

Labour Education and Training Research Network



York University

Centre for Research on Work and Society

Suite 276, York Lanes Bldg
York University
4700 Keele Street
North York, Ontario
M3J 1P3
Canada

Tel: (416) 736-5612
Fax: (416) 736-5916

Women's Access to Training in New Brunswick

by

Joan McFarland
St. Thomas University

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The policy framework for training has undergone dramatic changes in New Brunswick in the past several years. The changes involve the federal government's withdrawal of the purchase of training seats and the devolution of the delivery of training to the province.² In this paper, women's access to training, both before and after these changes, is examined and analysed. This will be done with the use of data from the community colleges, the Student Loans and the Skill, Loans and Grants programs. In addition, data from questionnaires and focus groups on women's experience of access to training will be incorporated into the discussion.

Although this paper looks exclusively at the New Brunswick situation, it should also have relevance for other provinces since training has traditionally been a federal area of jurisdiction. On the other hand, some of the programs in New Brunswick have been of a demonstration or pilot project nature and therefore were not replicated in the other provinces. In addition, since devolution - in 1997 for New Brunswick - New Brunswick has taken over the delivery of training under its own Labour Market Development Agreement with Ottawa. This has allowed a greater New Brunswick flavour to the training being delivered in the province.

The paper is an attempt at a gender-based analysis of training. I use here the Status of Women Canada definition of gender-based analysis: "the analysis of policies and legislation to take into account their differing impact on men and women."³ Such analysis, of course, requires gender-specific data.

Prior to 1995, data on training broken down by gender was generally not available. However, after 1995 and the Beijing UN World Conference on Women, the Canadian government made a commitment to such an approach. I found that data broken down by gender is now being collected.

Based on such an analysis, and focussing on the barrier to women of the availability of sponsorship, I conclude that training programs for women in New Brunswick have been spotty at best. There have been few women-only programs and those available have involved relatively small numbers of specific groups of women. In some programs, men have been greatly favoured over women. Now both sponsored and women-only programs have vanished. And discrimination in favour of males has increased.

The paper will begin with a review of what has been written on the barriers to training faced by women. While men and women may face a number of the same barriers, these barriers may affect women and men differently. In addition, women face barriers which are not faced by men to anything like the same extent.

Following this, the paper provides an overview of training programs in New Brunswick in the 70s, 80s and 90s under the aegis of the Canadian Manpower Training Program, the National Training Act, the Canadian Jobs Strategy, the Labour Force Development

Strategy and the more recent shift to devolution and the Labour Market Development Agreements between Canada and each province.

I will look at each training program in terms of its social, political and policy context, its purpose and rationale, its eligibility requirements and the numbers and percentages of women compared to men trained under it. I examine female enrolment patterns at the community colleges in terms of programs and the age of students which show some significant patterns. I will discuss some of the issues that emerged in my examination of training programs for women concerning sponsorship, eligibility requirements, women-only and bridging programs and training opportunities for social assistance recipients. Finally I will suggest reasons why the programs have or had a differential impact on men and women and look at what the future may hold for women in training programs in the province.

Barriers to Women's Training

The literature on women's training identifies many barriers which prevent women from getting the training that they want/need. These include personal, family, societal and bureaucratic barriers.

Such personal barriers as lack of self-confidence and knowledge of how the system works have prevented women from participating in some programs that have been available. To address these problems, pre-training bridging programs - programs that provide positive, supportive, safe and women centred programming have been advocated.⁴ None of these have been offered in New Brunswick although there have been a few in other provinces.

Lack of family support is also a barrier to training. Too often this lack of support escalates into violence when a woman engages in further education and/or training.⁵

Broader societal barriers include poverty, various forms of discrimination and sex role stereotyping.⁶ In a family desperately struggling to put food on the table, the possibility for the wife/mother to take training often is not an option. Many programs are neither designed nor presented with appropriate sensitivity to the racial and other diversities among women. Even when such women do begin training programs, they may drop out because of this type of problem.

The sex-role stereotyping in our society dissuades women from taking courses in so-called non-traditional areas, e.g., the trades. In addition, they are often subject to sexual harassment when they do go ahead. Women who choose these areas need preparation such as bridging programs and ongoing support to succeed.

Bureaucratic barriers include access to information about programs, selection processes for programs and/or support, eligibility criteria, training allowances, and transportation and daycare provisions and payment methods. Often women don't know what programs are available for them.⁷ If they do, the process is often that they have to persuade an employment counsellor of their appropriateness for the training program. This may require a "selling job", i.e., the woman selling herself as a good investment for the economy. This may be something that the woman either does not feel very comfortable with or is not very adept at.⁸ The eligibility criteria differ with different training programs. For some programs, the woman must be an unemployment insurance recipient, for others, a social assistance recipient etc. There are few programs that all women are eligible for. In terms of training allowances and other payments, the amounts - compared to social assistance payments, for example, the payment schedule, inclusiveness with regard to expenses - are all critical issues. If any of these disadvantage a woman compared to her previous status, it is almost certain to prevent her from taking the training.⁹

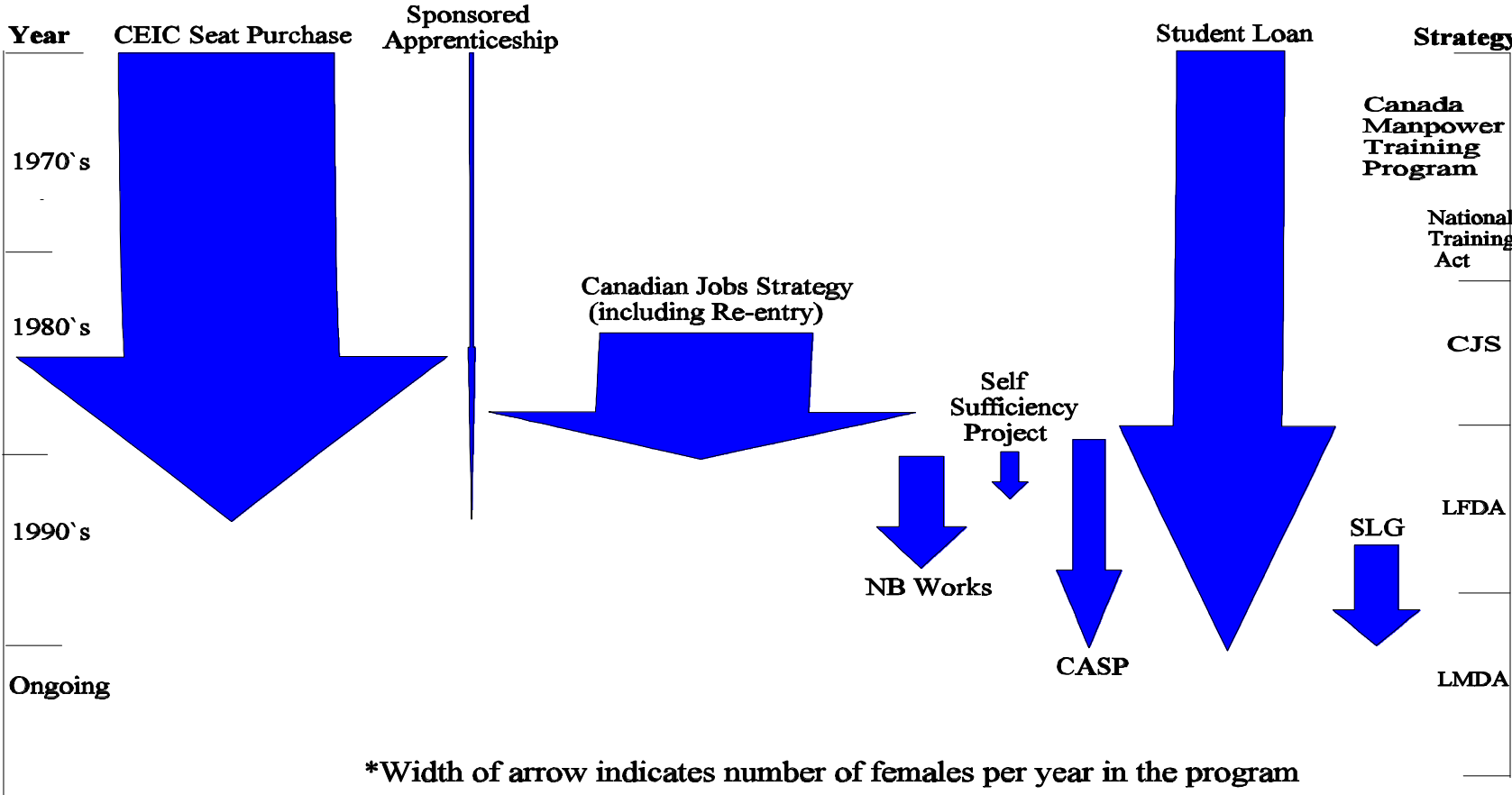
The barrier that I will be stressing in this paper is a policy one - the lack of sponsored training. By sponsored training, I mean the provision of training which covers tuition and expenses for the trainee. Without the availability of such sponsorship, the other barriers listed above have little chance even to come into play. Although private sponsorship (e.g., by industry) could also play an important role, in practise its role has been insignificant.

