occupational training had a distorting effect in a small province. The federal government made a large amount of money available for a very particular type of training. There were no alternative plans available. Some training was necessary, so the province agreed to participate in the federal program. Because the federal government was the sole buyer of the training, the provinces were reduced to being only sellers of services, and they could sell only a very particular service. The inability of the province to mount its own training program or to have a say in the federal program left what some see as

gaps in the training available to the people of the province.<sup>53</sup> It is pointed out in this study that the gaps between the money available for training and the training needs of communities are partly the result of the discrepancy between federal theory and provincial experience.

**Table 4.4** Expenditures by Federal Department of Manpower and Immigration in Nova Scotia in total, and for occupational training for adults, 1967-1974.

Year	Department Total	Occupational Training		
		Training Costs	Allowances	Total
1967	9,479,000	*	*	1,508,848
1968	21,668,000	1,658,000	2,594,000	4,252,000
1969	25,055,000	4,562,429	6,645,379	11,207,808
1970	29,291,000	5,956,276	9,977,732	15,934,008
1971	31,220,000	7,124,237	9,994,780	17,119,017
1972	46,795,000	6,829,985	9,521,983	16,351,968
1973	51,293,000	8,771,842	8,066,297	16,838,139
1974	41,273,000	11,485,200	8,036,484	19,521,684

Source: Annual Reports, Department of Manpower and Immigration, 1967-1974.

\*Allocation in first year not reported.

<sup>53</sup> The gaps are well described in the Brief for the Special Senate Committee on Poverty, prepared by the Institute of Public Affairs Poverty in Nova Scotia (1969). The gaps however, continued and are described in reports which assess the AOTA such as Labour Market Development in the 1980's.

Lucas (1971) drew on a number of reports for his review of the Canada Manpower Training Program. He discussed the conflicts that occurred when federal theory collided with local experience and he focused on the inability of the program to reach many of those in need. Citing an address by the member of Parliament, Edward Broadbent, (NDP, Oshawa; Debates, House of Commons, 1970, p.5722), Lucas said the program was criticized as being designed for the needs of middle class people, very few of whom needed such training. Lucas cited the NDP member as saying that "those most in need of the training are largely shunted aside by the restrictive regulations governing eligibility for training and by the arbitrary powers of manpower counsellors in the field" (1971, p.167). There was a widespread feeling that the manpower program did not address needs of the economically disadvantaged. This feeling was expressed in submissions to the Senate Committee on Poverty.

Lucas drew on the submission by Frontier College to the Senate Committee on Poverty which stated that according to Dominion Bureau of Statistics figures for 1965 nearly 43 per cent of Canadians over 17 had less than a complete elementary education. Most skill programs required Grade 10 as a prerequisite. Lucas noted the academic upgrading program, Basic Training for Skills Development (BTSD), could raise a student's equivalent grade level by about three grades in the



52 weeks permitted for basic upgrading. Therefore very few people below Grade 7 could gain entry to skills training, even with the BTSD program. Lucas also noted from the Frontier College submission that "...the regulation requiring applicants to have a 'specific vocational goal' is particularly discriminatory when applied to the poor" (p.174). Since the poor are often unaware of occupational opportunities available to those with job skills, they cannot cite a particular vocational goal to the manpower counsellor.

Lucas also drew on the report of the action committee on the Ontario Manpower Retraining Program prepared for the action committee of the Association of Colleges of Applied Arts and Technology of Ontario for a conference held in June 1969. The report identified six major problem areas in the operation of the Canada Manpower Training Program:

1. the technocratic nature of the existing structure
2. middle class attitudes toward the disadvantaged
3. the inefficiencies of the dual administrative structure
4. the unilateral decision-making process;
5. lack of uniformity in interpretation of the legislation
6. the low priority given by Canada Manpower Centres to educational programs. (1971, p.177)

The report identified the technocratic orientation of the Department of Manpower and Immigration as the problem. Lucas said this orientation naturally brought the federal bureaucracy into conflict with the fundamental values of educators who tended to view a learning experience as a synthesis of skill acquisition and personal development. Lucas described the two views as "one viewing it as essentially a social service which thereby entails some public accountability; and the other viewing it as above all an economic tool responsible mainly to economic needs and to the planners who interpret those needs" (p.181). In summarizing his comments on the Canada Manpower Training Program Lucas suggested that what was needed was less emphasis on the "buying and selling" relationship and more emphasis on ways to engage in teamwork and cooperation.

Verma (1978) identified four problem areas in vocational education in Nova Scotia. These problems, reported from the provincial perspective, further support the conclusion that there was a the gap between federal theory and provincial experience.<sup>54</sup> The first problem area was the public attitude toward technical-vocational education. People in Nova

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<sup>54</sup> Verma's report was based on his thesis Technical-Vocational Education in Nova Scotia. Within the Context of Social, Economic, and Political Change, 1880-1975 in which he assessed the factors that influenced, both positively and negatively, the development of a vocational education program in Nova Scotia.

Scotia, he reported, had a limited knowledge of occupational opportunities. The second problem was an inadequate school guidance program. Related to this, he cited lack of career education as the third problem. As a result, many students who could benefit from vocational education did not get the proper orientation to it. The final problem area was one of inadequate research in Nova Scotia on technical-vocational education. Verma found a dearth of literature pertaining to practically every aspect of technical vocational education in Nova Scotia - "...a frustrating experience for anyone contemplating serious study on this subject" (1978, p.30). He concluded that the program had operated on unfounded assumptions, such as the assumption that certain training is required for industrialization or the assumption that certain methods predict labour needs, not to mention that Nova Scotia had little information on which to set policy in vocational education. The four problem areas discussed by Verma perhaps demonstrate why the province was compliant towards federal priorities. Verma pointed out that vocational education was not a priority as a provincial experience. This being so, it was difficult to present a strong provincial perspective that could influence federal theory. Verma's report points out important issues or problems in the Nova Scotia experience. His report fails to link those problems with the control

built into federal funding and the lack of control the province felt over its direction.

Two reports commissioned by the Agricultural and Rehabilitation Development Administration (ARDA) in 1965 addressed adult educational needs in Nova Scotia. They were The Role of Education in Rural Development (1965) by Desmond Connor and Dennis Magill and Feasibility Study of Centre(s) for Residential Adult Education in the Maritime Provinces (1965) by Donald Maclean and Thomas Jones. The Nova Scotia experience is described in terms of its needs, but it was for the most part an experience that did not speak to the priorities of the federal government. The Connor and Magill study gave evidence that supported Verma's identification of the problem as public awareness of opportunities. Their report said that 95 per cent of the students knew little or nothing of trades training, vocational or apprenticeship programs available in the province. It found that 75 per cent of those who wanted training did not know that government assistance was available for it. The report called for adult academic upgrading, on-the-job training, and training for the unemployed. The report also suggested an expansion of adult education services to serve local interests and it reported a need for 'mobile trades training.' "Since 334 of the 422 interested in trades training state they would take such training if it was

available within 20 miles of their home, means must be found to bring instruction to the people, when they are unwilling or unable to relocate for training" (p.69). The report stressed the need for skills related to community need and which attempt to support community growth.

The report by Maclean and Jones concluded that there was a need for centres for residential adult education. They based this on the reported requirements of representative groups and organizations in the Maritimes. The authors recommended that sponsorship should be undertaken only by an organization or institution that has (a) an appreciation of the nature and practice of residential adult education; (b) access to substantial financial resources; (c) integrity of purpose; and (d) a sustaining sense of commitment" (p.94). Such a sponsor did not come forward. What is significant here is that both studies were funded by Agriculture and Rehabilitation Development Administration (ARDA) a federally funded agency. The design of the AOTA disregarded this information even though cooperation between departments was assured in the House of Commons by the government.

The brief to the Special Senate Committee on Poverty prepared by the Institute of Public Affairs at Dalhousie on poverty in Nova Scotia stressed the need for coordination between the programs for development to meet the specific needs of the region. The brief argued that a number of

concerns be addressed concurrently, concerns such as the infrastructure for economic development, and social development, and direct assistance to these agencies and to the people in need of them. The submission challenged the assumption made by the federal government that economic development led to social development. The brief took the position that development itself was not a redistributive tool, and it was the distribution of wealth that was the concern of their report.

Poverty in Nova Scotia needs to be viewed in a perspective of modernization and growth, for it is in a context of adequate economic and industrial development that social development must be realized. It is not enough, however, to assume that current growth and modernization, alone, will take care of the residual population in the primary industries...or that they will eradicate the persistent pockets of urban, urban-fringe, and ethnic poverty" (1968, p.145).

Many studies of poverty drew attention to the low level of education among the poor. The submission on poverty in Nova Scotia noted that the establishment of regional vocational schools did not necessarily assure better education for substantial numbers of the poor and should not therefore have been viewed as the panacea, said and that unless broader problems were addressed, post-secondary institutions of learning would continue to perpetuate the status quo.

The report accepted the assumption that meagre education, unemployment and limited income were associated. It challenged, however, the assumptions on which training and retraining were being approached. The report quoted from a paper prepared by Arthur Kruger, entitled Human Adjustment to Industrial Conversion (1968), which claimed:

Retraining programmes that focus on developing academic or general use technical skills rather than specific skills geared to a specific job appear to be the least successful. Yet it is precisely such general training that receives the blessing of most of our self-proclaimed authorities on manpower policy. . . . To get workers to make the effort, a specific job opportunity must be shown and the training closely related to success of retraining in the case of in-plant job transfer (1968, p.159).

The report advocated that the impact of technological change had to be worked out by labour and management "under prevailing economic pressures in Nova Scotia" wherever possible.<sup>55</sup> The report concluded by almost apologetically calling for further study, recognizing that studies cause delay. Nonetheless, study of poverty is necessary because "poverty is not a static condition, and study is necessary to reveal more about the factors that increase or diminish the severity of poverty's impact and how those factors can be

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<sup>55</sup> Many affected were not in organized labour movements thus those decision have limited application. The point that is more important here is local circumstances have to prevail.

marshalled to eradicate poverty" (p.170). The brief concluded: "The real cost of poverty is not the public money siphoned to the poor, but the much more substantial economic loss of the potentially productive portion of the poverty community" (p.173).

The submissions to the Senate committee on poverty brought an important perspective to the theory-experience gap. The submissions were written four years after the programs under the AOTA came into effect. They addressed the possibilities available under the AOTA and noted the areas in which local needs were not being met. This perspective shows that what was theoretically available did not fit, what in reality was, the provincial experience. The position taken in the submissions to the Senate committee on poverty reflect the different opinions on the appropriate role of federal agencies. The theory-experience dilemma, reveal deep-seated federal-provincial differences. The theory-experience gap is partly explained by Verma's points about the lack of knowledge and thus the lack of clear direction on the part of the province. The gap is also created by the direction of policies of the federal government that disregarded the needs of the settings in which they applied. This was seen as appropriate since federal policies were intended to support federal priorities.



### **Summary**

The purpose of this chapter was to compare the intentions of the adult education program in Nova Scotia with the intentions of the training programs offered under the AOTA. This comparison identified important implications of federal policy for adult education in Nova Scotia. The AOTA programs expanded as the programs of adult education originally carried out by Nova Scotia declined. While the programs supposedly had two different aims, ultimately it was one group of people, their learning opportunities, and their communities which were affected. The large influx of money and the reorganization of the bureaucracy resulted in other changes for Nova Scotia. The need for accountability to federal government in exchange for the federal money created a particular role for the province. The federal program was so well funded that the province became dependent on the federal funds. This dependency changed both the role of the bureaucracy and the nature of vocational education in the province. Discussion of this dependency role is the focus of the next chapter. This discussion is necessary in order to understand how reliance on external legislation may cost a province control over adult education.

## V REGIONAL DEPENDENCY ON FEDERAL LEGISLATION

### INTRODUCTION

The previous chapter demonstrated that there was a gap between the intentions underlying the Adult Occupational Training Act (AOTA), a federal Act, and those of Nova Scotia's established programs in adult education. As a result of the AOTA both the federal and provincial governments found themselves with new roles in adult vocational education. There has been little research on the influence of federal policies pertaining to adult vocational education on regions from the regional perspective. This chapter discusses the influence of the federal theory on provincial experience from the perspective of the provincial experience - particularly the dependence of the province on federal decisions.<sup>56</sup> The AOTA is one of the pieces of federal legislation which is

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<sup>56</sup> The province experiences similar dependence on federal policy in other areas. Matthews' work The Creation of Regional Dependency examines a general tendency toward dependency in particular regions of Canada. From Matthews' discussion on regional dependency the application is made to the federal provincial relationship in vocational education. Matthews however applies his analysis to policies pertaining to community development programs and to fisheries. Matthews explores in detail the federal provincial relation over fisheries in his article "Federal Licencing Policies for the Atlantic Inshore Fishery and their Implementation in Newfoundland, 1973-1981". Similarly, discussion of the dependency created by other federal policies - such as agriculture, forestry, and mining - is found in G. Burrill and I MacKay (eds.), People Resources and Power and in the work of J. Bickerton, Nova Scotia, Ottawa, and the Politics of Regional Development. This thesis appears to be the first study that has applied dependency theory to the federal influence on adult education

seen to cause regions to be dependent on federal decision-making. It was apparent from the comparisons of federal and provincial expenditures (Table 4.1 and 4.4) that the sheer size of the federal program simply overwhelmed the provinces. With the termination of the TVTA, the provinces were really faced with little alternative but to accept the arrangements in this program. The strength or dominance of the program resulted in its almost uncritical acceptance by adult educators at the provincial level in two ways. Adult educators working in the province defined the program as only training, and thus something often apart from their concerns. Since vocational training was not a part of the adult education sphere, a critical voice was not articulated by adult education organizations. The adult occupational training programs have operated as somewhat separate entities from educational programs; the very size of the program dominated the plans of the provinces; and the nature of the program has escaped much criticism.

#### **AOTA AND THE REGIONAL RESPONSE**

The experience of Nova Scotia in its relationship with federal policy is not a well-documented story. This phenomenon is partly explained by the position of the province described in the previous chapter. The funding made available to Nova Scotia under the AOTA is documented in Table 4.4 and discussed in Chapter 4. However, the

importance of that spending as it determined the province's role, also resides in the perceptions of the people of Nova Scotia who were involved with the implementation of the AOTA in the province. Interviews on the implementation<sup>57</sup> of AOTA were conducted with 11 people, eight of whom worked for or were connected with the provincial government at program and management levels at the time of the passing of the AOTA. Three joined after the implementation of the legislation but were involved with managing programs under the AOTA. Five of the 11 are no longer with the provincial government. When interviewed, one had retired and four were working in adult education but not with the provincial government. A list of questions (see Appendix 3) was used to guide the interviews. The questionnaire was shared with the person being interviewed. The particular experience of the individual was also explored. People interviewed were selected from names found in a review of the documents and also from recommendations of the people interviewed: "You ought to talk to..." was a suggestion frequently made. The interviews were intended to get suggestions of resources such as names of other related people and any documentation of the provincial perspective. Each interview took a minimum of two hours and some were followed up with a second visit.

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<sup>57</sup> Appendix 4 contains the names of all of those interviewed.

The interview was also used to seek information on the Federal-Provincial Manpower Needs Committee<sup>58</sup> because minutes were not available.<sup>59</sup> The committee was sometimes described in federal documents as the means which allowed the provincial and federal governments to function as a unit in preparing manpower training programs for the provinces. Those who had knowledge of the manpower needs committee indicated the minutes would have been of little help in assessing the provincial perspective. The committee was described by all those involved as a case of the federal representative, using federally generated data, telling the province what it could do.

It must be noted that people were being questioned about an Act and programs under the Act, 20 to 23 years after it became law. All of the people interviewed indicated an interest in discussing the provincial perspective and indicated support for this attempt to document that perspective. The interviews are intended to provide a perspective on Nova Scotia that has not been previously

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<sup>58</sup> Federal documents refer to this committee as the major mechanism used by the federal government in its task of translating manpower policies into training programs. The Committee identified programs based on information gathered by Canada Manpower Centres and other government departments.

<sup>59</sup> A search, with the assistance of many librarians was made of Nova Scotia Archives, departmental libraries in the Nova Scotia Government and the library of the Department of Employment and Immigration in Ottawa, to no avail.

documented. It was anticipated that the interviews would reveal the contrast between federal and provincial intentions for a program of adult education. It was not anticipated that the responses would reveal the plight of the province in the way they did. From the questions asked, and other discussion, themes emerged about the provincial experience. The responses are grouped under the following three topics : (1) the uncertainty for provincial officials; (2) what they often called the "power of the purse"; and (3) the reported shift in emphasis for adult education. The story from each interview was quite similar. While there was some variation in the response, there were really no conflicting stories reported. Comments which particularly capture the feelings are noted.

1) Uncertainty

Everyone was asked whether there were any discussions prior to the introduction of the AOTA or whether there had been any warnings about new legislation. In every case the answer was no. Even though the TVTA was scheduled to expire in March 1967, there was precedent for legislation being extended. It was pointed out that there were voices in Ottawa which favoured the continuation of the scheme. Thus, it was stated by a manager of many programs, "without instruction, let alone consultation, we were at a loss as to know how the legislation was going to impact." The

uncertainty for provincial officials came up a number of times and in various ways.

Retrospective views that reflected the uncertainty were also interesting. One person still with the provincial government and serving in a senior position said, "Taking advantage of the opportunity seemed rational at the time. I guess we thought we'll take this on temporarily. There was an inability to confront the federal government. So the province really had no choice. It didn't need to be that way. We were destroyed in the process." A similar view was expressed when the same respondent said, "Because of the large amount of money, I think many people thought we would be better off. It did pull money away from our own program of adult education - which is still in the doldrums." In answer to one of the questions, a respondent who worked in adult education all his working life noted that the AOTA gave no fundamental attention to the individual in his or her community: "Our sense of community is gone. We can now ask, are the concepts compatible or are they ones we simply adopted? You can ask that question now, we didn't at the time. Interesting question, why were the local needs not perceived?"

Politics and political boundaries emerged in every interview. It was noted the provinces had responsibility for social welfare and local matters. Even though the phrase

"human resources" was used by the federal government, its manpower philosophy was based on economic objectives. The province's attempt to develop a manpower philosophy that was based on both economic and social goals was mentioned frequently. A respondent with approximately 30 years experience with the provincial government suggested this thesis be written just plotting federal-provincial relations based on the politics of the federal government and the provinces. "All your questions could be answered through party politics," he said.<sup>60</sup>

Similarly, a feeling about party politics was expressed when someone referred to the Federal Provincial Manpower Needs Committee as a meeting where the federal level told the provinces what training should be done. There was no documentation on the provincial perspective. A civil servant still with financial responsibilities for programs stated: "Often the arrangements were made by phone. A politician may

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<sup>60</sup> The literature on adult vocational education, especially theses examining the introduction or implementation of legislation, notes that new governments introduced changes. All parties had to deal with the same federal legislation. Some may have fared better than others because of party politics, but in all cases the provinces were dependent on federal legislation. The analysis in this thesis which focuses on dependency would view this interviewee's perspective as part of the dependency perspective. The party politics would not have created the dependency, party politics are another way in which a region can be made dependent. The influence of federal legislation on a provincial program is examined here from the perspective of the act a government created, and not the government that created it. The latter was of more interest to the interviewee who made this suggestion.



ask for a course on Thursday, and we would have it start on Monday. There was no defence of the course, other than its political basis." The uncertainty was perhaps summed up by his statement: "If we knew we could depend on an alternative source of income other than the federal government, we would be less worried by threats of withdrawal of program funding".

