A HISTORY OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT'S INVOLVEMENT IN ADULT OCCUPATIONAL TRAINING IN MANITOBA: 1970 - 1990

A Thesis

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of

Master of Education

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By

Gerry Recksiedler

Department of Education
University of Manitoba

THE UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA

FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of the study was to trace the federal government's involvement in adult occupational skills training in Manitoba between the years 1970 to 1990 through its national occupational training policies and subsequent agreements with the province of Manitoba. In order to determine the effects of federal policies on occupational training in Manitoba, four research questions were developed to guide the study. In order to carry out the study, both historical and qualitative research methods were used. Government documents from the Manitoba Government Records Office were reviewed. In addition six current and former senior federal and provincial civil servants were interviewed. Participants were selected using snowball, opportunity and judgement sampling. An interview guide was developed based on the four research questions. Upon reviewing the government documents and the typed transcripts, coding categories were developed and organized into themes. These themes make up the results of this study.

The major themes that emerged from this study were: (1) federal social policy has always been superimposed onto its economic policy, (2) the need for a long-term bridging mechanism for the severely disadvantaged and the unemployed to gain access to higher skills training, (3) technological and economic change determining

training needs, (4) federal policy changes resulting in reduced funding for institutional training and increased funding for industrial training, (5) the inability of federal training initiatives to meet Manitoba's specific regional economic and social needs, (6) the issue of federal vs. provincial control and recognition for skills training in the province, and (7) inability of the apprenticeship system to adjust to economic and social change.

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LIST OF ABBRIVATIONS

AOTA	Adult Occupational Training Act
BNA	British North America (Act)
BTSD	Basic Training for Skill Development
CEC	Canada Employment Centre
CEIC	Canada Employment and Immigration Commission
CJS	Canadian Jobs Strategy
CLFDB	Canadian Labour Force Development Board
CMCs	Canada Manpower Centres
CMITP	Canada Manpower Industrial Training Program
CMTP	Canada Manpower Training Program
CMTJP	Canada Manpower Training on-the-Job Program
COPS	Canadian Occupational Projection System
CRF	Consolidated Revenue Funds
CTST	Critical Trade Skills Training
EIC	Employment and Immigration Canada
EI	Employment Insurance
GIT	General Industrial Training
HRDC	Human Resources Development Canada
ILAP	Industry and Labour Adjustment Program
LACs	Local Advisory Councils

LFDS	**Labour Force Development Strategy**
LMNC	**Labour Market Needs Committee**
MNC	**Manpower Needs Committee**
NTA	**National Training Act**
OPEC	**Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries**
TII	**Training In Industry**
TVTA	**Technical and Vocational Training Assistance (Act)**
UI	**Unemployment Insurance**

Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

Rational and Background to the Study

Two federal government acts concerned with occupational training for adults during the period of this study appeared to shape the nature of occupational training and the types of programs that were offered in Manitoba, namely the Adult Occupational Training Act of April 1, 1967 and the National Training Act of August, 1982.

The years between 1970 and 1990 represent a distinct and recognizable historical period. The early 1970's was a period when the "baby boomers" were entering the workforce in increasing numbers. The 1970s and 1980s also saw an increase in the participation of women in the workforce. Also, the early 1980's was a period when Manitoba and Canada suffered the most severe recession and the highest unemployment since the Great Depression. It was also a period when the rate of technological change was accelerating and changing the workplace environment by speeding up production and reducing the size of the workforce. With the advent of new technologies came new industries which required new skills and knowledge on the part of the workers in order to function in these industries. Hall et al (1975) remarked that we were living

in an era of change and that this was most apparent in the field of technology. Industries that didn't exist fifty years prior to 1975 were now major producers and employers of labour. This 'era of change' had continued and accelerated through the rest of the 1970's and the 1980's. Older industries were succumbing to international competition due to lower labour costs in third world countries resulting in the restructuring and/or relocating of their operations outside Manitoba resulting in massive layoffs. It was also a period where there was an ideological shift from one of state intervention in the economy to one where the market place was allowed to dictate the state of the economy.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of the study is to trace the federal government's involvement in adult occupational skills training in Manitoba between the years 1970 and 1990 through its occupational training policies and subsequent agreements with the province of Manitoba. This study will attempt to determine the conditions (social, economic, or political) under which the province of Manitoba became a partner with the federal government of Canada and the training initiatives that evolved from this partnership.

Research Questions

1) What were the key acts of the Parliament of Canada that affected adult occupational training for the Canadian labour force?

2) During the period of this study, what were the conditions (social, economic, political contexts) that prompted the federal government to pass new occupational training acts and initiate various training policies under these acts?

3) How were these national occupational training policies applied in Manitoba as reflected by the training agreements signed between the federal government and the government of Manitoba?

4) How did these acts and the national occupational training policies that came about as a result of these acts fit within Manitoba's own social, economic and political contexts?

Educational Significance

The findings in this study contribute to the fields of adult education and adult occupational training by explaining the role that federal adult occupational training programs have played in recent history in helping both the employed and the unemployed adjust to an increasingly changing workplace brought about by new technology and changing economic forces. The study also illustrates

some of the shortcomings of these federal training programs in Manitoba. The study identifies important themes and trends that occurred in adult occupational training in Manitoba. This study will help those institutions and organizations involved with the overall planning and delivery of occupational training programs such as federal and provincial government departments, educational institutions, public and private occupational training institutes, business and industrial enterprises, and non-profit organizations as well as training program managers and facilitators directly involved with the delivery of these programs to better understand their role in helping the workforce adjust to economic and social change.

This study also serves to help those involved with the planning and implementation of federal occupational training policies and programs for Manitoba to better understand the historical context within which they work and how occupational training policies and programs have evolved. This study may also help to improve the implementation and delivery of these policies and programs by identifying important themes and trends in the development of adult occupational training in Manitoba.

Adult Education in Contemporary Society

Adult occupational training, being one aspect of adult education, takes on a very important function in the work culture, which makes up an important part of our contemporary society. Jarvis (1995) states that: "...change is endemic to technological societies" and that education "is an important agency in preparing individuals to respond to the rapid social change that is occurring" (p.3). Jarvis also points out that because change is so rapid, it is important for individuals to keep learning in order that they not become alienated from their own culture. Jarvis elaborates on this theme by arguing that change, especially technological and economic change, is the norm in contemporary western society and that individuals within society are continually having to discover or rediscover a place for themselves within society.

Based on the above theoretical perspective on change in contemporary society proposed by Jarvis, it may be argued that since the onset of the Industrial Revolution, both technological and economic forces have required workers to learn to adapt to new technology or new methods of production. During the period under study (1970-1990), both the rates of technological change in the workplace and changing economic forces acting on workers were accelerating. In order to remain a part of the work world, which is a highly valued component in our contemporary society, workers

found themselves having to acquire new knowledge and learn new skills in order to maintain their existing jobs or acquire new jobs. In so doing they were contributing to the process of social change by adapting to and accepting the new workplace environment, however transitory that might have been.

Max Scheler in Jarvis (1995) suggested that some forms of knowledge change faster than others, the fastest being technological change. Jarvis also remarks:

> The more people's knowledge becomes outdated, the more new knowledge they have to learn if they are to remain in harmony with their culture. The more technologically based the society, the more easy it is for individuals to become alienated, for all are affected by the changes in technology. Hence, individuals need to learn new knowledge to prevent the onset of alienation or anomie, and lifelong learning - even lifelong education - may help them to adjust to the cultural changes prevalent in their society (p.4).

By extension one might contend that in order for workers to remain in harmony with their jobs, occupational training is needed continuously to help workers adjust to the changes in the workplace brought about by both technological and economic change.

Jarvis (1995) goes on to say, "As a result of major changes in society, culture is changing and adult education provision can assist people to understand the processes that are occurring and help them to adapt and take their place in a constantly renewing

society" (p.7). This can also be true of the work culture in our society where the nature of work is constantly changing and workers require help to adapt to their ever-changing work environment. Stubblefield (1991) says that Knowles supported a similar view by interpreting adult education as an entity responsive to changing societal conditions. Being more specific to the work world, Elsey (1986) asserts that education should be regarded as a lifelong and continuous process to help people perform in a variety of social and economic roles in a rapidly changing society. He says that the need for adult education arises mostly from "...a need to increase the supply of skilled and adaptable manpower to an economy shaped by science and technology and needing to become more competitive in a changing world economy" (p.11-12).

Under the theme of social change, Elsey (1986) states:

> adult education has been used to help people adjust to changing circumstances in their lives, deriving from increased economic and employment specialization, greater complexity of human relations and other forces creating a demand for new knowledge, skills and attitudes towards a multitude of social issues (p.10).

Certainly one of the major social issues prevalent during the period under study (1970-1990) was that of unemployment and the changing nature of work. Thus, adult occupational training has certainly been used as social and economic policy by various levels of government to help people adjust to their changing employment

circumstances.

Elsey (1986, p.12) states that adult education has different theoretical perspectives and ideologies being derived from different schools of thought but that it is held together in a general sense by some ideas about social purpose agreed to in a broad sense by the sponsors and providers. He summarizes the different theoretical perspectives within adult education into four general models:

1. Recreational - emphasizes leisure time learning and has a limited commitment to a wider social purpose.
2. Work training - has a primary commitment to economic purposes.
3. Liberal progressive - encompasses many forms of adult education ranging from formal and traditional to community based and informal learning.
4. Radical - sees itself as an agent of social change and has a wide range of approaches.

According to Elsey (1986) the work (occupational) training model of adult education is as follows:

1. Its commitment to social purpose is mostly interpreted in terms of vocational preparation and work skill training. Economic purposes of education and training predominate over life skills and social awareness education.

2. Knowledge and curriculum are approached in formal terms with an overriding emphasis on utilitarian purposes.
3. Learning and teaching is formal and didactic with an emphasis on competency performance in practical work settings as a real test of learning.
4. Organization is predominantly sponsored and financed by central government policies.
5. Commitment to 'needs training' ideology is almost exclusively defined by experts, prevailing economic - job market conditions and political contingency.

Elsey's work training model of adult education closely resembles the federal initiatives in occupational training that occurred in Manitoba and throughout the rest of Canada whereby occupational training was sponsored and financed by the federal government and training programs were delivered by provincial occupational training institutions, by private industry, or both.

Federally initiated occupational training in Manitoba, which fits rather well into Elsey's work training model of adult education, could be said to have had a socially and economically relevant role by training new workers to enter the workforce for the first time, by retraining unemployed workers to help them re-enter the workforce after having lost their jobs to technological change or corporate downsizing, or to be upgrading the skills of existing

workers in order that they may retain their jobs in a rapidly changing workplace.

The Importance of Education and Training in the Workplace

By 1990 both business and labour were recognizing the importance of workplace education and training. A paper presenting the main findings of a Canadian Labour and Productivity Centre survey of business and labour showed that both business and labour recognized that the top priority for improving international competitiveness was training and education. A majority of business and labour leaders wanted employers and unions to have a direct role in the training of workers. Most leaders felt that employers should be primarily responsible for improving employee training and retraining and that they should provide funding. The survey results showed that there were also some important challenges. Many leaders were concerned about the adequacy of workplace training facilities, low interest on the part of many employers in training and inter-firm poaching of trained workers (Canadian Labour Market and Productivity Centre, 1990).

Carnevale and Goldstien (1990) point out that job related learning has two important economic uses: it leverages individual choices and earnings and it improves company performance. They contend that education improves and also leverages further learning on the job.

Skills learned in school and skills learned on-the-job are complementary. However, they point out that although education levels influence earnings, learning on the job is even a more powerful influence. People who receive formal on-the-job training enjoy a 25 percent earning advantage over those who do not receive it. They go on to say that training in the workplace affects productivity and earnings beyond the present job. People use what they learn in their present job to get new and better jobs.

On the question of the importance of education and training, Carnevale and Goldstein (1990) contend that both formal education and learning on-the-job have been consistently more important than machine capital in expanding American productive capacity throughout this century.

Relating to this same topic, Hum and Simon (1996) point out that because labour costs are usually a major part of total production costs, effective management of human resources becomes an important factor when considering the bottom line. When making new investments in physical capital, a firm must consider investing in training workers to use the latest technology effectively. It is difficult to separate the physical and human components of investment because of the fact that they complement each other in the production process.

Occupational training as an area of research in adult education is valid. Stubblefield in Peters et al (1991) suggests that one area of research might be to examine government policy formation and implementation in adult education. Legislative acts in the past could be one focus. This thesis is an attempt to take a step in this direction in order to shed some light on one aspect of the history of adult education and occupational training in Manitoba.

Definition of Terms

Definitions of the three key terms used in this study are given below. Definitions of other terms used throughout this study are given in the Glossary of Terms at the end of this study.

Adult Education: Is the process by which people seek to improve themselves or their society by increasing their skill, knowledge, or sensitivities; or is any process by which individuals, groups, or institutions try to help men and women improve in these ways. It is a process whereby individuals who are regarded as adults upon reaching the age of majority are able to prolong or replace their initial education and develop their abilities, enrich their knowledge, and bring about a measurable change in their personal development (Houle, 1972; Koch, 1991).

Education: Is the transmission and acquisition of general knowledge in diverse areas (such as personal, social, cultural development; technical, professional improvement). It is a lifelong, evolutionary process of understanding knowledge, its relationship to other areas, and its application to all aspects of life. Education changes one's attitudes and/or behaviours and involves substituting new ideas, beliefs, and skills for previously acquired ones. Broadly conceived, education is the process of teaching and learning expected patterns of human conduct (Peters, 1966; Patten, 1971; Mezirow, 1983).

Occupational Training: Is the acquisition of skills which are specific to a particular occupation so that employees can do their present job effectively and efficiently or be prepared to assume other job responsibilities (Canadian Federation of Independent Business, 1992).

Chapter 2

METHODOLOGY

The Purpose of History

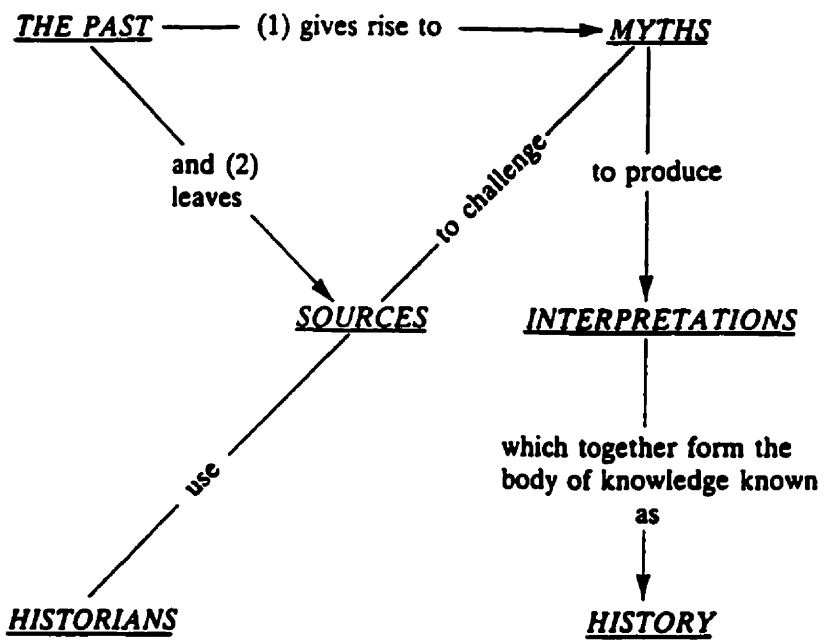
According to Marwick (1989), what makes history stand out from the other social sciences is its specific concerns with the element of change through time. He says that the historian looks at the way societies differ from each other at different points in time and how through time societies change and develop. He goes on to argue that a knowledge of history is essential to an understanding of the problems of the present and for making intelligent decisions for the future.

A knowledge of history enables us to recognize that the problems and demands confronting us are similar to those experienced by previous generations (Shafer, 1980; Benjamin, 1991). Put in a slightly different way Nugent (1967) points out that everyone is a product of his/her society and that every society is a product of its past. He says, "To know the past and that of other people is to know yourself" (p.27). With respect to its importance, Nugent believes that history is the collective experience of humankind which can teach us lessons and help us avoid some of the mistakes we have made in the past.

In an attempt to show the relationship between history, the past, sources and myths, Marwick (1989, p.13) presents the following diagram:

Figure 1

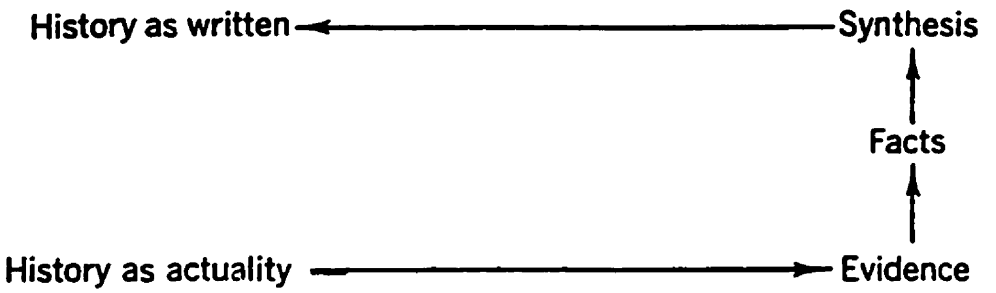
Relationship Between History, the Past, Sources and Myths



Berkhoffer (1969, p.21) suggests that the production of history is essentially a two step process: (1) the analysis of surviving evidence to produce the facts, and (2) the synthesis of those facts into a written form, called history. This is represented by the following diagram:

Figure 2

History as a Two Step Process



In discussing the importance and function of history both Carr (1964) and Elton (1967) express similar views by saying that history serves three functions: (1) to enable people to understand the societies of the past; (2) to increase their mastery over the present society and (3) to suggest guidelines for the future.

Stubblefield (1991), in discussing historical research in adult education, says that it is relevant to the present by connecting adult educators with their past and providing them with a rudder for the present. He outlines history's unique tasks as:

> 1. To explain why present arrangements, structures, and provisions exist,
> 2. To probe into social and ideological movements of the past that are expressed in present activities, and
> 3. To seek to understand the origins, processes, and dynamics of educational change (p.325).

As an answer to the question "What is History?" Carr (1964) says that it is "...a continuous process of interaction between the historian and his facts, an unending dialogue between the present and the past" (p.35).

Jenkins (1991) points out the distinction between the terms 'history' and 'the past' in the following way. To him, the term 'history' is "that which has been written and recorded about the past" and the term 'the past' is "all that has gone on before everywhere" (p.6). Because of this distinction between 'past' and 'history', Jenkins asserts that the 'past' is actually absent and only traces of it remain. He contends that this then places limits on the knowledge claims that historians can make.

Many Histories

Jenkins (1991) proposes that specific histories have been constructed into one shape or another due to different epistemological, methodological and ideological approaches. He states that history is epistemologically fragile, and because of this, there can be many versions of history based on the same past. He goes on to say that because of this epistemological fragility, out of one past there can be many histories. He gives four basic reasons for this:

1. No historian can cover and thus re-cover the totality of past events because their

> content is virtually limitless.
> 2. No account can re-cover the past as it was because the past was not an account but events, situations, etc. Verification of historical accounts is impossible because the past is gone and no account can ever be checked against it but only against other accounts.
> 3. No matter how verifiable, how widely acceptable or checkable, history remains inevitably a personal construct, a manifestation of the historians perspective as a narrator. The past that we 'know' is always contingent upon our own views, our own 'present'. Historians go beyond the actual record to frame hypotheses in present day modes of thought.
> 4. Through hindsight, we are able to know more about the past than the people who lived in it. In translating the past into modern terms and using the knowledge perhaps previously unavailable, the historian can discover what has been forgotten about the past and piece together things never pieced together before (pp. 11-13).

Jenkins (1991) argues that all history is 'positioned', that is, written from a certain perspective, and that there is no such thing as 'neutral ground' or an 'unpositioned centre'. He says, "The only choice is between a history that is aware of what it is doing and a history that is not" (p.69). Based on this argument, he asserts that there is clearly no criterion by which to judge the degree of bias. He points out that all sources are mute and that it is the historians who articulate whatever the sources say. He says that many historians can go to the same sources, but still come away with different accounts of history. He maintains that history is an ideological construct and that "...it is constantly being reworked

and re-ordered by all those who are variously affected by power relationships" and that "those in power want to have their versions of the past put forward in order to legitimate their practices" (p.17).

Lipset (1968) says that it is important to recognize that by looking at the same body of evidence from different theoretical perspectives, knowledge can be increased even if the conclusions seem contradictory. He claims that different conceptual frameworks can lead one researcher to highlight certain aspects of history which another may ignore. Nugent (1967) claims that these different versions of history are brought about by historians deciding (1) which facts among many are the most significant and (2) how these facts should fit together to form a coherent explanation. This brings us to the issue of subjectivity in historical research which involves a judgement on the part of the researcher on which facts to consider as significant. Leff (1969) tends to concur with the views of Lipset and Nugent by stating that the historian is inseparable from the history s/he writes and that the historian's perspective will affect and determine what facts will be chosen from the evidence and how these facts will be arranged or "shaped to fit the other facts which form part of the historian's scheme of things" (p.121).

Carr (1964) believes that it is important for the historian to understand that s/he is actually a product of history and the standpoint from which they approached their work is itself rooted in a social and historical background. Carr sums this up nicely when he says, "The historian is part of history. The point in the procession (of history) at which he finds himself determines his angle of vision over the past" (p.43).

Historical Research and Objectivity

In the process of doing research, there are several tasks that the historian must perform. According to Stubblefield (1991), the task of the historian is not just to chronicle past events but to explain, understand and evaluate these events through asking questions about past events, examining records, using selected facts to answer the questions and arrange the facts into an explanation.

Schulman (1988) suggests that the most important stage of historical research is not in collection of the evidence, but in the offering of explanations. He says, "Historical facts become historical evidence only when placed in a framework of explanation, a way of seeing without which the facts are mute, incapable of speaking for themselves" (p.21). Marwick (1970) remarks that the three basic concerns that the historian has to deal with are:

1) people in society; 2) changes through time; and 3) particular unique events. He agrees with Shulman in that history involves explanation but he also says that it must involve the study of the interconnection between events.

In the process of conducting historical research, the historian should be looking for explanations or interpretations of events, not causes. Carr (1964) along with Barzan and Graff (1977), when talking about 'cause' in history, says that some people speak of it more in terms of 'explanation' or 'interpretation', or 'the logic of the situation' or 'the inner logic of events'.

On the topic of trying to maintain objectivity in the process of conducting historical research, Carr (1964) states that the facts of history cannot be purely objective as they become facts of history only after the historian attaches significance to them. Thus objectivity in history becomes only that of the relation between fact and interpretation; between past, present and future.

In his discussion of objectivity versus subjectivity in history, Marwick (1970) contends that although the historian must try to be objective, it is never completely possible to suppress the personal and subjective element in history. In attempting to reconstruct and interpret the past, the historian is always influenced by the attitudes, prejudices, preoccupations, and value system of the age

and society in which s/he lives. The way we see the facts are molded by our values. Therefore, "Values enter into the facts and are an essential part of them" (Carr, 1964, p.174). In making the point that history is influenced by the time and society in which the historian lives Marwick (1989) says, " 'each age writes its own history' or that each age must interpret the past in the light of its own preoccupations. The entire spirit in which history is written varies according to the prevailing beliefs at the time of writing" (pp.21-22).

On the question of subjectivity in oral history, Yow (1994) says the following:

> Oral history is therefore inevitably subjective: Its subjectivity is at once inescapable and crucial to an understanding of the meanings we give our past and present. This is the great task of qualitative research and specifically oral history interviews: to reveal the meanings of lived experience. The in-depth interview offers the benefit of seeing in its full complexity the world of another. And in collating in-depth interviews and using the insights to be gained from them as well as different kinds of information from other kinds of records, we can come to some understanding of the process by which we got to be the way we are (p.25).

History as Art and Science

To Kaestle (1988) the writing of history is a creative interaction and is both a science and an art. He goes on to say that when given the facts, "Generalization remains an act of creative

interpretation, involving the historian's values, interests and training. Although the evidence establishes some limits, writing history remains subjective to a considerable degree" (p.61). To Marwick (1970) history is a science in the method and manner in which it studies the evidence and ascertains the facts, and an art in the way it communicates these discoveries. He says that history is similar to the natural sciences in that 1) it does have a definite methodology, a definite way of testing evidence and evaluating facts; 2) it establishes facts and the relationships between these facts; and 3) historians are not prevented from presenting general formulations (generalizing or hypothesizing) on a particular theme of history. On the other hand the historian determines that it is not a science because:

> 1. Historians cannot conduct controlled experiments and cannot repeat events from the past.
> 2. In historical study there must be an element of the subjective.
> 3. Although historians may generalize and hypothesize certain themes in history, their general objective is usually not the creation of general laws.
> 4. It is not the function of the historian to predict the future.
> 5. Although the attitude of the historian is to understand the past and not to judge, the mere selection of the facts involves a judgement.
> 6. History is concerned with the activities of man.
> 7. History must be communicated to society in a readable and understandable form.
> 8. History is an interdisciplinary subject. It has close relations with economics and politics on the one hand, and philosophy and literature on the other (pp. 53-54).

Shulman (1988) agrees with Marwick on the last point when he says that history, as a discipline, is a hybrid of other disciplines, "a methodological home for a wide variety of approaches, techniques and modes of inquiry. Among all the disciplines, it has resisted categorization" (p.21).

In comparing the study of history with the study of nature, Leff (1969) says that in the study of nature most complex substances can be broken down into patterns of regularity. He points out however that history starts from human beings in society with social complexities which are both multiple and variable. Leff goes on to suggest that the only regularity that the historian can accept is that of change; the basic postulate being that history does not repeat itself. Similarly, Marwick (1989) says that unlike the relationships studied in the sciences, the relationships studied in history are not mathematical. In history, there are no general laws or overarching theory. However, he does point out that in historical study historians employ generalizations, concepts, interrelationships and theories, but that this is not the same as having one grand or overarching theory about how societies develop or change. Shafer (1980) states that, in historical literature, it is enough to have generalizations that apply to certain times and places and not to others.

In his discussion on causes in history, Nugent (1967) states that in history events only happen once. He goes on to explain this by saying, "Somewhat similar things...do happen more than once but never in quite the same way. Their contexts and circumstances are always a bit different...and we can never test a historical hypothesis about cause and effect in the way we could test a chemical one" (p.93). However, Nugent does stress that some past events do shape other events. He says, "Any event depends on a great many other events; the interrelation and multiplicity of causes are many indeed. This multiplicity multiplies with regard to past events involving large numbers of people" (p.95). He goes on to say that causal relationships in human affairs are extremely complicated and not easy to prove with any certainty. Shafer (1980) calls this "multiple causation" and describes it as something which consists of a variety of causes behind the historical event. Shafer suggests that it is helpful to think of the "causes" of an event as the sum of the necessary conditions for the event to occur. To Shafer, since it is difficult to demonstrate that relationships between data is causal, it often will only seem probable, or even less, plausible. Nugent (1967) makes the proposition that certainty in causal relationships and complexity in human affairs work in inverse proportion with regard to historical events. He states that long term historical generalizations are possible to make but that they cannot have the certainty that is attached to a scientific law.

When conducting research, Shafer (1980) says that it is useful for the researcher to develop tentative hypotheses or questions and let them guide the search for a time, being ready to abandon them when necessary. Such tentative hypotheses or questions must be frequently tested against the evidence collected. However, he cautions that the researcher should not let the hypothesis or questions become too constraining when applying them to the material and that they should be abandoned when they are no longer useful. In his discussion on what he means by a "working" hypothesis, Shafer says that it is something tentative but something that can "...guide research, serve as a standard of relevance, to affect our selection of material, or our degree of attention to evidence" (p.177). He also cautions that when adopting working hypotheses the researcher must be conscious of the dangers of bias, ethnocentrism, and oversimplification.

Facts and Sources

Marwick (1989) describes sources as records of the past which may be written, oral, or physical and can be sought out in such places as people's memories, libraries, archives and in archaeological digs. He says that it is the historian's job to use these sources to produce reconstructions or interpretations of the past.

To Marwick (1989) historical research involves research using primary source materials. He says, "Study of primary sources alone does not make history; but without the study of primary sources there is no history" (p.199).

Marwick (1989) mentions that one major primary source of evidence is 'oral testimony' or 'oral sources' which can be collected on a tape recorder. He suggests that the evidence collected this way should, as far as possible, be checked against other kinds of sources. As this method will be a major source of information for this thesis, I will be commenting further on it later in this chapter.

Marwick (1989) says that within primary sources can be found both 'witting' and 'unwitting' testimony. He describes 'witting testimony' as the message a document deliberately sets out to convey to its contemporaries; and 'unwitting testimony' as the unintentional evidence left unconsciously by the author of the document. Marwick suggests that it is by 'reading between the lines' that historians can pick up the unwitting testimony or unspoken assumptions of the author or authors. Nugent (1967) calls this 'milking the sources' or interpolating "to get every last drop of information they may yield" (pp.17-18).