Sponsorship has played a major role in government policy in Canada. This has been since WW II with the introduction of the apprenticeship program and since the 1970's in other areas. However, with the 1996 Employment Insurance Act, the concept of public sponsorship of training has apparently come to an end. Loan programs are to take over. Where will this leave women and training?

Policies and Programs for Women's Training, 1970s to 1990s

Women's training has taken place in the context of various national training strategies. Apprenticeship has been around since WW II. In the 1970's, a Canada Manpower Training Program (CMTP) was introduced to reinforce the connection between training and economic development in Canada. The program also had equity and economic stabilization goals. In 1982, the National Training Act was passed. This began a new trend which emphasized the first over the latter two goals of the previous program.¹⁰ In 1985, a new strategy, the Canadian Jobs Strategy (CJS) was developed with the stated purpose of linking job creation, work experience and training under one labour market initiative. This strategy was replaced by the Labour Force Development Strategy in 1989. Its avowed purpose was to develop a "training culture" in the Canadian labour market.¹¹ Since 1996, changes in the Employment Act and the policy of devolution of training to the provinces under Labour Market Development Agreements have accelerated the adoption of a market driven approach to training.

Chart 1
 Three Decades of Training Programs for Females in NB



Along with each of these changes, proportionately fewer public funds are being spent on training. Since 1989, with the Labour Force Development Strategy, no more funds from the federal government's consolidated revenues are being spent on training. All funds are taken from employee/ employer contributions to unemployment insurance funds.

Another important trend over the period has been the privatization of training. In earlier periods, much of the training - at least the sponsored training - took place in public institutions, most notably the community colleges. In the nineties, more and more training has shifted to private trainers.

Within the broad strategies outlined above, the design of particular programs has affected women's opportunities to access training in New Brunswick. These are summarized in Chart 1 which shows the various programs (indicated by downward pointing arrows) within the context of the broader strategies. The length of the arrows indicates the starting and ending dates of the program, the width of the arrows is an estimate of the numbers of women involved in the program on a yearly basis. As is clear from an initial inspection of Chart 1, some programs have lasted much longer than others. Similarly, some have offered training opportunities for large numbers of women while others have done so for only small numbers of women. Table 1 shows women's percentage representation in each of the programs. A brief description of each of the programs in terms their special features in relation to access to women is given below.

CEIC Seat Purchase

CEIC seat purchase consisted of the government purchasing seats in training institutions for unemployed and other prospective members of the labour force. The training did not include academic upgrading. Participants would be recommended for such training by employment counsellors with CEIC. A participant would be provided with a training allowance and transportation costs where required.

In the early eighties, a certain percentage of training seats in non-traditional areas were reserved for women. However, it proved difficult to fill those seats on a regular basis and by the time of the Canadian Jobs Strategy in 1985, such reservation of seats had been dropped.¹²

In general, there has been very little gender specific data available on the CEIC seat purchase program. When I requested some in the early 1990's, it took almost a year for it to arrive and it was both hand delivered and partly handwritten. It was for the fiscal year 1992-93.

The data was for training with private trainers both inside and outside of the province. In that year, 1992-93, 6159 or 48.4% of the 12,721 who received training through seat purchase were females. Adding those who received training through the NBCC system,

the figures are 6782 or 43% of 15,753 being females.

Apprenticeship

Apprenticeship is the oldest of the training programs. New Brunswick began its program in 1944. One becomes an apprentice by either finding a tradesperson willing to take on an apprentice or is placed with a tradesperson after a pre-employment course at the community college. Until recently, a grade 12 education was not required. Before the 1996 Employment Act changes, the courses as well as transportation to the course and a living allowance were provided by CEIC.

Women have never played more than a very minor role in the apprenticeship program probably because most of the trades are non-traditional occupations for women. Most of the female apprentices are cooks. Formerly, hairdressing was under the program but it is no longer included. However, barbers are and some women choose this trade.

Table 1
Female Participation in Various Programs in New Brunswick

Program	Females Yearly #	Females as % of Total Participants
Seat Purchase CEIC (1970s - 1996)	6,782	43
Apprenticeship (1944 - present)	48	2.3
Canadian Jobs Strategy (CJS) (1985 - 89)	9,758	38.9
Re-entry (Sept. 1985 - Sept. 1989)	341	99.7
NB Works (1992 - 98)	811	84
Skills, Loans and Grants (SLG) (Oct. 1997- present)	1,628	35.8

Source: See Table A1 (Appendix)

As shown in Table 2, in the period 1986 to 1997, the average annual number of female apprentices taking courses at the community college was 52 out of an average of 2,250 apprentices at the college in any given year. This means that female apprentices were 2.3%

on average of all apprentices at the community colleges during this period. Various attempts have been made over the years to increase the number of female apprentices, and there has been some variation as shown in the table, but the numbers are still very low.

Table 2
Females in Apprenticeship, New Brunswick, 1986 - 1998

Year	Female Apprentices at Community Colleges*	Total Apprentices at Community Colleges*	Females as % of Total Apprentices at Community Colleges*	Active Apprentices ** in New Brunswick
1986-87	34	1,837	1.9	3,328
1987-88	42	1,905	2.2	3,546
1988-89	58	2,017	2.9	4,003
1989-90	71	2,651	2.7	4,200
1990-91	86	3,061	2.8	4,712
1991-92	69	2,895	2.4	4,666
1992-93	56	2,447	2.3	4,362
1993-94	61	2,396	2.5	4,145
1994-95	53	2,067	2.6	4,082
1995-96	27	1,879	1.4	3,526
1996-97	19	1,596	1.2	3,205
1997-98	25	1,483	1.7	3,070
average #	50.1	2,186	2.2	3,904

* taking courses that year at the community college

** registered as apprentices that year, male and female

Sources: Apprentices at community colleges: data supplied by NB Department of Education.
Active apprentices: from *Annual Report*, New Brunswick Department of Advanced Education and Labour, various years.

Re-entry Program under CJS

The Canadian Jobs Strategy, initiated in 1985, was made up of five programs. One of these was Job Entry. Within Job Entry was the Re-entry program which was a program to aid housewives returning to the labour force after at least a three-year absence. Re-entry could be co-ordinated by a public institution, a private trainer or consultant or a voluntary organization. The programs included life skills, job search and on-the-job training and were of relatively short duration - four months to one year. Sponsored by CEIC, all costs for participants were covered as well as allowances for child care.

In New Brunswick, from September 1985 to September 1987, there were 16 privately sponsored re-entry programs and seven publicly sponsored ones.¹³ The re-entry program overlapped for several years with the Labour Force Development Strategy. As shown in Chart 1 and Table 1, in 1989-90, there were 311 participants in re-entry programs, a relatively small number in terms of the overall CJS picture. Women constituted 99.7% of the participants.