## 2) Power of the Purse

The "piper and the tune" analogy was constantly stated as the underlying explanation of the relationship. From the documents available and the interviews, it was clear that the understanding of the AOTA was that the Department of Manpower would establish the ground rules by which the new system operated. One view was: "The funds offered the provinces were done so with the expectation, and the qualification, that the funds would be used by the provincial government to assist the federal level in its responsibility for employment. At no time was it suggested that the funds were being advanced to the provinces so that they might have the financial resources to enhance their constitutional obligations. The provinces were rendering a service to the federal government through participation in the program"<sup>61</sup>. Respondents remarked on the fact that no scheme was offered as a means whereby the provinces could be given sufficient

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<sup>61</sup> This sounds similar to the statement of Levesque made in 1939, describing the Youth Training Act and noted here in Chapter 2.

resources to meet their responsibilities. How the AOTA influenced one person's practice was described. He said the province was reluctant to pay for anything the federal level did not help with. An example was simply getting staff positions filled. The questions became, will the federal government pay? will they share? If the answer was no, there was no support from the province. Clearly that federal involvement contributed to the demise of Nova Scotia adult education when there was a program based on "If the feds buy it, we'll offer it."

### 3) Change in Emphasis

The people interviewed remembered vividly the sudden emphasis on labour-market statistics: "We were confronted with data which we could not counter. We did not have a plan stated in those terms. In fact, the plan we had may not have been great, I am willing to admit, but I am not sure the federal government's political agenda had to become the plan". In answer to a question about the contrast in federal and provincial intentions, the reply was:

The things being done were very significant. I suggest you read the Guy Henson report for what was happening. The folk schools, for instance, were a good focus for interdepartmental activity. However, it was a period in which we saw the rise of the economist. The economy was fundamental and so education went down and training went up.

It was clear from the interviews that people viewed vocational education as a national good, a commodity, whose purchase was to be encouraged by the central government. People viewed the programs under the AOTA "as an exchange for services rendered to the federal government by provinces. The power of the federal government was an essential factor in the decision of the provincial government to undertake the function of exchanging services." The same interviewee mentioned that "arguing for constitutional responsibility for a particular public service without adequate fiscal power, would be the hollowest type of victory."

If the views of those interviewed could be summarized, it would be safe to say that the reaction to federal participation in vocational education, insofar as it caused a rigid division of authority, was not welcomed. However, there seemed to be no space to launch a protest, until years later when the participants were interviewed here. It was difficult to resist large amounts of money. It was the dependence on the funding that probably caused the lack of resistance by provincial authorities. The interviews confirmed that the arguments of Dupre et al., that economists, designing a system for vocational education in contrast to the intentions of the province of Ontario, apply equally well to Nova Scotia.

The lack of documented resistance on the part of Nova Scotia cannot be interpreted as acceptance. Lack of resistance can result from dependence. The provincial responses presented in the report of the Council of Ministers of Education, Canada (CMEC) (1972) also provide a documented provincial voice unable to resist what became provincial dependence. While the particular position of each province is not identified, the general perspective of provinces on federal policy is revealing. The report, prepared for the Manpower Programs Committee of CMEC had suggested that manpower training policies "...should be dependent on regional social and economic conditions. Primary responsibility for the formulation and implementation of alternative human resources development strategies therefore should rest with the provinces" (p.3).<sup>62</sup> The report described the AOTA as legislation that "transformed the federal government from assuming an indirect role of financial support to a more active and dominant role" (p.6). This

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<sup>62</sup> A Department of Manpower and Immigration review paper "A Review of the History and Current Issues of Manpower Training in Canada" (1973) noted as issues that need addressing: the lack of provincial input into the determination of Manpower Needs and thus the amount of spending in the province; and the lack of provincial input into the distribution of funds allocated for training in the province. The report stated "The department has recognized the need for greater provincial involvement in determining manpower needs and ... increased provincial participation in the identification and assessment of manpower needs will be achieved through the Federal-Provincial Manpower Needs Committees ...." (1973, p.10).

assertion of federal control left the provinces to fill in the gaps created by the federal program, rather than taking the lead in defining a program. Provinces were left to implement programs "within the framework of the pre-defined program structure of federal departments..."(p.11).

The CMEC report also suggested that it might be time to reassess the rationale of economic growth on which the AOTA was developed. The AOTA was designed to promote economic growth "at the national level, by fostering the development of a mobile labour force with skills in occupations suffering from labour shortages. Federal training policy was combined with a mobility program to encourage those receiving training to move into areas where they could be employed in their newly acquired skills" (p.16). The Council's report was critical of the outdated approach taken by federal training programs. The report said there had been shifts in employment patterns and labour force participation that may have altered training needs. The report also made the point, not often stated, that when training funds are used for one objective, they cannot be used for another. In other words, when training funds are put into economic growth training (nationally), they are not available for a broader range of social and economic development programs (regionally). The report was also critical of the federal government's use of the AOTA to redistribute income in light

of increasing unemployment. With the objectives of manpower policies that they satisfy growth, stabilization and equity training allowances were being used as an alternative to welfare for many of the unemployed.<sup>63</sup>

The CMEC focused its criticism on those federal policies and programs that made very little provision for mixing manpower training with other social services. The CMEC suggested instead that a comprehensive human resources development service, based on the position of the client was needed. It would take various parts of the many programs available, depending on the needs of the client. The report stated, "The existing fragmented approach to manpower training retards the collection of background information for use in policy planning" (p.24). A comprehensive human resources development service would have required extensive information on needs and programs including an inventory of manpower training, details on the programs, and an account of existing program expenditures. Such information would allow for an evaluation of the effectiveness of individual programs.

The CMEC report criticized Canadian manpower policies as mainly an attempt by government to prepare individuals for work: "... (I)n many parts of the country, this strategy has

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<sup>63</sup> The equity-efficiency dilemma surfaces frequently in the Canada Manpower annual reports and the Economic Council's Annual Review and other reports.

been inappropriate as the number of jobs available has been less than the number of candidates to fill them. Recently, this strategy has become even less appropriate as young people and women have entered the labour market at the same time as traditional employment has become less available" (p.31). The Council felt therefore that a new approach to manpower training should be considered. Its recommendation was not unlike the program proposed by Henson. Had information on all possible costs and benefits of such a plan been available, the proposal by the CMEC should have led to consideration of an appropriate mix from all the social service programs. The Council recognized that the most basic issue to be addressed would be "the appropriate assignment of roles to various agencies and levels of government in the formulation of comprehensive human resources development policy and in the offering of programs to implement that policy" (p.32).

The Council acknowledged that the federal government's responsibility for the quality of the nation's labour force gave the federal government a legitimate role in training, but it questioned government's choice of program:

The federal government designed and implemented the Adult Occupational Training Act (OTA Act) in the legitimate pursuit of these goals. It is a separate question whether the level of expenditure made in the implementation of this Act has been appropriate to the manpower

training needs of all the Canadian people who have been channelled into this program. This preliminary study indicates that public funds have been mis-allocated into this type of skill training in relation to overall job availability and specific client needs for broader human resources development services in Canada (p.33).

The Council stressed the need for human resource development policies and programs responsive to individual needs.

Funding should also be consistent with the need. The Council recognized this could imply an expanded role for provincial governments. To replace the passive role of the province in implementing federal manpower officials' decisions, the Council proposed a client-centered model, the details of which are beyond the scope of this thesis. The point in reviewing the CMEC report was to illustrate that even though the provinces held views on the inappropriateness of federal manpower policy, there was little opportunity for expression of their views. The provinces believed the policy failed to address many of the needs and failed to respond to changes and differences in the regional economies.

The provincial perspective is difficult to document.

Perhaps a province such as Nova Scotia had no alternative; perhaps it pursued no alternative. In either case, the AOTA resulted in the province depending on a large amount of federal funding for a program of adult education designed to serve the particular purposes of the federal government. The unwillingness of either the provincial government or the



federal government to support a provincial plan for adult education resulted in the dependence of the province on external funding. This of course resulted in more acquiescence to external priorities and thus less determination to remain self-sufficient.

#### **AOTA AND REGIONAL DEPENDENCY**

Regional dependency is not understood here to be the product of some natural phenomenon like geography or resources or even historical accident; rather it is understood to be the product of a series of decisions, including the creation of institutions which in turn help to create further regional economic disparity. A feature of the recent history of adult education in Nova Scotia is the shift in decision making from the provinces to a centralized authority, which occurred with the AOTA. As the AOTA did not support existing provincial programs, to what extent was it part of a decision-making process that turned out to be detrimental to the province's traditional approach to adult education in Nova Scotia?

Hodgson's writings (1976, 1988) on the role of the federal government in education help to clarify the issue. Noting the trend of federal funding toward direct conditional grants, he stated, "The best example of a shift away from shared-cost arrangements to direct conditional granting is

the termination of the Technical and Vocational Training Agreement (1960-66) and the development of new legislation called the Adult Occupational Training Agreement (1967)" (1976, p.20). Hodgson suggested the federal role came about both from the expectation of Canadians that the federal government "ought" to be involved and from politicians and senior civil servants holding social or economic views they wanted implemented. The federal government viewed education as being no longer a matter of provincial concern but rather as a means of overcoming other inequities by making opportunities available throughout Canada. It considered that making opportunities available throughout Canada was a means to overcome other inequities. It followed, therefore, that the federal government thought it could identify the means that would make the regions more equal. Hodgson noted the federal government viewed itself as having a wisdom superior to that of the the provinces. The superior wisdom, he said, was connected to the political fact that "senior levels of government command superior resources, and by their own definition the allocation of those resources is made in the best interests of all "junior" governments" (p.48). Hodgson's position was that it was not the total sum of moneys given by direct conditional grants that mattered as much as the number of such grants and the many areas they affected. He said, "It is the scope of the programs which

indicates Ottawa's major policy positions and the federal trends in granting policies" (1976,p.21). Hodgson believed the federal role can be assessed by asking "What happens in education...to whom and under what statutory or regulatory conditions?"(p.23). Such questions to assess the federal role were not a part of the debate under AOTA. The design of the AOTA did not permit these questions to be asked. The negotiation (or lack of negotiation)<sup>64</sup> with the provinces precluded discussion on this type of question.

Studies (Economic Council of Canada, 1977; Courchene, 1978; Matthews, 1981, 1983,) examining why the outlying regions of Canada tended to fare differently than the centre of the country demonstrated the different perspectives from which the issue may be viewed. It is necessary to understand these perspectives on regional dependency to assess the appropriateness of federal manpower policies. Brodie (1989) reviewed a number of perspectives for the study of regional dependency, and urged the use of relational studies in which a federal policy such as the AOTA is studied for its relationships with both the federal government and the regions.

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<sup>64</sup> B. Doern (1969) began his article "Vocational Training and Manpower Policy A Case Study in Intergovernmental Liaison " with the statement "The growth and evolution of manpower-vocational training policies serve as a particularly salient example of both the promise and the inadequacies of intergovernmental liaison in Canada" (p.63).

### **Regional Dependency - An Economic Perspective**

The Economic Council of Canada study examined the regional aspects of well-being and equity in Canada. Its report, Living Together: A Study of Regional Disparities (1977) took a centralist and largely economic perspective. The report first examined the hypothesis that regional disparities are caused by geographical and historical forces whose influences cannot be countered. Of course, the report said, this was not an explanation. If it were so, then no regional policies would be feasible. The Council's very question - are they forces that cannot be corrected? - does not preclude the idea that geographic and historical forces cause disparities. The Council stated its belief that they were not forces that could not be corrected or dealt with in some way. In other words, the Economic Council believed federal policies to counter regional differences were necessary. Recognition of the Council's belief that such policies were necessary is important to understanding the central economic measures applied to regions through the AOTA.

The Council described well-being as the extent to which the material, socio-cultural, psychological and other needs of society were met. Equity was described in the Council's report as appropriate well-being among members of society, and it stated, "Our thesis is that in order to achieve equity

among people, it is necessary to adopt measures that apply to provinces and regions" (p.11). "Adopting measures that apply to provinces..." is the indicator that existing provincial systems were not studied for possible enhancement or support.<sup>65</sup> The Council said federal involvement in social services was important to ensure minimum standards of health and social welfare in the provinces. In fact, it said, the federal involvement "appears to be a simple humanitarian conviction that individual Canadians are entitled to certain minimum standards of health and social welfare, wherever they live" (p.14). The Council's description of the federal government's convictions as humanitarian would be interesting to pursue if it were not for later statements revealing a number of seemingly contrary assumptions about regional policy.

The Council's view of regions was revealed when it emphasized the high cost of policies intended to support the regions: "People in richer regions are taxed for the benefit of those in poorer regions" (p.16). The Council suggested that the costs of diverting economic activities to the

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<sup>65</sup> The reader is not told how value is assigned to the components of well being used by the council, thus value bias is not assessed. An example of value bias can be found in the indicators selected to measure well-being. Matthews pointed out that the Council's decision to measure the number of people per household gave Newfoundland a lower rate of well-being than Ontario. If the Council had measured for home ownership, Newfoundland would look better off. (Matthews, 1983, p.20)

regions be explicitly acknowledged "and that expenditures not be significantly increased until their value has been demonstrated" (p.17). Again, the Council did not suggest how the value - value to whom, for example - be assessed. The report stated earlier, however, that the level of federal expenditure that should be used to achieve the goal of cultural survival "depends on the importance attached by the country in general to the future of threatened cultural regions, as well as on the validity of the argument linking cultural survival to economic prosperity" (p.16). It seems the Economic Council viewed regional policies for their economic costs and contributions as measured by the country in general. There was no explanation of the phrase, "the country in general", and no indication of the regions' input into that phrase. The report of the Council reinforces a key characteristic in federal policy, such as the AOTA, that measuring regional policies by national priorities does not allow for any distinctiveness of a region to prevail. Allowing for distinctiveness was an important component of the plan of the Division of Adult Education in Nova Scotia.

The report stressed that no single economic theory explains regional disparities and no one theoretical approach to regional development would adequately solve these disparities. Most people agree with that position. The problem, however, is that the Economic Council's research on

regional social disparities assumed a causal link between economic and social disparity similar to the assumptions underlying the creation of the AOTA discussed in detail in Chapter 3. Because the AOTA was based on the recommendations of the Economic Council<sup>66</sup> it is not surprising that the assumptions the Council makes about regional economic policies are similar to the assumptions underlying the creation of the AOTA. In both its views on regional economic policies and manpower policies the Economic Council failed to take account of the perspective of the regions both in the creation and ongoing measurement of policies. The report of the Economic Council promoting its measures of economic efficiency in dealing with regional disparities reflects in some ways the thinking accepted by provincial officials. The interviews conducted for this study suggest that while provincial officials knew a meaningful adult education program was giving way to other priorities, they believed they had no choice but to acquiesce. The report of the Council of Ministers of Education noted those characteristics in provincial programs which were giving way to the federal policies. Provincial officials felt some obligation to move into the areas for which there was generous funding, and that funding came with federal priorities attached.

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<sup>66</sup> Economic Goals for Canada to 1970 (1964) and Towards Sustained and Balanced Economic Growth (1965) contain recommendations for a manpower policy which were adopted.

### **Regional Dependency and Transfer Payments**

The AOTA resulted in major transfer of federal funds to Nova Scotia (Table 4.4). Courchene in "Avenues of Adjustment: The Transfer System and Regional Disparities" (1978) argued that transfer payments were not conducive to eliminating regional disparities. Courchene took the position that transfer payments from Canada's federal government may be the major cause of regional underdevelopment.<sup>67</sup> Courchene combined a neo-classical economic perspective with an economic dependency perspective. Neo-classical economic theories maintain that market forces alone would overcome regional disparities. Accordingly, he argued for less government involvement<sup>68</sup>; and with theorists of dependency he attributed the cause of regional underdevelopment to the behaviour of external agents.

Courchene maintained there was a natural set of economic processes that should be allowed as free a sway as possible. His suggestion was that a return to a system of "natural

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<sup>67</sup> A report of a review of manpower policies by the Department of Manpower and Immigration stated that a federal role was the making of a "major contribution to reducing regional disparities; one of the methods by which this is accomplished is the provision of training allowances which act as an incentive to take training with the necessary means of sustenance, as an alternative to welfare measures" (1973, p.5).

<sup>68</sup> This suggestion is an important difference in the perspective of Courchene and the other analysis of regionalism discussed in this chapter.



adjustments" could overcome regional disparity. To Courchene natural adjustment included encouraging the out-migration of excess labour to the point where existing economic structures in the region could support the remaining population. He maintained that too much money in the form of government transfer payments enabled people to stay in the region even when insufficient capital was being generated locally to sustain them. Courchene objected to development projects that interfered with this natural migration. "The presence of a generous system of transfers serves to impede out-migration" (p.155), he said. Migration had only an economic measure under the AOTA and in Courchene's analysis. This points to the contrast with the intentions of the Division of Adult Education which, while it expected some migration, viewed its tasks as working with the people and communities under its jurisdiction to develop opportunities appropriate to those communities.

Courchene proposed greater provincial autonomy and the elimination of federal-provincial cost-sharing programs to decrease what he considered to be the unnatural processes in the economy. He believed that the problem of regional disparity in Canada would be overcome only when transfer payments to poor provinces were sharply reduced. The provinces would then be left to bear the cost of their economic decisions and would be forced to eliminate many

social safety nets. Courchene never mentioned the potential for regional economic development. His assessment is based only on a central or national perspective of what is effective.

The transfer payments, in Courchene's view, created a client-role for the province: provinces are enticed<sup>69</sup> into programs which may not be in their best interest, but provide the only way to get federal assistance. Courchene observed that when provinces opt into a federal government scheme, they give up much of their own capacity for managing regional development. In addition, "...the presence of the large and growing network of interregional income redistribution programs lessens both the necessity for and the desire on the part of the 'have-not' regions to make the adjustments required to remain economically viable. As a consequence, their relative economic autonomy has deteriorated" (p.146). Courchene's point was that provincial governments of have-not provinces were no longer in charge of the functions previously assigned to them. Thus their own initiative was diminished. Courchene failed to discuss the significance of this loss of provincial initiative. The perspective held by

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<sup>69</sup> The study of the AOTA shows enticement can take many forms: willing co-optation, financial opportunism, or reluctant acquiescence in the hope that the trade-off of federal money for local control is one that can be lived with. Ontario, with a plan of its own probably "reluctantly acquiesced". Nova Scotia, with less direction of its own, was willingly co-opted.

provincial officials as reported in the interviews for this study or in the report of the CMEC report was not taken into account in Courchene's assessment.