In his discussion of 'truth' in history, Nugent (1967) says that the historian can never look directly at the events, ideas or actions that s/he is writing about but has to view them through the medium of other sources. These sources are often incomplete and distorted. In judging truthfulness the historian has to decide on how much trust s/he can attach to the perception of the witness. Both Marwick (1989) and Nugent (1967) say that the creation of historical facts depends on a critical analysis of the evidence by the historian. Such matters as the reliability of the witness and any corroborating testimony helps to determine these facts.

In commenting on the imperfect and fragmentary nature of primary sources, Marwick (1989) refers to Geoffrey Barraclough (History in a Changing World, 1955, p.2) as defining history "as 'the attempt to recreate the significant features of the past on the basis of imperfect and fragmentary evidence'" (p.231). Yow (1997) proposes that although the researcher may be able to accumulate information from many sources and compare them, s/he will only be able to arrive at an approximate understanding of what happened. She argues that there can never be any absolute certainty about any event or fact no matter what sources are used. A past event cannot be reconstructed in its entirety because the evidence is always fragmentary.

In summing up his discussion on facts and sources Marwick (1989) advises that "However much material historians have at their disposal they will never find everything necessary for answering the particular questions they wish to ask. It is the nature of historical sources that the concerns of the originators differ greatly from those of the historians who study them" (p.232).

Critiquing the Sources

In his discussion on critiquing the sources, Shafer (1980) differentiates between external and internal criticism. He says that external criticism deals with authenticating the document and getting the evidence ready for examination while internal criticism deals with the meaning of the document. Shafer goes on to say that although evidence may be authentic, it still may lie or mislead, intentionally or unintentionally. The task of internal criticism is to determine the credibility of the evidence.

Shafer(1980) says that there are a variety of sources of error that can take place when doing internal criticism. These sources of error can be such things as ignorance, bias, falsification (in whole or in part), failure of the senses, cultural differences (within or between cultures), self-delusion and mental unbalance, mutilation of evidence, and the misuse of evidence by a questionable scheme of interpretation. Both the author(s) of the

evidence or the historian using the evidence can be affected by these sources of error. In other words, error may exist in the evidence or it may arise from the use made of it by the historian.

In terms of determining a witness's truthfulness and accuracy of reporting, Shafer (1980) suggests that a good reputation on the part of the witness and no apparent motive for distortion may cause the researcher to consider the witness a good risk in terms of reporting.

Shafer (1980) says that corroboration of evidence causes the researcher to have less doubt than having only a single source where there can be neither corroboration nor contradiction. He says that with a single source we are in complete doubt unless the single source is extremely credible. In terms of how much corroboration is required, Shafer gives a rather vague answer by saying that it depends on (1) the problem (what is being investigated) and (2) what evidence is available. He says that the reliability of the corroborative witness is an important element in determining the amount of corroboration required.

Proof and Probability

Shafer (1980) contends that when the historian judges whether a statement is near or far from the truth, it will be one of varying

degrees of probability and since this cannot be measured, only care and judgement can be used. Along these same lines of thought, Nugent (1967) says that nearly all statements in history, except the most factual ones, are only probable or conjectural. He contends that historical statements are not absolutely certain or false, but almost always fall somewhere in between the two conditions. By extension Nugent says, "If historical statements...are only certain to a degree, then the ways in which they relate to each other are also certain to a degree" (p.138). Shafer (1980) says that the researcher tries to increase the degree of probability through corroboration.

In discussing the observation of details made by witnesses of events, Shafer (1980) says that the ability of the witness to observe depends on both their physical and social ability to do so. He also makes the point that with the lapse of time even highly accurate observations by a witness may become lost or confused. This has implications for this thesis as part of the evidence was gathered from oral testimony by participants who worked in Federal and Provincial government departments concerned with adult occupational training programs over the last thirty years.

The Writing of History

According to Marwick (1989), the historian has to perform the following four basic tasks:

> They have to find their sources; to these sources they have to apply both their existing expertise in the society being studied and the techniques of source criticism; out of this they have to produce an interpretation; and finally they have to communicate this interpretation in the form of a written history (p.236).

Marwick (1989) suggests that good historical writing should consist of (1) a balance between narrative and analysis; (2) a balance between a chronological approach and an approach by topic; (3) a balance between (1) and (2); and (4) include passages of pure description as required.

In commenting on one of the difficulties in writing history, Berkhoffer (1969) notes that the historian is limited by the amount of evidence that remains and by the historians inability to observe the past as a living reality.

Leff (1969) states that history is distinguished from all other branches of knowledge by being concerned with "...what is exclusively past and can never be reenacted; even the contemporary historian has only the record and the memories of living men, not their living actions as his material" (p.19).

Approach to the Study

Based on the previous discussion on "History as Art and Science", I concluded that the use of both historical and qualitative research methods were best to accomplish this study.

According to Bogdan and Biklen (1992) the goal of qualitative research is to better understand human behaviour, not to try to predict it. In explaining the basic difference in approach between quantitative and qualitative research, they make the following observation:

> Unlike quantitative researchers, qualitative researchers do not see themselves as collecting "the facts" of human behaviour which, when accumulated, will provide verification and elaboration on a theory that will allow scientists to state causes and predict human behaviour. Qualitative researchers understand human behaviour as too complex to do that and see a search for cause and prediction as undermining their ability to grasp the basic interpretive nature of human behaviour and the human experience (p.49).

Thus, unlike quantitative research, qualitative researchers do not search out data or evidence to prove or disprove a hypothesis they hold before entering a study. Rather, the abstractions are built as the particulars (evidence) that have been gathered are grouped together from many separate pieces of evidence that are interconnected (Bogdan and Biklen, 1992). Glaser and Strauss (1967) call this approach **grounded theory** which they describe as theory

"derived from data and then illustrated by characteristic examples of data" (p.5). They go on to explain that in discovering theory, "one generates conceptual categories or their properties from evidence; then the evidence from which the category emerged is used to illustrate the concept" (p.23). The technique of grounded theory incorporates various sources of data such as document review, interviews and observational data (Morse, 1994).

Oral History

As in-depth interviews were used to gather additional information to supplement that gathered through an analysis of government records, a brief discussion of this method of research is in order to understand how it fits in with this overall discussion on historical research methods.

In her discussion on methods of conducting research in oral history, Yow (1994) says that the ***recorded in-depth interview*** is a specific research method within the general classification of qualitative methodology and is based on the principle of grounded theory. According to Bogdan and Bilken (1992), grounded theory involves the analysis of data inductively. Theory emerges from 'the bottom up' from the various sources of interconnected evidence. In other words, theory is grounded in the evidence.

Yow (1994) suggests that the proponents of grounded theory will use one of two basic approaches to doing research: (1) to approach the research without any preconceptions or hypotheses or (2) to begin the research with articulated problems or questions that guide the interview process. The researcher then pursues the questions with the aim of finding answers in order to construct a narrative that makes sense. In doing my research project, I used the second approach.

Yow (1994) points out that one advantage of the in-depth interview is that it permits the researcher to question the witness or informant. As opposed to documentary evidence, the 'source' can reflect on the information s/he has provided and offer interpretation as well as facts. She also recommends that the evidence gained in this way should be combined with other methods such as a search of other primary sources.

Yow (1994) cautions that in doing contemporary history there can be an overabundance of written documents which can overwhelm the researcher. Oral testimony can help the researcher determine what was significant to the people who created the document or to those who had to live and work in the times the document had power. Such oral testimony can help point the researcher towards those documents that are important enough to consider.

Establishing Contact with Informants

For the past several years I have been both a facilitator and a training project manager of adult retraining programs sponsored by both public sector and private sector interests including: the Winnipeg Core Area Employment and Training Agency, the National Energy Conservation Association, and most recently the Manitoba Renovation Contractors Association. Through my involvement with these programs I became very interested in the process of retraining adults who had, for whatever reason, lost their jobs and were prepared to become involved with retraining for a new occupation. The Federal Government was involved with these training programs to the extent that they were providing both the clients and the funding either in part or in whole and this funding was provided through various programs delivered through the local Manpower offices. I became interested in the process of why and how these particular programs came to be chosen as the vehicles for delivery of training and retraining of unemployed adults and in who made these decisions. Through contacts with the project officers from the local Manpower offices assigned to monitor our training programs, and in turn with their directors, I was able to get names of several current and former senior federal and provincial civil servants who were involved with the implementation of federal occupational training policies in the Prairie and later the Manitoba region. Six of these people, three federal and three

provincial, were asked to be research participants in this study.

I selected the participants using the following three purposive sampling strategies: snowball, opportunity, and judgement sampling. Snowball sampling begins with a small group of informants who put the researcher in touch with other potential sources of information. Opportunity sampling involves the selection of informants who are willing and able to participate. Judgement sampling involves selecting informants because they possess certain characteristics which are advantageous to the study (Burgess, 1984). Because I was interested in how training initiatives were brought about and implemented in the Manitoba region, I used the following criteria in selecting my informants: 1) they had to have been in a senior decision-making position, 2) they had to have worked in a federal or provincial government department that had a direct concern with federally sponsored adult occupational training in Manitoba, 3) they had to have been involved with adult occupational training issues during the period of this study and 4) three federal and three provincial civil servants were selected in order to get both federal and provincial perspectives on the impact of federal training policies on the province.

Data Collection

The data for this study was gathered through an analysis of official government documents and supplemented by in-depth interviews. With respect to the in-depth interviews, the data was collected in the natural setting such as the informant's place of work or their homes. Data was recorded on an audio recorder and reviewed by the researcher (Bogdan and Biklen, 1992). Prior to the interviews, informants were sent a Letter of Consent which informed them of the purpose of the research and assured the informant that whatever was said in the interview would be treated confidentially. Each informant was asked to read the Letter of Consent and sign a Consent Form (See Appendix A). The informants were advised that their participation was voluntary and that they were free to withdraw at any time. No names of individuals or government offices were mentioned. Anonymity was assured by providing each informant with a pseudonym. The audio tapes will be erased upon the completion of the research.

The interviews had a semi-structured form. Although an interview guide was used (See Appendix B), the interviews were relatively open ended in order to allow the informants latitude to pursue a range of topics and to offer the informants a chance to shape the content of the interviews (Bogdan and Biklen, 1992). My goal was to establish a rapport by putting myself in the informant's role and

attempt to see the situation from their perspective (Frey and Fontana, 1994). I tried to interact with the subjects in as natural, unobtrusive and non-threatening manner as possible. When conducting the interviews I attempted to set up the interviews as if it were a conversation between two trusting parties rather than a question and answer session between the researcher and the informant (Bogdan and Biklen, 1992). Each interview lasted a minimum of one hour and a maximum of one and a half hours. Informants had the opportunity to review transcripts in order to verify accuracy and the informant's perspective.

Data Analysis

The data for this study included official government records, interview transcripts, and field notes. The approach that was taken was "that nothing is trivial, everything has the potential of being a clue that might unlock a more comprehensive understanding of what is being studied" (Bogdan and Biklen, 1992).

Upon reviewing the typed transcripts of the interviews, coding categories were developed. This involved searching through the data for regularities and patterns as well as topics and then writing down words and phrases to represent these topics and patterns. The descriptive data collected was then sorted so that material on a given topic could be physically separated from other data (Bogdan

and Biklen, 1992).

Role of the Researcher

In qualitative research, the researcher is the research instrument and the one who interprets the data or evidence to create meaning. The researcher tries to accurately describe the perspectives of the informants. As discussed earlier, the interpretation of the data can vary greatly depending on the theoretical and/or ideological perspective of the researcher. The researcher decides which data is the most significant and how this data should fit together to form a coherent explanation. This involves a judgement on the part of the researcher when considering which evidence or data is significant (Nugent, 1967).

Most of my adult education career has been involved with the delivery of programs to the socially disadvantaged. Many of our clients experienced difficulty in finding employment either from a lack of formal education and/or training, or had experienced a job loss usually from plant closures or downsizing. From this perspective I have been able to see both the benefits that adult training programs can offer and the shortcomings of these programs.

Limitations of the Study

In discussing the limitations of oral history testimony, Yow (1994) says that the following aspects have to be considered: (1) oral

accounts may not give the complete picture as some aspects of life may not be recorded. Because of this limitation, oral history accounts may result in a picture that is narrow, idiosyncratic, or ethnocentric; (2) it is usually the articulate who come forward and get chosen as participants; (3) the presentation of retrospective evidence where the narrator may slant the story to make it interesting or at least acceptable to the interviewer; (4) selective and/or faulty memory; and (5) deliberate omissions.

On the question of people wanting to make themselves appear in the best light as possible, Yow (1994) says that there will be a tendency for this to happen whether the testimony is written or oral. However, she claims that with the passage of time people tend to be more candid and honest. She argues, "Near the end of life, there is a need to look at things as honestly as possible to make sense of experiences over a lifetime. This need strongly competes with the need to make oneself look good" (p.18).

With regard to human memory being selective and/or faulty, Yow (1994) refers to research on memory and recall and remarks, "If the event or situation was significant to the individual, it will likely be remembered in some detail, especially its associated feelings" (p.21).

Regarding deliberate omissions, Yow (1994) says that this is just as likely to happen with official or personal documents as with oral histories. She points out that omissions are less likely to happen with oral histories if the interviewer keeps probing the informant.

Another consideration that Yow (1994) brings forward is that the interpretation of the evidence depends on the interpreter. With an in-depth interview there may be less interpretation on the part of the researcher as compared to when dealing with written testimony or an artifact. She says that with in-depth interviews, the participant will be offering his/her own interpretation of events.

In dealing with these limitations, Yow (1994) advises that the following critical approaches have to be considered by the researcher: (1) consistency in the testimony (reliability) and (2) accuracy (validity) in relating factual information. Consistency can be checked through questioning and accuracy (the degree of conformity with other accounts or corroboration) can be checked through consulting with other sources and comparing accounts.

This study is limited to the extent that:

1. I can successfully carry out both the external and internal criticisms of government documents.

2. I can speak to informants who have an intimate knowledge of the topic.

3. I can draw out the perceptions, thoughts and ideas of the informants.

4. The informants are willing to truthfully disclose their perceptions and recollections of their role and involvement with occupational training initiatives.

5. The informants are able to accurately recall key events and dates, and their role and involvement in those events.

6. I can accurately interpret the historical documents and the information informants share with me.

Chapter 3

POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC HISTORY OF MANITOBA

In discussing the federal government's involvement in occupational training in Manitoba, it is important to have an understanding of the economic conditions as well as employment levels and trends in Manitoba during the period of this study. It is intended that this brief review of the povincial economy and employment situation will provide a further context within which federal occupational training policies and activities within the province can be viewed. This review will focus primarily on years of the Schreyer government (1969-77), the Lyon government (1977-82) and Pawley government (1982-88).

The Economy of the Province Prior to 1969

In the latter half of the 1800s and the early 1900s Winnipeg emerged as the commercial, financial and industrial centre of the prairies. This resulted in the rise of a substantial industrial working class and an intense class struggle which peaked in the Winnipeg General Strike of 1919 (Silver and Hull, 1990).

After the 1919 strike, a series of provincial governments who were rurally based, fiscally conservative and anti-labour gained control and remained in power till the late 1950s. The agriculturally

based, relatively diversified economy, with strength in manufacturing, commerce, and finance changed little over this period, apart from a long, slow decline in Winnipeg's importance as a western regional centre. The general philosophy of these governments was one of minimal intervention on the part of the state in economic and social affairs (Silver and Hull, 1990).

Manitoba's agriculturally-based economy reached its peak in the 1930s. Since World War II the influence of agriculture on the economy declined along with a growing population loss from the rural and farm areas to the urban areas. This population decline in the rural and farm population reflected the changing nature of Manitoba's economy. There had been a continuous decline in the proportion of the workforce in agriculture, from 24.6 percent in 1951 to 8.5 percent in 1981. Agriculture had lost its relative importance and the emphasis of economic development had shifted to other sectors (Ghorayshi, 1990). Up until 1971, the economy of Manitoba had traditionally been regarded as agricultural. The 1960s saw a spectacular rise in agricultural production. However, the number of farms, the percentage of the population living on farms, and employment in the agricultural sector all continued to decline. The trend of increased production and decreased employment were related to the growth of capital investment in agriculture (Briant, 1971). With this decline in the number of farms and the farm population young people were leaving for the urban areas to find

jobs (Ghorayshi, 1990).

After World War I, Manitoba's economy had been in decline relative to the rest of the country. During the wheat boom just after the turn of the century, Manitoba accounted for up to 10 percent of all income earned in Canada. Since that time the share of national income had steadily dropped to 6.1 percent by 1945; 5.1 percent by 1958; 4.1 percent by 1977; and 3.9 percent by 1982 and remained at 3.9 percent in 1988 due to government intervention (Gonick, 1990).

During the Campbell Era (1949-58) the liberal-progressive government headed by Douglas Campbell was largely rurally based and rurally oriented with an ultra-cautious, pay-as-you-go economic philosophy. Manitoba's growth during the 1950s was well below the Canadian average (Gonick, 1990).

With the election of the Roblin government in 1959, this attitude changed to one of a more activist role, assisting entrepreneurship and attracting capital to the province (Silver and Hull, 1990). It saw itself as a catalyst and promoter of economic growth. It was a period of rapid growth and development for Manitoba, but Manitoba's position relative to the rest of the country still continued to decline (Gonick, 1990). This philosophy was continued under the Schreyer and Pawley governments of the 1970s and 1980s. However, none of the differing economic policies had been able to reverse

Manitoba's long-term decline (Silver and Hull, 1990).

Some of the major factors that contributed to Manitoba's decline in the 1960s and 1970s were changing technology, federal government policy and much more rapid growth in neighbouring provinces. The loss of the Air Canada repair and overhaul base to Montreal, the relocation of other large firms out of Winnipeg to other provinces due to the decline in the use of rail transport, the decline in the volume of repair and maintenance work in local rail shops and the replacement of steam by diesel engines which required less maintenance all contributed to the long-term economic decline of the Province. Also, the faster growth of such cities as Calgary, Edmonton, Vancouver, as well as Regina and Saskatoon in the 1970s spawned the types of businesses and industries in those cities that used to operate out of Winnipeg (Gonick, 1990).

The Schreyer Years: 1969-1977

In 1971, there was a high degree of regional economic disparity in Manitoba partly because of the heavy concentration of the population in Winnipeg. Average incomes in Winnipeg were double those in the Interlake and Parklands regions of the province. Virtually all the employment in manufacturing was located in Winnipeg. Low incomes were particularly prevalent in the smaller rural centres of Manitoba, especially in the north. The province,

as a whole, had a relatively high proportion of people in lower income groups compared to the rest of Canada (Brewis, 1971).

Between 1971 and 1975 output in Manitoba was more than doubled in the agricultural, mining and manufacturing sectors and forest products tripled. The policy of the state as a catalyst and promoter of economic growth was continued on from the Roblin government. Investment expanded with government investment accounting for 46 percent of total investments, slightly less than during the Roblin years. Massive hydro-electric development projects were begun which absorbed a massive amount of capital investment. These projects dominated the provincial economy to the end of the 1970s (Gonick, 1990). Public investments, especially in hydro-electric developments in the 1970s and 1980s helped to mitigate Manitoba's long-term decline (Silver and Hull, 1990).

Between 1971 and 1978, Manitoba's position relative to the Canadian economy steadily eroded. Manitoba's population expanded at half the rate for Canada. Real output lagged behind Canada's growth by one-fifth and personal income increased at rates marginally below the national average. Employment opportunities expanded only at two-thirds the national rate. Due to slow economic growth, the provincial economy was unable to fully absorb the increase in the labour force and as a result, the level of unemployment increased. Unemployment was somewhat mitigated by a high level of net out-

migration. Manitoba's share of new capital investment declined, particularly in the manufacturing sector. In the period between 1966 to 1977, there was a major shift in investment from private sector to public sector utilities (Owen, 1985).

The Lyon Years: 1977-1982

The Lyon government came in with a policy of restraint in government spending. It brought in this policy just as Canada and the world was about to enter into the worst recession since the depression of the 1930s. As a result, Manitoba had the worst economic performance in Canada. It had the smallest increase in gross domestic product, jobs, private investment, public investment, the worst record in housing starts, and was the only province to show a net drop in population (Gonick, 1990). Between 1976 and 1981, Manitoba's goods and services output, employment growth, and investment growth were the lowest of any Canadian province (Cameron and Cameron, 1985).

In 1982, along with the rest of Canada, Manitoba shared in the devastating effects of the recession and high interest rates (Government of Manitoba, 1985). Although large multinational firms operated in Winnipeg and elsewhere in the province, the health of the economy depended on the success of small business, perhaps more so than in most provinces. This made the provincial economy more

sensitive to tight money policies which Canada and the United States practiced between 1979 and 1982. The provincial bankruptcy rate in Manitoba soared more than in any other province in this period (Cameron and Cameron, 1985). Many corporations were demanding "concessions" from workers and reversing the direction of progress in labour relations (Manitoba Federation of Labour, 1985).

In response to the recession of the early 1980s, the federal government, under the Anti-Inflation Program, was rolling back and limiting wages and severely curtailing public sector workers' fundamental collective bargaining rights. Although most provincial governments were going along with these practices, Manitoba decided not to adopt these policies (Manitoba Federation of Labour, 1985).

By the early 1980s, Manitoba found its traditional resource industries such as agriculture and mining aging and meeting stronger world competition. Manitoba remained a net importer of manufactured goods. Distribution and financial firms were now appearing in other western provinces that Manitoba once served (The Government of Manitoba, 1985).

In the latter part of the 1970s and early 1980s, the federal government's economic strategy was to focus on mega projects related primarily to energy. Similarly, Manitoba's strategy also focused on mega projects. However, with the leveling off of world

petroleum prices after OPEC, a number of these mega projects were put into question and on hold with neither the federal or provincial governments having a clear alternate economic development policy in place (The Manitoba Chamber of Commerce, 1985).

Between 1976 to 1986 Manitoba's agricultural economy continued to decline and farmer's purchasing power was reduced. With this came closures in several agricultural implement manufacturers and metal manufacturing firms and foundries linked to agriculture (Silver, 1990). Plant closures were a serious problem. Table 1 shows the number of closures affecting plants with fifty or more employees and the resultant job loss in this period.

The majority of plant closures in the manufacturing sector was due to out-of-province or foreign ownership (Silver, 1990). The number of closures and job losses in manufacturing by ownership are shown in Table 2.

Table 1

Plant Closures and Job Losses by Year, Manitoba, 1976-1986

Year	Number of Closures	Number of Jobs Lost
1976	10	2,948
1977	6	660
1978	4	280
1979	5	940
1980	9	1,321
1981	9	787
1982	8	759
1983	9	1,267
1984	13	1,015
1985	9	822
1986	6	392
Total	**88***	**11,191**

***Note: Seven companies are listed twice, usually because partial closures occurred in different years, so that the number of companies is 81.**

Source: The Political Economy of Manitoba (p.229), by J. Silver and J. Hull, (Eds.), 1990, Regina: Canadian Plains Research Centre, University of Regina.

Table 2

Closures and Job Loss in Manufacturing, Manitoba, 1976-1986

By Ownership as of 1981

Owned in	Closures	%	Job Loss	%	Average size of Closure
USA	14	25.5	2,163	32.3	154
Manitoba	23	41.8	2,063	30.8	90
Ontario	10	18.2	1,365	20.4	137
Quebec	4	7.3	470	7.0	118
Britain	3	5.5	413	6.2	138
Holland	1	1.8	228	3.4	228
Total	55	100.1	6,702	100.1	122

Source: The Political Economy of Manitoba (p.231), by J. Silver and J. Hill (Eds.), 1990, Regina: Canadian Plains Research Centre, University of Regina.

Table 3 shows that more than one-third of plant closures and resultant job losses in Manitoba were due to rationalization (Silver, 1990).

Table 3

Closures and Job Loss by Reason, Manitoba, 1976-1986

	Closures	%	Job Loss	%
Rationalization	32	36.4	4,067	36.3
Market Shift	3	3.4	1,841	16.5
Receivership	15	17.1	1,341	12.0
Depression/Reduced Demands	13	14.8	1,190	10.6
Agricultural Manufacturing	8	9.1	938	8.4
Bad Management	5	5.7	720	6.4
Exhaustion of Ore Supply	4	4.5	532	4.8
Moved Head Office/Special Function	6	6.8	429	3.8
Urban Redevelopment	1	1.1	68	.6
Government Policy	1	1.1	65	.6
Total	**88**	**100**	**11,191**	**100**

Note: Based on press reports and interviews.

Source: The Political Economy of Manitoba, (p. 232), J. Silver and J. Hull, 1990, Regina: Canadian Plains Research Centre, University of Regina.

A study conducted in the early 1980s by the National Council of Welfare showed that Manitoba had the largest percentage of 'working poor' in Canada (9 percent). The 'working poor' were defined as people living below the poverty line yet obtaining more than half their income from employment. Information from the Federal

Department of Regional Economic Expansion showed that Manitoba's Native population (including status and non-status Indians, Métis and Inuit) was in the neighbourhood of 100,000 people. The birth rate among this group was estimated to be twice the provincial average. It was estimated that by 1991, one in three or possibly one in two entrants to the labour force would be Native. Most of these people lived in northern Manitoba. It was felt that measures to enhance the labour market skills of this group was imperative (Manitoba Chamber of Commerce, 1985).

The Lyon government found itself under attack by those groups affected by government spending cuts. The poor mobilized against cuts in welfare. Single mothers, day care workers, hospital workers, civil servants, university students and faculty demonstrated against declining levels of government support for day care, health and education services (Gonick, 1990)

The Pawley Years: 1982-1988

When the NDP returned to office, the province and country was in the middle of the recession. Revenues were dropping, expenditures due to the recession were rising and federal transfer payments were being cut back (Gonick, 1990). In 1982 interest rates were at 18 percent. These high interest rates raised the cost of consumer credit and the cost of production which was passed along in prices,

fueling inflation. High interest rates were also forcing small firms to go bankrupt causing the markets to become more and more concentrated in the hands of large suppliers which in turn could control markets and raise prices. The high interest rates also increased the cost of borrowing which discouraged investment which resulted in fewer employment opportunities. Investors were more willing to put their money into bonds and term deposits which offered better returns at low risk than equity investments (Manitoba Federation of Labour, 1985; The Manitoba Chamber of Commerce, 1985).

In 1981-82, federal transfers accounted for 40.7 percent of total provincial revenues. By 1982-83, the percentage had been reduced to 36.6 percent - the lowest since 1974-75. As a result, the Manitoba government did not have a great deal of money to spend on, or invest in, a program of economic development and renewal (Manitoba Chamber of Commerce, 1985).

Unlike other provinces, the Pawley government did not go into an austerity program but rather tried to protect the social services built up under the Roblin and Schreyer governments. It also negotiated guaranteed job security for modest wage and salary increases for its civil service rather than legislating wages which other provincial governments were doing. Given its dependence on national and international money markets to finance its operating

deficits and hydro-electric developments, the Province was forced to raise taxes in order to reduce the deficit (Gonick, 1990).

As Manitoba's various economic sectors continued to weaken and erode, and with no alternative economic development strategy, the Pawley government continued to pursue megaprojects to spark short term economic recovery. Other mega projects such as aluminum and potash failed to materialize. The North Portage reconstruction project and the Core Area Initiative were short lived, along with the Manitoba Jobs Fund which was to subsidize private sector wages on a short term basis to encourage employment (Gonick, 1985).

In the short term the strategy worked. According to Gonick (1990),

> Until 1987 it gave Manitoba the lowest or second lowest unemployment rate in the country, the third largest population increase, the third best record in private investment and real domestic product, the second best in public investment with an increase of 56 percent between 1983-87 (twice the national average), and the second best in average disposable income, moving very close (98 percent) to the national average. But by 1988, this strategy showed signs of unraveling (p.38).

The North Portage reconstruction was completed in 1987, and construction at the Limestone hydro-electric project on the Nelson River began to slow down in 1988. Manitoba's unemployment moved above the national average for the first time since 1981 (Gonick,

1990).

As of 1984, Manitoba's population was just over one million, with over half the population in the city of Winnipeg and almost all the rest concentrated in the southernmost quarter of the province. The only other sizable city was Brandon with 55,000 people. The rest of the population was either rural or in medium sized towns such as Thompson (in the north), Steinbach (southeast), Dauphin (west) or Portage (south-centre). It was projected that Manitoba's population would not increase significantly, that it would be significantly older than in its neighbouring provinces, and that the labour force growth would fall from 2.2 percent between 1970 to 1979 to only 0.25 percent from 1980 to 2001 (Cameron and Cameron, 1985).

By the end of the 1980s, with the decline in the number of farms and the farm population, unemployment in rural areas rose. Many rural service centres were having difficulty remaining viable. Rail line abandonment fostered loss of business in many communities. The number of grain elevators declined. The livelihood of small communities which depended on farm business was threatened and many communities had already died as a result (Ghorayshi, 1990).