NB Works

NB Works was a McKenna showpiece touted as a wonderful opportunity for the women of New Brunswick.¹⁴ Launched in 1992, the three-year program targeted “employable” social assistance recipients with less than a grade 12 education. There were places for three cohorts each of 1,000 participants. The program involved an initial community workplace placement followed by academic upgrading and training of the participant’s choice. Participants were supported with full allowances including child care. Over the 1992-98 period of the program, there was an average of 811 participants in the program in each cohort (taking account of dropouts.) Eighty-four per cent of these were female.

The Self-Sufficiency Project

The self-sufficiency Project was an experiment with earnings supplements conducted by the Social Research and Demonstration Corporation (SRDC) through CEIC between 1992 and 1995.¹⁵ It was carried out in both British Columbia and New Brunswick. In New Brunswick, it ran concurrently with the early part of NB Works. The targeted participants were single parents on social assistance (at least one year.) The basic idea of the project was to give participants a chance to prepare for and find employment and then to supplement earnings from that employment up to some minimum level (e.g., \$30,000) for a certain period. The outcomes were then compared with those in a control group of social assistance recipients not in the program. Training was sponsored but voluntary under the program and if taken, had to be completed in the preparation for an employment phase.

In New Brunswick, an average of 293 female participants received an earnings supplement under the program each year. The overwhelming majority of participants (95.5%) in the program were female.¹⁶

Community Academic Services Program (CASP)

CASP is a literacy program developed in 1991 which provides literacy training free of charge in communities throughout the province.¹⁷ Considered by some as a cost-cutting initiative, it replaces literacy training previously given in the community colleges.¹⁸ The communities involved are expected to make a contribution to the program in terms of fundraising and the provision of space etc. From 1991-94, under a Canada-New Brunswick Labour Force Development Agreement, allowances were provided for unemployment insurance recipients attending CASP but that has ceased. Now only income assistance recipients receive support while in the program.¹⁹

Student Loans

Obviously, the Student Loan program is not a sponsorship program since the loans have to be paid back with full interest. However, they do play a role in women's access to training.

The Canada Student Loan program has been around since 1964. New Brunswick originally only supplemented the CSL program with bursaries. However, in recent years, provincial loans have been given with reduced monies for bursaries. Support is provided for attendance at all forms of secondary education including university, community college and registered private trainers. In the figures I present here, I look only at loans to students attending either community colleges or private training institutions. Also, the figures are only for students attending institutions in New Brunswick.

The Student Loan program is a very large program covering many students. For example, in 1997-98, net of university students, 15,456 students received student loans in New Brunswick. Women were the majority of these students - 57% - as they have been for the past number of years.²⁰

Some of the reasons put forward for this majority female situation is that females are unable to earn as much as males in summer jobs - due to their disadvantaged position in the labour market and the fact that there is a higher level of sponsorship for men under such programs as apprenticeship and seat purchase.²¹ It should be noted that these figures are for the number of students, not the amount spent. Women's courses may be shorter and thus the lower cost is not taken into account.

Skills, Loans and Grants

The Skills, Loans and Grants program came out of the 1996 Employment Insurance Act. It replaces seat purchase with provision for present unemployment insurance recipients or those who have been recipients within the past three years (five years if on maternity leave) with a combination loan/grant to be used for training purposes. The loan/grant is intended to cover tuition and living expenses. The individual is assessed by a case manager for the program.

In New Brunswick, this assessment is based on the perceived return on investment in the individual to the province. The loan/grant division initially adopted by the province was \$3,500 in a loan with the rest made up in a grant.²² However, because New Brunswick has not been able to find a financial institution to underwrite the loan portion of the program, to date all of the monies have been in the form of grants. Thus it has been a bonanza for those who have received support under this program.

Regrettably, participants in this bonanza have been 64% males, see Table 3 below. Gender disparity is reflected also in the amount of funds granted - over \$18 million to male participants and less than \$13 million to female participants.²³ As had been the case in the CEIC seat purchase program, the discretionary aspect of the case manager's role may play a considerable part in the lower support rate for women.

Table 3
Male/Female Grants Under Skills, Loans and Grants (SLG)
New Brunswick, October 1, 1997 - May 1, 1999

	Number	% of Total	Average Size of Grant	\$ Spent	% of \$ Spent
Males	4,965	64.2	\$3,658.20	18,162,967	58.7
Females	2,767	35.8	\$4,610.60	12,757,524	41.3
Total	7,732	100	\$3,999.03	30,920,491	100

Source: Calculated from data provided by New Brunswick Department of Labour

One example of this lower rate is the Information Technology Institute. ITI is a private trainer which claims to have a high job placement rate for its graduates, but which also has high tuition fees (e.g., \$23,000 for a 10-month program). Females have been only 25% of the students sponsored, see Table 4 below.²⁴

Table 4
Male/Female Grants to Information Technology Institute Students
under Skills, Loans and Grants (SLG), New Brunswick, Oct. 1, 1997 -
May 1, 1999

	Number	% of Total	Average Size of Grant	\$ Spent	% of \$ Spent
Males	73	75.3	\$10,664.42	708,475	73.5
Females	24	24.7	\$9,705.14	255,946	26.5
Total	97	100	\$9,942.48	964,421	100

Source: Calculated from data provided by New Brunswick Department of Labour

Women's Participation in the Community Colleges

Table A2 and Charts A1a and b in the Appendix show female enrolment at the community colleges in New Brunswick over the period between 1985 and 1999. The numbers reached a peak in 1995-96 at 7109 and have since declined to 4183 in 1998-99. This reflects both a declining enrolment at the community colleges as well as a proportional decline in female enrolment. As a percentage of total enrolment, females reached 45.9% of total enrolment in 1988-89 and have declined to 39.2% in 1998-99.

Programs Women are Taking

Data from the community colleges show that there have been considerable shifts in the programs women are taking.²⁵ See Table A3 and Charts A2a-I in the Appendix.

In some cases, it appears that there are “male” and “female” programs. For example, apprenticeship is clearly a male program while second language is a female program. Job readiness, a small program in terms of total enrolment, had been a female-dominated program but has not been offered in New Brunswick since 1994. In a greater number of cases, there have been dramatic switches in gender domination in programs. These switches suggest that gender dominance depends on what sponsored programs are being offered and who is eligible for them.

In academic upgrading and pre-employment, there have been switches from male to female dominated enrolment. The former switch may be explained by the NB Works program which had almost solely female participants. In the special category, there has

been a dramatic shift from female to male dominated enrolment. This suggests something about the different nature of the Canadian Jobs Strategy compared to the Labour Force Development Strategy, the latter paying far less attention to equity aspects.

Changing Age Groups in Training

The community colleges enrolment data also shows a considerable change in the dominance of certain age groups in training over the period. This offers further evidence of the sensitivity of enrolment to the sponsorship of training and the eligibility for such sponsorship.

Table A4 in the Appendix shows the trend in enrolments for the different age groups over the 1985-97 period. Chart A3 highlights the changes for the 20-24 and 30-34 age groups. Whereas in the earlier period, 1985-86 to 1992-93, the 30-34 age group were in the majority, since 1993-94, the 20-24 age group has taken over that position.

Looking at female enrolments alone, the younger age groups also dominate in the latter period. Table A5 and Chart A4 in the Appendix give the changing age pattern of female enrolment at the community colleges. Table 5 (across) summarizes some of this information by comparing the dominant age groups for each of the programs for the years 1987-88 and 1997-98. The main pattern is the switch from dominance by the age group 30-34 to the 20-24 one. This is the case in academic upgrading, pre-employment and technical. In job readiness, the younger age group is 25-29 not 20-24. In technology, the switch downward is from 25-29 to 20-24. In upgrading, it is from the 45+ age group to the 25-29 one and in second language, it is from 45+ to 20-24, an even more dramatic shift. In only two of the programs does dominant female enrolment move to a higher age group. In apprenticeship, the dominant age group moves from 30-34 to 35-39; in the category, "special", the move is from 30-34 to 45+.

What are the Issues?

Women's numerical and percentage representation in training programs in New Brunswick has been shown above.²⁶ Women have been under-represented in the sponsored training programs that have been available - drastically so in apprenticeships but also in CEIC's seat purchase scheme, the Canadian Jobs Strategy and the new Skills, Loans and Grants program. And this trend is increasing not decreasing with the latter program. Women have only been well represented in the few programs that have been specifically targeted at them - Re-entry, NB Works and the Self-sufficiency Project. However, these programs were all short-lived and covered few women, relatively speaking.