Even if one disagrees with Courchene's analysis, he made clear the federal-provincial relationship. His underlying assumption, that policies must be economically efficient (for the country in general), is similar to the underlying assumptions of the Economic Council. The importance of this to the study of the AOTA, is to demonstrate that the federal intentions for a plan of adult education could be considerably different from provincial intentions. In the case of the AOTA the difference applied. The position taken by the Economic Council or Courchene did not incorporate the importance of the philosophy of adult education for Nova Scotia based on its having roots in the community. Henson's belief was that anchoring education in the community contributed to local support of many different kinds of community and economic activity. Because programs such as those offered by the AOTA focused on national economic goals and had no such relationship, they marginalized the economic activity of people and communities. Factors of social life such as family, religion, recreation and other organizations, taken into account when adult education was community based, were not necessarily important to national economic goals.

### **The Dependency of Regions**

One of the ways of explaining the impact of a federal policy such as the AOTA on a province is through an analysis of the dependence it creates. In An Examination of Development and Dependency in Nova Scotia (1981) and The Creation of Regional Dependency (1983) Matthews examined regions for the nature and origin of their dependency. The dependency versus self-sufficiency study by Matthews helps to explain the difference between the intentions of a provincial program of adult education and a federal program of adult vocational education. It can be used to illustrate the significance of the difference between the roles of the federal and provincial governments in a program of adult vocational education, and to explain the dependence of the province on the federal government in this area of public policy. Matthews' analysis of the dependency of regions rejects many of the assumptions inherent the Economic Council of Canada's report and the position of Courchene.

Matthews' primary concern in the study of regional dependency was with the interrelationship between social and economic conditions. Matthews stressed: "Many economists either neglect the social implications of their work or treat social factors as simply obstacles to be overcome" (1981, p.5). This led Matthews to suggest that "many of the existing Canadian programs aimed at reducing regional

disparity may actually be increasing the dependency of underdeveloped regions such as Atlantic Canada" (1981, p.15). When the dependency perspective is applied to the relationship between federal and provincial roles, it becomes possible to see how the province takes on the function of client in relation to the federal government. Planners, particularly those trained in economics, tended not to take the relationships that cause dependency into account. One of the relationships was described by Matthews: "Regional poverty, like other types of poverty, tends to continue to exist because it is in someone's interest that it does so" (1981, p.17). Matthews felt that it was unlikely that the situation of economic dependency in Nova Scotia will be changed until we come to understand these relationships.

Matthews obviously viewed regional underdevelopment as a situation that is created, the result of "an historical pattern of exploitation of the impoverished areas by more wealthy ones" (1981, p.7). Furthermore, "underdevelopment of such economically depressed areas is maintained primarily through ties of dependency with more prosperous areas" (1981, p.14). Dependency relationships are created, not only through investment links, but also by central policies that contribute to regional underdevelopment. The distribution of funds under the AOTA was an example. Funds were available to the provinces for only those programs defined by central

policies. Such programs may not be the ones most needed in the regions, nor necessarily the most suited to promote self-sufficiency. The AOTA could be used to illustrate Matthews point that "many of Canada's regional development policies actually operate to increase the dependency of Canada's underdeveloped regions, rather than encourage their self-sufficiency" (1981, p.23). The AOTA arrangements overshadowed a program in Nova Scotia that was intended to promote self-sufficiency.

Dependency relationships are created in other ways. Incentive grants to encourage corporations from outside the region were, and still are, an attempt to combat regional underdevelopment by giving money to the economic interests that are either directly or indirectly the cause of the underdevelopment. The introduction of outside investment "frequently undermine(s) the ability of native entrepreneurs to obtain sufficient resources and access to markets to enable them to operate or expand" (1981, p.23). Matthews claimed that by their nature externally-based corporations are engaged in regional exploitation. They are there because of direct financial incentives, low wage levels and an unorganized labour force. Their continued operation is often conditional on their continuing ability to pay lower wages than they would have to pay elsewhere, hence, there are no

incentives for local economic development.<sup>70</sup> The pattern has been that externally-based industry continued to demand and usually got these conditions, which served to continue the state of dependency in the area. This kind of situation is in contrast to the view of adult education as a plan with its roots in the community. When adult education is used to assist a community to produce goods, or create jobs through producing goods based on local resources, there is more likelihood the plan will be accountable to both the workers and the community. The learning in both the process and the product is community based.

Matthews examined entrepreneurial activity in Nova Scotia in an attempt to relate entrepreneurial activity here with regional dependency. He was interested in the "ways in which government policy had affected the 'dependency' and self-sufficiency of persons and firms in Nova Scotia" (1981, p.47). He noted that economic theorists<sup>71</sup> from a variety of

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<sup>70</sup> Matthews noted: "Federal payments to industry through DREE grants alone amounted to two and a half billion dollars between 1965 and 1972, and much of that was paid to corporate interests from outside the underdeveloped areas" (1981, p.25). This is in addition to all direct and indirect expenditures on training through the Department of Manpower and Immigration.

<sup>71</sup> Matthews drew from the work of Schumpeter (1935) who distinguished between entrepreneurs who brought about new economic form and capitalists who lived off the interest they made on investment; Baran (1957) who argued there was no lack of entrepreneurial ability in underdeveloped regions, capital was unavailable for entrepreneurial activities; and Kilby (1971) whose work examined the industrial organization developed by entrepreneurs.

ideological perspectives had supported the notion that an appropriate role for government may be to assist entrepreneurial initiative. Both the theorists and the entrepreneurs in Nova Scotia who Matthews interviewed stressed the need for support of locally based initiatives. Matthews reported that people were very ambivalent about the contribution of multinationals to development and economic growth. Asked what they felt would be the most appropriate strategies for developing the region, Matthews reported that one respondent stated:

There are three kinds of business that should go here. (1) Those that use natural resources and sell both to local markets and the world. (2) Smaller industries to do secondary manufacturing for the Atlantic Provinces market. (3) Those industries, such as oil refining, which bring offshore resources to our ports (by ship) for refining, and then move them to a central market. Generally speaking, however, if you've got to go to central Canada to get any materials and then send it (the finished product) back, you've got a big problem ....(1981, p.75)

Assisting those initiatives was not necessarily the mandate of the AOTA. The centrally defined and directed programs of the AOTA tended to satisfy central needs and therefore could not or did not play an important part in assisting local entrepreneurial activity or any form of self-sufficiency.



The AOTA programs were, more than anything else, programs defined and directed by federal priorities.

The dependency relationship, caused by a manpower policy based on a centralist economic development strategy, is difficult to demonstrate with data. The data gathered by the federal government do not measure some important aspects of local economic growth. It is possible however, to determine from the data that the centralist manpower policy did not promote self sufficiency. Despite the high level of expenditures on these courses and other expenditures by the department, (Tables 4.3 ,4.4) the unemployment rate continued to rise. The Department of Manpower and Immigration in its submission to the Special Senate Committee on Poverty pointed out (Table 5.1) that it chose to spend more per member of the labour force in Atlantic Canada where unemployment and poverty were higher.<sup>72</sup> Despite the high level of spending, intended to promote the national economic goals, unemployment in Nova Scotia continued at a rate higher than the national average (Table 5.2). Educational needs were identified in two reports<sup>73</sup> prepared locally and funded by ARDA. A report

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<sup>72</sup> Table 5.1 was prepared by the Department of Manpower and Immigration. The information on which this table was based is not available from annual reports or other similar documents for either the year which is covered here or other years.

<sup>73</sup> Specific recommendations of the reports, The Role of Education in Rural Development and Feasibility Study of Centre(s) for Residentail Adult Education in the Maritime Provinces, both published in 1965, and the brief for the Special Senate Commission on Poverty were discussed in Chapter 4.

submitted to the Special Senate Committee on Poverty in Nova Scotia isolated the gap between federal funding and local need. The high level of spending under the AOTA did not address provincially identified educational needs.

**Table 5.1** Adult Occupational Training Act Expenditures: Regional Distribution Compared with Indicators of Economic Need

Region	AOTA expenditures per labour force member, 1968-69	Unemployment rates, 1968	Poverty Incidence 1961 census*
Atlantic	\$ 41.07	7.3 %	47.7 %
Quebec	29.59	6.4	30.8
Ontario	21.52	3.5	23.0
Prairies	19.62	3.0	31.2
Pacific	11.36	5.9	26.9
Canada	24.04	4.9	29.1

\*Proportion of the population under a certain poverty-line income.

Source: Brief to the Special Senate Committee on Poverty, submitted by the Department of Manpower and Immigration, 1969, p.369.

**Table 5.2** Unemployment in Canada and Nova Scotia 1960 -1974

	Canada	Nova Scotia		Canada	Nova Scotia
1961	7.1	11.2*	1968	4.5	5.1
1962	5.9	10.7*	1969	4.4	4.9
1963	5.5	9.5*	1970	5.7	5.3
1964	4.7	7.8*	1971	6.2	7.0
1965	3.9	7.4*	1972	6.2	7.0
1966	3.8	4.7	1973	5.5	6.6
1967	3.8	4.9	1974	5.3	6.8

Source: Based on data from The Labour Force, Statistics Can.

\* Statistics Canada held only Atlantic Canada unemployment figures until 1966

Matthews criticized the narrow economic perspective for failing to include or assess the response of participants or to take into account "that economic viability may be declining in some areas primarily as a result of deliberate government decisions not to subsidize some types of communities while consistently supporting others" (1981, p.36). It was Courchene's failure to recognize the influence of government decisions on the economic viability of some

areas that led Matthews to reject his "natural adjustment" model of the economy and society. Instead he argued that the economic history of the Maritimes was one of gradual shift into dependency. Matthews said he had to stress this because it had recently become fashionable for central Canadians to state that they are no longer willing to have their surplus income used for regional development.<sup>74</sup>

This position was also noted by in the Economic Council's report. Challenging that point of view, he added, "... much of the underdevelopment of the Atlantic region and the overdevelopment of the central regions of Canada has stemmed from a series of federal government policies which have generally hampered the former while benefitting the latter" (1981, p.37). Matthews' disagreement with Courchene and his concern for the regions was expressed as follows: "Courchene's analysis aims at manipulating people and the society in the best interests of the economy. We would advocate the manipulation of the economy in the interests of the people and the society" (p.46). Here Matthews captures

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<sup>74</sup> Burrill, G. and I. MacKay (1987) in People, Resources and Power Critical perspectives on underdevelopment and primary industries in the Atlantic region provide recent analysis of federal-provincial agreements. They note for instance, "Dependence has long been identified as a primary dimension of underdevelopment, and the fact that the fate of the region rests in the hands of federal politicians is ample testimony to the validity and relevance of the theory.... The federal government has been spending some \$6 billion a year over and above total revenues in the region, and an estimated 60 cents of every transfer dollar immediately returns to central Canada via consumer spending" (p.196).

succinctly the theme around which this thesis is based: that federal training programs representing the federal government's external agenda supplanted an indigenous provincial program which may more closely have reflected local needs and interests.

### **The AOTA as a Study of Regional Dependency**

Brodie (1989) examined how regions are treated in the study of political economy and noted that many interpretations of Canadian history, the so-called national schools, "are centralist in bias and contain a vision of economic, social, and political development that is profoundly at odds with the Canadian experience" (p.138). Thus she suggested using relational studies which would include more of the Canadian experience previously left out. This approach, suggested also by Silver and discussed in Chapter 1, requires looking beyond the current list of policy issues to ask who was defining events as problems and what structures of power were behind the definitions. Brodie said this approach forces us to identify the forces or links that alter relations.

Brodie also reviewed studies that attributed uneven regional development to the economic and political power of the centre and examined the role played by the state and state policy in the creation of regional dependency. She advocated studying the conflicts between provincial and

federal economic development strategies, noting the following limitations:

... provincial developmental strategies are created within the contexts of national developmental policy and the international political economy and thus are vulnerable to change or failure when conditions at either of the other two levels shift. As Coleman argues in this volume, the federal government should not be discounted in the analysis of provincialism.... The growth of provincial bureaucracies and their expertise is real, but their powers to effect change independent of the economic and political forces around them is limited, especially in a laissez-faire environment (p.155).

A study of the AOTA is a study of the limited power of the provincial bureaucracies to effect change independent of the economic and political forces around them. One has only to examine the extent of federal-priority activity that occurred to see the power of the federal presence. The extent of activity based on federal priorities is what contributes to the state of dependency of many provinces.<sup>75</sup>

The presentation in the previous chapter of the impact of the AOTA on Nova Scotia is an example of a relationship that may be examined as a relational study. The very presence of a plan for all regions in Canada, intended to support the national goal of economic growth means the regions serve or

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<sup>75</sup> Because the provinces lack the power of the federal government to create money, dependence is inevitable. The point here is the extent to which the dependence of federal priorities.

are functions of that one national goal. The intention of the AOTA to promote economic growth, was based on one central definition of economic growth with no allowance for regional measures in the Act. The relationship between the federal government and provincial government was, thus, a distorted one, but as the documented one,<sup>76</sup> and the one on which adult education practices are based.<sup>77</sup>

The dependency relationship between federal policy and provincial experience described by Matthews helps to explain the federal-provincial relationship in adult vocational education identified by Dupre et al. (1973). Dupre et al had described the conflict as a clash between economists and educationists. Dupre et al observed how one discipline, economics, was able to supplant another, education in its claim to expertise. Matthews explained the meaning of that shift for those affected by it. Matthews' dependency analysis explains how federal shifts in policy direction influence the local value orientation. The province found itself operating under policies based on goals which differed from those which had been developed locally. What the province really lost,

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76 The annual reports of the Department of Manpower and Immigration report on behaviours such as number of people registering for placement, being placed, etc. Provincial reports do not attempt to measure the same activity thus the only report on those areas is the federal report.

77 This point is elaborated upon in Chapter 6 in the discussion of the practice of adult education as a form of social provision of welfare policy.

then, was a capacity to influence those policies and control over the direction of an important resource, education and training. Bringing Brodie's suggestion for a relational study involving several forces in a federal-provincial relationship to the study of adult education, has been the challenge confronted in this study.



## **VI ADULT EDUCATION RESPONSE TO FEDERAL LEGISLATION**

### **INTRODUCTION**

The move of adult education from social movement to professional practice which took place mainly during the 1960s warrants analysis, particularly to describe and explain the role of the professional adult educators in the implementation of social policy. One hundred million dollars (approximately \$9.5 million in Nova Scotia) was spent under AOTA in 1967-1968, its first year in effect. All the decisions pertaining to the particular programs, people and processes on which that money was spent were based on social priorities of the federal government. The fact that The Department of Education implemented social priorities about which it had little or no input is significant on at least two counts. First, this arrangement was in considerable contrast to earlier forms of adult education and the provincial program in Nova Scotia described in Chapter 4. Second, this contrast suggests a shift in the role required of adult educators that has not been well analyzed in the adult education literature.

This chapter attempts to illustrate the contrast between a practice of adult education that set its own priorities and a practice in the service of social priorities into which

adult education had little or no input. Griffin described the change as follows:

Beginning as a range of social movements generated by its own logic of development, adult education has increasingly taken on the characteristics of a form of social policy addressed to issues and priorities generated within the economic, social and political system itself: the agenda is now being set for rather than by adult education (1987, p.32).

The contrast may be demonstrated through a brief discussion of the characteristics of adult education as a social movement and as a professional practice. The theories, practice and research of adult education have been dominated by what Beder called a sense of purpose:

Philosophy, for the most part, has developed from purpose, because adult education has been more affected by the social function it serves than by the thought systems associated with it. Adult education exists as a field of practice and inquiry today because it serves a vital social function (1989, p.38).

The focus on practice for a particular purpose has been concerned predominantly with "principles of good practice." This focus on good practice has largely eliminated policy analysis or discussion of legislation. The disregard of

policy analysis from the study of adult education has had a significant influence on the practice of adult education.

While adults have always learned and adult education has obviously existed for centuries in many forms under such auspices as churches, agricultural programs, voluntary organizations and workers' programs, it was around the turn of the century in Britain and during the 1920s and 1930s in the United States and Canada that adult education took on some of the organizational forms commonly associated with it. The early adult education movement was based on belief in the liberating power of education to solve personal and social problems. In Nova Scotia this philosophy was found in the work of Coady and continued with the philosophy of Guy Henson described earlier.<sup>78</sup> In the 1960s adult education shifted its focus from social learning and social change to a focus on individual change for a productive role in society. Evidence of this change in focus can be found in three popular "texts" of adult education: Houle, The Design of Education (1972); Knowles, The Modern Practice of Adult Education (1980); and Kidd, How Adults Learn (1973). Houle, Knowles, and Kidd

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<sup>78</sup> Henson believed that the best people to design strategies, economic or otherwise, were those who were themselves affected by these strategies. Henson's view would not expect a local community to deal with regional, provincial or national concerns, and he would accept that many of these issues have to be dealt with by the state. Henson's aim was to foster democratic participation in setting priorities. His view was that getting people involved in making decisions affected them at the local level would probably interest them in issues of broader concern.

would all claim that adult education should include collective action for social change, but the construction of their theories actually precludes the analysis necessary for this form of action. Their focus was on the development and management of programs. This was a necessary step in the professionalization of adult education. The position taken here is that the dominance of these theories has hindered the discussion of social policy or legislation as it influences the practice of adult education. The focus on the management of programs seems to have been so dominant that concerns such as their fit in a region was lessened. This is the position proposed by Griffin and further developed by Finch. The professional practice of adult education can be understood by contrasting it to the practice of adult education as a social movement.

#### **ADULT EDUCATION AS A SOCIAL MOVEMENT**

There were many links between adult education and social movements in Canada in the first half of this century. Welton in Knowledge for the People: the Struggle for Adult Learning in English-Speaking Canada, 1828-1973 (1987) provided interesting accounts of the struggles of organizations such as Mechanics' Institutes, Women's Institutes and Workers' Education Associations using adult education to attempt social change. In The Passionate Educators (1975) Faris also gave an excellent account of the

work of voluntary associations in rural social movements, while focusing on adult education's role in broadcasting. A detailed discussion of the role of adult education in social movements is beyond the task of this thesis. The Antigonish Movement is discussed below as a means to contrast its philosophy and strategies (as a social movement) with the professional programming model which later dominated the practice of adult education.

### **A Social Movement**

The Antigonish Movement was a social movement based on a deep faith in the power of education to become an instrument for social and economic change. The movement borrowed ideas from other successful cooperatives such as the people's school and the study club in Scandinavia, the credit union in Quebec, and cooperative housing in the United States. The idea of cooperative action was not new in Eastern Nova Scotia. As Lotz and Welton put it, "What was new was the way in which adult education and cooperative organization went together hand in hand" (1987, p.101). They looked at the Movement as a means to show how social movements mobilized resources to achieve their aims and concluded:

The Antigonish Movement was moderately successful as a social movement. Utilizing community-based networks throughout Eastern Nova Scotia and other parts of the Maritimes, the Movement brought about significant individual and

community change but limited structural change in the region, helped people to handle social and economic tensions and showed communities how to identify economic opportunities (1987, p.108).