By the end of the 1980s, the Manitoba economy was being subjected to restructuring. With the continued decline in agriculture, agriculturally related industries downsized or shut down their

operations. Numerous multinationals closed down their branches in Manitoba to consolidate their operations elsewhere with some only leaving a warehouse distribution centre. Even one major supermarket chain, Dominion Stores, left the province. There was also threat of some major mines closing their operations (Gonick, 1990). Gonick described the economy of Manitoba as being fragile and one that had been in gradual decline relative to Canada for the last seventy years and one that was likely to continue declining as a consequence of the global restructuring of capital.

By the end of the 1980s, the prairie region was no longer a distinct economic region. In the first half of the century, Manitoba was the financial and distribution hub of the prairies. In the second half it became a satellite of Ontario through plant ownership and trade links with Ontario. Manitoba had essentially become a branch-plant economy whereby decisions were made and profits declared outside the province. No other province was so dependent on enterprises with out-of-province ownership (Gonick, 1990).

With the decline of the agricultural sector which used to link Manitoba to Saskatchewan and Alberta, Manitoba's economy was now driven by market forces quite distinct from the other two provinces. Its manufacturing sector was substantially larger than both Saskatchewan and Alberta together, less dependent on

agriculture than Saskatchewan, and less dependent on resource extraction than both Saskatchewan and Alberta (Gonick, 1990).

Gonick (1990) paints a picture of Manitoba having a diversified but slow-moving economy made up of "...mainly locally owned, small- and medium-sized enterprises, with most larger enterprises being branch-plant, branch-office subsidiaries of Ontario and the United States" (p.42). As a result, Manitoba's economy was vulnerable to corporate restructuring as they responded to changes in the global economy. Out-of-province owners were closing down or phasing out their Manitoba operations in the traditional industries like meat packing, agricultural implements and metal fabrication. Financial distribution services continued their long-term decline with head offices being relocated out-of-province. Some important mines had closed and technological change had greatly reduced the size of the workforce in the mines that remained open. These forces led to a reduction in auxiliary service businesses and employment. The new high-tech, information based industries coming into Manitoba were not numerous enough to offset the trend (Gonick, 1990).

Indications were that Manitoba's economy would continue to be resource-based with secondary and tertiary activity strongly oriented towards resource activities through processing, service and supply enterprises (Owen, 1985).

The Employment Picture in Manitoba

A decline in the farm population from 20.2 percent in 1951 to 16.8 in 1966 had led to a shift in employment from agriculture to other sectors of the economy. Between 1961 and 1969 the greatest relative growth in employment had taken place in the mining sector. In this period the number of people employed in agriculture declined by 15.7 percent whereas mining increased by 60.9 percent. However, these numbers are relative to the fact that in 1961 employment in agriculture was 59,300 whereas it was only 4,600 in mining, so that the percentages applied to substantially different employment numbers for the two industries (Briant, 1971).

In the 1960s, the manufacturing sector had made the largest contribution to the gross provincial product and had seen a substantial increase in employment of 25.5 percent. By 1971, the shift in employment from agriculture to manufacturing had occurred. However, the growth in the manufacturing industries was mainly and precariously based on the primary resource industries, namely agriculture and mining. Small manufacturing businesses were playing an important role by employing 68 percent of workers in the manufacturing sector and paying 60 percent of manufacturing wages (Briant, 1971).

In the 1950s and 1960s, growth in the service sector had shown the greatest increase in employment. By 1971, some 62 percent of workers in the province were employed in transportation, communications, utilities, trade, finance, insurance, real estate, public administration and personal services. Community, business and personal services were now employing the most people in the service sector and had increased employment by almost 60 percent in the 1960s (Briant, 1971).

In 1971, the workforce was experiencing unemployment in two distinct areas: (1) highly trained technical people for whom adequate work opportunities did not exist and (2) migrants to urban areas and residents of remote and isolated communities who generally lacked industrial skills (Briant, 1971).

Between 1974 and 1982, unemployment rates were the third lowest in Canada trailing only Saskatchewan and Alberta. However, between 1980 and 1982 trends showed unemployment rates rising both in Manitoba and Canada (The Manitoba Chamber of Commerce, 1985).

In September of 1982, Manitoba's unemployment rate was 9.2 percent which compared quite favourably to the country as a whole which was at 12.2 percent. However, in 1981, the labour force was growing at twice the rate of net job creation. The largest increases in employment occurred in the low wage, non-unionized sectors, while

the greatest decreases occurred in the higher wages, more unionized sectors. The greatest increases in employment occurred in sectors where female participation rates were high, and the greatest decreases occurred in sectors where female participation rates were low. The bulk of the overall employment growth involved women who tended to be drawn into the low wage, non-unionized jobs (Manitoba Federation of Labour, 1985).

In the early 1980s, the wages of Manitoba workers were among the lowest of any province in Canada. In the period between 1977 and 1981, the average weekly wage increased by 39.5 percent, while the Consumer Price Index for Winnipeg rose by 44.7 percent. The gap of 5.2 percent indicated a decline in people's standard of living. Indications were that the sectors with high quality jobs were in decline, and the sectors with low quality jobs were on the rise (Manitoba Federation of Labour, 1985). Between 1975 and 1986 full time employment grew by 13 percent from 363,000 to 410,000 while part time employment grew by 54 percent from 54,000 to 83,000 jobs, indicating a trend towards more part time jobs at lower wages (Hull, 1990).

Some regions and groups within the province were much more severely affected by unemployment than others. The people facing the greatest likelihood of being unemployed were those who lived in the northern part of the province, on Indian reservations, in

Winnipeg's inner city, or who were of Native ethnic backgrounds. The most important factor affecting Native people was the educational level of the population. More than 70 percent of the population had less than Grade 11 education in 1981 (Hull, 1990).

In discussing Manitoba's job creation efforts, Hull (1990) states that job creation had often been tied to megaprojects, such as hydro-electric development or downtown redevelopment and that many of the job creation programs were oriented towards low wage jobs in the small business and service sectors.

Between 1971 and 1981, the goods producing sector had created fewer new jobs than the service sector. This trend was expected to continue so that by 1990 only 25 percent of all jobs would be located in the goods producing sector. The goods producing sector was composed of primary industries (such as agriculture, forestry, fishing and mining), manufacturing, and construction. In 1984, these industries accounted for almost one-third of all jobs in Manitoba. The other two-thirds of the jobs were in the service producing industries such as transportation, finance, trade, education, health and government.

Future trends indicated that most new jobs in the service sector were expected to be in the retail trades, health and welfare, business services, and accommodation and food services. Almost all

service industries were expected to grow. (Government of Manitoba, 1985).

In its presentation to the Manitoba Economic Summit Conference in November 1982, the Manitoba Chamber of Commerce (1985) predicted that technological change would have dramatic effects on labour force requirements in the upcoming decade. An analysis of the unemployed indicated that this group had an extremely high percentage of people under 25 years of age with low education levels who would have difficulty adapting to industries and jobs that would be dramatically changed by technology (The Manitoba Chamber of Commerce, 1985). Those facing the greatest risk of unemployment were those with less than Grade 11 education and under 25 years of age (Hull, 1990).

In the early 1980s, the number of plant closures and workers affected had been high and the effects had been adverse. At least one-third of those who lost jobs suffered long-term unemployment. Older workers, women and those with less education had more difficulty finding new employment. Often those who found new jobs found their income reduced. Besides extended periods of unemployment and income loss, closures caused significant personal hardships in the form of de-skilling and family and health problems, plus additional societal costs in the form of additional job losses due to the multiplier effect, reduced government revenue

and increased government expenditure, and higher incidences of social problems (Silver, 1990).

In 1983, Canada began coming out of the recession. The recession was less severe in Manitoba than for the country as a whole. Manitoba's job losses were less severe than in Canada as a whole and by August 1983 employment had returned to its pre-recession employment level (Schroeder, 1985).

As of 1984, the labour force was at 492,000. This represented a labour force participation rate of 78 percent for adult males and 48 percent for adult females. The participation rate for adult women had risen 9 percent since 1975 and was predicted to continue to rise for some years to come (Cameron and Cameron, 1985).

Between 1966 and 1981, the number of unemployed in Canada more than tripled and the unemployment rate more than doubled. The major cause of these increases were the increased numbers of youth and women participating in the labour market. Although there was strong employment growth over the period, the number of jobs was not large enough to completely absorb the rise in the labour force. Similar trends were evident in Manitoba though not quite as strong as with the national experience. Youth unemployment as a percentage of the total unemployed in Manitoba increased from an annual average of 35 percent from 1966-69 to 49 percent in 1978-81. Women were close to

45 percent of all unemployed over the entire period (McArther, 1985).

McGinnis (1985) contended that new processes and techniques were being introduced by business and industry in order to compete in the marketplace. He admitted that these changes would not be easy and that workers would bear the brunt of these changes. He stated, "To some in the workplace, it will constitute a devastating blow. Jobs will be lost. Dislocation will occur. Retraining will be necessary" (p.317).

Summary

The general picture that one gets of the changes that happened to the Manitoba economy since World War I is that of an economy in slow, general decline relative to the rest of the country and a shift in economic activity from agriculture to manufacturing in the 1970s and then to the service industries in the 1980s. With the decline in agriculture came a shift in population from the rural to the urban areas with the resultant problem that most of these people didn't have the necessary skills to work in the expanding industrial sector.

Until 1959, provincial governments were reluctant to get involved in promoting economic growth in the province. This attitude changed

with the Roblin government in 1959 which saw itself as a catalyst and promoter of economic growth. This became a period of rapid growth and development for Manitoba. Both the Schreyer and Pawley governments continued this policy, especially through support of massive hydroelectric development projects in the 1970s and 1980s which helped to mitigate Manitoba's long term decline.

During the 1970s, job opportunities in Manitoba expanded slowly due to slow economic growth. Because the provincial economy was unable to absorb the increase in the labour force, unemployment increased. Unemployment was somewhat mitigated due to a high level of out-migration.

The early 1980s saw the worst recession since the depression of the 1930s. During this time the Lyon government brought in policies of restraint in government spending which tended to exacerbate the situation resulting in Manitoba having the poorest economic performance in all of Canada.

With the decline of the agricultural economy in the 1970s and 1980s came the closure of related industries such as implement manufacturers, metal manufacturing and foundries.

The majority of plant closures in the manufacturing sector was due to out-of-province or foreign ownerships. More than one-third of

plant closures and resultant job losses were due to rationalization.

By the end of the 1980s, Manitoba had essentially become a branch-plant economy whereby decisions were made outside of the province. Manitoba had become more dependent on out-of-province ownership than any other province in Canada. As a result, Manitoba's economy had become vulnerable to corporate restructuring as they responded to the changes in the global economy.

The effects of plant closures had been dramatic having such effects as long term unemployment, difficulty in finding new employment, reduced incomes, de-skilling and family and health problems as well as job losses due to the multiplier effect, reduced government revenues and increased expenditures and higher incidences of social problems.

By 1971, the shift in employment from agriculture to manufacturing had occurred. Small manufacturing firms were employing the majority of the workers in the manufacturing sector. The service sector had shown the greatest increase in employment and was the largest employer in the province. However, Manitoba found itself in a rather odd situation whereby there were not enough job opportunities for its highly trained technical people while too many people were migrating from rural to urban areas who lacked the

skills to work in the industries.

As in the rest of Canada, between 1971 and 1981, the unemployment rate in Manitoba increased dramatically due to the 'baby boomers' and women entering the workforce. The number of jobs available was not large enough to absorb this rise in the labour force. This, plus the fact that there were a lack of jobs for the highly trained technical people probably explains the out-migration of people to other provinces and the United States.

By 1981, Manitoba's labour force was growing at twice the rate of job creation. Indicators were that sectors with high quality jobs were in decline and low quality jobs were on the rise. Also, there was a trend towards more part time jobs at lower wages. The goods producing sector had created fewer jobs than the service sector, a trend that was expected to continue into the 1990s.

In the 1980s, technological change was having a dramatic effect on labour force requirements and workers with low education levels were having difficulty adapting. New processes and techniques were being introduced by business and industry to compete in the marketplace. Workers were bearing the brunt of these changes through job losses, dislocation of workers and workers having to take retraining programs to upgrade or acquire new skills in order to remain employable.

Chapter 4

FEDERAL TRAINING INITIATIVES UNDER THE ADULT OCCUPATIONAL TRAINING ACT

The purpose of this section is to show some of the key linkages between the Adult Occupational Training Act (AOTA) and the training agreements that were signed between the government of Manitoba and the federal government. The training agreements were really a reflection of federal legislation.

On May 8, 1967, the AOTA (See Appendix C) replaced the Technical Vocational Training Act. Its main focus was on such things as the training of the unemployed, apprenticeship training and language training. Most of the training that took place was institutional training. Industrial training activity was at a very low level.

So AOT ended up being the training of the unemployed, which was one program under TVTA. But what they did, essentially, was took parts of TVTA and made AOT, right? And discontinued other parts, so what you ended up with was a much narrower focused piece of legislation on training of the unemployed, apprenticeship training, language training and that kind of thing, right? In the original AOT, there really wasn't very much thought to anything beyond institutional training. The notion of giving money to employers or other agencies to train people really wasn't thought of. It was starting to happen but not very much (Recksiedler, 1998, Field Notes #1, Interview with Garry).

Under the AOTA adults eligible to enter into adult occupational training programs supported by the federal government had to be:

(1) of an age one year greater than the regular school leaving age in the province in which s/he resided and who had not attended school on a regular basis for at least 12 months and (2) they had to have been employed for at least three years or have had one or more dependents (Government of Canada, 1967). This was later amended in 1972 to open up eligibility for enrolment in occupational training courses to people who had been out of school for any twelve-month period after attaining the school leaving age. It allowed for any period of at least twelve months and not the most recent twelve months (Government of Manitoba, 1972, May 2).

Enrolment was arranged by a Manpower officer only into occupational courses that were operated by the province or a provincial or municipal authority of the province. Provision was made for adults to be enrolled in private vocational schools whose courses had been approved by the province. The Act also provided for the setting up of a joint Federal-Provincial Manpower Needs Committee which was to assess the manpower needs of the province and make reports and recommendations for training.

The Act allowed for direct federal involvement with industry which was operating or was undertaking to operate an occupational training course to provide training for employees. The federal government undertook to pay the employer the costs incurred in providing the training as specified in the contract between the

federal government and the employer. Preference was given to employers who would provide training in skills that were transferable to other occupations. In exceptional circumstances training specific to a particular industry could be considered if such training was deemed necessary because of technological or economic changes that otherwise would have resulted in loss of employment by those adults being trained. Employers could arrange for a third party (such as a community college) to provide the necessary training (Government of Canada, 1967). In May of 1972 the AOTA was amended to allow the federal government to contract with groups of employers as well as single employers. It was further amended to permit training in skills that could be directly useful only to that particular employer or group of employers. This was referred to as training on-the-job (Government of Manitoba, 1972, May 2).

All of the training agreements signed between the federal government and the government of Manitoba were based on the directions and provisions given in the Adult Occupational Training Act of May, 1967. One of the key components of the training agreements was the establishment of a joint federal-provincial consultative body commonly known as the Canada-Manitoba Manpower Needs Committee (MNC) which was made up of both federal and provincial representatives from various departments and was supported by seven sub-committees. The MNC was a joint recommending

body and through the Agreement was assigned terms of reference which included overall responsibility for assessing manpower needs and related issues in Manitoba. The MNC had the responsibility of: (1) assessing the training needs of Manitoba; (2) recommending training plans, priorities and strategies of action, and criteria for the selection of trainees; (3)prepareing a budget for the training required to meet the needs of individuals, groups, and the Manitoba economy; (4) establishing a list of courses specifying such things as course names, locations, starting and closing dates, training places (seats) committed, training days, per diem price and total price committed; (5) assessing and evaluating the results of training programs and recommending improvements and adjustments (Government of Canada/Government of Manitoba, 1967).

The Manpower Needs Committee was the mechanism through which a training plan for the province would be brought forward each year. It was co-chaired by whichever provincial government department was responsible for labour market matters at the time and the Director General for the Manitoba region. The MNC consisted of ten to fifteen people along with its various subcommittees.

And it was to be a formal consultation mechanism that was made formal in the agreements. We called it mostly the Money Needs Committee...the economists would put together reasonable projections of what they thought what was needed in the market...and that would somehow be reflected in a plan that would be formalized in each year. Now the Manpower Needs Committee generally was the Deputy Minister of Education in the province or the provincial government department responsible for so-called labour market matters...and the head of Manpower and Immigration in

the region, which was the Director General for the Manitoba region. They were the co-chairs. And typically this committee would be ten to fifteen people. It also had several sub-committees working out there, you know, industrial trade sub-committee, the economist sub-committee, those sorts of things, feeding information into it. But generally it was the approval mechanism to bring forth the so-called training plan which would be a schedule of courses...that would be operated by the province in a given period. And the money that the feds would pay for this, right? Based on negotiated per diem price, or cost, right? So that's really...when the smoke cleared at the end of the day, that's what the two co-chairs generally endorsed, that plan (Gerry Recksiedler, 1998, Field Notes #1, Interview with Garry).

The discussions that took place between provincial and federal representatives in the Manpower Needs Committee were not always harmonious.

It just got to be, it got to the point where everybody just...hated it, because it just turned into a battle all the time (Recksiedler, 1998, Field Notes #1, Interview with Garry).

Prior to the signing of the agreements, there was a process that took place to reach those agreements. Both the province and the federal government had their own negotiating teams which would meet to discuss the details of the agreement. However the people on these negotiating teams tended to be the same people that were on the MNC. When negotiations got difficult, then the Regional Director General from the federal side and the Deputy Minister from the provincial side might become involved. While discussing the negotiating teams and the MNC one former civil servant commented:

...they were overlapped, they tended to be the same individuals. As things got more difficult, you'd bring in some heavy hitters. So you could have meetings with the RDG and the Deputy for example" (Recksiedler, 1998, Field notes #5, Interview with Ken).

The purpose of the agreements was to allow the federal government to purchase occupational training services for adults (age 17 years or greater) and apprentices (age 16 years or greater) from an institution approved by Manitoba (Government of Canada, 1979, May 4).

In the agreements it was stated that the objective of the federal government was to improve the efficiency and productivity of the labour force, increase economic stability as well as social and economic equity. Manitoba's objective was to provide individually meaningful and productive opportunities for participation in the economic life of the province for all its residents. To achieve these two broad objectives the agreements provided for two adult occupational training programs:

(1) The Canada Manpower Training Program (CMTP) which consisted of institutional training for skills, academic upgrading, language, work adjustment, and all training for apprentices in designated trades. Trainees received support through training allowances or unemployment insurance benefits. The purpose of CMPT was to provide individuals with occupational skills that were likely to improve their employability or earning capacity and that were required in the labour market.

(2) The Canada Manpower Industrial Training Program (CMITP) consisted of adult occupational training given under the responsibility of an employer or a group of employers to their

employees under an industrial training contract signed by the employer and the federal government. The employer was reimbursed for the cost of such training and partially for the wages paid. The content, methodology and duration of the training had to be acceptable to Manitoba. The purpose of CMITP was to reimburse the employer or a member of an employer association for the cost of training, retraining or upgrading persons employed by them (Government of Canada, 1979, May 4).

Thus with the introduction of the AOT Act, there was a significant increase in adult training activity in the province, mostly on the institutional side but increasingly on the industrial side, especially after 1972. The purpose of the agreements was to allow the federal government to purchase occupational training services from institutions approved by Manitoba.

In the next section we will look at the rapid rise in youth unemployment, the reasons for this and the federal government's response.

Youth, Women and Skill Shortages

From the end of the 1960's to the mid-1970's both Manitoba and Canada were experiencing significant increases in the number of unemployed young adults. The purpose of this section is to show how

this phenomenon came about and why the federal government became concerned.

Since 1966 there was a significant increase in the participation rates of youth (15 to 24 years) in the labour force. Although youth employment increased significantly, it was not enough to keep pace with the even faster growth of the youth labour force. This widening gap between youth employment and the size of the youth labour force represented an alarming increase in the number of young people unemployed. In 1977, Manitoba's 10.1% unemployment rate was the highest ever recorded in the province. Young people made up just over 25% of the provincial labour force but constituted almost half the province's unemployed. This situation was a continuation of deteriorating youth unemployment rates which had begun in the early 1960's (Government of Manitoba, 1978, August). Similar trends were occurring throughout the country. There was a concern being shown by both the federal and provincial governments that youth unemployment might shift into the over 25 age group raising the potential of increased social and political tension which might erupt among the more mature and educated unemployed as had been the case in some European countries. It was felt that some kind of action had to be taken to deal with the situation.

While the "baby boom" was a major factor in the large number of young people entering the labour force, another trend was at work as well. Ideological shifts in the 1960's freed women from confining social roles and many were opting for careers. Many others entered the work force to supplement real family income which was being eroded due to inflation (Government of Manitoba (b), 1977, September).

According to one civil servant, the year 1975 was the "saddle point" in terms of employment. Prior to 1975 there were more jobs available than people to fill them. After 1975 there were more people looking for work than there were jobs. It was also the year when computers began to affect jobs.

> ...before 1975 there was more jobs than people to take them, but after 1975, there were more people looking than jobs. It's just sort of the saddle point. The other thing is the first commercial production of the micro-chip in 1975. After '75 you see the microchip starting to affect jobs... (Recksiedler, 1998, Field Notes #4, Interview with Randy).

By 1978 Canada was experiencing record unemployment rates and yet industry was facing an unprecedented shortage of skilled labour. In the past industry had imported its skilled labour from overseas instead of training them in Canada. It appeared that these hiring practices were partly the reason for the growing youth unemployment situation. Employers hadn't participated in apprenticeship programs because it was easier and cheaper to recruit abroad or attract

skilled workers from smaller companies (Oram, 1978, February 18). With the tightening up on immigration and growing unemployment, it was recognized that Canada's type and quality of training was no longer adequate (Oram, 1978, February 25).

On January 17, 1978, the Minister of Employment and Immigration announced that there would be changes to the new upcoming training agreements. One change was a de-emphasis of BTSD because of the federal government's concern that it was being used for recent school leavers (which was felt to be a provincial responsibility). Another change was to expand the apprenticeship system (Cullen, 1978, January 30).

To conclude, due to the "baby boom" phenomenon there was a significant increase in the number of young people looking for jobs. In addition there was an increasing number of women entering the workforce looking for careers or to supplement family income. The growth in jobs could not keep up with the growth in the labour force. Both federal and provincial governments showed concern over the potential for social and political unrest. By 1978 both Canada and Manitoba were experiencing the unique phenomenon of record unemployment rates along with an unprecedented shortage of skilled labour. There was a recognition that the type and quality of occupational training offered in Canada was no longer adequate.

In the next section we will take a look at the amounts of Federal expenditures in Manitoba for adult occupational training during the period that the AOTA was in effect.

Federal Training Expenditures in Manitoba: 1969/70-1980/81

The purpose of this section is to show the shift in Federal expenditures away from institutional training towards industrial training.

In spite of Manitoba's requests to be given special consideration for federal funding due to its relatively high native population, in the end the province received only four and a half percent of federal funding for training allocated across Canada. This was generally based on population.

...we had a very large Native population relative to, say PEI or Nova Scotia. And the government of Manitoba argued that there needed to be special consideration because of those things...when the smoke all cleared, it was four and a half percent. We always called Manitoba the four and a half percent solution! (Recksiedler, 1998, Field Notes #1, Interview with Garry).

In 1980/81, federal and provincial government expenditures for manpower training in Manitoba amounted to approximately $44 million. Of this total, $20 million (45 %) was provided by the federal government under AOTA. The province of Manitoba funded manpower training in the amount of $24 million (55 %) through its community colleges and vocational and business education for grades

10-12. This provincial funding did not include the financial support provided to universities and other forms of education.

In the nine-year period from 1971/72 to 1980/81 both the federal and provincial governments increased expenditures. Federal expenditures covering both institutional (CMTP) and industrial (CMITP) increased by $13.1 million (190 %) from $6.9 million to $20 million over the period. Provincial expenditures increased $15.5 million (182 %) from $8.5 million to $24 million. In terms of constant 1971/72 dollars this represented a real increase of about 35%.

Since 1971/72 almost half the growth in federal AOTA expenditures in Manitoba occurred in the industrial training area (CMITP). Federal expenditures on institutional training more than doubled (109 % increase) while expenditures on industrial training increased about thirteen times. This shift in emphasis towards industrial training was reflected in the decline of the federal share of institutional training costs from 43 % in 1971/72 to 36 % in 1980/81. As a percent of total institutional and industrial training in Manitoba, Table 4 shows that the federal share remained unchanged at 45% (Government of Manitoba, 1980, October).

Table 4

VOCATIONAL & OCCUPATIONAL TRAINING IN MANITOBA

PERCENT OF FEDERAL EXPENDITURES TO TOTAL EXPENDITURES

Fiscal Year	Federal CMTP (Institutional) to Total Institutional	Federal CMTP (Institutional) to Community Colleges Only	Federal CMITP & CMTP (Industrial & Institutional) to Total Industrial & Institutional
1971/72	43.1	46.8	44.8
1972/73	42.1	46.2	45.1
1973/74	41.9	46.1	46.8
1974/75	42.1	45.9	44.9
1975/76	37.6	40.8	40.7
1976/77	37.0	40.0	41.0
1977/78	37.3	41.5	43.1
1978/79	39.1	44.8	44.2
1979/80	38.6	42.6	45.0
1980/81	35.8	39.4	45.2

Source: Research Branch, Department of Labour and Manpower, October 1980

Since 1968 employer-centered training had grown progressively in importance and by 1982 was running at slightly less than 50% of the expenditures for institutional training. Over time employer-centered training had become directed toward (1) employed workers and supervisors, (2) employment threatened workers and (3) unemployed persons including adults with special needs (Briefing Notes: Canada-Manitoba Training Agreement, September 29, 1982, n.d.).

In the period 1976/77 to 1982/83 federal training expenditures for Manitoba continued to increased from $23.0 million to $41.5 million (80.5 % increase). In real terms, adjusting for the consumer price index during this period, this calculated to only a 2.4% increase. According to the province, this indicated a failure on the part of the federal government to keep up with the labour force growth which was recorded at 6.8 % for Manitoba. Also, Manitoba argued that compared to other provinces it had a higher proportion of special needs clients that required more intensive and costly training to succeed in the labour market. For example, Manitoba's Registered Indian population was about 4.5 % of the provincial total compared with 1.3% for Canada as a whole (Government of Manitoba, 1983, September 6).

Table 5

Analysis of CMTP Participation in Community College Training

Expressed as % of Students Enrolled by Manpower

in Course Categories in Which Manpower Participates

Fiscal Year	ENROLLMENT			% CMTP to Total	% Meeting CMTP Eligibility*
	CMTP Sponsored	Non-CMTP	Total		
1968/69	6,070	1,975	8,045	75%	
1969/70	5,766	2,296	8,062	72%	
1970/71	6,424	2,157	8,581	75%	
1971/72	6,400	2,665	9,065	71%	
1972/73	6,599	2,662	9,261	71%	
1973/74	6,048	3,299	9,347	65%	90%
1974/75	6,247	2,593	9,840	63%	89%
1975/76	6,773	3,536	10,309	66%	90%
1976/77	9,610	3,942	13,552	71%	86%
1977/78	8,462	3,801	12,263	69%	92%
1978/79	7,663	3,855	11,518	67%	93%
1979/80	6,863	4,734	11,597	59%	

* As determined by AOT and out of school eligibility criteria in courses that are one year of less in duration.

Source: Research Branch, Department of Labour & Manpower, October 1980

In those courses provided by the community colleges in which the federal government participated, the percentage of students enroled by CEIC officers amounted to 75% of the total enrolment in 1968/69. This percentage slowly declined to 59% of total enrolment by 1979/80 again reflecting the federal government's shift away form institutional training (See Table 5 above) (Government of Manitoba, 1980, October)

In summarizing, during the period 1971/72 to 1980/81 both the federal and provincial governments increased expenditures on manpower training in the province with the federal government providing 45% of the total. Although there were increases in federal expenditures for both institutional and industrial training, the share of federal dollars to institutional training declined as compared to industrial training. Thus we see a significant shift in emphasis towards industrial training and by 1982 expenditures were running at almost 50% of the expenditures for institutional training. In spite of Manitoba's request for special consideration for extra funding due to it's having a higher proportion of special needs clients compared to the rest of the country, Manitoba's share of the federal training budget always remained at about four and a half percent of the total federal training budget for the country. This appeared to be based simply on population figures.

In the next section we will take a look at some of the concerns that Manitoba had about federal occupational training in the province.

Manitoba's Concerns

In a letter to Prime Minister Trudeau from Premier Ed Schreyer (July 20, 1978), the premier voiced the desire that the provinces should have a much greater voice in the shaping of Canada's Manpower Training programs to fit the provinces' particular needs and circumstances, especially for the disadvantaged and non-participating groups in the labour force. Premier Schreyer noted that the "buyer-seller" relationship between the federal government and the provinces tended to place the provinces in an inferior position when it came to planning and priority setting (Schreyer, 1972, May 9). It was felt by all of the provinces that the funding process for institutional training (the purchase of service or "buyer-seller" relationship) placed the Federal Manpower Division in a dominant position allowing it to make purchase decisions in accordance with federal policies and its manpower objectives. Manitoba also felt that the joint Federal-Provincial Manpower Needs Committees' functions were only being considered advisory by the Federal Manpower Division and that effective consultation was superficial (Adult Occupational Training, 1977, January 31).