Table 5
Changes in Dominant Age Groups in Female Enrolment at Community Colleges, Various Programs
New Brunswick, 1987 - 88 and 1997 - 98

Program	1987 - 88		1997 - 98		Direction of Change
	Largest Age Group	% of Total	Largest Age Group	% of Total	
Academic Upgrading	30 - 34	26.7	20 - 24	19.4	↓
Apprenticeship	30 - 34	31.0	35 - 39	32.0	↑
Job Readiness Training	30 - 34	50.0	25 - 29	18.2	↓
Pre-employment	30 - 34	31.4	20 - 24	47.2	↓
Second Language	45+	43.5	20 - 24	29.7	↓
Special	30 - 34	26.4	45+	25.5	↑
Technical	30 - 34	36.1	20 - 24	52.4	↓
Technology	25 - 29	51.5	20 - 24	53.6	↓
Upgrading	45+	44.4	25 - 29	24.9	↓
Overall	30 - 34	27.9	20 - 24	34.9	↓

Source: See Table 3 (Appendix)

There is the question of what is appropriate representation of women in these sponsored programs. There is little discussion of this in any of the documents although one source suggests that the CEIC's target in the early 1990's for the Canadian Jobs Strategy was 40%, "the same as women's representation in the labour force."²⁷ I believe that this number should receive some discussion. Although enrolment at the community colleges is still at a 60/40 male/female ratio, this may well be a reflection of the sponsorship pattern and the apprenticeship situation.²⁸ In post-secondary education generally, female enrolments outnumber male enrolments. In New Brunswick, this is reflected in university enrolments - women making up as much as two-thirds of the enrolment in liberal arts programs.²⁹ The fact that women outnumber men in New Brunswick's student loan program also suggests that women are seeking at least equal access to post-secondary education/training.

Sponsorship

If the availability of sponsorship is a major factor in women's access to training, what is going to happen with the virtual withdrawal of such sponsorship following the 1996 changes in the EI Act? The impact of the withdrawal of sponsorship that has already occurred is quite clearly illustrated in Charts A5 and A6 in the Appendix which compare sponsorship between 1996-97 and 1997-98 both overall and for females specifically before and after the EI Act changes.

Data from the community colleges on sponsorship of females for the 1985-97 period is presented in Table A5 and Chart A7. They show the dramatic increase in the numbers of females in the non-sponsored category and the sharp decline in CEIC sponsorship which had peaked in the late 1980's, the CJS era. The very small amount of female industry sponsorship declined even further during this period. The quite substantial sponsorship in the "other" category in the late eighties in the CJS era and later in the mid-nineties in the NB Works period declined sharply in 1998. The "other" category includes government sponsorship - other than by CEIC such as by the province - and has been mostly for social assistance recipients.

In fact, in terms of data on females as a percentage of participants, presented in Chart A8, women were most highly represented in this "other" category. In industry-sponsored training, women as a percentage of the total was higher in the late 1980's and early 1990's and has since become very low. Women as a percentage of the total in CEIC-SPONSORED training shows a steady decline. This is also a reflection of the fact that with other programs being dropped, apprenticeship with its chronic under-representation of women, has become one of the few remaining programs.

Eligibility for Sponsorship

Of course, there are always eligibility criteria for each training program. These criteria affect women's access. In other cases, women are under-represented in the eligible category - for example women are only about 40% of regular unemployment insurance recipients in New Brunswick.³⁰ Other times, only certain groups of women are eligible for the programs, for example social assistance recipients. In addition, there may be more specific criteria which exclude even more potential participants, for example number of years on social assistance, marital status, education level etc.

Only CEIC's seat purchase program was officially an open eligibility program. Both unemployment insurance recipients and non-recipients were eligible for training sponsorship. However, it has been alleged that discretion on the part of the employment counsellor and persuasiveness on the part of the potential trainee played a major role in determining who and who did not get sponsorship.³¹

Under the new SLG program, to receive training a person must be on EI or have been within the last three years (or five years if on maternity leave). This greatly narrows the number of those eligible for the program. Since women have to date always been a smaller percentage of unemployment insurance recipients, they are put in a disadvantageous position.

The targeted and/or women-only programs have all been for specific groups of women. Re-entry was for women who had been out of the labour force for at least three years. NB Works was for women on income assistance who had less than a grade 12 education. The Self-Sufficiency project was for single parents who had been on income assistance for at least one year. Obviously, these programs excluded many potential trainees.

Women-only and/or Bridging Programs

There is the issue of women-only and/or bridging programs. In the late seventies and early eighties, places in the seat purchase program in non-traditional occupations were held for women.³² However, as mentioned already, when a number of these seats were left unfilled, this aspect was dropped. Various women's groups suggested that, to deal with the situation, women needed more support in entering into training, particularly in non-traditional occupations. Bridging programs were proposed and a few were offered in Saskatchewan, Newfoundland and British Columbia.³³

However, in 1989 with the introduction of the Labour Force Development Strategy, not only bridging programs but also the concept of women-only programs lost support. Such programs were abandoned with the explanation that "they were not needed."³⁴ Many women's groups disagree with this new approach.

In New Brunswick, up until the late 1980's, Career Orientation for Women courses were offered in the community colleges. They fell by the wayside as Re-entry and other programs were dropped and so far they have not reappeared.³⁵

Training for Social Assistance Recipients

Up until 1985, individuals receiving social assistance were not permitted to access training programs. Social assistance was a so-called “passive” program. However, the thinking of policy-makers was changing and in the early 80's active programs were being promoted for SARs (social assistance recipients). The 1985 Employability Enhancement Agreements for SARs - financed 50:50 by the federal and provincial governments - embodied this new approach. Training for SARs was encouraged. New Brunswick signed its first agreement with the federal government in 1987. The program in New Brunswick was called “Focus”. It attempted to get as many SARs as possible into the re-entry programs under the Canadian Jobs Strategy. It is estimated that SARs made up 27% of the re-entry participants across Canada.³⁶

In 1992, New Brunswick signed a second Employability Enhancement Agreement. This led to the financing of the NB Works program which was exclusively for SARs. NB Works had a 84% female participation rate. The Self-Sufficiency Project, also financed by CEIC but under a different program, was also for SARs only. These two programs, both starting in 1992, were short-lived. NB Works ended in 1998. The Self-Sufficiency Project ended in 1995.

Now, at the end of the nineties, there are few training options for SARs. They are still permitted to take training but sponsored training such as under NB Works is nonexistent. The only options left for a social assistance recipient are either to take a CASP literacy program or to borrow funds for training under the student loan program. The only sponsored program would be Skills, Loans and Grants but that would be only for those who have been recent unemployment insurance recipients. Other than that, the only programs for SARs are short-term job placement programs such as Jobs Plus and Rural Experience.³⁷ Neither of these programs contains a training component.

One of the major criticisms of the training programs of the eighties and early nineties was that in the high unemployment economy they never seemed to lead to a job for participants. “I’ve been on programs and programs and never got a job” was how one woman who was a social assistance recipient put it.³⁸ However, instead of responding by enhancing the job placement phase of the programs, policy-makers cut out the training aspect of them altogether. The result is that participants are placed in minimum skill jobs. The whole purpose of the training seems to have been abandoned.

Conclusion: The Present-Future

Women's access to training reflects ups and downs in the period from the 1970s to the 1990s. In general, access has been variable but there have been some programs which sponsored training for women. Most of these have been short-lived and have only covered particular groups of women. However, they did exist and some women did benefit from them. In the new market driven economy, sponsorship has virtually disappeared. Women-only programs are gone. A woman wishing to undertake training has few choices left if she or a family member does not have the funds to pay for it.

To persuade people to engage in employment training, promotion by trainers - mostly private but also community colleges - seems to have replaced sponsorship as the enticement. Every day, the newspapers are full of ads suggesting that the trainer in question offers the "ideal" training program leading to the "ideal" job. A member of the New Brunswick Status of Women Council suggested to me that this promotion seems to rest on "selling dreams" - quite a powerful message in a jobless economy.