The movement is known for taking education to people where they lived and worked and for using adult education as an instrument for identifying and solving social and economic problems. It focused on people discovering their own capacity to take action. Coady believed that social reform could only come about through adult education but the movement did not make clear its strategy for changing the power structure of society.<sup>79</sup>

The Antigonish Movement was a form of Christian social action in which adult education was seen as a work of charity. Charity was defined as helping people to help themselves. The cooperation was more than an economic activity. It was a way of carrying on business grounded in spiritual values. The movement offered some criticism of the existing order and a vision of a new economic democracy. It was not a revolutionary vision that implied radical change of existing institutions, nor was it based on scholarly analysis. Coady claimed the movement was educational and economic with deeper spiritual and cultural implications. Stabler wrote that Coady was "in fact, dubious about workers,

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<sup>79</sup> The Antigonish Movement attempted to maintain a non-denominational stance and insisted on being politically neutral.

farmers, or fishermen engaging in direct political action unless they first prepared themselves through education" (1987, p. 167). Lotz and Welton added:

The movement focused less directly on enabling individual and communities to develop political competencies; however, it was inevitable that men and women would acquire political knowledge and skills in the process of organizing community projects. Nonetheless the movement deflected attention away from the achievement of state power (1987, p.108).

Coady's position was in considerable contrast to the present situation where adult education "programs" have less educational direction, than they do political direction.<sup>80</sup> As well, there is no evidence that the professional program model of today teaches political knowledge that is of any use in adult education. Rather, the professional programming model for adult education may contribute to a continuous dependence.

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<sup>80</sup> The AOTA was described for its creation in accordance with federal priorities, for its clash of intentions with a provincial plan of adult education and for the dependence such programs create on federal policy. Evidence that there is less educational direction than political direction is found in correspondence from Ottawa (letter dated April 5, 1967 from G. Duclos) to the director for the Atlantic region of the Department of Manpower and Immigration. After spelling out the revised criteria for sharable cost of composite school projects to be submitted after April 1, 1967, the writer says: "Kindly advise the appropriate provincial officials, particularly the Deputy Ministers of Education and Directors of Vocational Education, of this change." The letter was written in Ottawa, spelling out the new arrangements, five days after the arrangements took effect.

### **Philosophy and Strategy**

The Antigonish Movement was based on a belief that the time had come for an education that addressed local needs and involved the local people. Coady was critical of education that he claimed was based on an elitist philosophy that effectively stripped the ordinary people of their brightest and best, thus depriving local areas of energy, brains and leadership that would let them improve their lot in society. Stabler pointed out that "Coady regarded formal schooling as the trapdoor that enabled the bright and vigorous few to escape into the professions" (1986, p.160). Coady's concern was that education had created classes in a supposedly classless society and that the process was robbing rural areas of their natural leaders.

Local leadership was a primary concern for the movement. Lotz and Welton noted, "It was the plight of those who were left behind that engaged the attention of the reformers. They saw how farmers and fishermen were being pushed deeper into debt, poverty, and dependency" (1987, p.98). The need for the movement therefore was found in the social, economic and historical conditions of Eastern Nova Scotia. Leaders of the Movement believed that it was necessary to get to the community, and have people take responsibility, so that the leadership there could be developed.



The leaders of the movement came from Nova Scotia. They saw the need for people to start defining and working toward the solutions to their own problems, rather than waiting for someone else to do so. The belief that people's economic accomplishments were in jeopardy if they had not learned how to manipulate the forces that control society was also important to the movement. Coady felt that when people became preoccupied with the economic and failed to use the opportunity to learn how to master their own social and political realms, then the people had failed. This position contained the essence of the training-versus-education debate brought up in later years when the adult education program was measured only for its economic factors. The arguments critical of the AOTA in earlier chapters attempted to make the point that people were losing ground in mastering their own social and political realms.

The Extension Department of St. Francis Xavier University through the Antigonish Movement provided resources without dictating what problems ought to be solved. The movement encouraged programs that resulted in economic ventures but it worked on a belief that it must follow the opinion of the people themselves; the people were entitled to have what they most wanted to learn. The organizational strategy included a mass meeting of the community attended by Coady. Coady would speak to people about their lost

opportunities and their obligation to themselves. Stabler suggested his purpose was twofold: "to shatter the people's complacent acceptance of their economic lot, and to rouse them to want to do something about it" (1986, p.157). Cooperation was the underlying message. Study clubs were formed and a project that would result in economic action was selected. The study clubs were the key educational techniques in the movement. Fundamentally the Antigonish Movement's social and economic aims were to be achieved through adult education. Coady was interested in the development of human capacities through work in the economic ventures. The Antigonish educators believed that education would result in the development of strategies for cooperative economic institutions. This, too, was in considerable contrast to the economic measures accompanying federal legislation which do not allow for measurement of human development.

### **Contribution of the Movement**

The Antigonish Movement is consistently praised for its practice of adult education. However, the knowledge created<sup>81</sup> from the work of the movement is not the form of knowledge

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<sup>81</sup> This point is important to the study of adult education generally and the federal provincial conflict over the AOTA specifically. The significance of these two forms of knowledge for adult education is explained later in this chapter, using the work of J. Finch.

that is always compatible with the needs of formal organizations such as departments in the federal government. In discussing this aspect of the Antigonish Movement Crane stated:

It is much easier to proclaim your organization's success by pointing to such quantifiable changes as the number of credit unions formed, the new membership numbers in producer or consumer cooperatives, the amount of money saved or loaned over a period of time, or even the number of students registering in a certain course or program, than it is to identify the changes in the quality of a man's thinking and living (1987, p.233).

The Antigonish Movement dealt with the learning fundamental to living as defined by the communities being affected. Coady's emphasis on the learner is sometimes likened to the work of later adult educators who promoted learner-focused approaches to adult education.<sup>82</sup> Crane suggested, for instance, that Coady lead in the later adult education movement and was concerned with "creativity, originality, discovery, awareness and the value of experience in contrast to the traditional or classical model's concern with skills,

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<sup>82</sup> Such a comparison fails to understand the difference between learner-centred in which the learning needs are defined by a community of people and learner-centred in which the learning needs of individuals are defined within a program which has many external controls. The learner-focused model of adult education promoted by social movements such as the Antigonish Movement should not be likened to the programming-focused models promoted by the professional adult educator.

conformity, information handling, obedience and the value of instruction" (1987, p.236). Leaders in the Antigonish Movement warned that organizing and institutionalizing an idea or a cause tended to make it sterile. Because of the institutional nature of extension departments today, they may be an important social voice, but they are not leading the reform movement as Coady visualized in the 1930s. Stabler suggested the extension department at St. Francis Xavier no longer plays the role on which it was based. He said "...the countries of the Third World may now be benefiting more from the movement than the people of the Maritimes. If so, this is more than the transfer of the movement abroad; it is a time-hallowed custom of Atlantic Canada: moving away" (1986, p.182).

Dr. Alexander Laidlaw<sup>83</sup> was asked to give a "critical analysis" of the work of the Extension Department at the 50th anniversary observance of the founding of the department held in July 1978. In his address he cautioned the audience about using ideas from the Antigonish Movement inappropriately in the present adult education context. He stressed an early caution of Father Tompkins that when become institutionalized "we became infected with dogmatism - you know, the conviction

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<sup>83</sup> Dr. Laidlaw worked in the Antigonish Movement and in 1961 wrote The Campus and the Community: the Global Impact of the Antigonish Movement detailing the philosophy of the movement.

that there's a right and a wrong way, and you have to learn the only right way" (1978, p.8). Laidlaw's comments pointed out the difference between the education provided by social movements and that provided later by formal institutions: "...we should all recognize there is not just one right way; there may be several right ways, and ours may not be the best. This is the great danger in learning principles by heart: many of them are only half right" (1978, p.8).

Other cautions about using the ideas of the Antigoneish Movement included, first, understanding that the collective formulas for education cannot necessarily be moved to settings intended to meet individual needs. Second, the belief that people were in control of their economic lives through cooperative action has limitations in light of the small part cooperatives play in the economy today.<sup>84</sup> Laidlaw's third caution was about the movement's intent on being politically neutral. That position, he said, might have caused people not to see political alternatives. He suggested there was a need to be clear on where we stood on vital issues and this might include knowing when to recommend alternative political approaches.

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<sup>84</sup> Whether this is cause or effect is perhaps debatable. It is an example of a place in which federal funds could have been applied. The AOTA funds actually directed people away from control of their economic lives through directing funds at Skilled occupations which may have held no relationship to the community in which they lived.

Dr. Laidlaw was firm when he spoke of future needs for the work of adult education. He said the first requirement was for development that was less dependent on government:

...the solutions for the problems of Atlantic Canada will not be found in Ottawa, but rather with the people who live and work here. We need a new kind of social democracy that is highly decentralized. I no longer trust any institution or organization that is not guided by and is not answerable to small groups of people (1978, p.16).

Laidlaw's address was important for the contrast he created between the context of adult education practice for the Antigonish Movement and a later context of adult education practice. Understanding the difference in the forms of practice and then understanding how ideas that were appropriate in one setting are inappropriate in a different setting provides an interesting challenge to the study of adult education. The significance of the contrast of practice between the present professional models and the social movement model is what has not been addressed adequately in the study of adult education. To the extent that the professional model replaced the social movement model in Nova Scotia, the practice of adult education became what Griffin called the administration of social policy.<sup>85</sup>

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85 Griffin's thesis that the practice of adult education is really based on an ideology of needs, access and provision (the administration of social policy) and the resulting depoliticization of adult education are described later in this chapter.

### **THE DOMINANT PARADIGM OF ADULT EDUCATION PRACTICE**

Beder suggested in his review of the purpose and philosophy of adult education four major categories under which to group the literature. The categories are "1. to facilitate change in a dynamic society, 2. to support and maintain the good social order, 3. to promote productivity, and 4. to enhance personal growth" (1989, p.39). He generally saw the categories as evolving from one to four. Beder suggested the fourth category was an influence of the 1950s' and 1960s' humanist school of psychology. This influence, he said, caused adult education to become highly learner-centred and the adult educator to function primarily as a facilitator. This role for adult education fitted conveniently with the needs of federal legislation pertaining to adult vocational education in Canada at that time. The role of the adult educator, that of administrator of social policy, was legitimized in the formal study of adult education by influential writers and practitioners such as Houle, Knowles and Kidd.

Houle in The Design of Education (1972) drew upon Tyler's work defining program objectives to prescribe a controlled, instrumental format for adult education practice. He described two processes that were required in designing an educational program: examining the site where learning

activity occurs, and planning the program. Although Houle stressed that decisions were necessary before proceeding with an educational activity, he does not provide any discussion of the politics and potential conflicts inherent in decisions. The limitations on educational opportunities imposed by the regulations of the AOTA programs would not, for example, be challenged. Houle accepted the existing power structures, and his planning process served these power structures through an instrumental focus on getting things done. Thus, learning objectives are assumed to be in harmony with the political status quo so there is no need for analysis of how adult learners and educators could propose learning objectives that would question the overall legitimacy of the political structure. Houle's system of educational planning, which is widely used in adult education settings, claimed to present a general theory that can encompass all of adult education. The theory actually denies a place to raise issues pertaining to the social priorities or the specific legislation.<sup>86</sup> Houle's perspective reduced adult education to applied adult learning theory in a context of developing professionalism, as compared with a social

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<sup>86</sup> The implementation of the AOTA provided an example of Houle's system of educational planning. The significance of the application of this theory is that it overlooks or minimizes cultural factors that were taken into account in previous approaches.



policy model analysis of adult education discussed later in this chapter.

Knowles in Modern Practice of Adult Education (1980) introduced andragogy as an emerging technology for adult learning. He based his theory of andragogy on the humanist psychology of Rogers and Maslow which largely ignored social conflicts and focused exclusively on individual needs. Andragogy was based on a set of related assumptions for planning educational activities. These assumptions included the interests and experiences of learners, their readiness to learn and their orientation to learning. These assumptions have implications for adult educational practice. Knowles proposed a teaching style that was responsive, controlled and directed by the needs of the adult learners themselves. Its major concern was the self-actualization of the learner. Most prior claims about the uniqueness of adult education were made on the basis of certain assumptions about the adult learner.<sup>87</sup>

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<sup>87</sup> Knowles (1977) said, "Andragogy is premised on at least four crucial assumptions about the characteristics of adult learners that are different from the assumptions about child learners on which traditional pedagogy is premised. ...as a person matures 1) his self-concept moves from one of being a dependent personality toward one of being a self-directing human being; 2) he accumulates a growing reservoir of experience that becomes an increasing resource for learning; 3) his readiness to learn becomes oriented increasingly to the development tasks of his social roles; and 4) his time perspective changes from one of postponed application of knowledge to immediacy of application, and accordingly his orientation toward learning shifts from one of subject-centredness to one of problem-centredness." (p.39)

Knowles disregarded the impact of social priorities or the constraints of legislation. The broad shift in adult education from social movement to meeting individual needs is partly described by Knowles' view of how institutions provide for adult learning. Knowles suggested that the adult education agency first defined its interest and then surveyed the community for a response. These responses were analyzed by professionals who constructed the need profile for the learners. This dominant role of the organization in determining the needs of learners allowed the institution to be responsive to social priorities and legislation in its brokering of learning opportunities.<sup>88</sup> This dominance also allowed the institutions to legitimate certain social priorities, and inherent in Houle's design provided no room for adult educators to analyze conflict and encourage social action. Griffin called this an "ideology of prescriptive individualism" (1987, p.174).

Kidd in How Adults Learn (1973) focused on the learning experiences. He, too, relied heavily on dominant psychological theories of behaviouralism and humanism to

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<sup>88</sup> The institutionalization of learning needs is so widespread and has become such an accepted form of adult education that critical analysis of such institutional dominance is disappearing. Canada Manpower Centres, as an example, deserve much more attention for their gate-keeping role in adult learning opportunities. The significance of Thomas's remark, noted in Chapter 3, that through Manpower Centres, the federal government was in direct control of a great range of adult education labelled occupational training has not been given adequate consideration.

ground his descriptions of adult learning practice. Kidd differed from Houle and Knowles in his stress on the engagement of the learner. He dealt with learners and their characteristics, the learner in the learning process, and forms and arrangements for learning. Kidd took a liberal-pluralist view of society which assumed all interests could be met through equality of opportunity in the learning system. Thus he believed that as the educational system was extended to include adult self-directed learning, there was more opportunity for self-realization. Like Knowles, Kidd based his concept of self-realization on the theories of Maslow and Rogers. These theories ignored the social structure and social conflict. Theories and practice of education that deny such conflict may internalize these power inequities both within the institution and the individual. Education that was based on self-actualization and ignored social conflict left no room for adult educators concerned about the need for collective action for social change.

The view of adult education promoted by Houle, Knowles and Kidd assumed adult educators are programmers or change agents. Boone, in advocating this role for adult educators, said:

... adult educators possess the conceptual and technical skills to translate analyzed needs into viable programs, plans, change(s). These conceptual tools and technical skills are

coupled with the ability to relate effectively to the mission, philosophy, functions, structure, and processes of the adult education organization and the beliefs, values and goals of the learner group(s) (1985, p.8).

In Nova Scotia the gradual shift to this conception of the role and responsibility of the adult educator can be seen through the increase in spending under the AOTA compared to the spending under the Adult Education Division by the province of Nova Scotia. The role described by Boone was carried out largely by manpower counsellors in Canada Manpower Centres. The federal priority to promote national economic goals was assigned, in some years, just for the training, 20 times the funding assigned to promote the intentions of the Division of Adult Education. The belief that vocational education was a different issue from what had been understood to be adult education precluded much discussion about the extent of the federal government involvement in the province. The federal government's funding came to represent the dominant program. The funding brought with it federal priorities that were in conflict with priorities of the provincial program of adult education. The provincial program however, was small compared to the federal program. Resistance by the province to the federal program may have seemed inappropriate.

### Reaction to the Dominant Paradigm

The question of why there is so little analysis of the social priorities and legislation that determine the practice of adult education was addressed recently in Canada by Rubenson, (1987a, 1987b, 1989) and Selman (1985, 1988, 1989). Rubenson discussed the North American tendency for adult educators to define and conceptualize research problems within a predominantly psychological framework. He contrasted Lindeman's focus on adult education in The Meaning of Adult Education (1929) as a social and collective phenomenon with London's position in "The Relevance of the Study of Sociology to Adult Education Practice" (1964), which focused on the needs of the individual. He claimed "...London presented sociological concepts as technical tools for analysis, devoid of any deeper reflection on adult education as a social phenomenon" (1989, p.52). Similar to the psychological basis of Knowles and Kidd, London's "sociological concepts as technical tools for analysis" allowed adult education to focus on its practical applications in which adult education practitioners stressed development of good techniques to deal with the problems they faced.

Rubenson said the changed role of adult education had to be understood in terms of the major social, economic and cultural changes that had occurred. He, too, noted that

adult education moved from being an activity pursued by organizations "with the aim of achieving their own goals to become an instrument for different levels of government in their overall public policy" (1987a, p.177). This new role for adult education was reflected in the funding and promotion of particular programs by government departments. Adult education got quite specifically defined and controlled within various government departments.<sup>89</sup> Rubenson said that as adult education became more a part of the formal system the dominant culture took a firmer grasp over adult education and the economic function of adult education became increasingly important.<sup>90</sup> Rubenson's concern was that:

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<sup>89</sup> The Department of Manpower and Immigration carried out its adult education functions through the manpower counsellors. Hodgson (1988) describes the work of many other federal departments in the adult education.

<sup>90</sup> Expenditures under the AOTA in Nova Scotia were intended to support the national goal of economic growth. In the interviews conducted to gather the provincial perspective two people, both still in the employ of the provincial government, one in a senior position and another responsible for financing programs, remarked on the extent to which the federal goal dominated the adult education practice. One of these people noted, "The federal government says its intention is to get the provinces up and running. That is not the case in practice. We participate in programs, which later have funds cut off and we can't afford to continue. We are then left using provincial operating money to fund the expensive federal schemes." Another view brought out in the interviews by someone not with the provincial government but in adult education was, "We shouldn't mind the federal control of the various funding arrangements, at least the money is there. Our task is to get it and hope we can twist it to our real needs". These responses are noted here to confirm that the dominant culture, reflected in federal funding is recognized, and while little can be done, provincial views differ.

This raises a problem with regard to what kind of adult education is offered, and how groups outside the dominant culture get served. One of the reasons why the equity effects of adult education are so small is the way in which individuals' demands determine the adult education organizers' supply (1987, p.185).

In other words the relationship is between institutions and certain population. People outside of the institution's definition of its population are not served.

Rubenson expressed two concerns with the individual client focus of adult education. His first concern focused on the extent to which economic theories influenced public policy: "Economic concepts have come to regulate the way administrators and policy makers structure their thinking. As well, economic theories are permeated with social and individual values and are an expression of a certain ideology" (1987b, p.77). His second concern was that the focus on meeting individual self-empowerment needs did not necessarily lead to any increase in social power, as is sometimes implied. Rubenson borrowed from a discussion between Ira Shor and Paulo Freire reported in A Pedagogy for Liberation (1987) to make this point about the individual needs meeting forms of adult education:

Discussing the concept of self-directed learners, Freire denies the possibility of individual self-empowerment. If the sense of freedom is not social, then the only thing being exercised is an individualist attitude toward empowerment or freedom. Shor sees the emphasis on

self-education in the American educational context as a reflection of the deep roots of individualism, the utopian devotion to 'making it on your own' (1989, p.60).