Premier Schreyer also expressed concern that the federal government's move towards increased emphasis in industrial training may result in reduced financing for institutional training. Because of amendments to the legislation which would open up eligibility for training, Premier Schreyer noted that there would be an increase in the number of young people wanting to enter institutional training programs. He also expressed concern that there was a need to have programs funded beyond the fifty-two week training restriction stipulated in the AOTA. He pointed out that this was a real problem for Manitoba with severely disadvantaged people who frequently required intensive training for periods of time longer than one year (Schreyer, 1972, May 9).

In a report on training requirements in Manitoba for 1975/76 it was noted that people requiring manpower training consisted of two basic groups: (1) those who were employed and (2) the unemployed and other labour force non-participants who were potentially employable. The first group consisted of the working poor, apprentices, secondary labour force participants (mainly youth) as well as self-employed or part-time employed persons such as farmers, fishermen, trappers and guides. For the most part this group required job specific skills training and/or educational upgrading. The second group was composed of two main sub-groups: (1) unemployed youth and women and (2) hard-core unemployed. Generally it was felt that the hard-core unemployed and welfare

cases required a long term (minimum two to three years) development program with support services to enable them to function in the labour force. This was not provided for in the training agreements of the time. Fifty-two weeks was the maximum length of time allowed for manpower training (Government of Manitoba, 1975, September 18).

In 1976 the government of Manitoba was concerned that the institutional and industrial training programs were not meeting Manitoba's needs. It was felt that these training programs had to be made more flexible as industrial conditions differed significantly from the other provinces. The province argued that such details as the relative unemployment rates in different regions of the province, out-migration, immigration, the large number of small enterprises, the relatively large Native population and the northern region all made Manitoba different in its manpower requirements. According to the province, these differing conditions made it difficult to apply the two training programs (Angood and Wallace, 1976, November 16).

In general then, the government of Manitoba felt that both the institutional and industrial training programs were not meeting its needs. The province felt that these training programs had to be made more flexible as conditions in Manitoba differed significantly from other provinces.

Next we will take a look at a significant federal training policy shift that took place in the latter part of the 1970's which impacted on institutional training in the province.

Federal Policy Shift

In September of 1977 the federal government came out with a document called "The Canada Manpower Training Program: A Policy Review". It made several recommendations that would change training across the country which would have major implications for Manitoba. It acknowledged that there had been a policy drift from the original objectives of the AOT Act of economic growth towards serving a variety of other purposes such as maximizing employment, reducing interregional and interpersonal income disparities, reducing unemployment by withdrawing workers from the labour force, and meeting the demands for income supplementation and social development of various special needs groups. The federal government was now giving notice that it intended to return to its original training objective as outlined in the Adult Occupational Training Act of 1967, that is, that its training efforts, expenditures and activities would be more closely aligned to opportunities for jobs.

The proposed policy changes reflected a shift in emphasis: (1) an expansion in occupational skill training which was considered to be more effective in leading to employment and filling the skill needs

of industry and (2) an expansion of training in those regions of the country experiencing employment growth and where job opportunities were most abundant. There would be a change in criteria for skills training from that based on high levels of unemployment to an emphasis on employment growth and labour force distribution.

One of the training programs to be affected was Basic Training for Skill Development (BTSD). BTSD was a form of academic upgrading intended to prepare individuals for entry into skill training or to provide the educational level required by certain jobs. Federal government reviews identified BTSD as a major soft spot in their training programs, in terms of its effectiveness in either getting graduate trainees into jobs or into skill training courses. Originally seen as compensating for past inadequacies in educational opportunities, by 1971 BTSD training grew to represent the largest component of institutional training in Canada with over 35 percent of trainees enrolled. By 1977 this share had dropped to 21 percent but still served a far wider range of clients than envisaged in 1967, and had come to be used by recent school leavers. Over one-third of BTSD trainees were less than twenty years of age. As the primary aim of Manpower Training was to recycle workers for the labour force rather than to substitute for the provincial education system, the following changes for access into BTSD were recommended: (1) Restricting BTSD to those clients

who are twenty-one years of age and over; (2) Emphasizing the primary purpose of BTSD, which was to prepare people for skill training and; (3) Phasing out BTSD entirely below the Grade 7 level. A reinforced Basic Job Readiness Training (BJRT) program was to be substituted, emphasizing the specific skills needed by particular client groups in relation to the job opportunities open to them, rather than academic upgrading per se.

Another recommended change was in language training for immigrants. A great majority of the trainees were dependents who withdrew from the labour force after training, many returning to domestic duties. Now the intention was to provide training primarily to immigrants who made independent applications since they were the ones selected for their ability to contribute skills to Canada's economy.

With regards to Training the Self-Employed, it was intended to eliminate the payment of training allowances to self-employed persons wishing to upgrade their existing skills. However, training would continue to be made available to them without allowances.

Another recommended change was the limiting of industrial training funds to 15 percent in each province to be used by provincial and municipal governments for the training of special needs clients in their employ.

The federal government intended to use the positions stated in the Policy Review to form the basis for consultation with the provinces prior to the next round of training agreement negotiations. The above recommended changes were the key ones which, if implemented, would have significant impacts on training in Manitoba (Agard, 1977, September).

In the winter of 1980/81 agricultural production training was dropped from the institutional training program. All agricultural training, with the exception of farm labour training, was to revert to the province. However, the door was left open for agricultural production training to be reinstated into the Institutional Training Program if demand for that kind of training increased (Berg, 1980, December 12).

Beginning April 1, 1981, CEIC no longer sponsored clients into BTSD who were under the age of 21 years of age. This applied to Natives and Metis on and off reserve as well as other groups. However, it was expected that these people could be accommodated by new upcoming initiatives such as the Native Opportunity Training and the Core Area Initiative programs (Government of Canada/Government of Manitoba, 1981, January 27).

Thus we see that, as a result of its Policy Review, the federal government was proposing a shift in emphasis towards occupational

skills training and an expansion of training in those regions of the country showing a growth in jobs. One of the training programs to be affected was BTSD because of its lack of effectiveness in getting clients into jobs or into skill training courses. This was an area of concern for the community colleges in Manitoba because 20% to 35% of their trainees were in BTSD and represented a significant revenue loss for the colleges.

In the next section we will take a look at the concerns that Manitoba had about the Federal Policy Review.

Manitoba's Concerns Regarding the Policy Review

Manitoba's concerns over the federal government's proposed policy changes were as follows:

(1) By shifting training emphasis to areas of the country experiencing high employment growth, Manitoba felt that this would result in a shift of training funds to the wealthier provinces. Manitoba did not accept the premise that manpower training did not create jobs. The province believed that training served as an incentive for job creation by industry or alternatively as a disincentive to job creation where training policy was absent or lacking. The province felt that a trained labour force and economic activity were complementary, that is, they were mutually reinforcing assets.

(2) Manitoba did not accept the federal contention that there existed other programs to adequately deal with regional disparities and the special needs of Northerners. There was no evidence to suggest that regional disparities were declining. In fact, it was felt that these proposed changes would have the effect of worsening Canada's regional disparities.

(3) Because of the particular industrial mix in Manitoba (for example, a high proportion of small owner-operator enterprises), it was felt that these types of businesses would be discriminated against by being ineligible to receive training support through CMITP.

(4) There was concern that the 15 percent limit to the share of CMITP funds for training by provincial or municipal governments could well thwart both federal and provincial manpower training and employment objectives.

(5) With respect to the federal proposals regarding BTSD and BJRT, Manitoba felt that the implementation of age restrictions and types of training at lower levels would especially hurt the population of northern Manitoba, especially the native people and the poorly educated. A large proportion of this population were in the lower age group with low educational levels whereas the job opportunities open to them required higher educational and skill levels. It was felt that unless BJRT was modified for this region of the province the program would only prepare people for low paying, dead-end and insecure jobs. The province felt that the adoption of the arbitrary

age limit of 21 years for entry into BTSD would raise another barrier for the educationally disadvantaged Northerners. If the age restriction could not be lowered, then the province wanted consideration to be given to a phasing in period towards the age of twenty-one. Because Manitoba had a high proportion of Native people involved in the BTSD program, it proposed that in any future training agreements that consideration be given to the inclusion of exceptions to deal with this problem. Manitoba proposed that a special allocation of funds be established annually to finance these exceptions.

(6) Manitoba expressed strong concern about the federal indication to cease paying allowances for persons taking training who are otherwise self-employed. It was felt that this move would eliminate training programs aimed primarily at entry level farmers and operators of marginal farms as well as remove the opportunity for fishermen and trappers to upgrade their skills and also undermine their ability to maintain a self-reliant lifestyle.

(7) Funding for institutional and industrial training was separately allocated by the federal government and couldn't be shifted between programs. Manitoba reiterated its desire to have joint or cooperative programming between the two programs through both the funding and administration of the programs (Government of Manitoba, 1977, December 6; Government of Canada/Government of Manitoba, 1977, December 6).

In preparation for consultations with the federal government, the Provincial Department of Continuing Education and Manpower directed the establishment of a provincial negotiating team consisting of thirteen officials representing the departments of Continuing Education and Manpower, Labour, Northern Affairs, Attorney-General, Agriculture, Finance and the Provincial Auditor (Government of Manitoba, 1977, December 5).

During consultations towards a new training agreement between the federal government and the government of Manitoba, the provincial negotiating team interpreted the federal position to be that the Policy Review was a unilateral document leaving little opportunity in the consultation process for the integration of provincial recommendations (Government of Canada/Government of Manitoba, 1977, December 6).

Thus we see that Manitoba had many concerns about the proposed policy changes, the general feeling being that it would negatively impact both Manitoba's economy and its people. Next we will look more closely at the effects that the policy changes had on the adult basic education program in Manitoba.

Effects of Policy Changes on Adult Basic Education in Manitoba

Adult Basic Education (ABE) programs had been operating in Manitoba

since 1968. ABE was designed to provide an individualized, flexible course of study for adults which allowed them to acquire the social and academic skills necessary for further skill training or entry directly into jobs. ABE was considered to be a high risk type of training because the individuals who participated were generally disadvantaged, consisting of females, Native Canadians and persons with low educational levels (Government of Manitoba, 1977, November 8). By 1974 major changes in the philosophy of the program took place resulting in a fundamentally new direction being taken. One of the changes that took place was the use of an integrated three stream approach comprising academics, job exploration and life skills. Individualized instruction replaced group instruction and continuous intake and exit took the place of single date enrolment and completion. An attempt was now being made to adapt an educational program to the student rather than the other way round. All ABE clients were referred to the program by a Manpower counselor. One of the major criteria for considering clients for ABE was that they had to be unemployable or unemployed and that they had the potential for and motivation to successfully complete academic upgrading.

Certain adult education principles were now recognized as being crucial for success. These were:

(1) Adults were voluntary learners. They generally enter the classroom in a problem-centered frame of mind, seeking alleviation

of a particular problem through education.

(2) Learning is an internal process. Adult students want to be able to apply their newly acquired knowledge immediately.

(3) The physical and social environment should reflect the adult world.

(4) The goal is to assist the student to become a self-directed human being capable of making independent decisions (McCannel, 1976, March 16).

As of 1976 the ABE program was divided into two streams: (1) Basic Training for Skill Development (BTSD) which stressed the acquisition of academic skills, possibly in preparation for further training in skills courses at the community colleges and (2) Basic Job Readiness Training (BJRT) which was designed to better equip students for entry or re-entry into the world of work. It provided students with life coping skills, job orientation techniques and various work experience situations necessary to obtain and retain meaningful employment. If additional academic skills were required, these too were provided (Red River Community College, n.d.).

A survey report produced by the Manpower Division of the Manitoba Department of Education and Manpower (February, 1977) stated that although students completing the program may have been academically upgraded, they still lacked marketable skills. It appeared that the

ABE program was fulfilling the social aspect of the socio-economic needs of the students, but their economic needs were still not being met (Government of Manitoba, 1977, February). By this time changes to the ABE program were being proposed by the federal government in its Policy Review document of September 1977.

As a result of the policy changes brought about in 1972 with respect to the relaxing of the age requirement and the time out of school, many young people were leaving school and later entering into the ABE program. In 1978 the criteria was 17 years of age and one year out-of-school. By September of 1976 the Manitoba government had recognized that its ABE program potentially was in trouble. A large number of students from the institutionally-based program were experiencing difficulty in finding employment. It was felt that unless there was an improvement in the employability of ABE students, the Federal Department of Manpower and Immigration would find it difficult to justify future funding (Angood, 1976, September 13).

Under the new training agreement which became effective April 1, 1978, consideration was being given to raising the minimum age requirement for entry into BTSD from 17 to 20 years or to lengthening the out-of-school time period to two or three years (Government of Manitoba, 1978, April 25). The policy changes were to affect the BTSD program only. These changes were to be phased in

between September 1978 to September 1980. Progressively higher grade level equivalent requirements would also be phased in over this period. The amount of BTSD programming was to be progressively reduced and the money was to be directed towards training in areas of high employment. BJRT was to be reinforced and strengthened, especially for special needs and/or disadvantaged clients. The intent was to have the policy changes regarding BTSD fully implemented by the end of the three year agreement (Vanderloo, 1978, June 5).

The policy change with regard to BTSD was justified by the federal government in a letter dated January 30, 1978 to the Honorable Keith Cosens, Minister of Education and of Continuing Education and Manpower from the Honorable Bud Cullen, Federal Minister of Employment and Immigration. In the letter he stated:

> As originally conceived, BTSD was a form of academic upgrading intended to prepare individuals for entry into skill training or to provide, in a limited number of cases, the educational level required by certain jobs. It was viewed as a means of giving the older element of our working population a "second chance" to obtain the education which was not available to them, for one reason or another, in their youth. Over time, however, our purchases of BTSD have climbed to more than $100 million per year and the trainees have increasingly become recent school leavers, a situation which is clearly not in accord with the primary aim of the AOT Act, which is to prepare workers for the labour force rather than to assist them to complete their education (Cullen, 1978, January 30, p. 6).

In the same letter the Minister of Employment and Immigration stated that the federal government, through the academic upgrading component of the BTSD program, had unintentionally intruded into a provincial area of responsibility, that is, education. He also indicated the federal government's dissatisfaction with the program by pointing out that the majority of BTSD programs purchased from provincial institutions had not been closely enough related to the skill training courses for which they were designed to be a preparation (Angood, 1978, January 3).

These policy changes brought about Manitoba's concern as to what regional impacts these changes would have, especially the northern region of the province. Given that Keewatin Community College's enrolment was approximately 90 percent Manpower sponsored students and about 44 percent of the college's training was delivered in small communities and remote locations (where in many cases there were insufficient or no job opportunities), it was feared if the federal policy was to be pursued to its extreme, then Keewatin Community College would be in jeopardy. Other concerns were: (1) that the changes in policy would result in a decline of trained people and make particular regions of the province less attractive to economic development; (2) policy changes would lead to out-migration of the province's 18 to 24 age population by forcing individuals to move to another region of the province to gain training; and (3) policy changes would have negative financial

effects on the province's revenue (Angood, 1978, January 3).

Because federal funding of ABE programs represented a significant financial source for the operation of Manitoba's provincial training institutions, Manitoba was obviously worried that the proposed policy changes with respect to BTSD would have a major impact on the colleges through reductions in programming and federal financial support. Next will be a review of the federal government's new Labour Market Strategy which came about as a result of the Policy Review.

New Federal Labour Market Strategy: 1978

On August 1, 1978 the federal government announced its new Labour Market Strategy. Central to the Strategy was the fundamental principle that an efficient and competitive private sector should play the main role in assuring Canada's economic growth. The Strategy included:

(1) The development of a labour market information system for the planning and implementation of manpower policies.

(2) Emphasis on high level skills and the de-emphasizing of academic upgrading. Increased emphasis would be placed on skill training, on training-in-industry and on targeting training towards regions with projected employment growth.

(3) The private sector was to be encouraged to promote training for

their own manpower requirements.

(4) Encourage acceptance by employers of those people with special needs for training and subsequent employment.

(5) Redeployment of manpower away from declining sectors toward expanding sectors. Mobility programs would be required to facilitate recruitment and to assist workers (Government of Manitoba, 1978, November).

Another federal initiative called the Critical Trade Skills Training (CTST)Program was announced in September, 1979. The purpose of the program was to support training to meet critical trade skills shortages being experienced by industry (Berg, 1980, May 28).

The implications of these policy changes on Manitoba were as follows:

(1) It was expected that measures to enhance worker mobility would result in increases of out-migration to other provinces. This would result in keeping unemployment rates low (thereby limiting federal industrial development and job creation inputs) and discouraging employment growth (thereby limiting federal training inputs).

(2) Federal policies did not address the regional disparities within the province. The rural areas would not qualify for federal support on the basis of high unemployment rates as they would be

hidden in the overall unemployment rate of the province.

(3) The shift in training emphasis from institutional to industrial would result in transferring a greater portion of the burden for operating the colleges onto the province.

(4) New methods of purchasing skills training by employers had implications for the province as they were the main suppliers of skills training.

(5) It appeared that the federal government was de-emphasizing services to disadvantaged and special needs workers. The feeling was that the slack would have to be picked up by the province (Government of Manitoba, 1978, December).

With respect to the CTST program, Manitoba felt that the official list of occupations provided by Ottawa and eligible for funding did not correspond to Manitoba's identified needs (Berg, 1980, May 28).

The government of Manitoba felt that the methods used to allocate federal manpower funds to the province produced some inequities and worked counter-productively to its industrial growth needs. In some respects they were contrary to the federally stated goals of making manpower programs more responsive to local needs and supportive of economic growth principles. The use of provincial-wide unemployment figures to trigger the release of job creation funds short-circuited provincial sub-regional problems and needs. The limiting

of funds for training according to employment growth thwarted provincial economic development.

In short, it was felt that Manitoba might be faced with the situation where it needed federal Manpower programs to support its economic growth objectives but necessary federal support could be limited because employment growth would be insufficient to trigger the required funding (Government of Manitoba, 1978, December).

Next we will take a look at the huge infusion of federal money into provincial institutional training system after AOTA and the dependence that the provincial institutions began to have on the federal government for both clients and financial support.

Institutional Training

After 1967, with the passing of the AOT Act, there was a dramatic increase in federal funding for adult occupational training due to the fact that (1) it was a new program and (2)there was an increase in unemployment rates in the late 1960's and early 1970's. Increased federal funding for institutional training resulted in a dramatic increase in the numbers of people in training as well as in the number and types of courses.

After AOT...there was...a rather dramatic increase in the money spent on it. There's two reasons: for one it was the new program. The second thing is that we were starting to see high unemployment beginning in the late 60's and early in the 70's. The effect of

that was a dramatic impact on the institutions...the Manpower Training Program...the money from it was the principal driving force in the growth in the institutional training centres...the dramatic growth of the number of people in training happened with AOTA...not just the growth of the numbers in there, but the whole notion of pre-employment training for mechanics, plumbers, and all that kind of stuff...dramatic growth of these one year courses (Recksiedler, 1998, Field Notes #1, Interview with Garry).

With this huge infusion of federal training dollars into the province, training became an industry. The training system became very large, institutionalized and a whole infrastructure unto itself.

So the money drove this whole industry. It got big, it got institutionalized, it became a whole infrastructure by itself (Recksiedler, 1998, Field Notes #1, Interview with Garry).

Between 1968 and 1975 the per diem rate for institutional training in Manitoba increased dramatically. According to one retired civil servant, one of the reasons for this was that the province saw the training dollars from the federal government as a fiscal transfer and the province was trying to maximize that amount.

The price per day of training just went out of sight...from '68 to '75, or in that period, you see a hell of an increase in price, and that is reflected in two things: one is the province saw this thing as a fiscal transfer. It was money coming to Manitoba, and they were trying to get as much as they could (Recksiedler, 1998, Field Notes #1, Interview with Garry).

As of 1975 community college training had attempted to place the development of the individual as a human being and the needs of the community on an equal footing basis with job placement goals. The conflicts which arose for the community colleges came about as a

result of the question: What should be the balance or appropriate mix of programming as a result of social demand, that is, demand by individuals for training and economic demand, that is, demand as a result of labour market needs?(Government of Manitoba, 1975, March 12).

In 1973/74 the community colleges served about two and one-half times as many males as females. While this statistic compared closely with the male/female distribution of the labour force, it compared unfavorably with the increasing number of females entering the labour force. The community colleges were missing an opportunity to serve more completely this part of the population (Government of Manitoba, 1975,June).

About 50 percent of the 12,651 day students enrolled in colleges in 1974/75 were sponsored by Canada Manpower of which 27 percent (1,703 students) were female (Government of Manitoba, 1975, March 12). Sex stereotyping existed in the majority of courses, strongly paralleling the situation which existed in the labour force. Courses tended to be male or female oriented. High levels of female participation existed in the health sciences, clerical and personal services areas, and extremely low rates of participation in agricultural, business administration, construction, industrial and technology courses. Provincial apprenticeship training was almost

entirely male dominated. It was felt that any serious effort to attract low participant groups into these sectors would have had an excellent likelihood of success (Government of Manitoba, 1975, June).

In an analysis of Canada Manpower training purchases in Manitoba for the years 1969/70 to 1977/78, it was noted that community colleges accounted for about 95 percent of total Manpower training days purchased in Manitoba during the period between 1969/70 to 1976/77, compared to 5 percent for private schools. Institutional training accounted for between 91% and 96% of total Manpower training expenditures in Manitoba, as compared to between 4 percent and 9% for industry-based training.

The proportion of Manpower-sponsored training in community colleges devoted to ABE increased gradually from 25% of total purchase in 1973/74 to 34% in 1976/77. Skills training accounted for about 57% of total training days purchased between 1969/70 to 1975/76, at which time it declined to 53% of the total. Purchase of apprenticeship programs increased from 7% of total in 1969/70 to 15% in 1976/77. It was noted that the actual training days purchased by the federal government had consistently fallen short of the training volume recommended by the Manpower Needs Committee (Government of Manitoba [a], 1977, September).

Thus we see that institutional training in Manitoba received significant financial support from the federal government and became a huge infrastructure unto its own. It was noted that although women were entering the colleges at an unprecedented rate, sex stereotyping existed in many of the courses, particularly in apprenticeship. We will now go on to look at the apprenticeship program in Manitoba, how it was sourcing its students and the participation of women during the 1970's.

Apprenticeship

Since the spring of 1977, most of the students entering apprenticeship programs came directly from the high schools. As the "baby boom" had passed through the secondary schools, enrollments into apprenticeship were dropping. It was expected that by the mid-1980's that this would be having a serious effect on the labour force.

Historically, Canadian industry had imported the highly skilled people that it needed from other countries. Training in Canada was not adequate to produce the highly skilled people required by industry. Also, the apprenticeship system preferred to recruit from high school graduates rather than from severely disadvantaged adults who required a year or more of ABE training plus skill

training before they could be apprenticed (Lorimer, 1977, April 7).

In the spring of 1977 the first female graduate from the apprenticeship program in Manitoba received her certificate in industrial mechanics. The apprenticeship program had not attracted many women into the male-oriented trades. At this time only five women were enrolled in apprenticeship training in Manitoba. With an increasing number of women entering the labour force, it was expected that there would be more female apprentices entering the trades (Government of Manitoba, 1977, May 13). Although by the beginning of 1979 there was a move within the Apprenticeship Division in conjunction with the Canada Employment and Immigration Commission to actively recruit women, there was still no representation of women's requirements on the Apprenticeship Board. Furthermore, although some effort was being made, there was no full-time resource in the Apprenticeship Division actively recruiting women, as was the case in Ontario and Saskatchewan (Feist and McIlwain, 1979, January 8).

Towards the end of the 1970's we see that the source of trainees for apprenticeship had changed. There were fewer young people passing through the secondary schools and there was a drop in immigration. More females than ever were entering the workforce. However, the apprenticeship system appeared unable or reluctant to appeal to females to enter into the trades. It also appeared

reluctant to accept disadvantaged adults into the program.

Next we will look at how industry based training changed and evolved after AOTA and how its success depended on the state of the Provincial economy. We'll also look at the Province's role in industry based training.

Industry Based Training

Prior to June 17, 1974 the Federal Department of Manpower and Immigration offered three industrial training programs: (1) Training-in-Industry, (2) Training on-the-Job for Skill Shortages and (3) Training on-the-Job for the Disadvantaged. As of June 17, 1974 these three programs were integrated into one program and was called the Canada Manpower Industrial Training Program (CMITP). It was funded and administered by the Federal Department of Manpower and Immigration. The province's role was to ensure that any training offered under the program was to be of sufficiently high caliber to meet provincial standards. Normally the federal department would not enter into a contract with an employer unless the training plan had been discussed with the province and it was agreed that the employer had the capability and the facilities to conduct the proposed training (Jefferies, 1974,June 13).

In September of 1976 the Manpower Needs Committee noted that the federal government had been stressing the value of industrial training and wanted federal money to be used as much as possible to place people into employment. The value of some institutional training was being questioned. Concern was expressed within the Committee that the funding allocated for industrial training was not being used up and that there was a high risk that this funding would be reduced in the coming year. The budget for industry-based training had been increasing and it was likely to increase more in the future. However, it was feared that this increase would be at the expense of institutional-based training (Angood, 1976, September 13).

In 1978 the Critical Trades Skills Training (CTST) Program was introduced and included under industrial training. Its objective was to stimulate training in high-skill blue-collar occupation areas. It reimbursed employers a significant portion of the extra cost involved during a maximum of two years of the four to five year training period in predetermined trade occupations experiencing a labour shortage. The CTST program covered a very limited number of occupations such as Tool and Die Makers, Mold and Pattern Makers, Machinists, Millwrights and a few others (Government of Canada, n.d.).

In its 1980/81 industrial training year end review, Employment and Immigration Canada reported that under the CMITP all priorities were basically met with the highest percentage of trainees going into the Manufacturing and Community, Business and Personal Services Sectors. Under CTST it was noted that training was conducted for only three occupations. Training in other occupations could not be carried out as training content was still being revised and developed. The amount of training conducted was well below what was planned for due mainly to the limited number of occupations in which training could take place and because of the weak economic conditions (Government of Canada, n.d.).

There was strong growth in employment-based training (industrial and apprenticeship) up to the recession, after which declines occurred. In its third quarter report on industrial training, April 1 to December 31, 1981, CEIC reported that activity was down in both its CMITP and CTST programs due mainly to a slowdown in Manitoba's economy (Playle, 1982, February 18). In its fourth quarterly report between April 1, 1981 to March 31, 1982 CEIC noted that even though the economic climate in Manitoba was not favorable, industry was accepting the significance of the CTST program (Feindel and Playle, n.d.).

We see that by the mid-1970's that the federal government was questioning the value of some institutional training and the value

of industrial training was being stressed with the placing of people into employment. Although there was strong growth in employment-based training up to the recession in the early 1980's, after which there were declines in participation due to the unfavorable economic climate. This showed that the industrial training program was dependent on the state of the economy for its success.

Here we can see the beginning of the federal government's preference for industry based training but we also see that the success of this type of training depended heavily on the state of the economy. In the next chapter we will look at the National Training Act which gave increased attention to industrial training.

Chapter 5

FEDERAL TRAINING INITIATIVES UNDER THE NATIONAL TRAINING ACT

The National Training Act (NTA) (See Appendix D) was passed by the Parliament of Canada on July 7, 1982. It represented a major overhaul of Canada's occupational training system. The primary purpose of the Act was to support training for occupations in which there was a labour market demand. Particular emphasis was to be placed on training for **occupations of national importance** (See Appendix E) and to increase the earning and employment potential of adult Canadians (Angood, 1978, April 13).

The NTA gave increased attention to industrial training with an emphasis on partnerships with the private sector and unions with regard to both the planning and cost sharing of training. This emphasis became even more pronounced under the Mulroney government.

> Now if you take a look at the difference between AOT and the National Training Act...there was a lot more recognition of industrial training. So you got training partnerships with unions, training trust funds and these kinds of notions in a package. And there was also an attempt to get the private sector much more involved directly, not only as partners, but as co-planners and actually taking charge of the training. That was more profound after the Mulroney government came in (Recksiedler, 1998, Field notes #1, Interview with Garry).

Under the new Act, the definition of "adult" changed to: a person who is no longer required by law to attend school in the province in which he or she resides. This meant that potential trainees no longer had to wait one year after leaving school to be considered an adult to be eligible for training (Government of Canada, 1982, July 8).Another provision of the Act allowed the CEIC to waive the 52-week limit on training courses and fund high-skill training for occupations of national importance which ran for a longer period of time.

In addition to providing training for employers, the new legislation provided for industrial training contracts with industrial training councils or private training organizations, including consultants, who specialized in developing and providing training to industry. It was expected that this provision would especially benefit small employers who were unable to provide training in more complex occupational skills. It would appear that this change might have been of benefit to Manitoba which had an industry composed largely of smaller employers.