If the argument of this paper is true - that the absence of sponsorship is the most significant barrier to women's training - then with the virtual elimination of such sponsorship in the late 1990's market-driven approach to training, we can expect a significant decline in women's training. The evidence in New Brunswick on enrolments, sponsorship and programs for women seems to bear this out.

Endnotes

1. I would like to acknowledge financial assistance from Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council through the Labour Education and Training Research Network and technical assistance of Russ Janzen at the Centre for Research on Work and Society, York University. I would like to thank my research assistants, Maggie Gorman and Jennifer Flavin of St. Thomas University. Finally to all of the people in New Brunswick who either provided me with data, allowed me to interview them, answered my questionnaire or participated in focus groups, I would like to express my appreciation. A special thanks to Mary Shortall, the Canadian Labour Congress Regional Training Advisor, for all of her help.

2. For more detail, see my paper, *What's Happening with Training in New Brunswick?* in the Training Matters: Working Paper Series, Labour Education and Training Research Network, York University, Centre for Research on Work and Society, May 1998.

3. Definition based on discussion in *Setting the Stage for the Next Century: The Federal Plan for Gender Equality*, Status of Women Canada, August 1995, p ii.

4. Aisla Thomson, "Editorial: Training for Whom?", *Women's Education des femmes*, Special Issue: What's Happening with Women's Training in Canada?, Vol. 10, No. 3/4, 1993, p 2. See also Sylvia Ash, Helen King, Dorothy Robbins, Gladys Watson and WISE participants, "Women Interested in Successful Employment: Perspectives on a Bridging Program", *Women's Education des femmes*, Vol. 7, No. 2, 1989

5. Kathleen Rockhill, "Literacy as threat/desire", *Women's Education des femmes*, Vol 5, No. 3, 1987, pp 9-12.

6. Ingrid Wellmeier, "Transitions Research by the Women's Reference Group", *Women's Education des femmes*, Vol. 10, No 3/4, 1993, p 37.

7. This was emphasized by women in the focus groups I organized.

8. This came out in a number of the interviews with women that I conducted.

9. This was another point that was emphasized in the focus groups, especially the one with social assistance recipients. Of particular concern was the possibility of keeping their health cards while they were in training.

10. Stephen McBride, *The Political Economy of Training in Canada* in the Training Matters: Working Paper Series, Labour and Education and Training Research Network, York University, Centre for Research and Society, May 1998, p 4.

11. Elspeth Tulloch for the New Brunswick Advisory Council on the Status of Women, *Background Paper: Women's Training Needs in New Brunswick*, Document 2, March 1993, p 4.

12. Susan Wismer, *Women's Training and Education in Canada*, prepared for the Canadian Congress for Learning Opportunities for Women, 1988, p 8.
13. *Program Evaluation Report: Evaluation of Job Entry Program, Final Report*, CEIC, July 1989, p 62.
14. Joan McFarland and Bob Mullaly, "NB Works: Image vs Reality" in Jane Pulkingham and Gordon Ternowetsky, eds., *Remaking Social Policy: Social Security in the Late 1990's*, (Halifax: Fernwood, 1996), pp 202-19.
15. *When Financial Incentives Encourage Work: Complete 18 Month Findings from the Self-sufficiency Project*, Social Research and Demonstration Corporation for HRDC, Sept. 1998.
16. *Ibid*, p 16.
17. *Final Report. CASP Evaluation Program*, Baseline Market Research for Literacy NB, Dec. 31, 1997.
18. Dorothy MacKeracher, "CASP! Do You Really Want One in Your Neighbourhood?" *Women's Education des femmes*, Vol 11, No. 1 (Spring, 1994).
19. Information from CASP administrator, NB Dept. of Labour, June 1999.
20. *New Brunswick Student Aid: Statistical Profile 1997-98*, p 2.
21. Information from NB Student Loan administrator, April, 1999.
22. Information from interview with SLG administrator, NB Dept. of Advanced Education and Labour, summer 1998.
23. From data supplied by the NB Dept. of Labour, June 1999.
24. *Ibid*.
25. Unfortunately, similar data from private trainers is not available.
26. See Table 1.
27. Elspeth Tulloch for the New Brunswick Advisory Council on the Status of Women, *Background Paper: Women's Training Needs in New Brunswick*, Document 2, March 1993, p 21.
28. Joan McFarland and Abdella Abdou, *What's Happening with Training in New Brunswick?*, *op. cit.* (endnote 2), p 36.

29. For example, at my university, St. Thomas University, a liberal arts college, women made up 71% of full-time enrolment in the academic year, 1998-99. Information from registrar's office.
30. From data supplied by Statistics Canada, Spring 1999.
31. This information came from interviews with women. One woman had gone three times over a number of years before she was given a training seat. Her qualifications had not changed in this period.
32. Wismer, *op. cit.* (endnote 12)
33. See endnote 4.
34. Elspeth Tulloch, "Where are the Women? Federal Training Policy and the Gender Factor", *Women's Education des femmes*, Vol. 10, No. 3/4, 1993/94.
35. Elspeth Tulloch, *Ibid* (endnote 25), p 22.
36. *Program Evaluation Report: Evaluation Job Entry Program, Final Report, op cit* (endnote 13), p 12ff.
37. Information from interview with administrators in HRDNB, fall 1998 and from focus group with social assistance recipients.
38. Joan McFarland, "Combining Economic and Social Policy through Work and Welfare: the Impact on Women" in *Papers on Economic Equality*, Ottawa: Status of Women Canada, 1994, p 157.

Appendix

Table A1
Female Participation in Various Programs in New Brunswick
Various Years

Program (Year/years of data)	# of Females	Total #
Seat Purchase, CEIC (1992-93)	6,782	15,753
Apprenticeship (1986-97)	576	24,751
Canadian Jobs Strategy (CJS) (1989-90)	9,758	25,085
Re-entry (Sept. 1985 - Sept. 1987)	682	684
NB Works (1992-95)	2,434	2,898
Self-Sufficiency Project (1992-94)	586	614
Community Academic Services Program (CASP) (1991 - June 1997)	5,417	9,504
Student Loan (net of universities) (1997-98)	5,087	8,985
Skills, Loans & Grants (SLG) (Oct. 1997 - May 1999)	2,767	7,732

Sources:

- Seat Purchase - data provided by CEIC regional office.
- Apprenticeship - data provided by NB Department of Education.
- CJS - *Background paper: Women's Training Needs in New Brunswick*, Doc 2, prepared for the New Brunswick Advisory Council on the Status of Women, March 1993, p 20.
- *Re-entry - Evaluation of the Job Entry Program, Final Report*, EIC Strategic Policy and Planning, July 1989, p. 12 - 15.
- NB Works - Joan McFarland and Bob Mullaly, "NB Works: Myth vs Reality" in *Remaking Canadian Social Policy: Social Security in the 1990s*, ed. Jane Pulkingham and Gordon Ternowetsky, Fernwood 1996, Tables 1 & 2, p 17 -18.
- Self-Sufficiency - *When Financial Incentives Encourage Work; Complete 18 month findings from the Self-Sufficiency Project*, SRDC, Sept 1998, p. 16, 17, 76.
- CASP - *Final Report, CASP Program evaluation*, prepared for Literacy NB Inc., Dec 31, 1997, p. 14.
- Student Loan - *New Brunswick Student Aid, Statistical Profile, 1997-98*, p3.
- SLG - data provided by NB Department of Labour.

Table A2

**Female Enrolment at the Community College
1985-1999 (full time)**

Year	Female	Total	Females % of Total
1985-86	618	1650	37.5
1986-87	4307	11474	37.5
1987-88	4310	11587	37.2
1988-89	7176	15649	45.9
1989-90	7628	17558	43.4
1990-91	6709	17138	39.1
1991-92	5514	15794	34.9
1992-93	5546	15398	36.0
1993-94	6063	16379	37.0
1994-95	7107	17034	41.7
1995-96	7659	18070	42.4
1996-97	6670	17467	38.2
1997-98	5651	14516	38.9
1998-99	4183	10664	39.2

Source: From data provided by the New Brunswick Department of Education.