Griffin shared Rubenson's doubts over any connection between individual empowerment and social empowerment. Griffin said the radical analysis of adult education represented "often a naive and utopian attempt to elevate a romantic individualism to the status of a revolutionary class politics" (1988, p.91). Griffin doubted whether policy makers felt any need to take the radical analysis into account. He believed the policy analysis needed in adult education required attention from a whole range of ideological policy alternatives.<sup>91</sup>

Rubenson was critical of adult education plans built on an assumption, held by both planners and adult educators alike, that adult education could evolve as a "harmonious model": "Developments have shown that it was a mistake to suppose that in a situation characterised by limited resources, adult education could be developed without sacrificing harmony" (1987a, p.189). His point was that such an assumption had no way of coming to terms with conflict regarding distribution of educational resources. It was this assumption, not well analyzed in the literature, that really characterises the move of adult education from social

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<sup>91</sup> Adult educators influence on policy is well analyzed by Finch (1984,1986) and discussed later in this chapter.



movement to professional practice. The harmony role supports Rubenson's earlier suggestion that adult education was made part of a formal system and influenced by a dominant culture. Rubenson predicted that, as part of the dominant culture influence, financing of adult education will likely be vocational and added: "There is an apparent danger that the actions taken will be based solely on labour market and economic efficiency considerations and neglect the equity aspect" (1987a, p.189). Rubenson advocated "a rapprochement between the two different forces promoting adult education, lifelong education embedded in humanistic philosophy and the human capital thinking that is behind the skill development 'movement'" (1987a, p.190). The evidence to date does not support Rubenson's suggestion. The size of the federal program promoting skill development is so much larger than the provincial program promoting adult education, it is unlikely the voice from the provinces will be heard.

Selman (1985, 1989) also discussed the evolution of adult education from a social reformist approach to a professional approach, and what is often termed the "marginalizing" of both approaches. Selman ascribed the social reformist approach to practitioners who use adult education to improve society. The professional approach associated with institutions oriented largely to meeting individual needs.

The reformist approach involved adult educators asking for changes in who had knowledge, changes in who was empowered, and changes in who could play an effective part in society. Adult education was a movement aimed at creating what its leaders felt would be a better world. It was, oddly, both a movement of protest and the means to promote social harmony. The professional approach, built on liberal philosophy, sees problems and inequities in society but sees the solution to these problems as creating opportunities for people to solve their problems. The professional view is that adult education is for personal development "and making it a servant of anything else is dangerous, for society and for adult education" (1989, p.83). Selman noted this perspective has been criticized for its tendency to serve middle class values, and to promote participation in and adoption to the existing social and economic order. Selman's point is similar to that made by Griffin - that we use adult education to administer social policy.

Selman suggested there is some tendency to bring what was characterized as the reformist approach and the present professional approach together: "Today in response to widespread economic and social distress, there is some increased emphasis on social concerns, but against the background of a much more professionalized and

institutionalized field"<sup>92</sup> (1989, p.81). This is similar to Rubenson's concern that we will use labour market and economic efficiency measures to prescribe individual needs. That is exactly what the AOTA did. The social priorities of the state have been translated through the institutions and professional approach of adult educator as personal needs. Selman pointed out that the practice of adult education was opposed "not only when it was associated with particular political views which others reject, but also on the more general grounds that it could cause people to think more critically and perhaps seek to change their position" (1989, p.72). Therefore adult education faced "not just indifference, but also active resistance and hostility" (1989, p.69).

Griffith, in a paper "Adult Education and Politics", pointed out a commonly held position:

... the amount of political influence of adult educationists on public policy and on the public funding of educational programs for adults is proportional to the amount of effort and planning which the adult education interest groups had invested in educating their political leaders (1976, p.272).

Like Selman, Griffith disagreed with this view. It ignores implied social and political barriers to adult education

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<sup>92</sup> The institutionalization of social concerns, like the institutionalization of individual needs mentioned earlier is an important part of adult education practice.

goals. Griffith added that adult educators were probably as capable as most groups in mounting a lobby. He attributed their apparent inability at political activities "to the fact that the most aggressive and imaginative leaders have been refining their techniques for securing grants from foundations" (1976, p.272). With this statement, Griffith brought to the role of adult education the dependency position explored in the previous chapter. It also brings out the obvious but important point that when "imaginative leaders" are required to pursue the goals of foundations, they are not necessarily promoting the best interest of their own organization, that is the best interest of their own constituents. He raised the question whether foundation assistance really ever increased the political sophistication and effectiveness of those who received the support: "The possibility that the assistance fostered a kind of dependency and a desire to cultivate the favor of this source of funds rather than fostering an increased capacity to secure public funds cannot be summarily dismissed" (1976, p.273).

Griffith's position was similar to that of Ralph Matthews: that generous funding is not inherently conducive to either dependence or self-sufficiency. Griffith attempted to bring out the external constraints on the practice of adult education. Selman argued that resistance to adult education intentions caused it to become marginalized in its

institutional setting. The idea that adult education played only a marginalized role echoes Rubenson's disclaimer about adult education's harmonizing role. Whatever its role, Selman's point was that the practice of adult education within the dominant paradigm did not include an understanding of the role of adult education. Not considering its own role restricts adult education just to a practice which takes its direction from other areas.

## **ADULT EDUCATION AND THE ADMINISTRATION OF SOCIAL POLICY**

### **Introduction**

The effects of the transition of adult education practice from social movement to professional practice has been the subject of much investigation by Colin Griffin (1983, 1987, 1988). Griffin said he found that in Britain and the United States the prevailing outlook had generally removed adult education from the policy process and depoliticized its concerns: "The adoption of humanistic individualism as the fundamental paradigm of adult education theory has tended to make social policy analysis rather residual" (1988, p.92). The focus of his concern was that the agenda is now set for, rather than by, adult educators. He found the practice of adult education has acquired mainly a service orientation. This service orientation is discussed

in this chapter under two aspects. First, Griffin's thesis that the practice of adult education is really based on an ideology of needs, access and provision is presented. He saw this form of practice resulting in a depoliticization of adult education. Griffin declared the depoliticization of adult education prevented it from dealing with public policy analysis. The depoliticization is the second point of analysis. These two categories are related, perhaps even a function of one another.

Griffin's analysis explains what happened to the practice of adult education in Canada with the gradual involvement of the federal government, particularly the impact of the AOTA on the practice of adult education. Evidence presented in the previous chapter such as the account of spending under the AOTA and reaction by provincial officials toward the Act point out the dominant role played by the federal government.<sup>93</sup> The dominance of the federal government weakened the part played by the provincial government's community-based adult education. The new

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<sup>93</sup> In one of the interviews I suggested the external direction was difficult to pinpoint. The interviewee, a former regional director for the Division of Adult Education and now retired, seemed a bit surprised with my remark and exclaimed, "All you have to do is look at the vocational schools in this province. They are totally the product of what the federal government wanted to build." There is no evidence that vocational schools developed from a community need or involved any community input.

programs undertaken by the provincial government were therefore mainly externally directed.

### **The Practice of Adult Education**

The practice of adult education based on the "characteristics of adults" approaches of Houle, Knowles and Kidd assumes that adult education has an ideology distinct from that of the schooling of youth. Griffin said it is assumed that the goals of adult education are learner autonomy, individuality, and equality. Griffin suggested, however, that the majority of adult educators as professionals, do not directly face the issues of learner autonomy, individuality or equality. "The ideology of adult education is much more likely to reflect the organization and administration concerns of full-time professional workers rather than the philosophical aims of the kind that school teachers may or may not profess" (1983, p.67).<sup>94</sup> Adult education professionals are much more likely to be concerned with needs, access and provision rather than with philosophical aims. This ideology offers better grounds for claiming that adult education is distinctive. A professional

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<sup>94</sup> Reports on vocational education in Nova Scotia's Department of Education annual reports also show that development in the province was in keeping with the direction of the funding agency and without local input or discussion. Building of vocational schools under TVTA was perhaps the most obvious example.

ideology based on needs, access and provision resembles the theories of social policy discussed in Chapter 1.

### **Adult Education to Meet Social Needs**

Griffin argued that in welfare societies needs are met largely by agencies of the state. It follows that when adult education serves as an agency of the state, it administers social policy set by the state. Griffin's position was that the assessment of needs should be critical of the social conditions in which they arise. In the practice of adult education the assessment of needs rarely moves beyond what Griffin called "the prescriptions of uncritical empiricism" (1983, p.71), usually bypassing a discussion of aims.

Griffin's accusation that adult education has a "service" orientation is based partly on his assessment and judgment about the programming focus of practice discussed earlier. Programs that respond to current demands are intended as a service to a target group of consumers. Griffin stressed that this model of service orientation:

constitutes in itself a political model of provision rooted in economic structures and ideological practices.... The service orientation of adult education is of considerable ideological consequence although, of course, the political system from which it springs remains 'given' and unanalyzed (1983, p.76).



Griffin questioned how adult education, rooted in existing structures, can claim to play a major role in the solution of community problems. Because of education's association with dominant power structures in conditions of professionalism and its "uncritical empiricism" in the analysis of needs, Griffin felt justified in attributing a service orientation to the needs-meeting function of adult education practice.

### **Adult Education as Promoting Access**

Griffin believed access constitutes an element of a distinctive adult education ideology, not only access to a particular kind of institution or system but also to a particular organization of knowledge itself depending on the institution. The adult education mandate for access often achieves openness, flexibility and accessibility of educational opportunities without necessarily achieving curricular change that would better accommodate those for whom access is acquired. As noted previously, access is sometimes advocated by adult education as an end in itself.<sup>95</sup>

Yet access without regard for curriculum relegates access to the status of a tool of the service-orientated

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<sup>95</sup> Adult education organizations are often required to operate within a marketing model. They are forced to think of access in institutional, rather than content terms. It is the focus on access that has encouraged interest in methods and delivery systems such as the various forms of distance education. Much of the innovation in promoting access has occurred without corresponding changes to the methods and content of a traditional educational system.

practice of adult education. Griffin said: "...the idea of access becomes itself a strategy of adult, continuing or recurrent education related to, or directed at the institutions of an education system rather than the structures of knowledge to which they give expression" (1983, p.84). Griffin's analysis applies to the role of manpower counsellors and the authority they were given under the AOTA to place people in training programs. For instance, Manpower Centres kept numerous statistics that supported their own role. The items measured were unlike any measures the province had used to measure its programs.

The ideological content of access is created partly by "the professional need to impute learning needs to a greater number of people" (1983, p.85). Access is a need of the system itself. Access is a function of provision, as well as a response to learning needs. Provision, Griffin said, as an element of ideology remains unexamined. It is featured in the literature as the object of strategy and policy.

### **Adult Education as Provision**

The adult education literature provides endless description of provision of adult education in its discussion of programs. Griffin wrote that such an emphasis on provision "constitutes ... a distinctive characteristic of adult education as opposed to schooling" (1983, p.89). Because provision is an object of strategy and policy for adult

educators, discussion often centres on the adequacy or inadequacy of provision and "communication of information about good practice among adult educators..." (1983, p.88). As well, it stimulates the sense of professional identity, which is clearly an important ideological characteristic of the concept of provision itself. The focus on provision, because of its functional nature, often obscures the failure to analyze critically the content of programs.<sup>96</sup>

### **The Nature of Adult Education Knowledge**

Adult education knowledge then, reflects a preoccupation with provision rather than with the implementation of social policy, and even writers like Houle, Knowles or Kidd assume that knowledge is professionally organized. Thus according to Griffin, "the concepts and theories of adult education tend to the prescriptive, rather than analytic: adult educators are involved very heavily in making out the case or putting forward the rationale for adult learning and its public organization" (1987, p.134). The AOTA, for instance, declared by Thomas the most important legislation in Canada to date, affecting adult education, was simply announced by

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<sup>96</sup> This uncritical form of provision was discussed as the dominant paradigm of adult education. The policy debate over schooling has been conducted in the public sphere, but the policy debate such as it is over adult education has been conducted much more amongst professional adult educators. Even though adult education entails massive public spending, it has not experienced the debate of either public schooling or the debate of other forms of social welfare provision.

federal officials. Adult educators, immersed in theory concerned primarily with how adults learn and how they are best helped to learn, did not address meaningfully, issues of social policy related to the program. This was in contrast to the philosophy of the earlier plan for adult education in Nova Scotia.

### **Adult Education and Social Policy Administration**

Griffin argued also that the practice of adult education has become "depoliticized" and little more than the administration of social policy. Echoing Selman and Rubenson about the general shift in adult education, Griffin was more direct about the relationship between the practice of adult education and the shift. He said the service role of adult education had "hastened the transformation of adult education from a social movement to the present day situation where its priorities are determined by state funding" (1987, p.226). Similarly, he added, "states are concerned with adult education because of its functions with regard to manpower planning, addressing social priorities, controlling people's expectations, solving social problems, and so on" (1987, p.224).<sup>97</sup> Therefore, he suggested, it was important to determine how the state determines the forms of adult

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<sup>97</sup> Forms of adult education were prescribed in the AOTA. Griffin's position therefore supported Silver who suggested relating education with other social processes, particularly looking at how education has been used to carry out other social policies.

education and exercises its redistributive function often leaving adult education as a professional service addressing the state's priorities.

In most adult education literature, wrote Griffin, "The ideological issues are reduced to those of managing resource allocation" (1987, p.240). Thus educational management theories obscure the whole process of policy analysis in adult education. Educational management theories do not address issues of social priority or the role of institutions or professionals in accommodating such priorities. Insofar as the discussion of educational management stresses rationality and cost-effectiveness, the goals of educational management can be readily identified with the use of adult education resources "as a kind of service industry for the national economy" (1987, p.240). Griffin described a functional-integration role<sup>98</sup> for lifelong education entailing a reorganization of the existing institutions of provision to

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<sup>98</sup> Griffin said the functional-integration model of lifelong education was not based upon a social or political analysis. It is based upon "humanistic and developmental psychology and is addressed, apparently, to universal needs of individuals and societies" (1988, p.97). Griffin contrasted this with the cultural-liberation model of lifelong education advocated by Gelpi in his book Lifelong Education and International Relations (1985). In Gelpi's model, institutions themselves need to be transformed rather than merely functionally integrated. His model assumed that lifelong education is an instrument of social policy and his focus was on the obstacles to be overcome in order for it to become an instrument of social policy. In fact Gelpi saw no reason to suppose that the functional-integration model of lifelong education would contribute to such a transformation.

serve whatever were the current needs of society and of individuals over the whole of their lifetime. Integrating individuals and groups alienated or marginalized in their economic, social and cultural roles was an important element of this model. "The main element in this concept of lifelong education is that of functional responses to social, economic and cultural change" (1988, p.96). This is the form of adult education that easily accommodates federal priorities. The intentions of the AOTA were stated clearly as a program to support the national economy. The process of cost-effectiveness training was a means to manage the resources of the provinces to support the federal intentions.

Griffin suggested the focus on decision-making and resource allocation makes educational management an all-too convenient means through which to assess adult education. Griffin's position here was similar to that of Dupre et al. and the discussion of the contrast and conflict in the intentions of the two forms of adult education discussed in Chapter 4. What Dupre et al. called the battle between educationists and economists, Griffin saw as the liberal tradition of adult education confronted with "prescriptive determinism". Prescriptive determinism stressed rationality and cost-effectiveness and implied that such als of educational management can be readily identified with the use

of adult education resources as a kind of service industry for the national economy. It is these beliefs about rationality and cost effectiveness that in part determine a manpower planning model in Canada. Adult education generally was an object of broader social policies and the AOTA was implemented to achieve the social priorities of the federal government in the guise of the needs of society. Such a need was not really established in Nova Scotia.

Conceptualizing the AOTA programs as a kind of service industry for the national economy meant that management theory was successfully used to address adult education as social policy. This approach tended to preclude the discussion of adult education as policy in the social context, especially in the cultural setting, or any broader frame of reference. This perspective, it was shown, lacked the capacity to be critical of forms of distribution. It was particularly lacking in reference to cultural-specific conditions.<sup>99</sup> The AOTA illustrates perfectly Griffin's position. Adopting a management of resources posture marked the final collapse of adult education as a social movement into a professionalized provision for achieving state social policy objectives.

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<sup>99</sup> This was the thrust of Matthews criticism of centrally defined economic policy being applied in regions.

### **Understanding education as social welfare policy**

Griffin's idealization of adult education as social welfare policy would enable us to consider the possibilities for adult education to redistribute wealth and opportunity in society. "Most educational policy since World War II has addressed itself to equality in some sense or other but few attempts have been made to measure the effectiveness of such policies in relation to other variable factors which influence people's life chances" (1988, p.100). The study of adult education as a form of social welfare policy, on the other hand requires attention to:

a real world of conflicts of interest and value, to a policy community which reflects a subordinate function for educationists, an awareness of the widespread failure of education policies to have a redistributive impact, to the need to evaluate the outcomes, intended and otherwise, of policies, and so on" (1988, p.102).

To a great extent, the passage of the AOTA marked the passage of public adult education for this broader conception of social policy.

### **Separation of Adult Education Practice and Social Policy**

Griffin pointed out how the programming focus removed adult education from the policy process or even the debate around the issues that influenced policy making. What



resulted in Canada from the AOTA was a removal of adult education programs from any community base. Programs were based on legislation that dictated that particular programs would be introduced. The funding available for such programs was so large compared with anything that could be provided locally that provinces believed the best thing to do was to accept the funding, restrictions notwithstanding. This position came out several times in the interviews. The external decisions to provide relatively large amounts of money with specific direction, combined with the professionalization of practice, created the separation of adult education practice from the social policies that directed it.

These programs contained a bias toward the particular social priorities of federal government policy. These priorities were not discussed, however, with the provinces. Adult education practitioners were entrusted with operating a program designed externally according to externally determined criteria. So the question remains, what is the relationship between the practice of adult education and the culture or local priorities?

A careful reading of the work of Janet Finch (1984, 1986) provides some understanding of the removal of adult education practice from the policy process. In Education as Social Policy (1984) Finch examined the extent to which

"social benefits" take precedence over "individual benefits". In her later work, Research and Policy The Uses of Qualitative Methods in Social and Educational Research (1986) she looked at how the knowledge derived from educational experience gained by qualitative research methods does not address the information needs of policy makers.

Finch noted from adult education proposals and reports the consistent commitment to the idea of individual self-improvement. The purpose of adult education was expressed as providing opportunities for people to continue to develop their knowledge, skills, judgment and creativity throughout adult life. Finch accepted that "the potential has also long been recognized, not only for adult education to foster self-improvement, but also to promote the advancement of the working classes as a whole" (1984, p.92). She noted, however, that much of the discussion in adult education proposals focused on recipients' benefits, both on the individual and the social level. She said these sources provided good examples of promoting education policies based on rights but she also noted that despite the promises these reports held, the reality was that "these recommendations have not been translated into legislation" (1984, p.92).