The Act provided for the development of the Canadian Occupational Projection System (COPS) to more accurately forecast labour supply and demand. It was to be used to designate occupations of national importance - those in which present and future shortages, both at national and regional levels, were of national concern and required

special action to resolve (Angood, 1978, April 13).

Manitoba felt that there was a lack of relevance of the designated occupations of national importance to the training priorities of the province and that there was a need to focus more directly on regional needs in the process of designating occupations of national importance (Government of Manitoba, 1984, May 14).

Thus we see that the NTA had a clear purpose - to train for occupations in demand by industry. Because the federal government could now contract with third parties to provide training for industry, this would have implications for the provincial training institutions. Now we will take a look at some of the key elements that were in the training agreements that were signed between Manitoba and the federal government under the National Training Act.

Canada-Manitoba Training Agreements Under NTA

The training agreements were prepared and written by the federal government. When it got to the point of negotiations with the province, it was basically the federal and provincial ministers who agreed to enter into an agreement. The bureaucrats worked out the details. Then the federal government basically expected the province to sign on.

...we were the writers of the agreement and we produced the text...really what we were doing was just working out the details...the two ministers had to agree to make an agreement. It treated the provinces poorly because it was: 'here, sign here'. It had that attitude. I've got this little agreement in my pocket. Sign here, right, and we'll just get on with business (Recksiedler, 1998, Field Notes #1, Interview with Garry).

Although Manitoba had a training system which existed in its own right through funding entirely from the province, it also received funding for training from the federal government through the NTA. Given the predominant role of the CEIC in funding various aspects of training in the province, the provincial training strategy was, to a large extent, worked out within the context of the relationship with the federal government (Government of Manitoba, 1983, May 12).

The Canada-Manitoba Training Agreement became effective September 1, 1982 for a period of three years. The new agreement provided for the continuation of the two major occupational training programs for adults: (1) institutional (which included apprenticeship training) and (2) industrial or employer-centered training which included both the General Industrial Training Program (GIT) and the Critical Trades Skills Training Program(CTST). It also provided for the establishment of the Skills Growth Fund (Government of Canada/Government of Manitoba, n.d.).

The Agreement established a joint federal-provincial consultative body known as the Canada-Manitoba Labour Market Needs Committee (LMNC) to assist in the administration of the Training Agreement. It performed similar functions to the previous Manpower Needs Committee. The LMNC consisted of an Executive Committee supported by three Sub-committees, four Working Groups, a Human Resource Advisory Committee and a joint Secretariat (See Organization Chart, Appendix F) (Government of Canada/Government of Manitoba, n.d.). The membership of the LMNC consisted of representatives of the provincial and federal Government departments and/or agencies that were affected by occupational training. It was to be assisted by a Human Resources Advisory Committee made up of representatives from business and labour. The LMNC had the overall responsibility for assessing occupational requirements in Manitoba and for planning appropriate training programs to meet such needs.

The training needs of both the regional and national economies were emphasized. The Agreement stated that training programs initiated under the Agreement "...must be sensitive to the requirements of the national economy for skilled workers as well as to regional requirements resulting from the unique labour market needs of Manitoba" (Government of Canada/Government of Manitoba, 1982, September 29, p.6).

The Agreement provided that the province, through its institutions, could contract with industries to provide part of the institutional training purchased by the Commission and that employers could purchase from the province part or all of the training they required (Government of Canada/Government of Manitoba, 1982, September 29).

Because the federal government basically wrote the training agreements and because they also contributed a significant amount of dollars to training in Manitoba, we see that the federal government had played a strong role in shaping Manitoba's training strategy. Now we will take a look at a report that assessed the state of adult occupational training in Manitoba as of 1984.

The State of Training in Manitoba

In a report submitted to the Manitoba Department of Employment Services and Economic Security (1984, April) by W.M.C. Research Associates, several observations and conclusions were made with regard to the state of training in the province. It was noted that training was becoming more specialized with a tendency to organize training programs around an increasing number of narrowly defined occupations. This was accompanied by a reduced emphasis on generic skills and other skills which ensured occupational mobility. Employer needs were being given priority in planning, with the

nature and content of training being highly specific to employer needs. Overall training costs had been rising rapidly due mainly to the growing specialization and intensity of training, with training periods becoming longer and instruction more costly.

With respect to equity issues, the participation rates of women were high relative to the rest of Canada. However, few initiatives had been taken to deal with the special needs and requirements of women. Women still tended to be concentrated in traditional female occupations. Efforts to deal with the special needs and problems of Native participants had been extremely limited, with little overall impact. The number of Native participants in training was extremely low, on a per capita basis. The needs of people with special needs because of disabilities and other exceptional characteristics were being met only in a very limited way by the training system.

There had been an increase in participation of unemployed adults in training since the beginning of the 1980's. This occurred during a time of rising unemployment. There did not appear to be a well defined focus on the special problems of those who had difficulty accessing and retaining employment. The need to assist those displaced by technological and other industrial change had been limited. Institutions had made only limited adjustments to address this problem.

Linkages between training and community development needs were generally weak or non-existent. Training needs were almost exclusively defined in terms of either provincial or national requirements of employers, or the needs of particular industries and particular employers. Communities had no effective role in planning. Training was seldom designed to take into account local conditions and local needs.

Community colleges provided the majority of occupational and other non-university adult education and had developed into highly centralized institutions, both in terms of management and delivery of programs. They became quite inflexible, with limited capacity to respond to the particular needs of communities and individuals. This also resulted in criticism from employers on the basis that standardized college programs did not meet the specialized needs of particular employers or groups of employers. The federal government had also been highly critical of the institutional training programs, largely on the grounds that such programs were not flexible enough to meet evolving employer demands.

Critical shortcomings and problems were noted with employer-based training, including the general lack of generic skills training, poorly developed training approaches, concentration on employer specific skills and a general lack of attention to occupational mobility. The use of such programs to subsidize work and the

instability of such programs during periods of reduction of output in industry were noted as problems that appeared to be inherent in a dependency on employers for training.

The report noted that the complex and intricate relationship between the federal and provincial governments in the area of training made it extremely difficult to separate federal and provincial needs, priorities and activities. The federal government had played a dominant role in developing the shape and structure of training in Manitoba, largely as a result of its active financial support, approval and purchasing practices. The terms of federal financial support under the NTA played an influential role in defining the structure and approaches to training. This dominance emphasized the role of occupational needs in planning and implementing training approaches in the province. Manitoba did not have a coherent training strategy to counter federal priorities (W.M.C. Research Associates, 1984, April).

This report comes out somewhat critical of the state of training in the province by indicating that training was basically geared to the needs of industry and that local needs and conditions were seldom taken into account. Community colleges had become quite centralized, inflexible and unable to respond well to the needs of industry, communities and individuals. It points out that the federal government had played a dominant role in developing the

shape and structure of training in Manitoba and by implication would have to share the blame for its shortcomings.

As the federal government was now promoting training in occupations of national importance it instituted a special program, called the Skills Growth Fund (SGF), to facilitate this type of training in the provinces. We will now take a look at this special program and how Manitoba benefitted from it.

Skills Growth Fund

Under the NTA the federal government set up a Skills Growth Fund (SGF) to increase training in occupations of national importance. Its intent was to make possible the provision of training appropriate to the needs of broadly based groups and of such special groups as women, Native people and people with physical disabilities. It provided funding to establish, expand and modernize training facilities operated by public training institutions and non-profit training organizations to train clients in the skills they needed to compete for jobs. The Fund was used to pay for the capital and initial operating and course development costs. (Government of Canada, 1982, July 8).The focus of the training depended on the project.

...when you think about South Winnipeg, that's a much more broadly based ...in fact very broadly based because that deals with school divisions, as a kind of partnership really with school divisions because there are a lot of high school kids that are taking credits

at South Winnipeg. Whereas Yellow Quill, for example, would be much more focused on the Aboriginal population. So I think it depended on the project (Recksiedler, 1998, Field Notes #2, Interview with Dan).

In a news release (April 22, 1983) it was announced that there would be an infusion of $15.3 million ($11.3 million federal funds and $4 million provincial funds) for occupational skills training facilities and equipment in Manitoba from the federal government's Skills Growth Fund and the provincial Department of Education. It was to accommodate up to 4,000 students annually and create 50 to 60 full-time teaching positions.

The funding announcement listed twenty-seven projects which included: (1) $8 million for the capital costs of a major new vocational training facility in south Winnipeg, (2) $2.65 million for university level projects ranging from integrated microcomputer training to computer programmer training for the blind, (3)$3.5 million for community college projects located in Winnipeg, Brandon, The Pas and Thompson, (4)$1.05 million for non-institutional training programs, including the Winnipeg Technical Training Centre (See Appendix G) (Government of Canada/Government of Manitoba, 1983, April 22).

The administration of the Skills Growth Fund was done through the Labour Market Needs Committee (LMNC). The Training Sub-Committee of

the LMNC assumed the major responsibility in the management structure for the carrying out of the central purposes of the Agreement which included managing the activities in Institutional Training, Industrial Training and the Skills Growth Fund (Davison and Vanderloo, 1982, August 31).

Manitoba did very well financially and in building new training facilities under the SGF. Politics became involved when Lloyd Axworthy, Minister of Employment and Immigration, wanted to have a trade school established in south Winnipeg. The province was not in favor of this. In the end the South Winnipeg Technical Centre was built but Axworthy had to agree to the spending of millions of dollars on other projects that the province wanted. In order to create an institution like South Winnipeg the Manitoba Public Schools Act had to be changed. One former civil servant commented:

...Manitoba had a lot of funding under the Skill program. They did very, very well under it...all of the institutions in Manitoba got money under this. Lloyd Axworthy wanted the school. That was the first thing you have to understand. Everything revolved around his getting the school in south Winnipeg. To get that school in south Winnipeg, which the provincial government did not want, he had to agree to millions of dollars to go into other things that were not necessary...there was big horse trading (Recksiedler, 1998, Field Notes #3, Interview with Karen).

The SGF was a short lived program and ended when the Conservatives took power in Ottawa from the Liberals in 1984.

Well it went out as the government changed, because with the government change then you had the Canadian Jobs Strategy that came into existence. That was the Conservative government (Recksiedler, 1998, Field Notes #3, Interview with Karen).

We can see that the SGF, although a short lived program, provided an infusion of money into the province to not only modernize existing training facilities and also to establish new training facilities. In its quest to make the training system more responsive to the needs of industry, the federal government instituted a major overhaul of the system by bringing in the Canadian Jobs Strategy Program.

Canadian Jobs Strategy

The announcement by Canada in 1985 of the Canadian Jobs Strategy signaled a major shift away from traditional institutional training to market-driven, private sector training initiatives (Government of Manitoba, n.d.).

On September 5, 1985 a Letter of Understanding was signed between the province of Manitoba and the federal government to implement the Canadian Jobs Strategy (CJS) Program. The fundamental principle underpinning the CJS program was the leadership and participation of the private sector. It was the desire of the federal government to promote training through indirect purchase (Government of Canada/Government of Manitoba, 1985). "Indirect Purchase " was defined as the purchase by a party other than the government of Canada, using funds provided in whole or in part by the federal government, of institutional training from a public institution or

an organization other than a public institution (Canada-Manitoba Agreement on Training, 1987, February 24). Provincial institutions again had to adjust their programs in order to respond to the CJS program, particularly for course purchase by employers. (Government of Canada/Government of Manitoba, 1985). The implication was that now provincial institutions would have to compete with other providers of training to service private sector training.

One concern that Manitoba had about the CJS program was that by focusing mainly on special needs clients it would exclude the training of other unemployed and employment threatened members of the workforce that were not eligible for training under the CTST program. The province also felt that this policy would also impact the training of women in non-traditional occupations (Berg, 1984, November 29). The Manitoba Advisory Council on the Status of Women was concerned that indirect purchase or market driven training would reinforce the ghettoization of women in low-paying service sector work and do nothing to diminish the wage gap between men and women. Because market driven training was being imposed on the province, it was felt that there was little the province could do to mitigate these potential effects (Suek, 1987, February 24).

The second Agreement (effective April 1, 1986 - March 31, 1989 and extended to March 31, 1990) provided for a mechanism for

consultation on training matters with employers, employee representatives and the general community. It established the Manitoba Training Advisory Council (MTAC), the majority of whose members were from agencies other than the federal and provincial governments (Canada-Manitoba Agreement on Training, 1987, February 24). The MTAC was the major consultative mechanism for training undertaken through annual indirect purchase training plans. As well, MTAC served as a contracting agency and sponsor on behalf of third parties who requested the Council's assistance (Red River Community College, 1987, May 7). The MTAC only lasted about two years and then was abandoned.

> ...we were never able to make the thing work. It was partly ill will on the federal side and partly some organizational difficulties on our side. It lasted for about two years and then it was just abolished (Recksiedler, 1998, Field Notes #5, Interview with Ken).

The second Agreement established two distinct forms of institutional training purchases: (1) direct and (2) indirect. The Direct Purchase Plan contained the list of courses which CEIC intended to purchase directly from public institutions, through a process similar to previous agreements. The Indirect Purchase Plan contained a plan of training to be purchased by third parties or coordinating groups from public institutions and other organizations. Third parties were defined as sponsors, employers, unions, managing co-ordinators or other persons or organizations providing or arranging for the provision of training with CJS

funds. Public institutions were defined as designated post-secondary educational or training institutions. In Manitoba these were the three community colleges: Red River, Assiniboine, and Keewatin; and the four training centres: South Winnipeg, Manitoba Technical, Stevenson Aviation and the Manitoba Fire College (Red River Community College, 1987, May 7).

Although market-driven training mechanisms were set up in the colleges and third party "middleman" systems designed to purchase training from the colleges, in reality very little had changed as there were still a lot of block seat purchases being done through the third-party arrangement.

> We weren't getting the kind of movement, shifting, responding to specific local market needs that we wanted, so we're still getting a lot of these block seat purchases through this third party relationship. So...what changes did the college systems make during that period...? Very little. (Recksiedler, 1998, Field Notes #4, Interview with Randy).

With the introduction of CJS the community colleges were faced with the challenge of having to retool both their physical assets and their intellectual assets. Along with the need to upgrade equipment and technology came the need to upgrade the knowledge of the instructors.

> Well, colleges were facing huge physical changes, changes in physical assets, but because the technology was changing, they also had all kinds of instructors who were relatively young who don't have the technological experience with new technology and companies are looking to the colleges to be on the front of new technology...there was a focus on the intellectual assets, re-tooling people, a strong one (Recksiedler, 1998, Field Notes #4,

Interview with Randy).

Under CJS, the second Agreement's financial arrangements instituted a series of progressive reductions in direct institutional training purchases by the federal government. By 1988/89 CEIC's direct purchases from public institutions in Manitoba were to fall to 61 percent of their 1985/86 level. These reductions in funding for direct institutional purchases were to be offset by corresponding increases in funding available for indirect industrial training purchases.

For the federal government this sudden cutback of direct funding to institutional training and its transfer to indirect purchases was both an issue of control and credit.

> And the feds constantly reacted giving money to the provinces. Part of it is control of the money. Part was a control issue, part was a credit issue. Like the feds wanted to get the credit for this, right. So you had the growth of this business of giving money to agencies (Recksiedler, 1998, Field Notes #1, Interview with Garry).

The federal government wanted political recognition but felt that they weren't getting it by direct funding to the provinces for institutional training. On the other hand the provinces were very pleased with the kind of public relations that they got out of it. The provinces never properly acknowledged that it was the federal government that was making all the training possible. One former civil servant observed:

...a lot of federal politicians were not pleased with the huge expenditures...with the inflexibility of colleges...with the mix of training. The perception was that this was not federal training. These people all went to colleges, which were all provincial colleges. The provinces weren't ever really any good, none of them, at giving the feds their due for making all this happen. That was a fatal mistake on the provincials' side (Gerry Recksiedler, 1998, Field Notes #5, Interview with Ken).

The province's response was to set up mechanisms in the colleges to do what was called "market-driven training".

The response there was to say, we need to do more market-driven training...we need to set up mechanisms for that in the colleges and the colleges did set up mechanisms for that and created a whole variety of ways to do market-driven training (Recksiedler, 1998, Field Notes #4, Interview with Randy).

Under the Agreement, provincial training institutions were compensated for losses resulting from the new CJS criteria in fiscal year 1986/87 in order to ease the transition to the new funding arrangements. No similar compensation was provided for in the Agreement for the 1987/88 or 1988/89 fiscal years.

Given that in the 1986/87 fiscal year, CEIC revenue accounted for 42 percent of the 1986/87 Red River Community College budget, the College administration felt that the new federal approach to institutional training posed a real threat to the long term well-being of the community college system in the province and in the country (Red River Community College , 1987, May 7).

This sudden change of direction on the part of the federal government lead to very poor relations between the two levels of government. The key issue was the redirection of funding from direct purchase to indirect purchase. The majority of federal funding was going into institutional training. The federal government was not happy with the fact that they were paying about 40% of the training costs for institutional training and only getting 25% of the seats. With 40% of the budget for institutional training coming from one source, the redirection of that source had profound implications for the colleges. As one former civil servant put it:

> Quite frankly, for the next five years, it was literally open warfare between the two levels of government. It was extremely unpleasant. The debates were bitter, confrontational, aggressive, belligerent. Both sides were heavily dug in. It was an extremely unpleasant period. The key issue was the redirection of federal funding. In 1985 the feds spent in Manitoba roughly $25 million in training...almost exclusively in colleges...the feds ended up...paying something like 40% of the bills at the colleges and got something like 25% of the seats. So it was that basic inequity that had them a little bit choked. But as you can see, 40% of the budget coming from one source, the redirection of that source had profound implications for those institutions (Recksiedler, 1998, Field Notes #5, Interview with Ken).

One of the impacts of CJS on the colleges was the diversion of long-term training dollars into short-term training for specific corporate needs. This was accompanied by a growth in private training consultants who were competing with the colleges for the training dollars. The colleges tried to maintain as much of the direct purchase funding as possible as well as to direct as much

funding as possible for indirect training back to the colleges.

In the first couple of years of the Canadian Jobs Strategy, what we monitored was...the diversion of long-term training dollars - because the colleges were like two-year programs - into a lot of short-term training for specific corporate needs. The sudden explosion of private consultants doing training that accompanied this was quite amazing. My battle was really one of maintaining as much of a direct purchase as possible, the direct purchase of seats, as well as to see what we could do to guide the indirect training back to the college as well (Recksiedler, 1998, Field Notes #5, Interview with Ken).

CJS was an economic policy onto which was superimposed a social policy. Various minority groups were targeted. At the same time higher level skills were in demand. The target groups required ABE upgrading in order to prepare them for training in higher level skills but funding for this had been significantly reduced. As a result there was a disjuncture between the people targeted for training and the type of training needed by industry. One former civil servant noted:

The problem was that they then overlayed what was essentially an economic policy with a social policy. So CJS was a whole series of target groups, and the target groups were Aboriginals, women, to some degree youth, people of colour, the disabled. There were all these social targets, if you will, that had to be built into the program. But because they had revamped the program to sort of higher level skills, they withdrew their funding from a lot of Adult Basic Education. The target groups didn't mesh with the new skill demands. The target groups required ABE to prep them for the skills training they needed to take. There was the fatal flaw... (Recksiedler, 1998, Field Notes #5, Interview with Ken).

Another problem with the CJS program was that it was inflexible. Federal and provincial representatives couldn't agree as to where the skill shortages were. It appeared that the federal office was

using national figures that didn't take into account the regional differences and needs for Manitoba.

> Now what we were starting to get into are arguments between our various planning branches (federal and provincial) as to where skill shortages were and where skill demands were. We would say that those are national figures...and they don't reflect regional nuances. CJS was very inflexible. There was a lot of political investment here (Recksiedler, 1998, Field Notes #5, Interview with Ken).

Thus we see that CJS had a major impact on institutional training in Manitoba. With cuts in direct purchases and a shift to indirect purchases, institutions were forced to adjust to a new marketing strategy and to new short term training for industry in order to maintain the flow of federal dollars to the institutions. Thus the government of Manitoba had many concerns about the second training agreement which was signed under the CJS program. We will look at some of these concerns in the next section.

Manitoba's Concerns Regarding the Second Training Agreement

Manitoba's main concern regarding the second training Agreement (April 1, 1986 to March 31, 1989) under the NTA was that the terms and conditions of the agreement that were initially developed with Ontario, a province with a substantially different economic base than Manitoba's, were being applied inappropriately to Manitoba. It was felt that in a province like Manitoba in which the private sector was dominated by many small businesses, the institutional training system played an important role in training for the skills

needed in the Province.

Another concern was with the CJS program. In reviewing the training plans for the various projects under the program, Manitoba's Department of Education noted that many of the training plans failed to meet the pedagogical standards established by the province. Also it was felt that the bulk of the training was of a very low technical level and that very little of this training had been offered to provincial community colleges in spite of a great deal of effort on the part of their colleges to market their services. It was felt that this was mainly due to the limited type of training being supported by the CJS program (Evans, n.d.).

In the short and medium term, the colleges experienced tremendous stresses and strains under CJS. The institutions didn't have an entrepreneurial mind-set. Longer term training was disrupted quite significantly. In the long term CJS instilled a measure of entrepreneurship into the colleges. When asked whether the policies under CJS met Manitoba's needs, one former civil servant responded:

> I don't think it did in the short to medium run. I think one of the things that it did, and one of its objectives was to make colleges more resilient, more flexible. I think by and large it achieved that objective. It did it in an incredibly punishing fashion. The dislocation and stresses and strains in the system were enormous...long-term training was taking quite a beating, and a lot of it was going into very short-term, and in some cases, very questionable training. Their mind-set was not an entrepreneurial mind-set. This was an entrepreneurial situation. I think that it has injected a measure of that entrepreneurship to the colleges that wasn't there before. But it took ten years to refashion the

colleges in that sense (Recksiedler, 1998, Field Notes #5, Interview with Ken).

We now can clearly see the shift in emphasis on the part of the federal government from institutional to industrial training through the indirect purchase system resulting in the institutions having to compete with other providers for federal training dollars. Now we will take a look at the General Industrial Training Program that was operated in the province under NTA, why the federal government favoured this type of training and the role that the province played.

Industrial Training Under NTA

The General Industrial Training Program (GIT) was the major employer-based adult training service in the province of Manitoba. It enabled CEIC to enter into industrial training contracts with an employer, an association or a third party to pay such persons through wage reimbursement and training costs for conducting occupational training, retraining or upgrading of employees.

Throughout the evolution of the program since 1967 the federal government regarded it as effective (leading to direct employment), efficient (less costly than institutional training), highly flexible (target groups and rates of reimbursement) and one which they could administer by themselves through the Regional Office and

the system of CEC offices. However, the educational component of industrial training contracts had to be acceptable to the province, which had jurisdiction over education, and which also held a strong interest in the strategies and priorities developed for the program.

Under the first training Agreement between Canada and Manitoba signed under the NTA in 1982, it was agreed that the LMNC would develop and approve strategies and priorities for GIT and annual training plans for implementation with appropriate on-going reviews and evaluations. The province also:

(1) Provided training expertise to employers to assist them in the development of effective training plans and/or attest to the soundness of those plans.

(2) Monitored the progress of the trainees and reported the results to CEIC.

(3) Contributed to the evaluation of GIT activities.

Provincial participation in the GIT Program had gradually evolved and by 1983 responsibilities were centered in three departments:

(1) The Department of Education through its Community Colleges approved the training content of industrial training contract proposals, assisted firms with the development of training outlines, monitored the training delivery and issued appropriate reports.

(2) The Department of Economic Development held overall responsibility for industrial strategy and, since 1972, industrial training in the province. All industrial training proposals were scrutinized for compatibility with provincial industrial training strategies and priorities relating to industrial sectors, geographic regions, the kinds of business firms and the employment status of the trainees.

(3) The Department of Labour and Employment Services was the lead department for overall coordination of federal-provincial training programs including the joint administration of the Canada-Manitoba Training Agreement (Discussion Paper: Industrial Training Program, 1983, April 28).

In its status report on the GIT Program in Manitoba for 1982/83, CEIC noted that levels of training activity were down from what was originally planned for. The following factors were considered to have had a distinct bearing on this drop in levels of training activity: (1) the downturn in the economy both nationally and regionally; (2) the reluctance of employers to invest in training or any other business investments due to questionable markets and the high cost of borrowing money; and (3) the availability of skilled and semi-skilled unemployed workers negating the need of employers to train extensively to meet their immediate short term needs (Playle, n.d.).

In its forecast for future training requirements for the 1985/86 period, the regional CEIC office noted that economic conditions in Manitoba were improving but the demand for labour was still not high and adversely affecting the need for companies to train. It was also noted that major technological and structural changes were occurring within industry resulting in changes in some occupations, others disappearing and new ones emerging. It was pointed out that training responses would have to be flexible and innovative if future labour market needs were to be met. Training of existing employees was restricted to those occupations identified on the National and Regional List of Designated Occupations (occupations not necessarily in high demand in the region). Emphasis was to be given to those already employed to higher skill levels, or retraining workers threatened with displacement due to technological change. However, it was noted that in a period of high unemployment, it was becoming increasingly necessary to meet the needs of the unemployed and specific target groups. It was foreseen that the number of unemployed and special needs trainees would far exceed those that were employed.

In discussing the economic characteristics of the province, it was noted that there were regional variances within Manitoba relating to the industrial sector, size and occupational requirements. These regional variances were to be recognized and given priority within individually approved operating plans specific to the needs of a

given geographic area. The regional plan for Manitoba was a consolidation of the inputs of all CEC's across the province. (Playle, 1984, November 21).

CEIC announced that effective January 1, 1985 that, under the GIT Program, it would be contracting with employers for the training of Special Needs clients only (Playle, 1985, January 21).

From the above, it became clear as to why the federal government continued to emphasize employer-based training but it aslo became clear that in periods of high unemployment the need for the private sector to train became severely affected causing training activity to drop off.

The next section takes a look at institutional training in the province and how it was responding to the new policies under CJS.

Institutional Training

In its forecast for institutional training for the 1985/86 fiscal year, the Labour Market Needs Committee strongly emphasized training in national occupations. In the skill training category 39% of funding was directed to training within national occupations representing nearly 33 percent of the skill training days. In apprenticeship training approximately 30 percent of both funding

and training days were directed towards national occupations.

Training day volumes increased nearly 8 percent from the 1984/85 fiscal year due to requirements for more extension training in both BTSD and BJRT courses in northern Manitoba. Several of the BJRT courses had a significant skill training component built into the training package.

Training for Natives continued to be a high priority including the delivery of some BJRT and BTSD courses with built-in skill components (Ford and Hill, 1984, December 6).

Thus we see that a significant portion of institutional training was being directed towards occupations of national importance. Next we will take a look at apprenticeship and how it was responding under NTA.

Apprenticeship Under NTA

The NTA allowed for special training allowances to be paid to laid-off apprentices who were being trained in occupations that were critically short of skilled labour. The intent was to encourage these workers to remain in their current occupations and upgrade their skills until they were once again required either in their own communities or elsewhere in Canada. Also, higher allowance

payments were made available to laid-off workers in industries and areas designated under the Industry and Labour Adjustment Program (ILAP) who chose to retrain for high demand occupations when there was no indication of a high future demand for their former occupation (Government of Canada, 1982, July 8).

In 1985, CEIC raised a number of concerns about the apprenticeship training in Canada, namely: its high cost and heavy reliance on federal funding support; its non-responsiveness to the marketplace; its lack of uniform standards; and its poor performance with respect to women and disadvantaged groups. Manitoba rejected the federal government's criticism and stated that it did not apply to this province as Manitoba's apprenticeship program was highly responsive to the needs of both employers and the economy (Government of Manitoba, 1987, October 27). Manitoba did acknowledge, however, that apprenticeship needed to respond better to the needs of Natives and Women. The program had served youth well, but the participation of women had been limited. As of December, 1987, women represented 1.5 percent of all active apprentices training in the Province. Table 6 shows the number of active apprentices by level of training completed and the number of active women apprentices by level of training completed.

By the beginning of 1988, about 21% of Manitoba's apprentices were Native. Native participation was higher mainly because of the

Limestone Hydro Electric Project where 30% of all apprentices were of Native background. Manitoba did admit that more still needed to be done in terms of the participation of women and Natives. Between the fiscal years 1980/81 to 1988/89 expenditures by CEIC for apprenticeship training slowly but steadily increased while expenditures for direct course purchases for other institutional training increased up till 1985/86, then began to drop rapidly (See Appendix H) (Federal - Provincial/Territorial Conference of Labour Market Ministers, 1987, November 4).

Table 6

	All Active Apprentices	Women Apprentices
Level I	1132	25
Level II	819	8
Level III	683	11
Level IV	539	9
Completed Level IV	173	1
In-School Training	3346	54

Source: Government of Manitoba, Apprenticeship, 1987, December 12.

Ottawa wanted all provincial governments to undertake initiatives to increase the participation of women and other target groups in apprenticeship training. It indicated that this issue could affect future federal funding for apprenticeship training (Submission to Planning and Priorities Committee, 1987, November 20).