Chart A1a

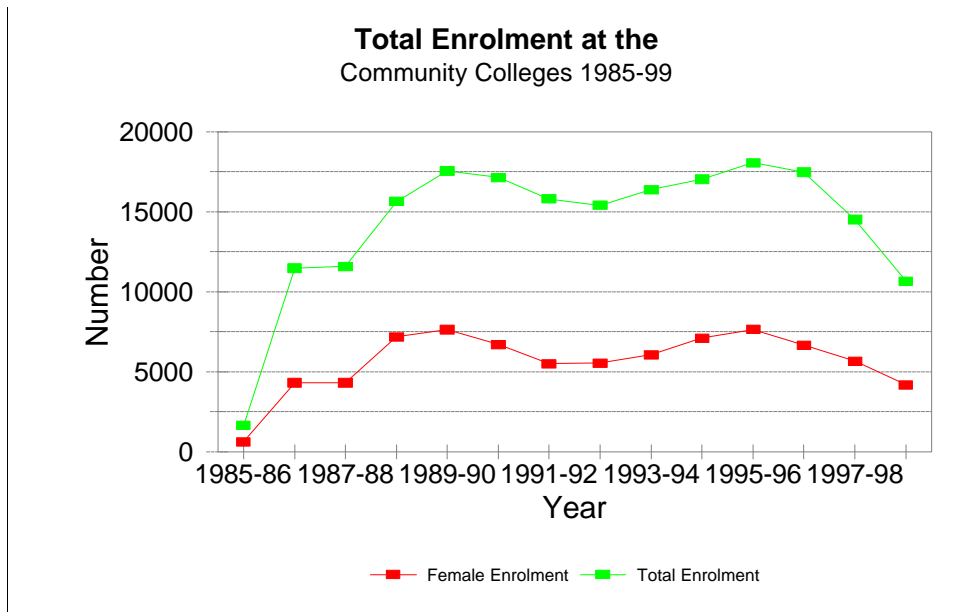


Chart A1b

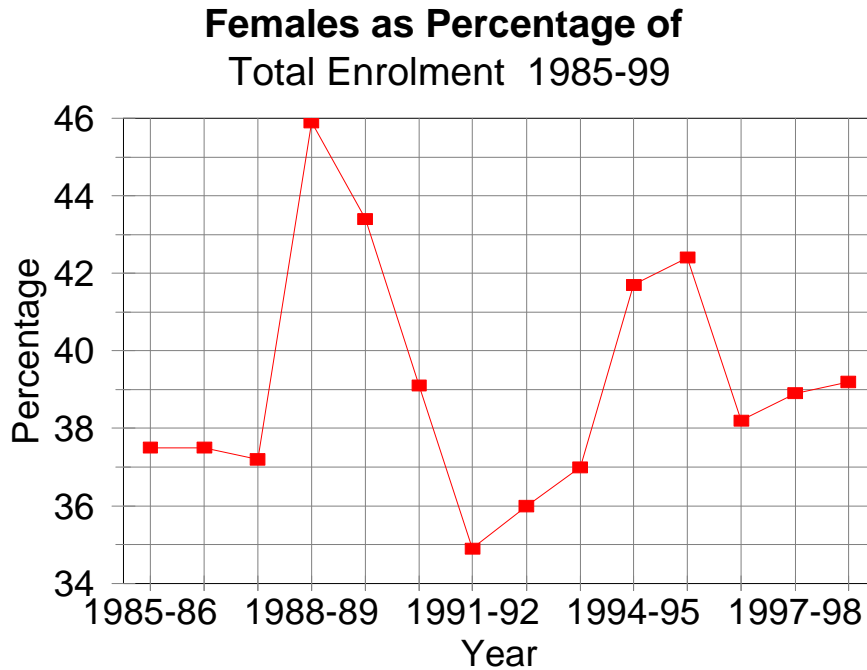


Table A3

**Gender Distribution of Enrolment by Category of Training*:
1985-1997 ***

Year	Academic Upgrading		Apprenticeship		Job Readiness	
	%M	%F	%M	%F	%M	%F
85-86	60.80	37.40	100.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
86-87	64.00	35.70	98.10	1.90	55.90	44.10
87-88	64.20	35.80	97.80	2.20	37.30	62.70
88-89	55.50	44.20	97.10	2.90	38.20	61.80
89-90	50.00	50.00	97.30	2.70	40.50	59.50
90-91	51.80	48.10	97.20	2.80	47.30	52.70
91-92	56.30	43.70	97.60	2.40	33.90	66.10
92-93	51.20	48.80	97.70	2.30	20.00	80.00
93-94	43.90	55.90	97.30	2.50	54.50	45.50
94-95	39.50	60.10	97.10	2.60	0.00	0.00
95-96	39.90	59.60	98.00	1.40	0.00	0.00
96-97	46.20	53.30	98.60	1.20	0.00	0.00

* Descriptions of program categories provided below.

** percentages may not add to 100 due to unmarked forms.

Table A3 (cont..)

Year	Pre-Employment		Second Language		Special	
	%M	%F	%M	%F	%M	%F
85-86	66.40	33.90	56.80	43.20	31.10	68.90
86-87	52.30	47.60	40.60	59.40	38.00	62.00
87-88	50.50	49.50	30.30	69.40	41.30	58.60
88-89	48.90	51.10	34.40	65.30	38.70	61.20
89-90	53.40	46.60	28.60	71.40	42.90	57.10
90-91	53.20	46.80	35.60	64.40	46.80	53.10
91-92	54.40	45.60	25.90	74.10	49.30	50.70
92-93	53.70	46.30	15.90	84.10	57.30	42.70
93-94	51.10	47.50	23.80	76.20	66.50	32.30
94-95	47.30	52.40	18.50	81.50	65.00	33.70
95-96	41.20	58.50	18.40	81.60	58.90	40.00
96-97	39.30	60.40	18.80	80.00	59.50	39.50

Year	Technical		Technology		Upgrading	
	%M	%F	%M	%F	%M	%F
85-86	61.50	38.50	75.00	25.00	100.00	0.00
86-87	65.10	34.90	71.00	29.00	84.50	15.50
87-88	53.40	46.60	67.10	32.90	84.50	15.50
88-89	50.30	49.20	68.10	31.90	66.90	32.60
89-90	48.20	51.80	69.60	30.40	71.30	28.70
90-91	48.70	51.30	70.30	29.70	69.40	30.40
91-92	51.50	48.50	68.40	31.60	78.80	21.20
92-93	52.60	47.30	67.10	32.90	81.00	19.00
93-94	53.20	42.50	68.30	31.60	85.40	14.40
94-95	50.20	47.30	66.40	33.50	83.90	15.30
95-96	52.10	45.70	64.60	35.40	94.80	4.90

Source: Data provided by Dept. of Advanced Education and Labour, New Brunswick.

Description of Program Categories

Academic Upgrading: consists of basic subjects of mathematics, communications and general science; it qualifies the trainee for high level training.

Apprenticeship: leads to a journeyman status, and involves a written contractual agreement between employee and employer to learn skilled trade. It consists of on-the-job training, direct work experience and formal instruction. The formal instruction is the apprenticeship program offered by the college.

Job Readiness Training: is designed for those who require basic skills to improve their adaptation to a work environment, and aims to improve the ability of the trainee to obtain and maintain employment.

Pre-Employment: prepares trainees for areas where the emphasis is on manual skills and the performance of routine procedures. It has a duration of one year or less.

Second Language: offers written, spoken, and reading skills in one of the official New Brunswick languages.

Special: are designed to meet specific needs, given on a demand basis, consists of customized curriculum, and is normally less than a year in duration.

Technical: a one-year program leading to a certificate, and prepares the graduate to perform technical functions in physical science, life science, business or engineering.

Technology: a two-years program leading to a diploma, and prepares the student to perform technological functions in a physical science, life science, business or engineering specialization.