Finch's point was that "the 'individual's benefit' rationale for educational provision is seldom found in a pure form in policy making and implementation but more usually is

mixed with considerations which have a great deal more to do with issues of 'society's benefit'" (1984, p.91). An example was Britain's Open University, which was implemented largely because it was deemed to meet broad social and economic needs as much as those of individuals. She found that most adult education writing reflected a distinct tension between a personal development and a social purpose, and that a "similar tension between the individual and social purposes of adult education is reflected in public policy" (1984, p.93). The tendency for proposals and reports coming from adult education practice to focus on individual benefits rather than social policy, reinforces Griffin's conclusion that the adult educator has become primarily an administrator of the social policy which addresses social benefits.<sup>100</sup>

Finch described the dominant tradition of policy-oriented research in education following World War II as based on two beliefs. The first was in collecting objective facts about the social world through quantitative methods, often referred to as "political arithmetic." The second was a belief that government would use those facts effectively to create a better society. Quantitative methods were useful to

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<sup>100</sup> The policy-making process often uses self-serving information. Information on participants does not necessarily serve the direction the policy would like to pursue. Adult education in Nova Scotia was a case in point. Several reports written on the experience in Nova Scotia, and mentioned previously, appeared not to inform the creation of the AOTA.

governments because their administrative apparatus needed statistical information in order to expand and refine its capacity to manage. Finch said that lying behind this view about what is essential information for running a complex social system was the belief that the state aimed "to create a stable, hierarchical society in which that economy can flourish, and therefore need(ed) to develop mechanisms of control over the mass of the population" (1986, p.108). On the other hand, the information produced by qualitative research methods tended to sit uneasily with the arm's length, top-down approach used by governments, because this information by its very nature, reflected social reality from a grass-roots perspective.

This is the kind of information to which the traditional forms of adult education such as that embodied in the programs of the Nova Scotia Division of Adult Education could and did respond. It was of little interest to the individuals who created federal legislation such as the AOTA. The knowledge on which the provincial program of adult education was based was in considerable contrast to the knowledge based on the quantitative methods which Finch said "can generate administrative intelligence about the poor whilst at the same time keeping them at arm's length, in the sense that statistical surveys give little opportunity for direct experience of poverty to be reflected, or the voice of

the poor themselves to be heard" (1986, p.113). This contrast accounts, in part for many of the federal and provincial differences defined by Dupre et al. in their analysis of the AOTA. Finch's argument, perhaps helps one to understand the relationship between dominant paradigm of adult education described previously and the role of federal legislation. The federal government, in designing and implementing the AOTA did not consider "a varied picture of reality".

## VII REFLECTIONS ON THE FEDERAL INFLUENCE ON ADULT EDUCATION IN NOVA SCOTIA

### THE PROBLEM SUMMARIZED

The objective of this study was to investigate the relationship between federal legislation and a provincial program of adult education. The investigation required that the social priorities, that is, the federal perception of broad social needs which determined the legislation, be examined and discussed. The intentions of the legislation were then contrasted with the intentions of a continuing government program of adult education in Nova Scotia. The two programs had very different intentions: the federal program intended to train people to take part in a centrally defined plan for economic growth; the provincial plan sought to respond to needs defined in large part by the people it served. The priorities of the federal program were dominant, and tended to overshadow and displace the provincial mission.

A review of writing on adult education<sup>101</sup> in Canada suggests that adult educators concerned themselves mainly

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<sup>101</sup> This statement is supported by a review of Proceedings of the CASAE annual meetings (1982 -1990); The Canadian Journal for the Study of Adult Education (1986-1990) and Canadian Journal of University Continuing Education (1978-1990). Most of the information to support this thesis was gathered from sources considered to be outside of the adult education literature.

with improving practice and did not question the restraints placed upon it by the legislation. The investigation of the impact of federal theory with provincial experience demonstrated that the adult education experience in Nova Scotia was altered by the federal legislation. There is evidence that federal legislation pertaining to adult vocational education particularly the Adult Occupational Training Act (AOTA), the focus of attention in this study, influenced the provincial program of adult education.

#### **THE EVIDENCE**

The following evidence was brought to the investigation and discussed in detail for its explanation of the federal-provincial relationship over adult vocational education. First, it was pointed out that the evolution of the federal role was gradual. The role of the federal government in adult vocational education grew from a point at which it would not even set up a commission of inquiry without all provinces consenting, to a point 55 years later, when the federal government took complete control of the field. A review of the period from 1910 to 1967 showed that federal control increased with each subsequent act of Parliament. Thomas, Gaskin and Taylor (1987) reviewed the federal legislation pertaining to adult education and saw it fitting into three categories. The first category was from 1913 with the passing of the Agriculture Instruction Act to 1939 before

passing of the Youth Training Act. The first period, they said, "was devoted primarily to matters of substance, such as agriculture and/or industry, the promotion of which required support of an educational character. Both are areas of joint federal and provincial responsibility" (1987, p.5).

The second period described by the authors began with the Youth Training Act in 1939 and extended to 1967 before the Adult Occupational Training Act. This period, they said, had two types of legislation. Some acts identified specific groups of people as recipients of special benefits and some of the acts dealt with the whole adult population in terms of their relationship to employment and the labour force. The authors noted that each act "reflected a steady growth in federal initiative, and each contributed opportunity for increased federal experience in the management of education in Canada" (1987, p.6). The third period of legislative activity defined by Thomas, Gaskin and Taylor began in 1967 with the AOTA and extended to the present. It therefore included only the AOTA and the National Training Act (NTA) passed in 1982. These Acts, they said, extended the independence of the federal authority, with respect to training and education. Knowing the extent of federal control is important to understanding the changing role of adult educators.



The second point of evidence in the discussion of federal influence focused on the design of the AOTA. The Adult Occupational Training Act was significant for the control it gave the federal government. The federal government went directly to the students to finance their training. The only previous occasion where this occurred was for wartime training. Canada Manpower Counsellors defined the students' training needs according to training opportunities permitted by the federal government. The federal government, through regulations under the AOTA specified the participants by defining who were adults and for what period they could participate. The regulations also defined the method of determining the costs incurred by a province in providing training. Alan Thomas suggested that to understand the powers of the AOTA, it was necessary to also look at the provisions under the Federal-Provincial Fiscal Arrangements Act. This agreement to pay half the cost of post-secondary education created for the federal government a separation in its concerns for the assistance for conventional education and its concerns for the provision of training or any form of employment education. Thomas said, "What the federal government hoped for was that by meeting the provincial demands for support for their educational systems, they the federal government, could act more independently with respect to provision for training"

(1987, p.18). The federal government's intention to control training was done through both the creation and the content of its legislation.

Third, the clash of federal and provincial intentions were described. The contrast between the intention of the federal government and the provincial plan was extreme. The federal government had a clear definition of what constituted economic development. The task was to train people to fit into that narrowly defined mould. The provincial plan allowed communities to determine what constituted economic development. The federal plan was well supported. Various tables showed the comparative expenditures by the federal and provincial governments. The suggestion is not that the spending should not have occurred to the level it did. The issue is that decisions should not have been passed down from higher levels of government with so little regard for the local experience. The need, therefore, is not to give up spending on adult vocational education but rather to give up some of the control over the direction of that spending to the people affected.<sup>102</sup>

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<sup>102</sup> The idea that some control over the direction of the spending should be given to the people affected, means that decisions that affect that community should be given to that community. Selman's point made in the previous chapter, that so much of what appears to be community adult education, in fact is placed against a professional and institutional background, thus not giving the autonomy that may be implied, is what must be considered here.

Fourth, the evidence showed that the provinces accommodated federal programs. The total expenditures made in Nova Scotia by the Department of Manpower and Immigration amounted in some years to more than 40 percent of the total budget of the province.<sup>103</sup> The federal government had no proposals for alternative programs if the provinces had declined the offer. It appeared to be in the immediate financial interest of the province to accommodate the plan of the federal government. The key point in accommodating external programs is that they were likely to displace the efforts the province may have made in determining its own direction.

Finally, there was evidence that adult education in Nova Scotia was transformed. The role of the field worker was diminished and school boards played a more active role. The province's accommodation of the federal plan brought the federal presence to all corners of the province. People could participate in training only if they were recommended by a Canada Manpower Counsellor. This meant federal priorities were used to judge who in the province could have training. The provincial perspective was not taken into account. There was little opportunity to realize the

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<sup>103</sup> This is based on 1973 figures in which the Department of Manpower and Immigration spent \$51,293,000 and the total budget for education in the Province of Nova Scotia was \$123,373,006 (Tables 4.1 and 4.4).

potential that existed with the province's traditional approach to adult education. Adult educators who were previously involved in education that was concerned with the identification of and response to the needs of people in their social and political context found their task as adult educators had been redefined to approximately that of program technicians. It was this accommodation of federal plans and priorities that created a particularly dependent style of practice for adult education in Nova Scotia.

#### **Analysis of the evidence**

This accommodation to federal plans was significant in Nova Scotia for the dependence it created on future federal programs and for the changes that occurred in the practice of adult education. The adult education plan in Nova Scotia was intended to enhance self-sufficiency. Increasingly after 1967 the province took on the function of client in relation to the federal government. It was an economic client relationship that left out the concerns of the people in Nova Scotia. The dependency relationship resulted in the province giving up most of its own capacity to manage its resources and instead, the province put its energy into getting whatever it could from the federal system.

At the same time as there was an influx of money from the federal government into the province for a very specific type of adult education, the dominant form of practice for

adult education changed. Well-funded formal institutions became more dominant in determining learning needs. Provincial institutions responsive to the federal social priorities and legislation controlled the learning opportunities. As adult education became more a part of the formal system, it was viewed for its economic function and adult education served mainly a programming function. The study of adult education then focused on what constituted good practice.<sup>104</sup> The practice of adult education had moved from working with groups who defined their own goals toward a practice of supporting the social priorities expressed in federal legislation.

#### **IMPLICATIONS FOR THE STUDY AND PRACTICE OF ADULT EDUCATION**

The federal-provincial relationship that evolved as provinces responded to federal initiatives has profound implications for the study and practice of adult education. Although the focus of this study has been the impact of the AOTA on adult education in Nova Scotia, many of its conclusion may be applicable more broadly. First, since adult vocational education was often introduced as a remedy

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<sup>104</sup> This approach was compatible with the centralizing tendencies, created by the legislation. A focus on good practice also supports the tendency of adult education to adopt the characteristics of a professional public service discussed in Chapter 6.

for social problems, especially employment problems, the result was that adult education practice in Nova Scotia took on employment as a first and discrete priority and abandoned any concerns with social and political issues. Second, federal legislation has been state-centred while most theories of adult education have implied that adult education is based on and contributes to society-centred policy. The programming models most commonly used in adult education however, do not question the legislative basis for adult education and, therefore, practice has supported the social priorities enshrined in legislation. Third, federal legislation pertaining to adult vocational education tended to disregard the local culture. As a result, local priorities were often overlooked, and programs based on locally identified needs were not given priority or support. The study of adult education, which generally takes the federal-provincial relationship for granted, has not given adequate attention to the consequences of federal priorities on regional or local needs.<sup>105</sup> The conclusions identified here are not mutually exclusive, but serve as examples which reflect the provincial experience in Nova Scotia, yet seem to be left off the formal agenda of study of adult education.

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<sup>105</sup> The work of Dupre et al. (1973) stresses the state-centredness of the legislation. Roberts (1982) contrasts the cultural differences as reflected by the practice of adult education in two provinces, Alberta and Quebec.

**Legislation was intended to solve unemployment.**

There has been a tendency on the part of its advocates to claim that vocational education could solve social and economic problems. There is however, little evidence that vocational programs have solved the problems they were intended to solve. Vocational education has been prone to what Grubb called "rhetorical inflation, especially in the claims that it can reduce unemployment and poverty, increase productivity and reduce inflation, and improve our international competitiveness" (1984, p.444). Such exaggerated claims often lead to training too many students for too few jobs, to over-training students for low-skilled jobs or for training people for jobs for which there is very little demand. Similarly, the need to solve an employment problem can result in training that is so specific it can be too narrow to equip people for further learning or skill transfer. The claim to solve the unemployment problem therefore is not supported by the evidence on unemployment rates which generally increased rather than declined with the implementation of the AOTA.<sup>106</sup> It was pointed out that, even with additional spending per member of the labour force in

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<sup>106</sup> Reports such as Work for Tomorrow (1981) and Labour Market Development in the 1980s (1981) prepared by the Department of Employment and Immigration and referred to in this chapter, address the inability of training programs under the AOTA to meet employment needs in most parts of Canada.

Atlantic Canada, the unemployment rate continued to be higher than it was nationally. There is no evidence that if additional support had been given to the province's plan of adult education that the unemployment rate would not have been so high. It is difficult to isolate the significance of the impact of the AOTA on unemployment. Supporting a provincial plan would, presumably, allow adult education to be based on local needs and resources in such a way that the unemployment rates may not have been so high.

One of the very real problems in assessing the AOTA programs is the lack of discussion in the adult education literature of the intentions of the program.<sup>107</sup> Similarly, there was a lack of discussion of the evaluation data on the impact of the programs.<sup>108</sup> It is difficult to determine, for instance, if graduates of the programs found well-paid employment in their field of training. It is difficult to assess the economic advantage to either the individual students or the economic growth goal. Statistics in annual reports give information but there is very little analysis or

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<sup>107</sup> Smith (1984) in "The Development of Employment and Training Programs" said: "The fundamental difficulty in evaluating training programs is the uncertainty which exists about their true rationale" (1984, p.182).

<sup>108</sup> Hodgson (1988), in discussing federal-provincial relations in education said he would not discuss how well or how badly Ottawa's activities had fared because : "... (A) part from a few studies that attempt to look at program achievements, there have been no comprehensive attempts at judging the effectiveness or efficiency of government spending on various programs." (p.2)



interpretation of that information. It was beyond the scope of this study to assess the reported results of the programs. However, various government, conference and other reports paving the way for the NTA which succeeded the AOTA in 1982, focused on the failure of the AOTA programs to solve the nation's employment problems.

The C.D.Howe Research Institute conducted a special study<sup>109</sup> based on its concern that "The Government of Canada has invested an accumulated \$5.2 billion in manpower training and related labour market programs since the Department of Manpower and Immigration was formed in 1967" (1976, p.i). With that amount of money spent on matching people and jobs, the institute was interested in why there were still large pockets of chronic unemployment and persistent labour shortages. The report of the study suggested that Canada's training programs were too costly because of the institutionalized bias of the program.<sup>110</sup> It also reported there was poor matching of training and job opportunities and unnecessary rigidity created by an artificial distinction between training and education. The report also stressed the need for manpower policies to reflect a better balance between supply-oriented and demand-oriented programs and to

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<sup>109</sup> Goldman, Barbara. (1976) New Directions for Manpower Policy. A special study of the C.D. Howe Research Institute.

integrate manpower policies with other economic and social policies.

A parliamentary task force,<sup>111</sup> chaired by the Honourable Warren Allmand on employment opportunities for the 1980s was established in May 1980. The task force sought "grass roots" opinion. Made up of elected officials from all three federal political parties, and using public hearings to gather information, the task force was also directed to study the imbalances between high unemployment and shortages of skilled labour. The report concluded that the shortages and surpluses of different types of manpower were similar to those which had existed 15 years previously when the Department of Manpower and Immigration was established. The report stated, "The programs of the department and the new Canada Employment and Immigration Commission have not had much effect on these manpower imbalances" (1981, p.57). The reason for the failure was attributed to the bureaucracy, which was judged to be unresponsive to suggestion or criticism: "Manpower programs are decided on at the national office in Ottawa, and are therefore often not suitable for solving employment problems in local areas" (1981, p.57).

A task force on labour market development was set up in July 1980 within the Department of Employment and Immigration

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<sup>111</sup> Parliamentary Task Force on Employment Opportunities for the '80s Work for Tomorrow. Ottawa House of Commons, 1981.

to review "trends likely to affect Canadian labour markets in the 1980s and to consider the implications for the direction of federal government policies and programs affecting the operation of those markets" (1981, p.iii).<sup>112</sup> This study was also prompted by concern over the high rate of national unemployment while there was high demand for workers in some regions and some occupations. The study was based on an assumption that labour market policies should focus not only on the demand or supply of labour, but also that they should facilitate labour market adjustment to a changing industrial, geographic and occupational mix of economic activity. The task force found a need for broader policies than those on which the AOTA was based. It also stressed the need for much more flexible policies to deal with the needs of both expanding and declining sectors of the economy.

The Economic Council of Canada stated in its report Jobs and Skills in the 1980s: "Our preliminary investigations indicated that skill shortages were both widespread and acute in the midst of generally high unemployment and in the context of job scarcity in many areas, sectors, and occupations" (1982, p.2). This statement was significant for its similarity to the statements that described the rationale for programs under the AOTA. The Council's report noted that

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<sup>112</sup> Employment and Immigration Canada, Labour Market Development in the 1980s. Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services.

the manpower training program, because of the conflicting goals assigned to it, was one of the most contentious of federal programs.

The performance of the AOTA programs reported on in these four studies suggest that the high level of expenditure on the programs may not have been justified. The favourable cost-benefit ratios quoted by manpower officials were not viewed as credible assessments in light of the needs of the provinces.<sup>113</sup> The limitation with the federal government claiming that vocational education reform would solve all problems is that such a claim promised more than vocational programs could possibly deliver. Educational reform cannot necessarily get at the real sources of economic woes. Increasing unemployment has been due to a number of social and economic policies - trends which vocational programs are powerless to change. Similarly, falling productivity has been due to a myriad sources, such as investment policies in Canada and the continued dependency on staples, exports and high interest rate policies which deter investment. Connections between these policies and manpower policy is seldom acknowledged in the analytical literature and in public inquiries like the ones cited above.

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<sup>113</sup> The needs of the provinces, outlined in a number of reports, were noted in Chapter 4.

The offer of vocational educational programs was difficult for provinces to resist. There were no alternative programs. Vocational education was often proclaimed for its ability to simultaneously serve the interests of individual students and national economic goals. In the case of the AOTA, the provincial resistance to the programs would naturally have been from a provincial perspective. The provincial dissenters were not powerful in the national arena. There was no means for national opposition. The centralization of decision making about training needs ignored provincial knowledge about local employment conditions. The claim that vocational education programs would solve employment problems sometimes failed to recognize the difference between national and local employment problems.

### **Legislation has been state-centred**

Federal legislation pertaining to adult vocational education in Canada has been, what in policy terms is called state-centred policy.<sup>114</sup> Theories of adult education which suggest that education is society centred also imply the

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<sup>114</sup> Leslie A. Pal, (1988) in his book State, Class, and Bureaucracy Canadian Unemployment Insurance and Public Policy, provided a detailed examination of the extent to which policies pertaining to Unemployment Insurance in Canada were state-centred or society-centred. Pal's analysis would provide interesting insight into legislation influencing adult education. His idea is borrowed here without the detail and support he provides in his own study.

policies determining education are, or can be, society-centred policies.<sup>115</sup> State-centred policies are those made by the state acting either independently of social forces or as the dominant partner in the policy process. Pal noted that state interests might contradict the interests of even the most powerful societal actors (the provinces for instance) and he added: "... it's the state and its structure that may ultimately determine the capacity of societal actors to organize their own interests and press them within the political system" (1983, p.8). Pal said we might recognize state-centred theories by their regard for internal bureaucratic processes or such institutional features as federalism. Different policy models stress different forces but they all subscribe to a common belief in the independence of state and political institutions. Pal suggested that even when government regulations attempt to reflect social forces and priorities, they are in fact more of a reflection of the needs of the bureaucracy which ultimately gets to shape the social need. It appears that federal government preferences for adult vocational education for instance were largely internally generated.