On November 4, 1987, the Federal Minister of Employment and Immigration, Benoit Bouchard, announced that there would be changes to apprenticeship training which would include: (1) integrating apprenticeship into the Skill Shortages Program of the Canadian Jobs Strategy, thereby restricting federal support to trades in skill shortage areas and (2) establishing equity participation levels based on target levels for all CJS programs. Manitoba's concern was that such new funding arrangements would significantly reduce federal support for this type of training, leaving the provinces, employers and/or employees to pick up the costs (Communications Strategy: Federal Funding of Apprenticeship Training, n.d.)

As of April 1, 1988, all apprenticeship occupations supported by EIC were to be designated as Skill Shortages and housed under the Skill Shortages Program of CJS. Payment of provincial administrative costs for apprenticeship were to be discontinued (Apprenticeship 1988/89, n.d.) It was felt by the provinces that

these changes were being brought on by the federal government's fiscal restraint policies (Lawrence, 1988, June 6).

At the present time Manitoba's regulatory indentured structure for apprenticeship hasn't appeared to have changed appreciably since the 1960's lacking flexibility in its approach to apprenticeship training. In comparing Manitoba's apprenticeship training system to those of other provinces such as Alberta and British Columbia, one informant had the following to say:

> They have an industrial training and apprenticeship branch that doesn't just recognize traditional apprentices, but creates new apprenticeships and new industrial training designations...they have evaluation of classroom training, but they also have an evaluation process on the job where...the journeyman person evaluates their work and the employer signs off and evaluates their work. In Manitoba, we have no on-the-job assessment. The only assessment is at the four levels and it is at the college...only has this IP exam, you pass this IP exam and you're a tradesperson. So you've got a whole approach, a regulatory indenturement structure for apprenticeship here that is a flashback of the 60's and then you've got these other provinces that are going hell bent for leather on this...(Recksiedler, 1998, Field Notes #4, Interview with Randy).

To the Manitoba apprenticeship system the CJS approach to industrial training appeared chaotic.

> If you see apprenticeship as a regulatory mode, this change is chaotic....its chaos for the regulator. For the educator its an opportunity (Recksiedler, 1998, Field Notes #4, Interview with Randy).

It appears that the apprenticeship system in Manitoba has remained very much a regulatory one and one which, even into the late

1980's, had not made much headway in getting women to participate in any significant numbers.

The CJS program marked a significant turning point in the federal government's approach to adult occupational training. We will now look at how federal government expenditures for training, especially under CJS, influenced what happened with training in the province, especially on the institutional side.

Federal Expenditures Under NTA

Federal training expenditures in Manitoba under the NTA (and former AOTA) had been increasing annually. Between 1976/77 and 1982/83, federal expenditures increased by 80 percent from $23 million to $41.6 million - nearly double the national rate of increase for this period. Expenditures for 1983/84 represented a 42% increase over 1982/83. This exceptionally large increase was primarily due to the $7.6 million in payments for the Skills Growth Fund (1983/84 being the first year for these payments) and a $5 million increase in trainee income support from the Unemployment Insurance fund.

Nearing the end of 1983, the following issues had been identified with respect to federal funding for Manitoba: (1) training day volumes had been decreasing due to rising training costs and shifts toward costlier training courses; (2) underutilized funding

primarily in allocations for employer based training reflecting the reluctance of employers to undertake training in times of severe recession; (3) no guarantee of additional funding to support the operation of facilities provided under the SGF; (4) withdrawal of large numbers of trainees due to financial reasons; and (5) the federal government's concern that Manitoba's per diem prices were the highest of all the provinces (Discussion Paper: Job Training in Manitoba, 1983, October 28).

Between fiscal years 1980/81 to 1985/86, federal expenditures for institutional training increased from $15.5 million to $24.77 million (Nordman, 1988, February 24).

Funding to institutional training in Manitoba was cut by $2 million for the 1986/87 fiscal year, forcing the province to make reductions in programming (Levin, 1986, May 6). All BJRT and BTSD courses offered in remote communities through Keewatin Community College were canceled as well as General Mechanics in Thompson. At Assiniboine Community College, Welding, BJRT, and BTSD courses were cut as well as a broad range of other community-based courses throughout the Brandon region (Levin, 1986, May 30).

The second training agreement (April 1, 1986 - March 31, 1989) provided for significant reductions for institutional training over

the three-year term of the agreement (approximately 39 percent reduction). It was felt that such a reduction would result in a general shrinkage and/or repriorization of programming within the college system. Although the amount of the reduction was to be redirected to market-driven training (a portion of which was expected to flow to community colleges) it was uncertain just how much they would get.

Colleges were now forced to identify these market-driven training opportunities in order to attract as much of the indirect purchase money as possible to the colleges. The colleges were now forced to compete with other training providers for industrial training contracts (Sharman, 1987, February 13). The province felt that this approach was new and unproven and could have a destabilizing effect on provincial training system (Evans, 1987, March 11).

Funding available for indirect purchase of employer-based training was directly proportional to the amount of cutbacks in direct purchase of institutional training. Provincial training institutions were now forced to offset revenue losses by coming up with an indirect purchase plan in order to secure as much of the indirect purchase funding as possible. However they still expected a shortfall as they were now having to compete with other independent providers of training (Nordman, 1988, February 24). Another reason why Manitoba was not confident that this money would

be spent in the province was because of the difficulty of its small business-based private sector had in organizing itself to take advantage of these funds (Government of Manitoba, 1987, November 5).

Between 1984/85 and 1986/87 Manitoba experienced severe cuts in CJS funding. It decreased from $86.7 million to $69.3 million, a decrease of $17.4 million or 20 percent. Manitoba's 1987/88 allocation was down another $8.4 million or 10 percent from the previous year. Manitoba felt that reductions of this magnitude were unwarranted and harmful given that unemployment rates were still well above pre-recession levels while technological advancements and structural changes in the economy had contributed to significant increases in skill training requirements (Federal Cutbacks in Canadian Jobs Strategy (CJS) Funding, n.d.).

Separate Training Agreements

In addition to the agreements which provided both institutional and industrial based training programs in the province, there were several separate training agreements signed between Manitoba and the federal government.

The Canada-Manitoba Agreement on Employability Enhancement for Social Assistance Recipients provided for the establishment of a

50/50 federal-provincial funding arrangement of programs to increase the employability of Social Allowance Recipients (SAR's). Funding totaled $6 million for each of the fiscal years 1987/88 and 1988/89 and was to serve about 1,000 participants. Four programs were instituted and focused on a combination of pre-employment preparation, training, and work experience directed towards single parents, youth and the disabled (Government of Manitoba, 1987, October).

Separate Agricultural agreements were signed to provide training to farmers in such areas as farm management training and computer-based training.

We had a coordinating group with Keystone Agricultural Producers that actually provided training for farmers. A lot of farm management training, computer based training, that sort of thing (Recksiedler, 1998, Field Notes #1, Interview with Dan).

The Rural Transition Program was a federal initiative supported by a separate agreement and which was fully funded by the federal government. It dealt with farmers who were leaving the farm and among other things provided them with skills for alternate employment.

Now the Rural Transition Program would have had some training elements to it as well. That's a program where we were dealing with farmers who were having to leave the farm, selling the farm because it wasn't a viable operation anymore. And it was a matter of them gaining skills for alternate employment. And that was a separate program as well...a program that we ran for a number of years. Fully funded by the federal side (Recksiedler, 1998, Field Notes

#1, Interview with Dan).

The Employment Assistance Program for Persons with Disabilities (formerly the Vocational Rehabilitation for Persons with Disabilities) was an agreement where the federal government funded the province to run the program. This program included some elements of training.

> One was the VRDP Agreement...VRDP was Vocational Rehabilitation for Persons with Disabilities. And now it's the Employment Assistance Program for Persons with Disabilities. But in that we were basically funding the province to undertake different interventions to (invoke?) rehab services, some of which would have been training (Recksiedler, 1998, Field Notes #1, Interview with Dan).

The Northern Development Agreement was a five year agreement from 1982 to 1987 to support the social and economic development of northern Manitoba. There was a commitment of $186.2 million from both levels of government. A two year extension was negotiated up to March 31, 1989. All of the training related programs were offered under the Human Development component. Training related activities included (1) the training of native people for employment in technical positions with Federal Government departments, (2) increased participation of northern residents in training and educational opportunities, (3) assisting Status Indians and other northern residents (particularly of Native ancestry) to further their education by attending universities and community colleges and participate in on-the-job training and (4)

provide information on training and employment opportunities (Government of Manitoba, 1986, January 7). As of February 1989 it was Manitoba's intention to negotiate a new long-term federal-provincial commitment to northern Manitoba (Downey, 1989, February 10).

The Winnipeg Core Area Tripartite Agreement was a cost shared agreement between the federal government, the province of Manitoba and the city of Winnipeg for the revitalization of Winnipeg's core area. One of its key projects was the Winnipeg Core Area Training and Employment Agency (CATEA). Its main objective was to develop and identify jobs for core area residents who were unemployed and to arrange and/or deliver training to those residents to enable them to obtain long term employment. Training was a combination of academic upgrading, skills and on-the-job training. The Agency was not to duplicate existing programs. At the completion of training the employer was expected to hire successful trainees. The first agreement started March 1, 1982 and completed March 31, 1986. A second four year agreement was signed and its term was from April 1, 1986 to March 31, 1990 after which the Agreement was terminated. (Government of Canada/Province of Manitoba/City of Winnipeg, 1982, February).

The Winnipeg Development Agreement replaced the Winnipeg Core Area Agreement. It also was a tri-level government funded agreement to provide training for residents of Winnipeg. Under this agreement all training would be provided by existing training providers in the province. There was no special training agency as under the CATEA. Twenty-five million dollars was provided from each of the three levels of government for a total of 75 million dollars over five years.

> So, a three way split of money that now has moved into the Winnipeg Development Agreement but without the training agency...25 million dollars from each of the three levels of government. Over five years. Seventy-five million dollars (Recksiedler, 1998, Field Notes #1, Interview with Dan).

The Federal-Provincial Agreement on the Limestone Hydro Electric Project was a four year agreement between the fiscal years 1985/86 to 1988/89. It included the provision of both institutional and industrial training. Most of the training was provided by Keewatin Community College either on campus or by extension. Courses were set up as integration of BTSD and skills training. (Government of Canada, 1985, January 18).

Devolution of Labour Market Programming to Manitoba

Although this study primarily focuses on federal training policy initiatives and their impacts on Manitoba during the 1970's and 1980's, a brief look at the whole issue of devolution of training and other manpower issues to the province is necessary to bring the

study to a logical conclusion.

The idea of devolving training to the provinces is not a new one. After the Conservatives came into power federally in 1984, the federal government made an offer to devolve training to the provinces. It was tied to the whole constitutional and national unity question. However, not one province took the federal government up on the offer.

The business of the federal government being in manpower training has been a thorn in the side of the provinces for years and years and years. And in fact, the offer of the federal government getting out of training was made to the provinces in the 80's; it was made under the Conservatives. I mean, clearly, its tied to the whole unity thing. But that offer - like if somebody thinks that in 1995 or '96 or something we suddenly had a dramatic change in direction, this isn't true. When the federal government, initially under the Conservatives, went out and said,'Okay, you guys, you want it you can have it, we'll get out of it', nobody responded (Recksiedler, 1998, Field Notes #3, Interview with Karen).

Historically, Manitoba had not been interested in the devolution of training and other manpower responsibilities to the province. Although Manitoba saw training as a provincial jurisdiction, devolution was seen as a potential off-loading of responsibility to the province without the resources.

Manitoba had historically not pursued a devolution model. Back when we were discussing Meech, we agreed reluctantly to the clause on giving more responsibility to the provinces. Although there are some connections to economic development, it is closely linked to education, and we see it as a provincial jurisdiction. However, without subsequent transfer of adequate resources, it was seen as a potential off-loading, off-loading of responsibility without the money (Recksiedler, 1998, Field Notes #6, Interview with Linda).

After the election of the Liberals in 1993 the federal government made the offer again. This time several provinces took up the offer including Manitoba. Negotiations between the Province of Manitoba and the federal government started in December of 1996 and the Agreement was signed in March of 1997. Devolution included the transfer of federal government employees to the provincial government and the transfer of money to support the training of E.I. clients.

...then Chretien put it back on the table because of the whole Quebec thing. This time around some provinces decided to take him up on it. Negotiations started in December of 1996. The Agreement was signed in March of 1997. Yeah, what gets transferred is, we transferred employees. Employees of the federal government became employees of the provincial government. Yes, then you had money transferred to support the training of EI clients (Recksiedler, 1998, Field Notes #3, Interview with Karen).

Although the province was willing to take on the responsibility of training, there is some question as to whether they were ready or had the capacity to do so. In its first year of operation the province wasn't able to spend its money partly because of inability to make decisions efficiently.

One of the things that Manitoba did was that they jumped to take this over but didn't have any capacity to do so. One of the things that is quite different between governments is that the federal government - particularly the Department of Human Resources Development - has for years been a highly decentralized organization. The authority to make the decision was at the local level. When the province of Manitoba took over this whole kit and caboodle, we had a situation where a manager of one of our Canada Employment Centres had greater signing authority than the Minister of Education in the province of Manitoba. So what happened in their first year of operating is that they slipped all kinds of money because they couldn't spend it. For every decision that has to be made, if you have to take it to God, you're not going to be able to

do anything (Recksiedler, 1998, Field Notes #3, Interview with Karen).

Devolution, in many respects, was the final outcome of the CJS program. All training was moved out of the direct purchase model and into a completely different free-market model. It represented a victory for both the federal government and the province in that the federal government was no longer a purchaser of training from the province and the province now had responsibility for training, a responsibility that it always claimed it had under the Constitution.

I suppose there's a couple of victories that have been won here. One is that this was the finalization in many respects of the Canada Jobs Strategy, sort of moving everything out of the direct purchase into a completely different free-market model. But there is a Provincial victory here too, it's a Quebec victory. Quebec always said, 'Nonsense. Education, training, all the same stuff. So just write us a cheque and we'll do our job'. So the Quebec position in the end has actually prevailed (Recksiedler, 1998, Field Notes #5, Interview with Ken).

Although the federal government had made the move to pass the responsibility for training over to the province, in fact it still continues to retain interests in certain areas after devolution such as national labour market issues, labour market information, youth, Aboriginals and the disabled. An example of this is that the federal government has an agreement with the Manitoba Metis Federation and the Manitoba First Nations to provide training and get people into jobs. One senior civil servant explained it this way:

...we retained interests in certain areas even after devolution....national labour market issues, labour market information....youth programming is still with us. Aboriginal programming is still with us. The disabled community, another area the we would have interest in. But really what has devolved is really all of the employment service functions really, like the counseling service....all of the EI Part II....training purchase elements... (Recksiedler, 1998, Field Notes #2, Interview with Dan).

One of the central problems of federal policy that still appears to persist and which has been passed down to the province is that the federal money available for training still only goes to EI recipients. So economic policies and social policies are still intertwined with all its inherent problems. There is still no provision for people on EI to make the transition through some sort of upgrading into higher skills training. This flaw still appears to be in the system.

...the dollars still only really flow to UI type recipients, which means that if you still got economic policies with social targets and you never come to grips with that issue, as long as we've got that issue, I don't think we're going very far in this area at all. I have no problem with social targets, and I have no problems with saying we've got to focus on the skills of tomorrow, but how do you make the transition between these two groups because they're not the same groups of people. The people that are going to get those new high skill jobs are a completely different group of people than the people that are unemployed right now. Unless we bridge the two, those folks aren't going there, so what are we doing? (Recksiedler, 1998, Field Notes #5, Interview with Ken).

Provincial training policies appear to have always lacked a strong sense of direction. Given that the Provincial Department of Education is a huge department and its main reason for existing is

the public school system, adult occupational training has never been able to gain much attention. In this context training issues appear to be quite small compared to overall educational issues.

I don't believe that post-secondary issues have really been able to garner attention in the department that they required. I think that the problems coming from the K-12 system are enormous. It's a huge, huge expenditure, and a huge system that has to be maintained. So the secondary pieces, if you look at them even in dollar terms, are quite modest compared to the rest of it, and I think has suffered as a consequence. The training piece is even smaller. I think it's suffered in that sense of not really being able to get the attention that it properly deserves. Its just the way stuff works (Recksiedler, 1998, Field Notes #5, Interview with Ken).

From the beginning of the CJS Program in 1986 to the passing of the EI Act in 1997, it took eleven years for the federal government to make the shift from buying training seats at institutions in the province to transferring EI dollars to the client who then makes his/her own choice as to the type of training they want and where they will buy it. We finally see the shift from making transfers to institutions to making transfers to EI clients. This represented another kind of devolution, the devolution of decision making power from the experts to the client.

So, from 1984-5, and the Canadian Jobs Strategy in 1986 to 1997, when they put out the EI Act, that's how long it takes them to make the shift from buying seats. They would like to do it immediately, but the provinces are so reliant, particularly the small provinces, on federal training purchases, that it takes this long...the interesting thing now of course is this last agreement is saying, here's the transfer to the individual, but by the way, were going to ask the provinces to take over labour market intervention (Recksiedler, 1998, Field Notes #4, Interview with Randy).

The Canada-Manitoba Labour Market Development Agreement marked a shift away from training to other forms of employment development. Financial support was now provided directly to the individual EI client to purchase whatever services necessary, including training, to get themselves back into employment. Because the checks were now going directly from the federal government to the client, the federal government now had something they always wanted, a much higher visibility.

...basically all direct purchases of training were eliminated. Right now, again, here we get into a visibility issue. They said they would provide financial support to individuals who were seeking training, but they themselves would not purchase the training...you would come in and negotiate something with your employment councillor and then they would only do as much as it was necessary to do to get you back in the workforce. If that meant the only reason you weren't working was because you needed daycare, then they'd write you a check for daycare. If you needed a six-week Word Perfect course to be more employable, they'd buy that six-week Word Perfect course (Recksiedler, 1998, Field Notes #6, Interview with Linda).

The benefits to the federal government of devolution of employment programming to the province were both financial and political. Financially, they eliminated the use of Consolidated Revenue Funding (CRF)(tax dollars) for training and replaced it with Employment Insurance (EI) funds. Politically, they used it as a demonstration to Quebec and Alberta that federalism can be flexible.

They eliminated a big chunk of CRF expenditures in Manitoba and replaced it with UI money. So their deficit goes down - their operational deficit. They had significant staff reductions. Again, financial implications here...they reduced their administrative and operational imprint across Canada and reduced costs significantly.

So, a lot of financial rational behind this whole devolution thing. In, fact some would argue that it was the primary driver. The other significant driver was obviously political. The offer came just before the Quebec referendum and before their election and stuff like that. **(So they're using this as a demonstration to Quebec basically, that they're open to this kind of arrangement?)** Yes, and Alberta as well. The two big blocks (Recksiedler, 1998, Field notes #6, Interview with Linda).

Under the agreement, Manitoba received $144.5 million over three years from the Employment Insurance program to administer job training and re-employment. The move included the transfer of 118 federal employees to the provincial payroll (Lett, D. and Samyn, P., 1997, April 17). The province was now able to align the use of the EI money to better meet provincial economic priorities. It also provided for a more coordinated approach by eliminating duplication of training and employment services. One provincial civil servant commented:

But the province benefits from all this extra money under their control, and as I was saying before, better able to align it with provincial priorities in terms of economic development, in terms of aligning it with what we see the training priorities being, that kind of thing. So its more strategic. Plus there was some overlapping duplication. We were in the same game doing the same thing for similar clients (Recksiedler, 1998, Field Notes #6, Interview with Linda).

There is no time limit to the Agreement. The Agreement is in perpetuity until one or both of the signing partners decide to cancel it. However, funding was allocated for only three years at which point it will be reviewed.

The Agreement doesn't have an end date. The funding has been allocated for three years at which point its going to be reviewed. The Agreement is there in perpetuity until someone cancels it (Recksiedler, 1998, Field Notes #6, Interview with Linda).

Under the NTA, training could be provided by industry, unions, associations, or community groups through a contract with the federal government. They in turn could hire a private training consultant to provide training and this person didn't require any certification. Under the Labour Market Development Agreement, any organization wishing to provide training now has to certified and registered under the provincial Private Vocational Schools Act.

That's because in Manitoba the (Private Vocational Schools) Act basically says that if you're under contract with somebody, then it's a personal contract. Like, if I hire you to provide training for me - if I'm an employer and I hire you to do training for me, then that's a personal contract. However, if you're out there as a trainer charging tuition to the public, that's a different situation. Now they have to charge tuition to get the Federal money. Because the federal money is going to the individual to pay tuition. Those situations are protected under the Private Vocational Schools Act...some resent the additional government red tape, but it's a form of consumer protection and I think that's a legitimate role for government (Recksiedler, 1998, Field Notes #6, Interview with Linda).

In this chapter we have observed definite shifts and trends in federal training policies and initiatives and their impacts on occupational training in the province. In the next chapter we will take a look at the findings from the information presented in chapters 4 and 5 and present some final conclusions.

Chapter 6

Summary and Conclusions

Summary of the Findings

In the first few years that the Adult Occupational Training Act was in effect, most of the training that took place in Manitoba was in the area of institutional training. It included technical skills training, academic upgrading, language upgrading for immigrants, work adjustment, and apprenticeship training. Although there was some activity in industrial training, it was somewhat limited in that preference was given to employers who provided training in skills that were transferable to other occupations. In 1972, industrial training was widened to include not just single employers but groups of employers and training was now permitted in specific skills that could be directly useful to a specific employer. This caused an increase in training activity on the industrial side.

The agreements signed between Canada and Manitoba during the period of the AOT Act provided for a joint Federal-Provincial consultative body called the Canada-Manitoba Manpower Needs Committee. The MNC was a joint recommending body which had overall responsibility for assessing manpower needs, recommending training, evaluating the

results of training programs and making recommendations for improvements. Relations between the Federal and Provincial representatives on the MNC were not always harmonious.

The federal government was the one who prepared the Agreements and brought them to the province for final negotiation and signing. Prior to the signing of any training agreement, both the federal government and the province put together their own negotiating teams to work out the details of the agreement. The people on these negotiating teams tended to be the same people as those on the MNC. The purpose of the Agreements was to allow the federal government to purchase occupational training for their clients from institutions approved by Manitoba.

Around the time of the passing of the AOT Act in 1967, both Manitoba and Canada were experiencing an increase in unemployment rates. One major factor was the "baby boom" which was causing a large number of young people to enter the labour force. Another trend was that women were entering the work force in increasing numbers either looking for a career or looking to supplement the family income. By 1977, Manitoba's unemployment rate was the highest ever recorded in the province with young people making up almost half of the province's unemployed. Similar trends were occurring across the country. Both the federal and provincial governments were concerned that as this group of unemployed youth

became older and shifted into the over 25 age group they would be a potential source of social and political unrest. There was a recognition that some kind of action needed to be taken.

By 1978 a new phenomenon was appearing. Canada was facing record unemployment rates at the same time as industry was experiencing a shortage of skilled labour. This was partly due to the fact that employers preferred to recruit from abroad or attract skilled workers from other companies rather than participate in apprenticeship programs. There was a recognition that the type and quality of occupational training offered in Canada was no longer adequate.

In the period between 1969/70 to 1980/81 both federal and provincial expenditures on manpower training increased. The federal government provided about 45% of total expenditures for manpower training in the province. Although there were increases in federal expenditures for both institutional and industrial training, the share of federal expenditures to institutional training progressively declined as compared to industrial training. Thus we see a significant shift towards industrial training since 1968 and by 1982 expenditures were at almost 50% of expenditures for institutional training. This was reflected in a corresponding drop in participation rates of federally supported students enrolled at community colleges.

Manitoba had voiced its concern that both the institutional and industrial training programs under AOTA were not meeting its special needs and circumstances and needed to be more flexible. There was a desire on the part of the province to play a much larger role in the shaping of federal occupational training programs for Manitoba. One of the concerns was the "buyer-seller" relationship between the federal government and the provinces that tended to place the provinces in an inferior position when it came to planning and priority setting. There was dissatisfaction with the MNC in that it was felt that its role was only being considered as advisory by the Federal Manpower Division and that the funding for institutional training was basically being made in accordance with federal manpower policies and objectives.

Other concerns expressed by Manitoba were (1) that the federal government's increased emphasis on industrial training would result in reduced financing for institutional training and (2) the need for intensive training periods of more than one year for the severely disadvantaged.

Manitoba felt that such details as the higher unemployment rates in the rural regions of the province, out-migration, immigration, the large number of small businesses, the relatively large Native population and the northern region all made Manitoba special in its manpower training requirements.

During the early to mid-1970's when both Manitoba and Canada were experiencing rising unemployment rates, federal training policies began overlapping with social policy. Federal training programs moved towards serving a variety of other purposes such as reducing unemployment by withdrawing workers from the labour force, reducing interregional and interpersonal income disparities and providing social development for various special needs groups.

The Federal Policy Review which came out in September, 1977 resulted in the Federal Government announcing its new Federal Labour Market Strategy in 1978. Included in the new strategy was the emphasis on high level skills training and the de-emphasizing of ABE. BTSD training was reduced because of its lack of effectiveness of getting clients into jobs or into skill training courses which would lead to jobs. This had major implications for the province's community colleges as 20% to 35% of their students were in BTSD. The federal government was now placing increased emphasis on occupational skill training, training-in-industry and targeting training towards regions of the country with projected employment growth. The private sector was encouraged to promote training for their own requirements.

The implications of these policy changes on Manitoba were as follows: (1) measures to enhance worker mobility would result in

increased out-migration to other provinces resulting in keeping Manitoba's unemployment rates low and discouraging federal training inputs; (2) there would be a shift of training funds to the wealthier provinces; (3) because Manitoba had a high proportion of small owner-operator enterprises, these types of businesses would be discriminated against; (4) high unemployment rates in the rural areas would be hidden in the overall unemployment figures for the province and thus not deal with regional disparities within the province; (5) with respect to BTSD, it was felt that these policies would hurt the population of northern Manitoba, especially the Native population; and (6) the shift in emphasis from institutional to industrial training would result in reduced funding to the colleges and transfer a greater portion of the financial burden for operating the colleges to the province. Thus Manitoba was faced with the dilemma that it needed federal manpower programs to support its economic growth objectives but necessary federal support could be limited because employment growth would be insufficient to trigger the required funding.

After 1967, there was a dramatic increase in federal funding for occupational training in Manitoba. Up until 1977/78 the vast majority of training was in institutional training which resulted in a dramatic increase of students at the community colleges as well as in the number and types of courses offered. The proportion of federally sponsored training in community colleges devoted to

ABE increased from 25% of total federal purchases in 1973/74 to 34% in 1976/77. Occupational skills training accounted for just over half of the total training days purchased. Apprenticeship increased from 7% of total federal purchases to 15%. With this huge infusion of federal training dollars, adult training in Manitoba became a whole infrastructure unto itself.

As of 1977, enrollments in the apprenticeship program were dropping due to the fact that the "baby boom" had passed through the high schools. Also, the apprenticeship system preferred to recruit from among high school graduates rather than from among adults who required a year or more of ABE plus skill training before they could be apprenticed.

In 1974, three separate industrial training programs were amalgamated into one program called the Canada Manpower Industrial Training Program. By the mid-1970's, the value of some institutional training programs was being questioned by the federal government and the value of industrial training was being stressed with the placing of people into employment. In 1978, Critical Trades Skills Training (CTCS) was introduced by the federal government and included under industrial training. The purpose of CTST was to stimulate training in high-skill blue-collar occupations. Employer-based training showed strong growth up until

the recession in the early 1980's, then began to show declines in participation of employers due to the unfavorable economic climate in the province. This showed that the industrial training program was dependent on the state of the economy for its success.

On July 7, 1982, the National Training Act was passed. Under this Act emphasis was placed on training for occupations in which there was a labour market demand. This was called "training for occupations of national importance". The Act provided for the development of the Canadian Occupational Projection System (COPS) to more accurately forecast labour supply and demand. It was used to designate occupations of national importance (See Appendix F). The NTA gave increased attention to industrial training with an emphasis on partnerships with the private sector and unions with regard to both the planning and cost sharing of training. Under the Act, the provision of training was opened up to industrial training councils and private training organizations, including private consultants, who specialized in providing training to industry.

Again Manitoba was not happy with the NTA. Although the Training Agreement emphasized the needs of both the regional and national economies, Manitoba felt that occupations of national importance designated by the federal government were not relevant to the Province's occupational needs.

The new three-year Canada-Manitoba Training Agreement signed under the NTA provided for a continuation of both the institutional and industrial training programs including the GIT and CTST. It also provided for the establishment of the Skills Growth Fund. A new joint federal-provincial consultative body known as the Canada-Manitoba Labour Market Needs Committee (LMNC) was established. The roles and responsibilities of this Committee was similar to the MNC under the AOTA. Under the first training agreement signed under the NTA we see the beginning of the indirect purchase system being established between the federal government and the province's training institutions.

A study conducted by W.M.C. Research Associates for the province in 1984 indicated that all was not that well with the state of training in Manitoba. Equity issues and the special needs of women, Natives and the disabled were not being met all that well. Since the recession of the early 1980's there was an increase in the participation of unemployed adults in training. However, assistance to and adjustments for these people by the institutions were limited. Training needs were almost exclusively defined in terms of national or provincial requirements. Communities had no effective role in planning. Training was seldom designed to take into account local conditions or needs. Community colleges had developed into highly centralized institutions and had become quite inflexible. Employer-based training concentrated on employer-specific skills.