Upgrading: designed for people who have prior training and/or work experience, but want to update their qualifications due to technological changes or other developments. They are normally of less than one year in length.

Source: Department of Advanced Education and Labour, New Brunswick.

Charts A2a-i

Gender Distribution of Enrolment by Category of Training

Chart A2a Academic Upgrading

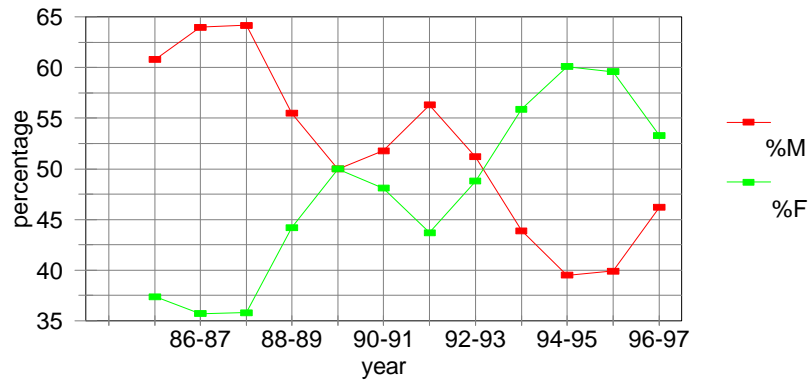


Chart A2b Apprenticeship

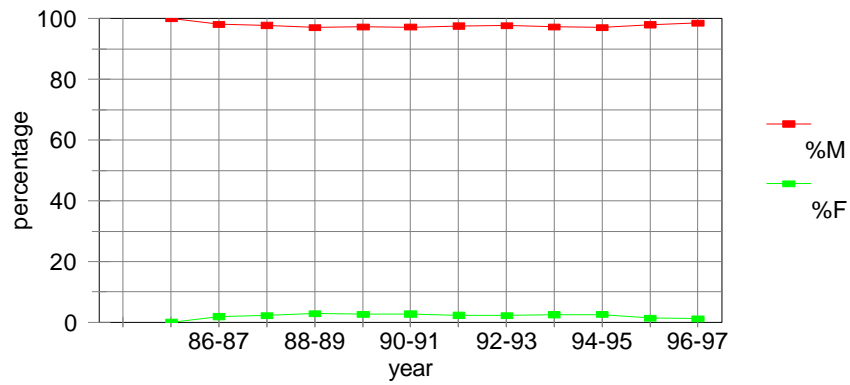
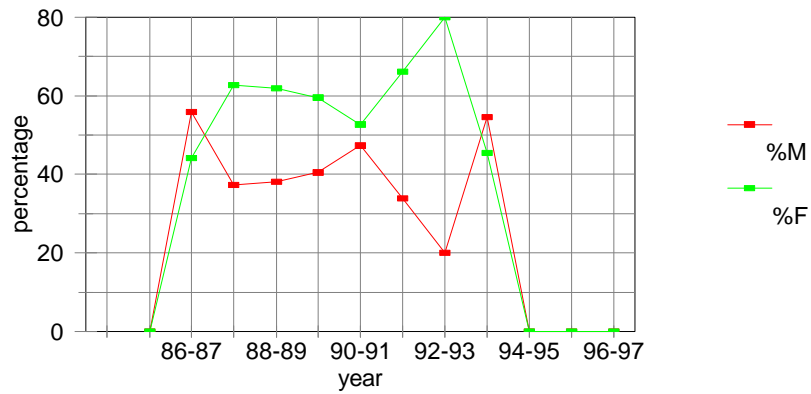


Chart A2c Job Readiness



Charts A2a-i, continued

Chart A2d Pre-Employment

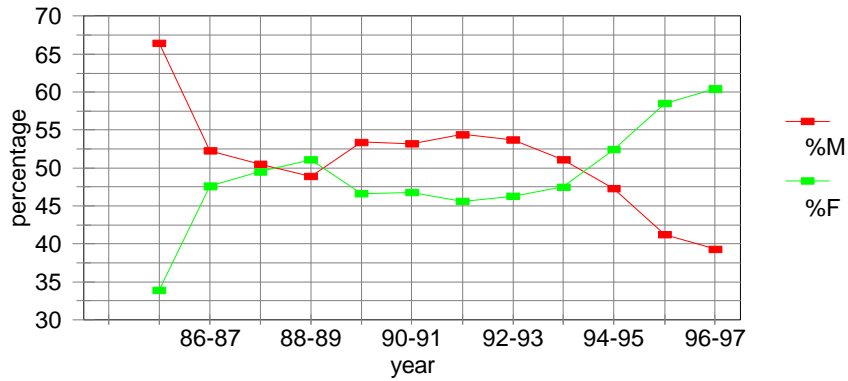


Chart A2e Second Language

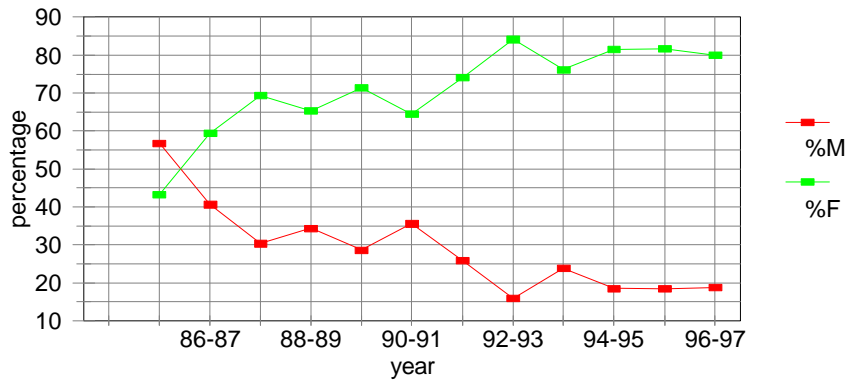
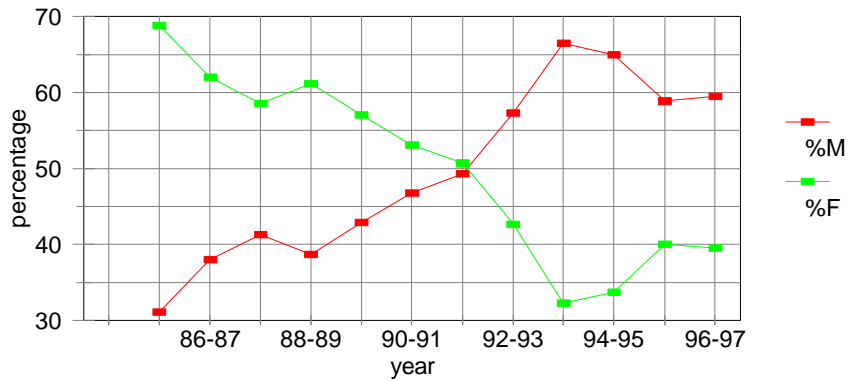