Society-centred policies differ from state-centred policies in that they are made with regard for social forces

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<sup>115</sup> While this thesis points to the institutional control of much of adult education, the practice of adult education focuses on empowerment, both of the individual and social groups.

and the conflict between the various social forces. Changes brought about through the pressures of interest groups - for example, access for the handicapped being made a requirement in the building code illustrate such policies. Society-centred policies can be traced back to interests, and balance of power, among the economic and social forces.<sup>116</sup> Pal stressed that these are not absolute categories but rather general categories for the purpose of explanation. As such they help explain the impact of the AOTA on adult education programs in Nova Scotia.

An important outcome of this research on the relationship between federal legislation and a provincial plan of adult education was the distinction it demonstrated between state-centred policy and society-centred policy. The Department of Manpower and Immigration stated often that its policies and programs were essentially economic in character. The interviews conducted for this study suggest that the economic analysis upon which the programs were built was so complex that only an expert could understand it. Federal officials presented themselves to the provinces as possessing

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<sup>116</sup> It appears the federal government decided simply to claim federal jurisdiction over economic growth, declare adult vocational education to be in the interest of the economy and write the act. It is interesting to contrast the consultation process of the federal government before it set up the Royal Commission on Industrial Training and Technical Education in 1910 with the consultation process prior to writing up the Adult Occupational Training Act in 1967. In the first case, every province was written and their responses are contained in the report of the commission. In the latter case, an announcement was made.

special information and experience, and succeeded in insulating the policy development from provincial experience. The provincial plan for adult education in Nova Scotia was not to have a program of its own. Its role was rather to strengthen the educational programs of other agencies. The intent of leadership training was to support and promote education for a democratic society. By contrast recent practices of adult education tend to support the social and economic structures as defined by legislation.

In other words, in the case of the AOTA the state-centred approach to policy making illustrated the fundamental differences between the needs of federal agencies and the traditions of a provincial education program. The AOTA made no provision for education to help individuals and groups to influence events that shaped their lives. The AOTA was a deficit model. There was no mention of education for social change, based on raising awareness of the processes whereby individuals came to be unemployed. There was no attempt to give the unemployed the means to influence the state priorities that affected them so greatly and which they seemed powerless to do much about. Similarly, there were adults who, though unemployed, had perfectly adequate skills for other models of economic development. As an example, had manufacturing been based on local resources, local knowledge and skills could have been tapped. When a region began to



rely on so many external decisions, the community groups or voluntary organizations that had dealt with community needs, including employment, became disempowered. Adult education became shaped by the supplier of funds. Adult education could, as perceived by Henson, both facilitate and be part of the policies that determined its role or structure. For that to occur, people needed to be much more aware of, and in control of, what was happening to them, their communities and society. The society-centred perspective was not a priority under the AOTA.

### **Legislation disregarded culture**

The intentions of the AOTA programs in contrast to the intentions of the Nova Scotia plan of adult education described in Chapter 4, illustrated the disregard the federal program had for local culture. This was apparent from both the content of the Act and the process through which it was implemented. Hayden Roberts, in Culture and Adult Education, A Study of Alberta and Quebec, posed various definitions of culture such as "the building and nurturing of a people by itself" or "styles of living, of creating, of educating" (1982, p.24).

The federal program with its definitions for all aspects of training simply disregarded any connection between the knowledge of the culture and training needs. Roberts took the position that an understanding of culture was necessary

to understand the patterning of adult education activities. From his study of the evolution of adult education in the two provinces, Roberts noted that the allocation of resources was obviously a reflection of a culture and is usually carried out by people in governments based on their perception of need, which tends to conform with the dominant social philosophy. His study focused on those aspects of adult education which are locally determined. What occurred in the case of the AOTA was that the dominant social philosophy of the federal government predominated. The connection between the province's culture and programs of adult education described by Roberts was therefore lost.

The disregard for local culture in the design of the AOTA may have been one of the factors that prevented the programs from achieving their intended results. Table 5.1 shows that the unemployment rate has climbed steadily since 1966 and the pattern of chronic regional disparities in unemployment rates continued. It was shown that success in national policy was no guarantee of success regionally, so that a more explicit regional policy, taking into account the region's culture might have been more successful. Adult education in Nova Scotia was built on a belief that locally based education meant people not only found more effective ways of developing individuals' abilities and their intellectual and practical skills, but it enabled people to

act collectively to bring about change in themselves, their situation and their society. For these people, community education was one means of sharing experiences in their lives and communities with others of like situation, with the possibility of taking action to change that situation. Community education in Nova Scotia concerned itself simply with matters important to members of a community.

It is important that the study of adult education attempt to understand the relationships between approaches and consequences. Henson believed that an educational or political action program must respect the particular view of the world held by people. So adult educators must first take their time to learn from those they would help by listening and talking and acting with them in their daily endeavours. Only then could they know what needs to be done.

The culture problem - or clash of cultures - was simply that employment-related education defined unemployed people's needs solely in terms of the supposed needs of industry. Henson's view of adult education was that people use education to acquire skills and use it instrumentally to help them in their day-to-day affairs. People will choose to do things which will give them an advantage. People can develop their creative abilities not only to help themselves, but also to cooperate with others to become the producers of change, not the victims of it. The AOTA programs were

developed on the assumption that they promoted "increased employability". New training programs that prepared people for the requirements of industry now and in the future were attractive. The point that was not given enough consideration was whether the jobs for which people were being prepared would materialize in their own locality. Training programs require that there be jobs. Unless there are jobs, training programs will simply involve a musical chair process whereby some unemployed are trained and sent out to seek non-existent jobs while they are being replaced in the training programs by another cross-section of the ranks of the unemployed. This process then becomes an income supplementation vehicle - a provision that could be accomplished by more direct means without raising and then dashing the hopes of trainees.

The processes under the AOTA also disregarded local knowledge and experience. Packaging education in predetermined ways was encouraged by the federal policies. Courses were bought and applied to those considered suitable. Unemployed people were expected to go through programs - in one end, out the other, before the 52 weeks were up - to take their turn in the employment line. In Culture and Education, Roberts, who brought together the implications of federal provincial relations for the study of adult education discussed here, emphasized that it was necessary to

understand how institutions defined education or training needs based on their own jurisdictions. He said the need for education or training was seen in terms of the roles of formal institutions rather than in terms of the groups of people in whom the need was seen to exist. Roberts' position was similar to that of Henson, who believed a relationship between education, training and employment had to be culturally defined.

#### **Need for Further Study**

This investigation into the impact of federal legislation on adult education raises a number of topics for additional research. First, there is the need to bring the experience of people and communities within the provincial plan of adult education to the policy-making arena for the legislation pertaining to adult education. It is necessary to bring to the study and practice of adult education the suggestion of Finch that reports and proposals from adult education practice address the information needs of the policy process. The challenge for the provincial government is to learn how to present the knowledge acquired from experience. This would require a fundamental change in attitude on the part of the federal government and it would require different evaluation on the part of adult educators before such knowledge can be reflected in legislation. It has become apparent from this study that adult vocational

education is an arm of national policy and largely a political issue in Canada. It is with this understanding that the study of federal influence on provincial adult education be shaped.

Second, there is a need for more research on the perceptions of the participants. There is a need to apply a variety of approaches to measure the benefits of involvement, for example. There is room for adult educators to develop much greater sophistication in devising strategies to tell their story in a manner meaningful in the policy-making arena. Participation studies must be related to the legislation if we expect legislation to relate to the experience and needs of the participants. Such expertise would be part of a professional role that moved adult educators beyond the programming role. It would require that they relate knowledge gained from the educational practice to the policy making arena so that their knowledge informed the social priorities of the federal level and thus the legislation. Adult educators must learn to work with public policy such as employment policy.

The third need made apparent by this investigation is for case study research to show the direct impact of legislation on programs. This study should provide the basis and encouragement for such research. The case study approach requires good information on many aspects of programs both

prior to and following implementation of new legislation. The information gathering has to go beyond the information gathered for the convenience of funding agencies. The case studies should examine who was intended to benefit, and who in fact benefitted. Benefits, both individual and social, should be evaluated and understood from a variety of perspectives. The challenge would be to unravel the relationship between legislation and the educational experience. Research to analyze the relationship would require extended case studies over several years.

### **Conclusion**

It is clear that the legislation created by the federal government has had an impact on the practice of adult education - but because it was often invisible, the impact has gone almost unassessed. The AOTA has two claims on the attention of Canadian adult educators. First, it represented the first serious attempt to develop what in those days was called a manpower policy. In the process of doing so, the federal government precipitated a constitutional conflict which was never really resolved. The power struggle which followed explains the second reason why the AOTA has a claim on our interests even now. The AOTA was an indispensable forerunner of the current legislation which succeeded it, the National Training Act (NTA) of 1982. When the federal government next returned to the jurisdictional arena in 1982,

it presented a more formidable policy instrument with which to enforce compliance - the National Training Act. The NTA and the policies it embodies cannot be understood unless one understands the events of the fifteen years preceding it. The drama and complexity of the federal-provincial power struggle over AOTA remains an important study of public policy in Canadian adult education since the underlying forces which shaped the AOTA are unchanged. Jurisdictions are still divided and opportunities for policy and program distortion still abound. As a sequel to the drama of the AOTA, further study is required of this tale of education and social policy administration in Canada. The challenge in such studies is to understand the perspective of those affected by legislation and to ask what is the appropriate role for adult educators in the conceptualization, design, implementation and administration of legislation.



## APPENDICES

## Appendix 1

## AN ACT RESPECTING THE OCCUPATIONAL TRAINING OF ADULTS

## CHAP. 94

An Act respecting the occupational training of adults.

[Assented to 8th May, 1967.]

HER Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate and House of Commons of Canada, enacts as follows:

## SHORT TITLE.

1. This Act may be cited as the *Adult Occupational Training Act*. Short title.

## INTERPRETATION.

2. In this Act,
- |   |   |
|---|---|
| <p>(a) "manpower officer" means an officer of the Department of Manpower and Immigration designated by the Minister;</p> <p>(b) "Minister" means the Minister of Manpower and Immigration;</p> <p>(c) "occupational training" means any form of instruction, other than instruction designed for university credit, the purpose of which is to provide a person with the skills required for an occupation or to increase his skill or proficiency therein;</p> <p>(d) "occupational training course" means a course of occupational training that provides not more than fifty-two weeks of full-time instruction or 1,820 hours of part-time instruction; and</p> <p>(e) "occupational training facilities" means buildings and physical plant, machinery and equipment used for occupational training.</p> | <p>Definitions.</p> <p>"Manpower officer."</p> <p>"Minister."</p> <p>"Occupational training."</p> <p>"Occupational training course."</p> <p>"Occupational training facilities."</p> |
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## PART I.

## OCCUPATIONAL TRAINING.

## Definitions.

"Adult."

3. In this Part,

(a) "adult" means a person whose age is at least one year greater than the regular school leaving age in the province in which he resides; and

"Adult eligible for a training allowance."

(b) "adult eligible for a training allowance" means an adult who

(i) has been a member of the labour force substantially without interruption for not less than three years, or

(ii) has one or more persons wholly or substantially dependent upon him for support.

Enrolment of adults in occupational training courses.

4.

(1) Where an adult who has not attended school on a regular basis for at least twelve months informs a manpower officer that he wishes to undertake occupational training, the manpower officer may, subject to subsection (2), arrange for the enrolment of that adult in any occupational training course that will, in the opinion of the manpower officer, provide training suitable for that adult and increase his earning capacity or his opportunities for employment.

Enrolment in courses operated by province or municipal authority.

(2) A manpower officer shall arrange for the enrolment of an adult described in subsection (1) only in an occupational training course that is operated by the province in which that adult resides or by a provincial or municipal authority in the province, unless there is no such course suitable for that adult being offered at or in the vicinity of the place of residence of that adult, in which he may be enrolled.

Reports or recommendations of joint committee to be taken into account.

(3) Where the Minister and the government of a province have established a joint committee as provided for in section 13 to assess manpower needs in that province, each manpower officer in that province shall, in forming his opinion as to whether an occupational training course will increase the earning capacity or opportunities for employment of an adult described in subsection (1), take into account any reports or recommendations made by that committee.

Contracts with provinces authorized.

5.

(1) The Minister may enter into a contract with any province to provide for the payment by Canada to the province of the costs incurred by the province or a provincial or municipal authority in the province in providing training in an occupational training course operated by

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the province or ~~the~~ provincial or municipal authority to adults whose enrolment therein was arranged by a manpower officer.

(2) The Minister may enter into a contract Idem. with any province to provide for the payment by Canada to the province of the costs incurred by the province or a provincial or municipal authority in the province in providing training in an occupational training course for apprentices operated by the province or the provincial or municipal authority to adults whose enrolment therein was not arranged by a manpower officer.

(3) Where, pursuant to section 4, a manpower officer arranges for the enrolment of an adult described in that section in an occupational training course that is not operated by a province or by a provincial or municipal authority in a province but that is approved by the government of the province in which the course is operated, the Minister may authorize the payment of such charges for tuition or otherwise for the training of that adult in the course as are provided for by the regulations. Payment for training in courses not operated by province or municipal authority.

6. (1) Subject to subsection (2), the Minister may enter into a contract with any employer operating or undertaking to operate an occupational training course for the training of adults employed by the employer to provide for the payment by the Minister to the employer of the costs incurred by the employer, as specified in the contract, in providing training in the occupational training course to those adults. Contracts with employers operating training courses.

(2) The Minister shall not enter into a contract Exception. with an employer described in subsection (1) in respect of the training of adults employed by that employer that is training on the job or in skills useful only to that employer, unless he is satisfied that such training is necessary because of technological or economic changes affecting that employer that would otherwise result in loss of employment by the adults being trained or to be trained in the course.

(3) The Minister may enter into a contract Contracts with other employers. with any employer who has arranged for the training of adults employed by him in an occupational training course that is not operated by the employer, to provide for the payment to that employer of the costs incurred by him, as specified in the contract, in providing training in the occupational training course to those adults.

(4) The Minister shall not enter into a contract Restriction. under this section with any employer described in subsection (1) or (3) unless he is satisfied that the content of the occupational training course described in that subsection

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has been the subject of consultation by the employer, with the government of the province in which the course is operated or to be operated.

## TRAINING ALLOWANCES.

Training  
allowances  
authorized.

7. Subject to section 8, the Minister may pay to every adult who

(a) is being trained in an occupational training course described in subsection (2) of section 5 or an occupational training course in which his enrolment was arranged by a manpower officer, and

(b) is an adult eligible for a training allowance, a training allowance related to the family circumstances and living costs of that adult.

Rate of  
training  
allowances.

8. (1) The rate at which a training allowance is payable to an adult pursuant to section 7 shall be determined as prescribed by the regulations, but shall not,

(a) in the period commencing with the coming into force of this Act and ending on the 30th day of June, 1968, be less than thirty-five dollars a week or more than ninety dollars a week; and

(b) in the period commencing on the first day of July, 1968 and ending on the 30th day of June, 1969, and in each succeeding twelve-month period thereafter, be

(i) less than a weekly amount that bears the same relation to the average hourly earnings in manufacturing for the calendar year ending immediately before the commencement of that period that thirty-five dollars bears to the average hourly earnings in manufacturing for the year 1966, or

(ii) more than a weekly amount that bears the same relation to the average hourly earnings in manufacturing for the calendar year ending immediately before the commencement of that period that ninety dollars bears to the average hourly earnings in manufacturing for the year 1966.

(2) For the purposes of paragraph (b) of subsection (1),

(a) "average hourly earnings in manufacturing" for a calendar year means the average hourly earnings of hourly rated wage earners employed

For calculation of training allowances. "Average hourly earnings in manufacturing" defined.

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in manufacturing in Canada in that year, as ascertained and certified by the Dominion Statistician; and ..

- (b) the calculation of the maximum and minimum training allowance payable in any twelve-month period shall be made to the nearest multiple of one dollar, or if there is no such nearest multiple, then to the multiple thereof that is the lower.
- Maximum and minimum training allowances.

9. (1) In addition to the costs referred to in section 6, the Minister may, subject to subsection (2), pay to an employer with whom he has entered into a contract pursuant to that section, if the contract so provides, an amount as specified in the contract in respect of each adult who

Additional amount payable to certain employers.

(a) is being trained in an occupational training course described in that section, and

(b) is an adult eligible for a training allowance, for each week that the adult is being trained in that occupational training course.

(2) Where the Minister enters into a contract that provides for the payment of amounts as described in subsection (1), the maximum amount so payable by the Minister for any week in respect of an adult described therein shall not exceed the lesser of

Maximum amounts payable.

(a) an amount equal to the amount obtained by multiplying the number of hours that the adult received training in that week by the average hourly earnings of that adult for that week from employment with that employer; or

(b) an amount equal to the maximum training allowance that may be paid in that week to an adult described in section 7.

## RESEARCH AGREEMENT.

10. (1) The Minister may, with the approval of the Governor in Council, enter into an agreement with any province to provide for the payment by Canada to the province of contributions in respect of the costs incurred by the province, as specified in the agreement, in undertaking

Research and development agreement.

(a) research in respect of occupational training; including research in respect of the changing needs of the economy for trained workers and the relationship between occupational training and the needs of the economy; and

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- (b) projects for the development of occupational training courses and materials for such courses, including projects for the development of occupational training aids, examinations and standards.

Maximum contributions payable under agreement.

(2) The contributions payable by Canada to a province under an agreement entered into pursuant to this section shall not exceed fifty per cent of the costs incurred by the province as described in subsection (1).

## LOANS TO PROVINCES.

Loans for purchase or construction of occupational training facilities.

11. (1) The Minister may, subject to regulations made by the Governor in Council, enter into an agreement with any province to provide for the making of loans to the province for the purpose of assisting the province or a provincial or municipal authority in the province to purchase or construct occupational training facilities that will be used to provide training to adults in occupational training courses of a kind specified in the agreement.

Terms and conditions of loans.

(2) Every loan made pursuant to an agreement under this section shall

- (a) be for a term not exceeding thirty years;
- (b) bear interest at the rate prescribed therefor pursuant to subsection (3);
- (c) be repayable in full during the term thereof by equal payments of principal and interest not less frequently than annually; and
- (d) be subject to such other terms and conditions as the parties thereto may agree on.

Interest on loans.

(3) The Governor in Council, on the recommendation of the Minister of Finance, may from time to time prescribe the rate of interest to apply in respect of any loan that may be made under an agreement entered into pursuant to this section.

## GENERAL.

Regulations.

12. (1) The Governor in Council may make regulations,

- (a) defining the expressions "instruction designed for university credit", "full-time instruction", "part-time instruction", "labour force", "training on the job" and "regular school leaving age" for the purposes of this Act;
- (b) specifying, for the purposes of this Act, the circumstances under which an adult shall be deemed not to have attended school on a regular basis for any period;

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- (c) prescribing, for the purposes of subsection (1) of section 5, the method of determining the costs incurred by a province or a provincial or municipal authority in providing training in an occupational training course to adults described in that subsection;
- (d) prescribing, for the purposes of subsection (2) of section 5, the method of determining the costs incurred by a province or a provincial or municipal authority in providing training in an occupational training course for apprentices to adults described in that subsection;
- (e) providing for the charges for tuition or otherwise that may be paid for the training of an adult in an occupational training course that is not operated by a province or a provincial or municipal authority in a province;
- (f) specifying, for the purposes of this Act, the circumstances under which an adult shall be deemed to have been a member of the labour force substantially without interruption for any period;
- (g) respecting the determination of the rates at which training allowances are payable to adults and the time and manner of payment of such allowances;
- (h) respecting the determination of the circumstances under which a person shall be considered to be wholly or substantially dependent for support on another person;
- (i) prescribing, for the purposes of section 9, the method of determining the average hourly earnings for a week of an adult described therein; and
- (j) generally, for carrying out the purposes and provisions of this Act.