There was a lack of attention paid to those skills that promoted occupational mobility.

Because of the federal government's significant financial support for training, it had played a dominant role in developing the shape and structure of training in the province. Manitoba did not have a coherent training strategy to counter federal priorities and initiatives. Because the federal government had played such a dominant role in shaping the province's approach to training, they would, by implication, also have to share responsibility for its shortcomings.

The Skills Growth Fund was established under the NTA to increase training in occupations of national importance. Federal funding was provided to establish, expand and modernize training facilities operated by provincial training institutions and non-profit organizations. Manitoba did very well financially and in obtaining new and upgraded training facilities. The SGF was a short lived program and ended in 1984 when the Federal Conservatives came to power.

The introduction of the CJS program in 1985 signaled a major change in direction from traditional institutional training to indirect purchase of training. The main principle behind the CJS program was the participation of the private sector. Training was purchased by

third parties or coordinating groups from public institutions or other training providers. Provincial institutions were forced to set up a market-driven training component and to retool their physical and intellectual assets in order to compete with other providers of training. The colleges still remained somewhat inflexible in that there were still a lot of block seat purchases being done through the third-party arrangement. In reality, very little had changed. Under CJS funding for direct purchase of training was progressively reduced and was offset by increases of funding for indirect training purchases. This shift in funding from direct to indirect purchase of training was both an issue of control and credit. The federal government felt that it wasn't getting the political recognition that it wanted by direct funding to the province for training. In fact, it was the province that got the recognition but never properly acknowledged the federal government for its role with training in the province. It was felt within the province that the new federal approach to institutional training posed a real threat to the community college system. This lead to very poor relations between the two levels of government. The impact on the community colleges was the diversion of long-term training dollars into short-term training for specific private sector needs. Also, there was a growth of private training consultants competing with the colleges for the training dollars.

One of the weaknesses of CJS was that it was a social policy superimposed onto an economic policy. Target groups such as minority groups and people on UI often needed ABE upgrading in order to prepare them for training in higher level skills. However funding and eligibility for this type of training had been significantly reduced. As a result there was a disjuncture between the people targeted for training and the type of training needed by industry. CJS was also inflexible in that the federal government was using national statistics to determine those occupations experiencing skills shortages and not taking into account the regional differences and needs of Manitoba.

Manitoba was not happy with the second training agreement under the NTA as they felt that it was written to fit Ontario's needs. It was felt that in Manitoba, with a private sector dominated by many small businesses, that institutional training played an important role in training for skills needed in the province. The province was also concerned about what they felt was the low quality of training being offered through CJS programs.

Generally speaking the federal government was very happy with its industrial training program. They felt that it was effective (leading to direct employment), efficient (less costly than institutional training), flexible (target groups and rates of reimbursement) and one which they could administer by themselves.

However, the success of the program was highly dependent on the state of the economy. Employer participation in the program dropped during periods of recession. By the mid-1980's, although economic conditions were improving in Manitoba after the recession, the demand for labour did not go up nor the need for companies to train. Major technological and structural changes were occurring within industry resulting in some occupations changing, others disappearing and new ones emerging. Also, training was restricted to those occupations on the National and Regional List of Designated Occupations, those occupations not necessarily in high demand in the province.

In 1987, Ottawa wanted provincial governments to increase the participation of women and Natives in apprenticeship training. It was acknowledged that the provincial apprenticeship program had not responded well to the needs of women and Natives. Only 1.5% of all active apprentices in the province were women. By 1988, the participation of Natives had risen due mainly to the Limestone Hydro Electric Project. Although Federal expenditures for institutional training dropped after 1985/86, expenditures for apprenticeship continued to rise slowly to the end of the decade. The apprenticeship system in Manitoba had not been very flexible and had been very regulatory in its approach.

Under the NTA, expenditures for training in the province continued to increase until the 1986/87 fiscal year when funding began to decline for institutional training forcing the Province to make reductions in programming. Although the reductions were to be redirected to market-driven training, it was uncertain as to just what portion of that money would flow to the community colleges.

Although the major involvement of the federal government in training in Manitoba was through its institutional and industrial training programs, several other separate agreements had been signed between the province and the federal government. Some of these agreements were cost shared between the two levels of government, others were fully funded by the federal government and administered by the province. Most of these agreements focused on specific target groups such as social assistance recipients, core area residents, farmers and the disabled.

Although devolution to the province of responsibility for training along with other employment services occurred in 1997, the idea of devolving training to the provinces had been considered within federal government circles since the early 1980's. The issue of devolution revolved around the constitutional and national unity question. Initially Manitoba was not interested because of the potential of federal off-loading of responsibility and costs to the province. However, by 1997 Manitoba had changed its mind and signed

the Canada-Manitoba Agreement on Labour Market Development which devolved responsibility for labour market matters for the region to the province along with Employment Insurance funds to support it.

Devolution was the final outcome of the CJS program. All training moved out of the direct purchase model to a free-market model. EI dollars were now transferred to the EI client who was now free to purchase whatever services were deemed necessary to get him/her a job. This gave the federal government the visibility it desired as now the client knew exactly where his/her support was coming from. Other benefits to the federal government were the elimination of Consolidated Revenue Funding for training and a demonstration to the rest of the country that federalism can be flexible. The benefit to the province was that they now had more control over employment and training issues and could better meet provincial economic priorities. Any organization wishing to provide training now had to be certified and registered under the Provincial Private Vocational Schools Act.

The following chart gives an overview of the key acts and programs that were instituted under those acts:

YEAR	PROGRAM	FUNDING (Millions $)		PURPOSE
		Federal	Prov.	
1967	AOTA			Unemployed, apprenticeship, language training.
1971/72-1980/81	CMTP/CMITP	6.9-20 (+190%)	8.5-24 (+182%)	
1976/77-1982/83	CMTP/CMITP	23-41.5 (+80.5%)		
1978	Federal Labour Market Strategy			High level skills training. Training in industry. Training in regions with high employment growth.
1979	CTST			To meet critical trade skills shortages in industry.
1982	NTA			Training for occupations in demand - "occupations of national importance".
1983	SGF	11.3	4.0	For training facilities and equipment - 20 projects.
1985	CJS			Shift to market-driven training. Focused on special needs clients.
1997	Labour Market Agreement	144.5		Transferred responsibility to province for job training and re-employment programs.

Conclusions

Although motivations were different, throughout the period covered by this study federal social policy has always been superimposed onto its economic policy. In the 1970's, training policies were used to address the concerns about potential social and political

unrest due to high unemployment rates. In the 1980's and 1990's it was used to get unemployment insurance recipients and other target groups into jobs.

From 1967 to 1990, federal government policies changed over the period, sometimes dramatically, often having a profound impact on the Provincial training system. Because the community colleges were huge institutions, they were somewhat inflexible and unable to change quickly. These changes often impacted negatively upon the colleges, particularly in the short run. Federal training policies also impacted on the province's ability to plan for its own economic requirements. Manitoba was always dissatisfied with the types of training that the federal government wanted to promote in the province. The federal government's "one size fits all" approach to occupational training meant that Manitoba's requirements were often ignored.

The federal government looked at training from a national perspective. As a result, the occupational training supported by the federal government appeared to be tailored to meet the needs of the industrial heartland of Canada and was being imposed on Manitoba. Manitoba's small-business base wasn't in as good a position as Ontario business and industry to take advantage of the training programs offered, especially under NTA. This issue

increased in intensity as emphasis on industrial training increased and became a major concern for the province, especially under CJS. Increased emphasis on industrial training posed an ever increasing threat to the well being of the community colleges to the point that under CJS they were compelled to set up market-driven training in an attempt to attract federal money into the colleges. In the short-term the federal policies under CJS were quite painful to the colleges, forcing them into some program closures and program changes from long-term training to short-term. In the long term these policies induced the colleges to take on an entrepreneurial mind set through the setting up of market-driven training branches to service private sector training.

The province always found itself in an inferior position when negotiating training agreements with the federal government. For one, the federal government wrote the agreements. All the terms and conditions were set and were difficult to change or adapt to Manitoba's requirements. Also, the "buyer-seller" relationship between the federal government and the province placed the province in an inferior position. The federal government was paying for training for their clients and could dictate what they wanted. They were only limited by what the colleges had to offer. Also, the provincial government didn't have a coherent training policy of its own which allowed the federal government to get much of the training that it desired from the province. The federal government

often criticized the type of training that was being offered in the province, its high cost and its less than desirable results with respect to its clients getting jobs. This appears to be somewhat ironic as it must be remembered that the federal government had played a dominant role in developing the shape and structure of training in Manitoba through its significant financial support for training.

From the federal perspective, the industrial training program was quite successful. It was effective in that training lead directly to employment, efficient in that it was less costly than institutional training, and flexible in terms of training for target groups and rates of reimbursement to employers. No negotiations were necessary with the province. They managed it themselves thereby giving them more control and recognition. The one weakness with the program was that its success was highly dependent on the state of the economy.

The phenomenon of having high unemployment and a shortage of skilled labour is one that was recognized in the late 1970's and continues to persist today. The problem of getting the unemployed into higher skills training to fill these jobs appears to be the fact that, with the de-emphasizing of BTSD and its eventual disappearance, there was no bridging mechanism to help make the transition into higher skills training. Thus there was and

continues to be a disjuncture between the people targeted for training and the types of training needed by industry.

After the recession of the early 1980's it was recognized that major technological and structural changes were occurring within industry. Some occupations were changing, others disappearing and new ones emerging. This made predictions for areas of future training very difficult.

Thus, by the end of the 1980's we see a mix of social, economic and technological change impacting on the scope and structure of adult occupational training in Manitoba. Themes and trends that emerged during the course of this study were: (1) a policy shift from focusing on the disadvantaged (special needs groups) and difficult to employ to the displaced worker (the unemployed); (2) the need for a long-term bridging mechanism for the severely disadvantaged and the unemployed to gain access to higher skills training; (3) the advent of new technology and economic change determining training needs; (4) federal policy changes resulting in reduced funding for institutional training and increased funding for industrial training; (5) the inability of federal training initiatives to meet Manitoba's specific regional economic and social needs; (6) the issue of control and recognition for skills training - federal versus provincial; (7) inflexibility of the apprenticeship system to adjust to changing economic and social

conditions.

With devolution several things happened. Training became client centered. The client now had the responsibility of making his/her own decision as to the type of training s/he wanted and the ability to shop around for that training. The federal government had the visibility it desired in that all its clients now recognized that their support was coming from the federal government. Also, politically, the federal government demonstrated that federalism can work. And for the provincial government, it now had more control over employment and training issues and could better meet its own economic priorities.

Over all this appears to be a win-win-win situation for the client, the federal government and the province. However, this still remains to be seen.

Recommendation for Future Research

This study in no way pretends to be a final study on adult occupational training in Manitoba. Rather, it represents only a beginning on a vast topic. This study did not even begin to touch on adult occupational training that was funded solely by the province and the types of training that it entailed. Given that the province has now taken over responsibility for labour market issues

for the region, research into past provincial policies and initiatives around adult occupational training could bring forward important information which could influence future provincial training policy decisions. Another area of research might be the issue of devolution of responsibility for labour market matters to the province and whether the province has been able to develop its own policies around adult occupational training to meet its own economic and social needs. A third area suggested by this study might be a study of the provincial apprenticeship system and its apparent inability to adjust easily to changes in the workplace.

Glossary of Terms

Adult Basic Education: May encompass upgrading, high school equivalency, and life skill courses, as well as literacy training and English/French as a second language and can be available either full-time of part-time (Abella, 1984).

Basic Skills: Includes knowing how to learn; literacy (reading and writing); numeracy; communication (listening and speaking); critical and creative thinking; self-motivation; independent learning; and social skills. They are the foundations for both education and training (Carnevale et al., 1990;Waugh, 1990; McLaughlin, 1992).

Core Skills: Include the ability to read, write and understand complex materials; to communicate in one's mother tongue; to know a certain level of mathematics and computer science; to know how society and the world work; and to know how to learn (In Training, Only Work Works, 1987).

Cyclical Unemployment: Unemployment caused from the operation of a business cycle and which produces relatively short periods of high unemployment during economic downturns (In Training, Only Work Works, 1987).

Dislocated Workers: Long time workers who lost their jobs, are unemployed and unlikely to return to their previous occupations because their skills have become obsolete or because of structural changes (Datta, 1986).

Employer-Based Training: On-the-job training provided by the employer as well as off-the-job training supported by the employer (Hum and Simon, 1996).

Formal Training: Involves the provision of programs that require an instructor and have an identifiable structure designed to develop a worker's occupational skills. It can be carried out on-the-job, in a classroom setting, either during or after work hours, at either the company location or a post-secondary location, or by a combination of these methods (Canadian Federation of Independent Business, 1989).

Functionally Illiterate: People who do not read well enough to function in our modern economy (In Training, Only Work Works, 1987).

Generic Training: Training with a component of skills common to a number of occupations (Abella, 1984).

History: Can mean one, several, or all of the following:

(1) What actually happened in the past.

(2) The activity of inquiry into that past, based on the rigorous study of sources, and striving conscientiously to challenge myth and legend.

(3) The interpretation or interpretations produced by this activity.

(4) The accumulated body of knowledge about the past: being based on the interpretations of fallible human beings (historians), using often fragmentary and imperfect source materials, this knowledge may often be provisional in nature, and sometimes even contradictory.

(5) Those aspects of the past, felt to be significant or interesting, which have been made accessible by historical inquiry and the accumulating body of historical knowledge; those parts of the past which are known and documented; the actuality to which the body of knowledge refers (Marwick, 1989, p.6).

Human Resources Development: The process by which people are developed through formal education; through systematic or informal on-the-job training programs; through adult education programs; through membership in various political, social, religious, and other organizations; and through self-development as people seek to acquire greater knowledge, skills or capacities on their own initiative, such as taking formal or correspondence courses,

reading or learning from others informally. It is directly related to the social values in a culture, to incentives for training, and to incentives for learning new skills (Patten, 1971).

Informal Training: Skills acquired by an employee who works under normal work or production conditions, either with an experienced worker or under the direction of a supervisor (Canadian Federation of Independent Business, 1989).

Labour Market: Refers to the relationship between workers looking for a job and employers seeking an employee. Workers trade their labour for wages, working conditions or career prospects that are as favorable as 'the market will bear' (Hunter, n.d.).

Manpower Planning: Is the process by which a firm insures that it has the right number of people, and the right kind of people, in the right places, at the right time, doing things for which they are economically most useful (Patten, 1971).

Occupational Training Policies: Refers to the "attempt to change the type of level of skills in the labour force to meet the needs of employers. In the Canadian context this refers to the provision, usually outside the normal education system, of skills, knowledge and/or experience required by workers to obtain and retain a job. It can include classroom or on-the-job training or a combination of

the two, such as apprenticeship training. It can also include academic upgrading or life skills training when these are necessary as a preparation for work related training" (Hunter, n.d., p.18).

Rationalization: Refers to a corporate restructuring involving closures and the physical relocation of production in order to maximize profits (Silver, 1990).

Structural Unemployment: Is that unemployment which stems from:
(1) Major shifts in consumer demand arising from the creation of new products, spontaneous or induced changes in taste, the growth of competition of an imported commodity, etc., which reduce job opportunities for workers in a specific industry or group of industries, specific local areas or regions.
(2) Technological changes which involve the substitution of capital for labour within a given industry or make redundant or obsolete specific skills or products.
(3) The exhaustion of natural resources in a given area.
(4) Changes in the organization or ownership of industry that result in the closing down of certain plants for reasons other than those above.(Woods and Ostray in Penz, 1969).

Technological Change: The form of structural change most frequently referred to as being responsible for structural unemployment (Penz, 1969).

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APPENDIX A

LETTER OF CONSENT

Gerry Recksiedler
Box 744, Stonewall, MB R0C 2Z0
Phone: 467-8518

Dear Participant,

My name is Gerry Recksiedler. I am a graduate student in Adult Education at the University of Manitoba. Under the supervision of Dr. Deo Poonwassie, I am doing a research project about the history of the Federal Government's involvement in adult occupational training programs in Manitoba between the years 1970 to 1990. This research project will fulfill part of the requirements of the Master of Education program.

The purpose of this study is to trace the Federal Government's involvement in adult occupational training in Manitoba through its occupational training policies and programs. I am requesting your participation in this research. Participation is voluntary and you may withdraw from the study at any time or you need not respond to all of the questions asked. It is my intention to interview five current or former federal and provincial government officials who were involved with occupational training in Manitoba. I will be seeking your recollection of events, clarification of issues and policies, as well as your opinions, impressions and reflections. Each interview will require a minimum of 60 minutes and a maximum of 90 minutes and will be arranged at your convenience. A second interview of no more than a half hour may be necessary in order to fill in any gaps in the information gathered or to clarify any issues brought out in the first interview.

All information gathered will be confidential. No names of individuals or government offices will be mentioned to ensure anonymity. In order to ensure accuracy, I am requesting your permission to audio tape our conversations. After the interview has been transcribed from the audio tape, you will have one week to review the interview. If necessary, you will have an opportunity to edit the transcript. The same opportunity will be available following any second interview. The contents of the transcribed interviews will be used to clarify training policies and issues and provide additional background and information to any data collected through a review of government documents. Quotations will be taken from the transcribed interview and used in the study to illustrate and/or support a particular fact. Every effort will be made to ensure that any quoted segment used will not identify the speaker. The audio tapes will be destroyed upon completion of the research. A summary of the findings of the complete study will be forwarded to you by mail.

If you agree to participate in this research project, please complete the consent form on the following page and return it to me.

If you require any further information regarding this research project, please contact me at 467-8518 or Dr. Poonwassie at 474-8244. I look forward to your participation in this endeavour.

Yours truly,

Gerry Recksiedler

CONSENT FORM

I, _____, have read your letter and agree to the conditions as described. I am interested in participating in your research study. My phone number is _____.

I would like to see direct quotations from my interview before they are used in the study [Yes ___ No ___].

Date:_____, 1998.

Signature:_____

APPENDIX B

Interview Guide

1. When did you work for the Federal/Provincial Government? In what capacities?

2. What was your involvement with the implementation of Federal occupational training in Manitoba?

3. The Federal Government passed the Adult Occupational Training Act in 1967. What, in your opinion, prompted the Federal Government to pass the Act at that time? What were the social, economic or political considerations?

4. In 1982 the National Training Act was passed. What motivated the Federal Government to enact this piece of legislation?

5. What were the key training policies and policy shifts that came about as a result of these Acts and how were they applied in Manitoba?

6. What was the Province's role in carrying out Federal training policies?

7. Did Federal training policies and programs meet Manitoba's skill requirements? What were some of the frustrations in trying to apply these policies in Manitoba? For the Province? For the Feds?

8. Workers were losing their jobs or had to have their skills and/or knowledge upgraded in order to maintain their jobs. How did the training policies come to grips with these issues?

9. The Canadian Jobs Strategy was implemented in 1985. What were the major policy changes under this program and how did these changes affect occupational training in Manitoba?

10. Between 1990 and the present, what prompted the Federal Government to eventually devolve training to the Province?

11. What were the key terms and conditions placed on the Province in order for the Province to take over responsibility for occupational training?

12. What did the Feds get out of this agreement? The Province?

13. What aspects of training have the Feds retained?

APPENDIX C

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.

For calculation of training allowances.

(2) For the purposes of paragraph (*b*) of subsection (1),

"Average hourly earnings in manufacturing" defined.

(*a*) "average hourly earnings in manufacturing" for a calendar year means the average hourly earnings of hourly rated wage earners employed

in

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

(*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;

(*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.

Regulations may be made applicable specifically to a province.

(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.

Joint committees.

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.

Recovery of overpayment.

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

entitled,

APPENDIX D

CHAPTER 109

An Act to establish a national program for occupational training

[Assented to 7th July, 1982]

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 *National Training Act*.

INTERPRETATION

2. (1) In this Act,

"adult" means a person who is no longer required by law in the province in which he resides to attend school;

"Commission" means the Canada Employment and Immigration Commission;

"course" means a course of occupational training;

"occupational training" means any instruction, other than university instruction, that provides a person with skills for, or improves a person's skills in, an occupation;

"officer" means such officer of the Commission as is designated in writing by the Chairman thereof to act as an officer for the purposes of this Act;

"public authority" means a provincial or municipal authority or a public education authority.

(2) This Act applies only in respect of the following courses:

CHAPITRE 109

Loi constituant un programme national de formation professionnelle

[Sanctionnée le 7 juillet 1982]

Sa Majesté, sur l'avis et avec le consentement du Sénat et de la Chambre des communes du Canada, décrète :

TITRE ABRÉGÉ

1. *Loi nationale sur la formation.* — Titre abrégé

CHAMP D'APPLICATION

2. (1) Les définitions qui suivent s'appliquent à la présente loi. — Définitions

«administration publique» Administration provinciale, municipale ou scolaire. — «administration publique» "*public...*"

«adulte» Personne qui n'est plus légalement tenue, dans sa province de résidence, de fréquenter l'école. — «adulte» "*adult*"

«agent» Agent de la Commission désigné par écrit par le président de celle-ci. — «agent» "*officer*"

«Commission» La Commission de l'emploi et de l'immigration du Canada. — «Commission» "*Commission*"

«cours» Cours de formation professionnelle. — «cours» "*course*"

«formation professionnelle» Enseignement qui vise à donner ou à augmenter les qualifications nécessaires à l'exercice d'une profession, à l'exclusion de l'enseignement universitaire. — «formation professionnelle» "*occupational...*"

(2) La présente loi ne s'applique qu'aux cours suivants : — Cours visés

(*a*) courses that provide not more than fifty-two weeks of full-time instruction or that provide more than fifty-two weeks of such instruction and are approved in writing by the Commission; and

(*b*) courses that provide not more than 1,820 hours of part-time instruction.

a) les cours qui comportent un enseignement à temps plein d'une durée maximale de cinquante-deux semaines ou d'une durée supérieure s'ils sont approuvés par écrit par la Commission;

b) les cours qui comportent un enseignement à temps partiel d'une durée maximale de mille huit cent vingt heures.

Occupation of national importance

(3) For the purposes of this Act, the Commission may, after consultation, through the joint committees, if any, established pursuant to section 12, with the governments of such provinces as it considers will be most affected thereby, declare, by order, any occupation to be an occupation of national importance, if it is satisfied that there is or will be a national or regional shortage of workers in that occupation sufficiently serious to justify special action.

Professions d'importance nationale

(3) Pour l'application de la présente loi, la Commission peut, après consultation, par l'intermédiaire des comités mixtes qui ont, le cas échéant, été constitués en vertu de l'article 12, avec le gouvernement des provinces qui, selon elle, seront le plus touchées, déclarer, par ordonnance, d'importance nationale une profession où elle constate, ou pour laquelle elle prévoit, une pénurie de personnel à l'échelle nationale ou régionale suffisamment grave pour y justifier une action spéciale.

PURPOSE OF ACT

Purpose of Act

3. The purpose of this Act is to establish a national program to provide occupational training for the labour force and thereby to better meet the need for skills created by a changing economy and to increase the earning and employment potential of individual workers.

OBJECTIF

Objectif

3. La présente loi a pour objectif de mettre sur pied, à l'échelle nationale, un programme de formation professionnelle qui favorise l'adaptation des qualifications professionnelles de la population active aux besoins et à l'évolution de l'économie et augmente les chances d'emploi ou de rémunération.

ENROLMENT

INSCRIPTION

Conditions

4. (1) An officer may, on the request of an adult, arrange for the enrolment of that adult in a course, if the officer is satisfied

(*a*) that the adult has not attended school on a regular basis for any period of twelve consecutive months since he became an adult; and

(*b*) that the course is suited to the needs of the adult and is likely to increase his earning and employment potential.

Conditions

4. (1) L'agent peut, à la demande d'un adulte, le faire inscrire à un cours dans le cas suivant :

a) il constate que l'intéressé, depuis qu'il est adulte, n'a pas fréquenté l'école d'une façon régulière pendant une période de douze mois consécutifs;

b) il estime que le cours correspond aux besoins de l'intéressé et augmentera vraisemblablement ses chances d'emploi ou de rémunération.

Waiver

(2) The Commission may, in respect of any occupation, establish terms and conditions under which an officer may waive the condition set out in paragraph (1)(*a*), if it is satisfied that the need for workers with skills in that occupation so warrants.

Dispense

(2) La Commission peut fixer, si elle estime que les besoins en personnel qualifié dans une profession donnée l'exigent, les modalités selon lesquelles l'agent peut écarter la condition mentionnée à l'alinéa (1)*a*) dans le cas de cette profession.

(3) An officer may, pursuant to subsection (1) arrange for the enrolment of an adult, whether handicapped or not, only in a course given in the province in which the adult resides and by a public authority of that province, unless

(*a*) no such course suitable for that adult is being given at or in the vicinity of his place of residence; or

(*b*) a course suitable for that adult is being given by an organization, other than a public authority, and the cost to the Commission of that course is less than that for a similar course being given at or in the vicinity of his place of residence by a public authority.

(4) No officer may, pursuant to subsection (1), arrange for the enrolment of an adult in a course given in a province by an organization, other than a public authority, if

(*a*) the organization has not been registered, licensed or otherwise authorized by the government of the province to give courses; or

(*b*) the government of the province has been notified, pursuant to subsection (5), in respect of the course and disapproves of the course.

(5) Where the Commission intends to arrange for the enrolment of adults in a course referred to in subsection (4), it shall notify the government of the province of its intention, and that government may, within the period specified in the agreement entered into by the government under section 7, disapprove of such course.

(3) L'inscription d'un adulte, qu'il soit ou non un handicapé, ne peut se faire qu'à un cours donné dans sa province de résidence par une administration publique de celle-ci, sauf si : Réserve

a) aucun cours adéquat n'est donné dans sa localité de résidence ou dans les environs;

b) un cours adéquat est donné par un organisme, à l'exclusion d'une administration publique, et qu'il coûte moins cher à la Commission qu'un cours semblable donné par une administration publique dans sa localité de résidence ou dans les environs.

(4) L'inscription d'un adulte à un cours donné par un organisme, à l'exclusion d'une administration publique ne peut se faire si l'une des conditions suivantes existe : Idem

a) l'organisme n'est pas agréé, par permis, enregistrement ou autrement, par le gouvernement de la province où se donne le cours;

b) le gouvernement de la province a été avisé conformément au paragraphe (5) et désapprouve le cours.

(5) La Commission avise le gouvernement de la province de son intention de faire inscrire des adultes à un cours visé au paragraphe (4); ce gouvernement peut, dans le délai prévu à l'accord qu'il a conclu en vertu de l'article 7, désapprouver le cours. Avis

FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE

5. The Commission may, in accordance with the regulations, pay a training allowance to

(*a*) any adult who is being trained in a course and whose enrolment therein was arranged by an officer; or

(*b*) any adult who is being trained in a course for apprentices that is the subject of an agreement under subsection 7(2).

6. Where an officer arranges for the enrolment of an adult in a course given by an

AIDE FINANCIÈRE

5. La Commission peut verser une allocation, conformément aux règlements, aux adultes qui suivent : Allocation

a) soit un cours auquel ils ont été inscrits par l'intermédiaire d'un agent,

b) soit un cours réservé à des apprentis, si ce dernier cours fait l'objet d'un accord visé au paragraphe 7(2).

6. La Commission peut, sous réserve des règlements, prendre en charge, totalement ou Prise en charge des frais

organization, other than a public authority, the Commission may, subject to the regulations, pay all or any part of the tuition or other charges incurred for the training of that adult in the course.

partiellement, les frais de scolarité et autres engagés pour un cours donné par un organisme, à l'exclusion d'une administration publique, à un adulte inscrit par l'intermédiaire de l'agent.

AGREEMENTS

ACCORDS, CONTRATS ET ENTENTES

Agreements with provinces

7. (1) The Commission may enter into an agreement with the government of a province to remunerate the province, in the manner specified in the agreement on either a fixed rate basis or on a basis of reimbursement for costs incurred, for all or any part of the cost of any course given in the province by a public authority of the province to an adult whose enrolment in the course was arranged by an officer.

7. (1) La Commission peut conclure avec le gouvernement d'une province un accord prévoyant la prise en charge, totale ou partielle, par elle-même du coût des cours donnés dans la province par une administration publique de cette province à des adultes inscrits par l'intermédiaire de l'agent, la prise en charge pouvant se faire, selon les clauses de l'accord, par versements de sommes d'après un barème déterminé ou par remboursement des dépenses engagées.

Accor les pr

Idem

(2) The Commission may enter into an agreement as described in subsection (1) with the government of a province in respect of any course for apprentices given in the province to an adult whose enrolment in the course was not arranged by an officer.

(2) La Commission peut conclure avec le gouvernement d'une province un accord comparable à celui qui est visé au paragraphe (1) dans le cas de cours réservés à des apprentis et donnés à des adultes dont l'inscription n'a pas été faite par l'intermédiaire de l'agent.

Idem

Agreements with employers

8. (1) The Commission may enter into an agreement with any employer, or group of employers, that gives or undertakes to give a course to, or arranges or undertakes to arrange a course for, any adult employed by the employer or group or any member of the group, as the case may be, to remunerate the employer, group or member, in the manner specified in the agreement, for all or any part of the cost of the course.

8. (1) La Commission peut conclure avec un employeur ou un groupe d'employeurs qui donne ou fait donner, ou s'y engage, un cours à ses employés adultes ou à ceux d'un membre du groupe un contrat prévoyant le versement par elle à son cocontractant ou à un autre employeur membre du groupe de sommes couvrant, selon les clauses du contrat, totalement ou partiellement le coût du cours.

Contr les em

Agreements with other persons

(2) Where an employer or group of employers is not able to give or arrange, or to undertake to give or arrange, a course referred to in subsection (1), the Commission may enter into an agreement with any person who, in its opinion, is able to do so to remunerate that person, in the manner specified in the agreement, for all or any part of the cost of any such course.

(2) Faute de pouvoir trouver un cocontractant qui réunisse les conditions visées au paragraphe (1), la Commission peut conclure avec toute personne qui, selon elle, réunit ces conditions un contrat prévoyant le versement par elle à cette personne, selon les clauses du contrat, de sommes couvrant totalement ou partiellement le coût du cours offert aux employés adultes visés au paragraphe (1).

Contr rempl

Provincial participation

(3) An agreement under subsection (1) or (2) may be entered into with the government of any province.

(3) Les contrats visés au présent article peuvent être conclus avec le gouvernement d'une province.

Non-c des pr

Limitation

(4) The Commission may not enter into an agreement, other than an agreement with the government of a province, pursuant to sub-

(4) La Commission ne peut conclure les contrats visés aux paragraphes (1) ou (2) que si le programme du cours en cause, ou d'un

Restri

section (1) or (2), unless the content of each course that is to be the subject of the agreement or the content of a course similar thereto has been the subject of consultation with the government of the province in which the course is given or is to be given or, in the case of a course given or to be given outside Canada, with the government of the province in which the adults to be trained in the course are employed.

cours semblable, a fait l'objet de consultations avec le gouvernement de la province où il se donne ou doit se donner, ou avec celui de la province où sont employés les adultes qui doivent le suivre dans le cas d'un cours donné à l'étranger. Le présent paragraphe ne s'applique pas aux contrats conclus avec le gouvernement d'une province.

Related agreements

(5) The Commission may enter into an agreement with the government of a province to remunerate the province, in the manner specified in the agreement on a fixed rate basis, for all or any part of the cost of any services provided by the province in connection with any course that is the subject of an agreement under subsection (1) or (2).

Accords connexes

(5) La Commission peut conclure avec le gouvernement d'une province un accord prévoyant la prise en charge, totale ou partielle, par elle-même du coût des services que fournit la province à l'égard des cours qui font l'objet d'un contrat, la prise en charge se faisant par versement de sommes d'après un barème déterminé.

...ncial ...ance for ... development of occupational training

9. (1) The Commission may enter into an agreement with the government of a province to provide the province with financial assistance, as set out in the agreement,

(*a*) for the purchase, erection or conversion of buildings, machinery, equipment or other facilities for use in occupational training for an occupation of national importance including such facilities as may be required for the training in such an occupation of adults with special training needs;

(*b*) for the initial operation of the facilities referred to in paragraph (*a*), if the government of the province is not remunerated for the costs associated therewith pursuant to an agreement under section 7; and

(*c*) for the development of courses to be given in connection with the facilities referred to in paragraph (*a*).

Participation financière à la formation professionnelle

9. (1) La Commission peut conclure avec le gouvernement d'une province une entente prévoyant sa propre participation financière, dans une proportion déterminée :

a) aux frais d'immobilisation ou d'acquisition entraînés par la mise sur pied ou la réaffectation des moyens matériels — locaux, appareils, outillage et autres installations — servant à la formation professionnelle pour une profession d'importance nationale, notamment ceux qui servent à la formation professionnelle, dans une profession d'importance nationale, des adultes ayant des besoins de formation particuliers;

b) aux frais de premier établissement relatifs aux moyens visés à l'alinéa *a*), si leur remboursement au gouvernement de la province ne fait pas l'objet de l'accord prévu à l'article 7;

c) à l'élaboration des cours donnés grâce aux moyens visés à l'alinéa *a*).

Idem

(2) The Commission may enter into an agreement with a non-profit organization established to give courses to provide the organization with financial assistance, as set out in the agreement,

(*a*) for the purchase, erection or conversion of buildings, machinery, equipment or other facilities for use in occupational training for an occupation of national

Idem

(2) La Commission peut conclure avec un organisme privé à but non lucratif dont la vocation est de donner des cours un contrat prévoyant sa propre participation financière, dans une proportion déterminée :

a) aux frais d'immobilisation ou d'acquisition entraînés par la mise sur pied ou la réaffectation des moyens matériels — locaux, appareils, outillage et autres instal-

importance or for any occupation suitable for adults with special training needs;

(*b*) for the initial operation of the facilities referred to in paragraph (*a*), if the costs associated therewith are not paid pursuant to section 6; and

(*c*) for the development of courses to be given in connection with the facilities referred to in paragraph (*a*).

lations — servant à la formation professionnelle pour une profession d'importance nationale ou qui convient à des adultes ayant des besoins de formation particuliers;

b) aux frais de premier établissement relatifs aux moyens visés à l'alinéa *a*), si leur remboursement à l'organisme ne fait pas l'objet d'une prise en charge prévue à l'article 6;

c) à l'élaboration des cours donnés grâce aux moyens visés à l'alinéa *a*).

Consultation

(3) Before entering into an agreement pursuant to subsection (2), the Commission shall consult, through the joint committee, if any, established pursuant to section 12, with the government of the province in which the facilities that are to be the subject of the agreement are or are to be situated and, in the case of an agreement for the purchase or erection of a building, shall give public notice of its intention to enter into such agreement.

(3) La Commission, avant de conclure un contrat prévu au paragraphe (2), doit, par l'intermédiaire du comité mixte qui a, le cas échéant, été constitué en vertu de l'article 12, consulter le gouvernement de la province où sont ou seront situés les moyens visés par ce contrat, ainsi que, dans le cas d'un contrat prévoyant l'achat ou la construction de locaux, rendre publique son intention de conclure ce contrat.

Consultation

Objection from province

(4) No agreement for the purchase or erection of a building shall be entered into if, during the forty day period following the day on which public notice was given pursuant to subsection (3), the government of the province in which the building is or is to be situated notifies the Commission in writing of its objection to the agreement.

(4) La Commission ne peut conclure un contrat d'achat ou de construction de locaux si, dans les quarante jours suivant la date où, conformément au paragraphe (3), elle a rendu publique son intention à cet égard, le gouvernement de la province où sont ou seront situés les locaux l'avise par écrit de son opposition au contrat.

Opposition de la province

Amendment of agreement

10. Where an agreement with the government of a province under this Act does not contain a provision for the amendment of any term thereof, that term may be amended only with the mutual consent of the parties to the agreement and with the approval of the Governor in Council.

10. Les dispositions des accords, des ententes ou des contrats conclus avec le gouvernement d'une province en vertu de la présente loi et qui ne comportent pas de clause de modification ne peuvent être modifiés qu'avec le consentement des parties et celui du gouverneur en conseil.

Modification des accords, etc.

GENERAL

DISPOSITIONS GÉNÉRALES

Regulations

11. (1) The Governor in Council may make regulations

(*a*) defining, for the purposes of this Act, the following terms:

(i) "university instruction",

(ii) "full-time instruction", and

(iii) "part-time instruction";

11. (1) Le gouverneur en conseil peut, par règlement :

a) définir les expressions suivantes :

(i) «enseignement universitaire»,

(ii) «enseignement à temps plein»,

(iii) «enseignement à temps partiel»;

b) préciser les circonstances dans lesquelles un adulte est réputé ne pas avoir fré-

Règlements

(*b*) specifying the circumstances in which an adult is deemed not to have attended school on a regular basis for any period;

(*c*) prescribing the rates of training allowances that may be paid under section 5, the terms and conditions under which any such rate is applicable and the time and manner for payment of such allowances;

(*d*) providing for the adjustment of the rates of training allowances that may be paid under section 5;

(*e*) governing the payment of tuition or other charges pursuant to section 6; and

(*f*) generally, for carrying out the purposes and provisions of this Act.

quenté l'école d'une façon régulière pendant une certaine période;

c) prévoir les taux des allocations visées à l'article 5 et leurs modalités d'application et celles du versement des allocations;

d) prévoir le réajustement des taux des allocations visées à l'article 5;

e) prévoir les frais de scolarité et autres frais de formation professionnelle qui peuvent être pris en charge en vertu de l'article 6;

f) d'une façon générale, veiller à l'application de la présente loi.

Application to provinces and regions

(2) The Governor in Council may, after consultation with the government of a province, make any regulations made pursuant to paragraph (1)(*c*) applicable specifically to that province or to any region thereof.

(2) Un règlement pris en vertu de l'alinéa (1)*c*) peut, après consultation avec le gouvernement d'une province, s'appliquer uniquement à la province ou à une région de celle-ci.

Application provinciale ou régionale

Joint committee

12. (1) The Commission shall invite the government of a province to cooperate in the establishment of a joint committee to assess the requirements of the labour market for skilled workers and the means necessary to meet such requirements.

12. (1) La Commission invite le gouvernement d'une province à collaborer pour constituer un comité mixte chargé d'évaluer les besoins du marché du travail en personnel qualifié, ainsi que les moyens nécessaires pour les satisfaire.

Comités mixtes

Statistical information

(2) For the purposes of assessing the requirements of the labour market for skilled workers, the Commission shall request statistical or other information or analysis from appropriate sources, including the government of any province, employers, labour organizations and groups representing adults with special training needs.

(2) Pour l'évaluation des besoins du marché du travail en personnel qualifié, la Commission est tenue de recueillir tous renseignements ou analyses, statistiques ou autres auprès des sources appropriées, notamment des gouvernements provinciaux, des employeurs, des syndicats et des groupes représentant des adultes ayant des besoins de formation particuliers.

Renseignements statistiques

Debt due to Her Majesty

13. (1) Where a person has received a training allowance to which he is not entitled or in excess of the training allowance to which he is entitled, the amount of the allowance or excess, as the case may be, is a debt due to Her Majesty and is recoverable as such in the Federal Court of Canada or any other court of competent jurisdiction or may be deducted, in whole or in part, from any subsequent amount payable to that person as a training allowance or as a benefit under the *Unemployment Insurance Act, 1971*.

13. (1) Les allocations reçues sous le régime de la présente loi et auxquelles l'allocataire n'a pas droit en tout ou en partie constituent des créances de Sa Majesté, dont le recouvrement peut être poursuivi à ce titre devant la Cour fédérale du Canada ou tout autre tribunal compétent; elles peuvent en outre être déduites, en tout ou en partie, des allocations ou des prestations qui sont éventuellement payables à l'allocataire en vertu de la présente loi ou de la *Loi de 1971 sur l'assurance-chômage*.

Créances de Sa Majesté

Limitation period

(2) No proceedings to recover an amount due as a debt under subsection (1) shall be commenced after thirty-six months from the day the liability arose.

Prescription

(2) Les poursuites en recouvrement des créances visées au paragraphe (1) se prescrivent par trente-six mois à compter de la date où elles ont pris naissance.

Offence

14. (1) Every person who, for the purpose of obtaining training in a course or a training allowance under this Act, knowingly makes a false or misleading statement is guilty of an offence punishable on summary conviction.

Infraction

14. (1) Quiconque fait, sciemment, une déclaration fausse ou trompeuse dans le but de suivre un cours ou de recevoir des allocations sous le régime de la présente loi est coupable d'une infraction punissable sur déclaration de culpabilité par procédure sommaire.

Idem

(2) Every employer who, for the purpose of obtaining any payment pursuant to an agreement with the Commission under this Act, knowingly furnishes false or misleading information is guilty of an offence and is liable on summary conviction to a fine not exceeding five thousand dollars.

Idem

(2) L'employeur qui, sciemment, fournit un renseignement faux ou trompeur pour obtenir une somme d'argent en vertu d'un contrat ou d'une entente conclus avec la Commission sous le régime de la présente loi est coupable d'une infraction punissable sur déclaration de culpabilité par procédure sommaire et passible d'une amende de cinq mille dollars.

Appropriation by Parliament

15. All expenditures for the purposes of this Act shall be paid out of moneys appropriated by Parliament therefor.

Affectation des crédits par le Parlement

15. Les sommes d'argent nécessaires à l'application de la présente loi sont prélevées sur les crédits que le Parlement affecte à cette fin.

TRANSITIONAL, REPEAL AND AMENDMENT PROVISIONS

DISPOSITIONS TRANSITOIRES, ABROGATIVES ET MODIFICATIVES

Transition

16. All regulations, agreements or documents that are made or entered into pursuant to the *Adult Occupational Training Act* and that are in force on the coming into force of this Act continue in force thereafter as though made or entered into pursuant to this Act.

Disposition transitoire

16. Les règlements, ententes, contrats, accords et autres actes pris ou conclus en vertu de la *Loi sur la formation professionnelle des adultes* et en cours de validité lors de l'entrée en vigueur de la présente loi restent valides comme s'ils étaient pris ou conclus en vertu de la présente loi.

R.S., c. A-2

17. The *Adult Occupational Training Act* is repealed.

S.R., c. A-2

17. La *Loi sur la formation professionnelle des adultes* est abrogée.

1976-77, c. 54, s. 41

18. Subsection 39(4) of the *Unemployment Insurance Act, 1971* is repealed and the following substituted therefor:

1976-77, c. 54, art. 41

18. Le paragraphe 39(4) de la *Loi de 1971 sur l'assurance-chômage* est abrogé et remplacé par ce qui suit :

Rates of benefit

"(4) Notwithstanding section 24, the rates of weekly benefit payable to claimants who are attending courses or programs to which they have been referred under subsection (1) shall be prescribed amounts not exceeding the greater of the rates payable under section 24 and the rates payable under the *National Training Act*."

Taux de prestation

«(4) Par dérogation à l'article 24, le taux des prestations hebdomadaires payables aux prestataires qui suivent des cours ou programmes vers lesquels ils ont été dirigés en vertu du paragraphe (1) est un montant prescrit qui ne peut dépasser le plus élevé des taux suivants : le taux prévu à l'article 24 et celui prévu par la *Loi nationale sur la formation*.»

19. (1) Paragraph 56(1)(*m*) of the *Income Tax Act* is repealed and the following substituted therefor:

Training allowance

"(*m*) amounts received by the taxpayer in the year as or on account of a training allowance paid to him under the *National Training Act*, except to the extent that they were paid to him as or on account of an allowance for his personal or living expenses while he was away from home;"

(2) Clause 63(3)(*a*)(ii)(C) of the said Act is repealed and the following substituted therefor:

"(C) to undertake an occupational training course in respect of which he received a training allowance paid to him under the *National Training Act*, or"

(3) Paragraph 153(1)(*i*) of the said Act is repealed and the following substituted therefor:

"(*i*) a training allowance under the *National Training Act*,"

1980-81-82, c. 89

20. Subparagraph 17(1)(*b*)(iv) of the *Labour Adjustment Benefits Act* is repealed and the following substituted therefor:

"(iv) a training allowance under the *National Training Act*,"

COMMENCEMENT

Commencement

21. This Act shall come into force on a day to be fixed by proclamation.

19. (1) L'alinéa 56(1)*m*) de la *Loi de l'impôt sur le revenu* est abrogé et remplacé par ce qui suit :

Allocations

«*m*) toutes sommes reçues dans l'année par le contribuable à titre ou au titre d'allocations versées en vertu de la *Loi nationale sur la formation*, sauf dans la mesure où ces sommes lui ont été versées à titre ou au titre d'indemnité pour frais personnels ou de subsistance lorsqu'il vivait hors de chez lui;»

(2) La disposition 63(3)*a*)(ii)(C) de ladite loi est abrogée et remplacée par ce qui suit :

«(C) d'entreprendre un cours de formation professionnelle à l'égard duquel il a reçu une allocation en vertu de la *Loi nationale sur la formation*, ou»

(3) L'alinéa 153(1)*i*) de ladite loi est abrogé et remplacé par ce qui suit :

«*i*) une allocation en vertu de la *Loi nationale sur la formation*,»

1980-81-82, c. 89

20. Le sous-alinéa 17(1)*b*)(iv) de la *Loi sur les prestations d'adaptation pour les travailleurs* est abrogé et remplacé par ce qui suit :

«(iv) soit d'allocations versées en vertu de la *Loi nationale sur la formation*,»

ENTRÉE EN VIGUEUR

Entrée en vigueur

21. La présente loi entre en vigueur à la date fixée par proclamation.

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OTTAWA, 1982

APPENDIX E

OCCUPATIONS OF NATIONAL IMPORTANCE

These are the occupations for which Canada Employment and Immigration Commission is undertaking special actions under its National Training Program:

1149 Other Managers and Administrators, N.E.C.
-199 Arts Administrator

2117 Physical Sciences Technologists and Technicians
-114 Forest Products Technologist -122 Geophysical Technologist

2135 Life Sciences Technologists and Technicians
-166 Food Technologist -220 Agriculture Technician
(specifically seed analyst and incorporating related skills such as seed and gr
inspection and grading and seed processing) -272 Forest Technician

2163 Draughtpersons
-199 Computer Assisted Design Applications to all Draughting Specialties
(and incorporating CAD and similar technology applications to other occupations such as patternmaking and tool and die making)

2165 Architectural and Engineering Technologists and Technicians
-110 Aerospace Engineering Technologist -122 Civil Engineering Technologist
-126 Electrical Engineering Technologist -130 Electronic Engineering
Technologist -138 Marine Engineering Technologist -142 Mechanical Engineeri
Technologist -146 Metallurgical Engineering Technologist -158 Petrochemica
Engineering Technologist -226 Electrical Engineering Technician
-230 Electronics Engineering Technician -238 Industrial Engineering Techni
-242 Marine Engineering Technician -246 Mechanical Engineering Technician
-299 Robotics Engineering Technician

2183 Systems Analysts, Computer Programmers and Related Occupations
-116 Systems - Software Programmer -124 Programmer - Application
-126 Numerical Control Tool Programmer -150 Computer Graphics Specialist
-154 Computer Hardware Specialist -158 Micro-Mini Computer Specialist
-162 Telecommunications Specialist Computers

6120 Supervisors, Food and Beverage Preparation and Related Service Occupations
-127 Executive Chef

6121 Chefs and Cooks
-112 Head Chef

6199 Other Service Occupations, N.E.C.
-110 Diver/Diver-welder

7711 Rotary Well Drilling and Related Occupations
-199 Driller, Offshore -199 Derrick worker, Offshore

8165 Distilling, Subliming and Carbonizing Occupations, Chemicals and Related Materi
-110 Petroleum Process Operator

8271 Knitting Occupations
-114 Knitting Machine Fixer

8311 Tool and Die Making Occupations
-110 Tool and Die Maker (incorporates related tool making occupations, such as Tool or Die Maker, Bench; Die Sinker or Finisher) -199 Mould Maker

8313 Machinists and Machine Tool Setting-up Occupations
-154 Machinist General -242 Tape-Control Machine Tool Set-Up Operator (Numerical Control Machine Operator, also incorporates computer-assisted manufacturing applications in related areas of automated production, such as welding, casting, flame cutting and spray painting)

8335 Welding and Flame Cutting Occupations
-114 Welder - Fitter -122 Welder, Pressure Vessels -334 Welding Technician

8533 Electrical and Related Equipment, Installing and Repairing Occupations, N.E.C.
-110 Electrical Repairer (incorporates Industrial Electrician and Electrical Instrument Repairer) -134 Electrician, Marine Equipment (incorporates Shipyard Electrician and Marine Electrician on Offshore Drilling Ships/Rigs)

8535 Electronic and Related Equipment, Installing and Repairing Occupations, N.E.C.
-114 Repairperson, Electronic Equipment (incorporates Robotics and Automated Processing Equipment Repair)

8582 Aircraft Mechanics and Repairpersons
-110 Aircraft Mechanic (incorporates Aircraft Maintenance Engineer and associa ratings and certification levels)

8584 Industrial Farm and Construction Machinery Mechanics and Repairpersons
-112 Heavy Duty Equipment Mechanic (incorporates 8584-382 Diesel Mechanic) -114 Loom Fixer -118 Machine Fixer, Textile -122 Millwright -399 Marine Mechanic, Offshore Drilling (incorporates Technical Section Leaders/Watchstander

8592 Marine Craft Fabricating, Assembling and Repairing Occupations
-202 Marine Engine Mechanic

8799 Other Construction Trades Occupations, N.E.C.
-126 Maintenance Mechanic, Factory or Mill

9151 Deck Officers
-110 Master, Ship -114 Mate, Ship

9153 Engineer Officers, Ship
-110 Marine Engineer, Chief -114 Marine Engineer Officer

9159 Water Transport Operating Occupations, N.E.C.
-199 Ballast Control Operator/Watchstander, Offshore Drilling Rig

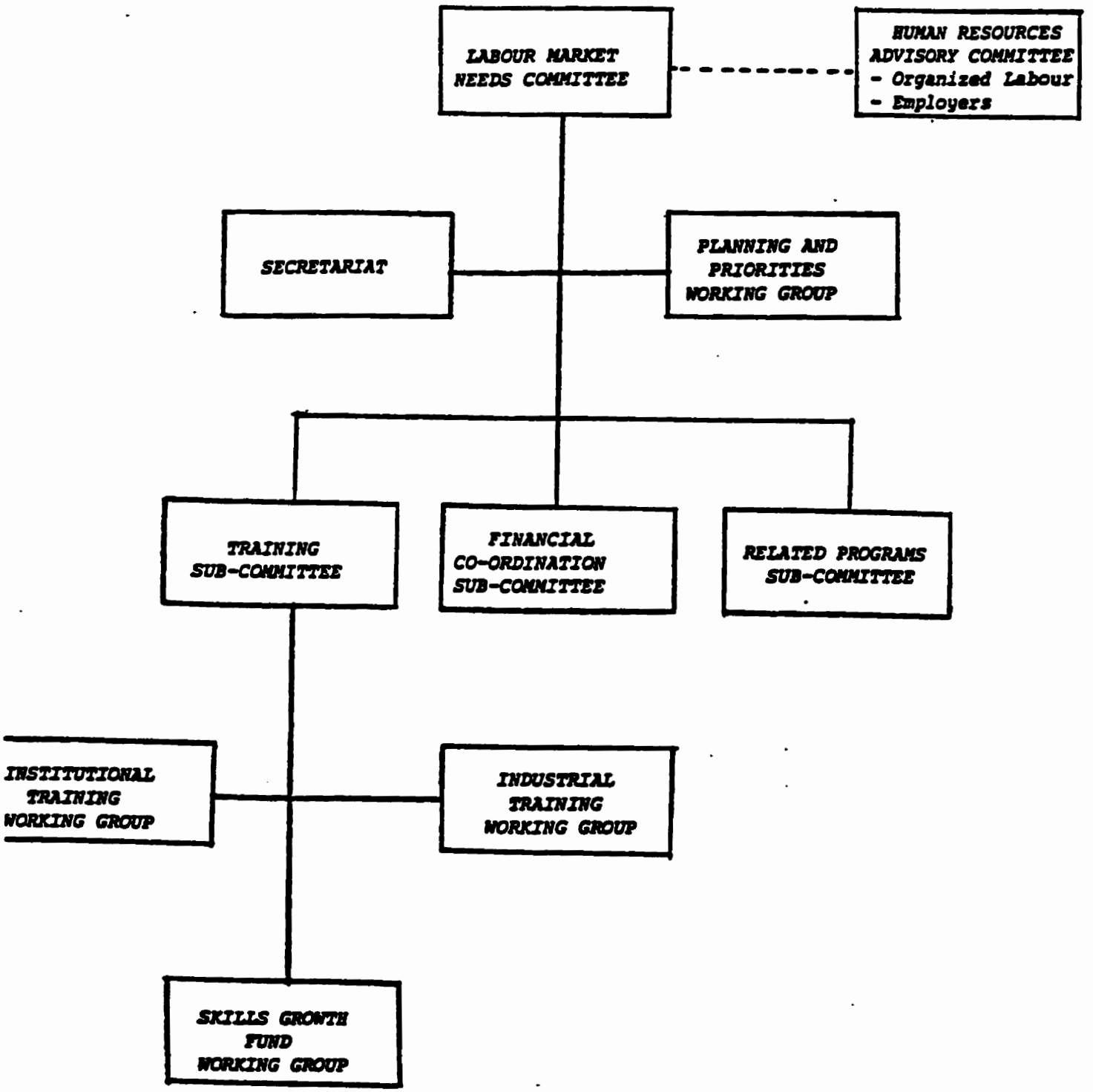
9311 Hoisting Occupations, N.E.C.
-199 Crane Operator, Offshore

9533 Stationary Engine and Auxiliary Equipment Operating and Maintaining Occupations
-122 Stationary Engineer, General

APPENDIX F

CANADA-MANITOBA LABOUR MARKET NEEDS COMMITTEE

Organization of the Labour Market Needs Committee (LMNC)



APPENDIX G

SKILLS GROWTH FUND PROPOSALS

Labour and Employment Services:		
Aircraft Mechanics Apprenticeship Training		$ 286,000
Red River Community College:		
Educational Computer Resource Facility*	$1,303,000	
Industrial Process Control System	74,000	
Programmable Logic Control System	133,000	
Microelectronic Analysis & Trouble Diagnosis Training	165,000	
Computer Programmer/Operator - Braille*	195,000	1,870,000
Assiniboine Community College:		
Educational Computer Resource Facility*	$ 310,000	
Computer Assisted Drafting	94,000	
Mobile Welding Shop*	220,000	
CNC Milling Machine	91,000	
Universal Milling Machine	30,000	745,000
Keewatin Community College:		
Educational Computer Resource Facility*	$ 470,000	
Mobile Electrical Centre*	200,000	
Industrial Electronics	150,000	820,000
Brandon University:		
Distance Delivery - Telidon*		457,000
University of Manitoba:		
Integrated Microcomputer Teaching Facility*	$1,200,000	
Computer Programmer/Blind	115,000	1,315,000
University of Winnipeg:		
Inner City Child Care Workers Training*		750,000
South Winnipeg Vocational Education Centre:		
Adult Training*		4,000,000
		$10,243,000

*Skills Growth Fund contracts between Canada/Manitoba are in the process of being finalized.

APPENDIX H

ACTUAL EXPENDITURES BY CEIC 1980/81 - 1986/87 AND
ESTIMATED EXPENDITURES 1987/88 - 1988/89
(Including Federal Support for Provincial Administration)

	ALL TRAINING				APPRENTICESHIP TRAINING				OTHER TRAINING			
FISCAL YEAR	TRAINING DAYS	AVERAGE COST PER DAY $	TOTAL COST $	% OF TOTAL COST	TRAINING DAYS	AVERAGE COST PER DAY $	TOTAL COST $	% OF TOTAL COST	TRAINING DAYS	AVERAGE COST PER DAY $	TOTAL COST $	% OF TOTAL COST
1980/81 Actual	630,130	24.58	15,488,931	100.0	87,183	29.25	2,550,503	16.5	542,947	23.83	12,938,428	83.5
1982/82 Actual	622,863	26.54	16,533,465	100.0	89,770	39.50	3,546,257	21.4	533,093	24.36	12,987,208	78.6
1982/83 Actual	655,360	32.90	21,561,838	100.0	92,619	49.56	4,590,259	21.3	562,731	30.16	16,971,579	78.7
1983/84 Actual	606,382	36.71	22,223,691	100.0	74,970	47.94	3,593,965	16.2	530,412	35.12	18,629,726	83.8
1984/85 Actual	599,730	38.98	23,378,691	100.0	71,225	52.35	3,728,355	15.9	528,505	37.18	19,650,336	84.1
1985/86 Actual	633,700	39.09	24,770,000	100.0	70,621	54.37	3,839,347	15.5	563,079	37.17	20,930,653	84.5
1986/87 Prel. Act.	533,100	41.82	22,293,000	100.0	77,000	56.10	4,319,900	19.4	456,100	39.41	17,973,100	80.6
1987/88 Forecast	429,727	44.10	18,950,000	100.0	77,000	58.33	4,491,730	23.7	352,727	40.99	14,458,270	76.3
1988/89 Forecast	323,045	46.93	15,160,000	100.0	77,000	60.66	4,671,110	30.8	246,045	42.63	10,488,890	69.0

Source: 1980/81 - 1986/87 - CEIC

Assumptions for 1987/88 and 1988/89 Forecasts:

1. Average cost per day to increase by 4% annually for individual course areas.
2. Apprenticeship training day volumes to remain at 1986/87 level of 77,000 days through 1988/89.
3. No shift in mix of non-apprenticeship course purchases.
4. Total direct purchases to decrease as per terms of the recently signed Training Agreement.

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