(2) Regulations made pursuant to paragraph (g) of subsection (1) may, after consultation with the government of a province, be made applicable specifically to that province or to specific areas within that province.

Regulations may be made applicable specifically to a province.

**13.** The Minister may, at the request of the government of a province, join with that government in the establishment of a joint committee to assess manpower needs in that province.

Joint committees.

**14.** Where a person has received a training allowance to which he is not entitled or a training allowance in an amount in excess of the training allowance to which he is

Recovery of over-payment.

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Entitled, the amount thereof or the excess amount, as the case may be, may be recovered at any time as a debt due to Her Majesty or may be retained, in whole or in part, out of any subsequent amount payable to that person as a training allowance.

Offence. **15.** (1) Every person who, for the purpose of obtaining occupational training or a training allowance under this Act, knowingly makes a false or misleading statement is guilty of an offence punishable on summary conviction.

Idem. (2) Every employer who, for the purpose of obtaining any payment under a contract entered into with the Minister under this Act, wilfully furnishes any false or misleading information is guilty of an offence punishable on summary conviction.

Amend-  
ments. **16.** Any contract or agreement made under this Act may be amended

- (a) with respect to the provisions of the contract or agreement in respect of which a method of amendment is set out in the contract or agreement, by that method; or
- (b) with respect to any other provisions of the contract or agreement, by the mutual consent of the parties thereto with the approval of the Governor in Council.

## PART II.

## UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE BENEFITS.

Definitions. **17.** In this Part,  
 "Act." (a) "Act" means the *Unemployment Insurance Act*;  
 "Commission." (b) "Commission" means the Unemployment Insurance Commission; and  
 "Insured person." (c) "insured person" has the same meaning as in the Act.

Benefits not payable to persons receiving training allowance. **18.** Notwithstanding anything contained in the Act, an insured person being trained under an occupational training course is not entitled to be paid benefit under the Act in respect of any week for which a training allowance is payable to him under Part I.

Extension of qualification period. **19.** (1) Where an insured person proves in such manner as the Commission may require that for any time during any period mentioned in subsection (1) or (2) of



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section 45 of the Act contributions were not payable in respect of him for the reason that he was being trained under an occupational training course and a training allowance was payable to him under Part I, that period shall, for the purposes of sections 45, 47 and 48 of the Act, be increased by the aggregate of any such times.

(2) Where an insured person proves in such manner as the Commission may require that for any time during any increase to a period mentioned in subsection (1) contributions were not payable in respect of him for the reason mentioned in that subsection, that period shall, for the purposes of sections 45, 47 and 48 of the Act, be further increased by the aggregate of any such times. Idem.

(3) For the purposes of subsections (1) and (2), the time during which contributions were not payable does not include any time during which the insured person was in receipt of benefit or seasonal benefit under the Act. Benefit periods excluded.

(4) The aggregate of any period mentioned in subsection (1) or (2) of section 45 of the Act and the total increases made to that period under this section and subsections (3) and (4) of section 45 of the Act shall not exceed two hundred and eight weeks. Limitation.

**20.** (1) Where a benefit period has been established in respect of an insured person under section 45 of the Act and the insured person proves in such manner as the Commission may require that for any time during that benefit period he was being trained under an occupational training course and a training allowance was payable to him under Part I, the benefit period in respect of that person shall, notwithstanding subsection (1) of section 46 of the Act, be increased by the aggregate of any such times. Benefit periods increased.

(2) Where an insured person proves in such manner as the Commission may require that for any time during any increase to a benefit period mentioned in subsection (1) he was being trained under an occupational training course and a training allowance was payable to him under Part I, the benefit period in respect of that person shall, notwithstanding subsection (1) of section 46 of the Act, be further increased by the aggregate of any such times. Idem.

(3) No increase shall be made pursuant to subsections (1) and (2) to a benefit period in respect of an insured person that would provide in respect of that person a benefit period greater than one hundred and fifty-six weeks. Limitation.

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## PART III.

## TRANSITIONAL AGREEMENTS.

Agreements  
authorised  
for  
occupational  
training  
facilities.

Amount of  
contribu-  
tions.

**21.** (1) The Minister may, with the approval of the Governor in Council, enter into an agreement with any province to provide for the payment by Canada to the province of contributions in respect of the capital expenditures incurred by the province on occupational training facilities.

(2) The aggregate of the contributions payable by Canada to a province under an agreement entered into pursuant to this section shall not exceed

(a) the lesser of seventy-five per cent of the capital expenditures incurred by the province on occupational training facilities after March 31, 1967 or an amount equal to

(i) the amount obtained by multiplying four hundred and eighty dollars by the youth population of the province in 1961,

minus

(ii) the total contributions paid by Canada to the province under an agreement made pursuant to section 4 of the *Technical and Vocational Training Assistance Act* in respect of the capital expenditures incurred by the province on training facilities; and

(b) in respect of capital expenditures incurred by the province on occupational training facilities after such time as no further amount may be paid by Canada to the province in respect of any expenditures pursuant to paragraph (a), the lesser of fifty per cent of such capital expenditures or an amount equal to

(i) the amount obtained by multiplying three hundred and twenty dollars by the youth population of the province in 1961,

minus

(ii) the amount by which the total contributions paid by Canada as described in subparagraph (ii) of paragraph (a) exceeds the amount described in subparagraph (i) of paragraph (a).

Definitions.  
"Capital  
expendi-  
tures."

(3) In this section,  
(a) "capital expenditures" incurred by a province on occupational training facilities means the capital expenditures incurred by the province

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on such facilities determined as prescribed in the agreement made under this section between the Minister and the province; and

- (b) "youth population of the province in 1961" means the number of persons in the province in 1961 in the age group of fifteen to nineteen years of age inclusive, as ascertained and certified by the Dominion Statistician. "Youth population of the province in 1961."

22. (1) The Minister may, with the approval of the Governor in Council, make an arrangement with any province with whom the Minister entered into an agreement pursuant to section 3 of the *Technical and Vocational Training Assistance Act* (hereinafter in this section referred to as the "former agreement") for the payment by Canada to the province of contributions in respect of the costs incurred by the province in the period commencing April 1, 1967 and ending March 31, 1968, or such earlier date as may be determined pursuant to the arrangement, in providing training under any technical or vocational training program described in the former agreement to persons being trained on March 31, 1967. Arrangements respecting persons being trained on March 31, 1967.

(2) The contributions payable by Canada to a province under an arrangement made pursuant to this section shall not exceed an amount that bears to the costs incurred by the province, determined pursuant to the arrangement, the same relation that the contributions payable by Canada under the former agreement in respect of the technical or vocational training program under which persons were being trained on March 31, 1967, bears to the costs incurred by the province, determined as prescribed in the former agreement, in providing that program. Limit of contributions.

## PART IV.

## REPEAL.

23. The *Technical and Vocational Training Assistance Act* is repealed. Repeal 1960-61, c. 6.

ROGER DUHAMEL, F.R.S.C.  
QUEEN'S PRINTER AND CONTROLLER OF STATIONERY  
OTTAWA, 1967

**Appendix 2****AGREEMENT BETWEEN GOVERNMENT OF CANADA AND GOVERNMENT  
OF NOVA SCOTIA: PURSUANT TO THE ADULT OCCUPATIONAL  
TRAINING ACT**

AGREEMENT entered into this eighth day of November A.D. 1967.

BETWEEN:

THE GOVERNMENT OF CANADA, as  
represented herein by the Honourable  
the Minister of Manpower and  
Immigration,  
(hereinafter called "Canada")

OF THE FIRST PART

AND

THE GOVERNMENT OF THE PROVINCE OF  
NOVA SCOTIA as presented herein by  
the Honourable the Minister of  
Education

(hereinafter called "the Province")

OF THE SECOND PART

WHEREAS pursuant to the Adult Occupational Training Act the Minister of Manpower and Immigration is authorized to enter into a contract with the Province to provide for the payment by Canada to the Province of the costs incurred by the Province or a provincial or municipal authority in the Province in providing training in an occupational training course operated by the Province or the provincial or municipal authority to adults whose enrollment therein was arranged by Manpower officers;

AND WHEREAS Canada and the Province mutually desire to enter into the within contract for the purposes set out above.

AND NOW THEREFORE THIS AGREEMENT WITNESSED that in consideration of the foregoing and the covenants and

conditions contained herein, the parties hereto agree as follows:

1. Unless otherwise specifically provided herein, all terms and expressions used herein that are the same as those for which definitions are provided in the Adult Occupational Training Act or Regulations made thereunder shall have the same meaning herein as they have in that Act or those Regulations.

#### Provision of Courses

2. (1) The Province undertakes that it will endeavour to prepare, organize, conduct and maintain, during the period of applicability set out at the head of the schedule to this agreement, the occupational training courses listed in Column 1 of the said schedule at the locations in the province listed in Column 2 thereof, and commencing on the dates shown in Column 3 thereof, opposite the name of each such course.
  - (2) The Province will endeavour to initiate appropriate training programs and undertakes that the courses conducted at the locations listed in Column 2 of the schedule shall be planned to provide training during the applicability of the schedule to persons equal in number to the number of places listed in Column 4 thereof opposite the name of each such location.
  - (3) The Province undertakes that there shall be provided during the said period of applicability in the occupational training courses operated at the locations listed in Column 2 of the schedule the number of places set out in Column 5 thereof opposite the name of such locations, for adults whose enrollment therein will be arranged by Manpower officers and accepted by the Province.
3. (1) Where, pursuant to section 4 of the Adult Occupational Training Act a Manpower officer indicates to an officer or agent of the Province charged with the duty of enrolling persons in adult occupational training courses for the purposes of this agreement, that he wishes to arrange the enrollment of a named adult in an occupational training course and at a location, both of which are listed in the schedule to this agreement, such officer of the Province shall, subject to subclause (2) hereof, enroll that adult in that course at that location, at the first available opportunity.

- (2) The officer or agent of the Province referred to in subclause (1) shall not be required so to enroll that adult as provided therein if, in the opinion of the person responsible for conducting the course, his enrollment therein would prejudice the proper conduct thereof.
4. The Province undertakes to provide the Minister with such curriculum outlines, courses of study, training schedules and other relevant materials as he may require pertaining to the courses listed in the schedule to this agreement and that if the Province subsequently deems it desirable to make any material changes therein pertaining to any such course it shall notify the Minister.
5. The Minister will make arrangements with the Province to provide accident insurance coverage to persons whose enrollment in courses referred to in the schedule hereto was arranged by Manpower officers.
6. If an adult whose enrollment in a course referred to in Clause 2 hereof was arranged by Manpower officers is dismissed by the officer in charge of the conduct of such course, a written statement of the reasons for dismissal shall be sent to the appropriate Canada Manpower Centre as soon as practicable.
7. The Minister or any officer of the Department of Manpower and Immigration authorized thereunto in writing by the Minister shall have a right of access, through the Principal of the institution, at all reasonable times to any facility or institution where adults whose enrollment was arranged by Manpower officers are receiving training in the Province.
8. The Province shall endeavour to meet all reasonable requests by the Minister for reports, statistics, surveys and studies in respect of the occupational training of adults.
9. Canada will endeavour to arrange the enrollment in suitable occupational training courses of all adults in the Province who wish to undertake such training and for whom there exists a good prospect of their earnings being substantially increased as a result of the training, and Canada further undertakes that, excluding any places in courses listed in the schedule and identified therein as being of a temporary nature, the total number of days of training reserved with the Province for adults under this agreement and otherwise made available under the

Apprenticeship Training Agreement in any one year shall be equal to at least 90% of the number of days of training so reserved and made available in the preceding year.

#### Costs of Courses

10. Canada agrees that it will pay to the Province the costs, determined as provided hereunder, incurred by the Province or by a provincial or municipal authority in the Province in providing training in occupational training courses listed in the schedule hereto during the period of its applicability and operated by the Province or by the provincial or municipal authority, to adults whose enrollment therein was arranged by a Manpower officer in accordance with this agreement.

#### Interim Payments

11. Canada will within 30 days after the end of each calendar month during the currency of this agreement pay to the Province a sum of money on account of the costs referred to in Clause 10 hereof determined by multiplying the number of places which during the preceding calendar month were recorded as being occupied for the first time by adults whose enrollment was arranged by a Manpower officer, by the figure set out in Column 6 of the schedule hereto opposite the name of the location where the places were occupied.

#### Settlement

12. Within one year following the close of each fiscal year the Province will submit to Canada a claim for the costs referred to in Clause 10 determined as hereinafter provided.

13. The costs that Canada will pay pursuant to Clause 12, shall be the sum of the costs as set out in Schedule A to the Adult Occupational Training Regulations, incurred by the Province in providing a course listed in the schedule to this agreement, during the period of applicability thereof, divided by the greater of:

- (a) The total number of places for persons that the course referred to in the schedule hereto was planned to provide during the period of applicability of the said schedule, or
- (b) the largest number of persons who were in training in such course on any day such course was given

during that period and multiplying the result by the greater of:

- (c) the largest number of adult who were in training in such course on any day such course was given during such period, whose enrollment was arranged by Manpower officers, or
- (d) the number of places in such course that were reserved by the Minister for adults as set out herein during such period.

14. When calculating the costs set out in Schedule A to the Adult Occupational Training Regulations, the Province will take into account, for the purpose of reducing those costs, any recoveries or refunds of expenditures, and any revenue derived from persons whose enrollment was arranged by Manpower officers.

15. (1) Before payment by Canada of any amount claimed under Clause 12 hereof, there shall be deducted therefrom the amounts paid by Canada pursuant to Clause 11 hereof in respect of any month during the period to which the claim relates.

(2) In the event the total of all amounts paid by Canada to the Province pursuant to Clause 11 hereof in respect of the same period to which the claim relates exceeds the amount of the claim, the amount of such excess shall be paid to Canada by the Province, or applied to reduce any payment by Canada to the Province under this agreement during any immediately following period, at the option of the Province.

16. The Province will maintain, or require to be maintained, full records of all expenditure as well as all revenues and refunds received in respect of this agreement, such records to be segregated from, although reconciled with, the continuing books of account of the Province and will furnish such information and statements as the Minister may require. The Province will permit access at all convenient times to such records, documents and files connected with the operation of this agreement as may be deemed necessary by the Minister or other authorized officers of the Government of Canada, for the audit of cost records under this agreement, or provide financial statement relating to the operation of a training centre duly audited by a licenced auditor in the Province.



#### Application of Schedule and Replacement

17. (1) The contents of each of the columns of the schedule to this agreement shall apply to and in respect of courses conducted in the Province during the period stipulated at the head of the schedule as being the period of applicability of the schedule.
- (2) The parties hereto agree that during the last three calendar months of the period of applicability set out at the head of the schedule, they will consult together concerning new contents for each of the columns of the schedule and for a new period of applicability, not exceed twelve consecutive calendar months immediately following and commencing with the expiry of the period of applicability set out at the head of the schedule.
- (3) By mutual consent of the parties hereto, signified in writing, any new contents for each of the columns of the schedule, and any new period of applicability agreed upon during the consultations referred to in subclause (2) may be substituted for the contents and period set out in the schedule hereto, and such new contents shall be applicable as the schedule to this agreement, during such new period.

#### Amendment

18. The contents of each of the columns of the schedule hereto may be amended from time to time during its period of applicability by the mutual consent of the parties hereto, signified in writing, but such amendment shall be applicable only from the date of such written agreement until the end of the period of applicability set out at the head of the schedule.

19. Where the consent of the parties hereto is required by any of the terms of this agreement to be given in writing, it shall be sufficient if it is signed on behalf of the Minister of Manpower and Immigration, by the Regional Director of Manpower for the Atlantic Region, and on behalf of the Province, by the Director of Vocational Education.

#### Termination

20. This agreement may be terminated by either party hereto, effective at the end of the first full period of

applicability of the schedule to this agreement following the day on which written notice signed by the Minister of Manpower and Immigration, or by the Minister of Education as the case may be, is given by the party desiring termination, to the other party hereto.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF this agreement has been signed on behalf of Canada by the Honourable Jean Marchand, Minister of Manpower and Immigration of Canada, this 8th day of November A.D. 1967.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF this agreement has been signed on behalf of the Province by the Honourable E.D. Haliburton, Minister of Education for the Province, this 30th day of October A.D. 1967.

### Appendix 3

#### QUESTIONNAIRE\* TO GUIDE INTERVIEWS

1. How do you view the role of adult education in Nova Scotia, say prior to 1960?
2. How do you explain the emphasis on vocational-technical training?
3. What effect do you think the federal funding and emphasis on vocational-technical training had on adult education in Nova Scotia?
4. How do you view the role of adult education in Nova Scotia today?
5. If you were studying the impact of the AOTA on Nova Scotia how would you structure the study?
6. What would you include as evidence?

NOTE: We will use these questions as an outline for the interview. I also welcome anything you have to tell me on this topic.

\* Mailed to or given to the interviewee prior to an interview

## Appendix 4

### PEOPLE CONSULTED FOR INFORMATION AND ASSISTANCE

A) Interview (Appendix III) completed with the following:

- Andy Carass, Advanced Education and Job Training.
- Norman Grant, Advanced Education and Job Training.
- Tom Jones, Division of Adult Education, (Retired).
- Robert Kennedy, Division of Adult Education, (Retired).
- Gary Langille, Advanced Education and Job Training.
- Donald Maclean, Institute of Public Affairs, (Retired).
- Carmen Moir. Department of Community Services.
- John Murley, Advanced Education and Job Training.
- Dig Nicols, Director, Continuing Education, Dartmouth.
- Bill Peters, Advanced Education and Job Training.
- Herman Timmons, Division of Adult Education, (Retired).

B) Interviewed on the topic. This list could include everyone I encountered over the last five years, however, I especially burdened some people with the topic.

- Kell Antoft, Institute of Public Affairs, Halifax, Nova Scotia.
- Roger Fieldhouse, University of Exeter, Exeter, England
- Lloyd Fraser, Henson College, Dalhousie University, Halifax, Nova Scotia.
- Elayne Harris, Memorial University, St. John's, Newfoundland.
- Bill Hoggarth, Government of the North West Territories.

- Ralph Matthews, McMaster University, Hamilton, Ontario.
- Ian Morrison, Canadian Association for the Study of Adult Education, Toronto
- Tom Parker, Dalhousie University, Halifax (Retired)
- Eric Ricker, Dalhousie University, Dalhousie University, Halifax, Nova Scotia.
- Hayden Roberts, University of Alberta, Edmonton, Alberta. (Retired)
- Gordon Selman, University of British Columbia, Vancouver, British Columbia.
- Jim Sharpe, Saint Mary's University, Halifax, Nova Scotia.
- Alan Thomas, Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, Toronto, Ontario.
- Claude Touchette, Universite de Montreal

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