Chart A2f Special



Charts A2a-i, continued

Chart A2g Technical

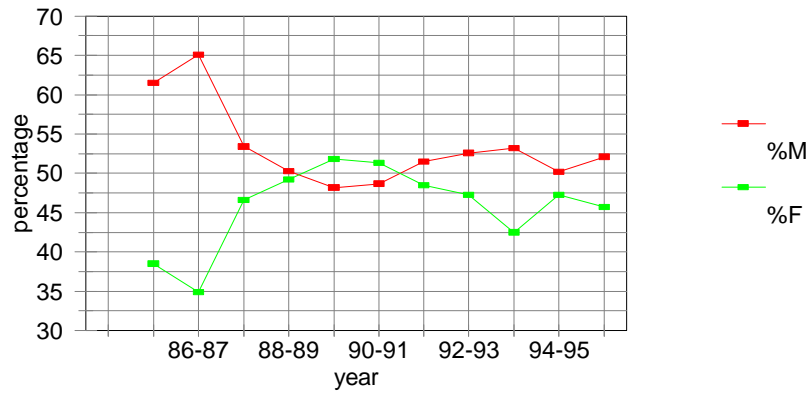


Chart A2h Technology

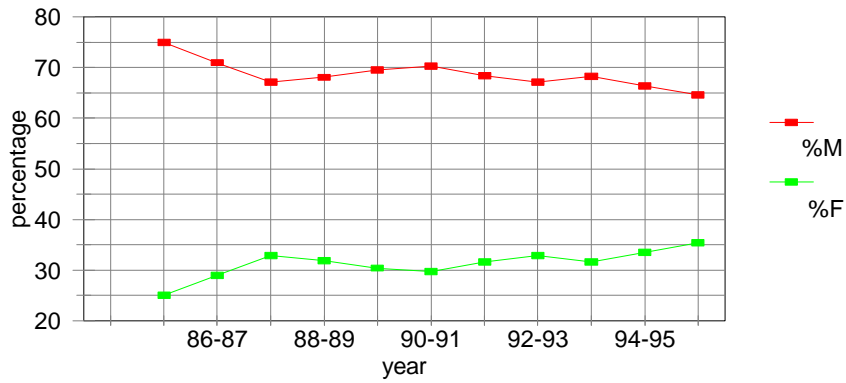
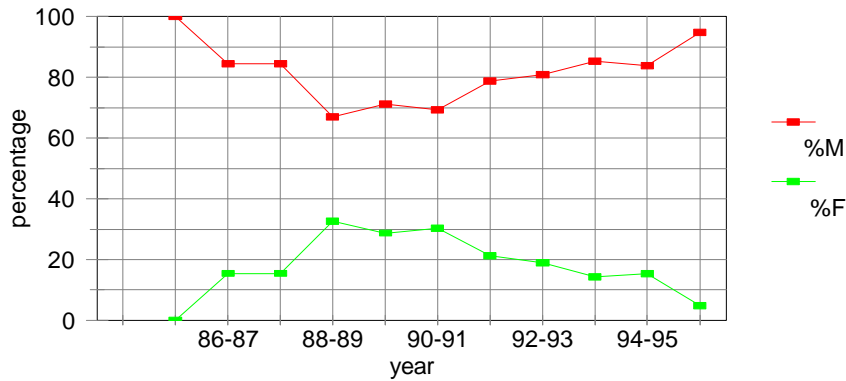


Chart A2i Upgrading



Source: Data in Table A3

Table A4

Age Distribution of NBCC Enrolment of all Categories in Percentage: 1985-1997

Year	Age							
	<18	18-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	45+
85-86	0.0	0.0	0.1	6.9	41.8	18.3	14.2	18.7
86-87	0.0	0.0	0.0	9.7	38.8	19.0	13.4	19.0
87-88	0.0	0.0	0.0	18.4	31.9	18.1	13.0	18.5
88-89	0.0	0.0	0.2	25.9	25.5	17.2	13.2	18.0
89-90	0.0	0.0	1.5	31.5	23.4	15.9	11.9	15.8
90-91	0.0	0.0	2.8	35.6	21.8	14.5	11.2	14.0
91-92	0.0	0.0	8.5	36.1	19.3	13.0	10.5	12.6
92-93	0.0	0.0	14.9	31.6	17.9	12.7	10.1	12.8
93-94	0.0	0.2	21.8	26.4	15.8	12.9	10.5	12.3
94-95	0.1	0.4	26.2	22.4	14.7	13.0	10.6	12.6
95-96	0.4	1.0	29.2	19.9	14.2	12.8	10.1	12.4
96-97	1.2	6.7	30.2	15.7	12.2	11.9	9.6	13.6

Source: Data provided by Department of Advanced Education and Labour, New Brunswick.

Chart A3

Trend of Enrolment for the Age Groups 20-24 and 30-34, 1985-97

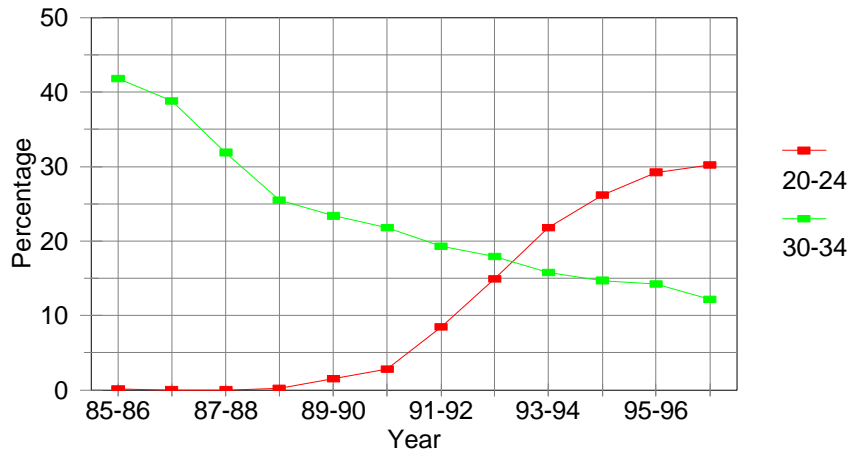


Table A5

Females by Age Group in Various Programs at the Community College
1987-88

Program	Percentage in Each Age Group in Each Program				
	Total # Females	Females % Total	< 18 %	18-19 %	20-24 %
Academic Upgrading	587	12.5	0.0	0.0	0.0
Apprenticeship	42	0.8	0.0	0.0	0.0
Job Readiness Training	32	0.7	0.0	0.0	0.0
Pre-Employment	1376	29.4	0.0	0.0	0.0
Second Language	385	8.2	0.0	0.0	0.0
Special	1488	31.8	0.0	0.0	0.0
Technical	158	3.4	0.0	0.0	0.0
Technology	445	9.5	0.0	0.0	0.0
Upgrading	171	3.7	0.0	0.0	0.0
Total	4684	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
	25-29 %	30-34 %	35-39 %	40-44 %	45+ %
Academic Upgrading	9.9	26.7	23.9	17.2	22.3
Apprenticeship	4.8	31.0	21.4	23.8	19.0
Job Readiness Training	9.4	50.0	15.6	9.4	15.6
Pre-Employment	37.3	31.4	13.0	8.1	10.2
Second Language	5.7	16.6	17.1	17.1	43.5
Special	10.4	26.4	19.6	16.6	27.0
Technical	26.7	36.1	10.1	12.0	15.1
Technology	51.5	35.1	6.9	3.1	3.4
Upgrading	2.3	12.9	15.3	25.1	44.4
Total	21.9	27.9	16.3	13.1	20.8

Females by Age Group in Various Programs at the Community College
1997-98

Program	Percentage in Each Age Group in Each Program				
	Total # Females	Females % Total	< 18 %	18-19 %	20-24 %
Academic Upgrading	1419	25.7	0.0	5.6	19.4
Apprenticeship	25	0.4	0.0	0.0	20.0
Job Readiness Training	165	3.0	0.0	0.0	15.8
Pre-Employment	1328	24.0	0.0	14.0	47.2
Second Language	232	4.2	0.0	9.9	29.7
Special	790	14.3	3.0	2.9	10.0
Technical	401	7.2	0.0	14.7	52.4
Technology	1059	19.1	0.0	17.0	53.6
Upgrading	118	2.1	0.8	1.7	25.4
Total	5537	100.0	0.5	9.9	34.1

Table A5, continued

Program	25-29 %	30-34 %	35-39 %	40-44 %	45+ %
Academic Upgrading	12.3	13.5	13.5	12.3	23.4
Apprenticeship	12.0	8.0	32.0	4.0	24.0
Job Readiness Training	18.2	13.3	15.8	13.3	23.6
Pre-Employment	12.6	6.8	6.6	6.9	5.9
Second Language	14.2	8.2	9.5	10.3	18.2
Special	14.7	12.0	15.1	16.8	25.5
Technical	10.5	7.5	5.2	4.7	5.0
Technology	11.7	7.6	5.6	2.3	2.2
Upgrading	13.6	14.4	13.6	11.0	19.5
Total	12.8	9.9	9.9	9.1	13.8

Source: from data provided by the New Brunswick Department of Education

Chart A4

**Females by Age Group in Various Programs
at the Community College
1987-88 and 1997-98**

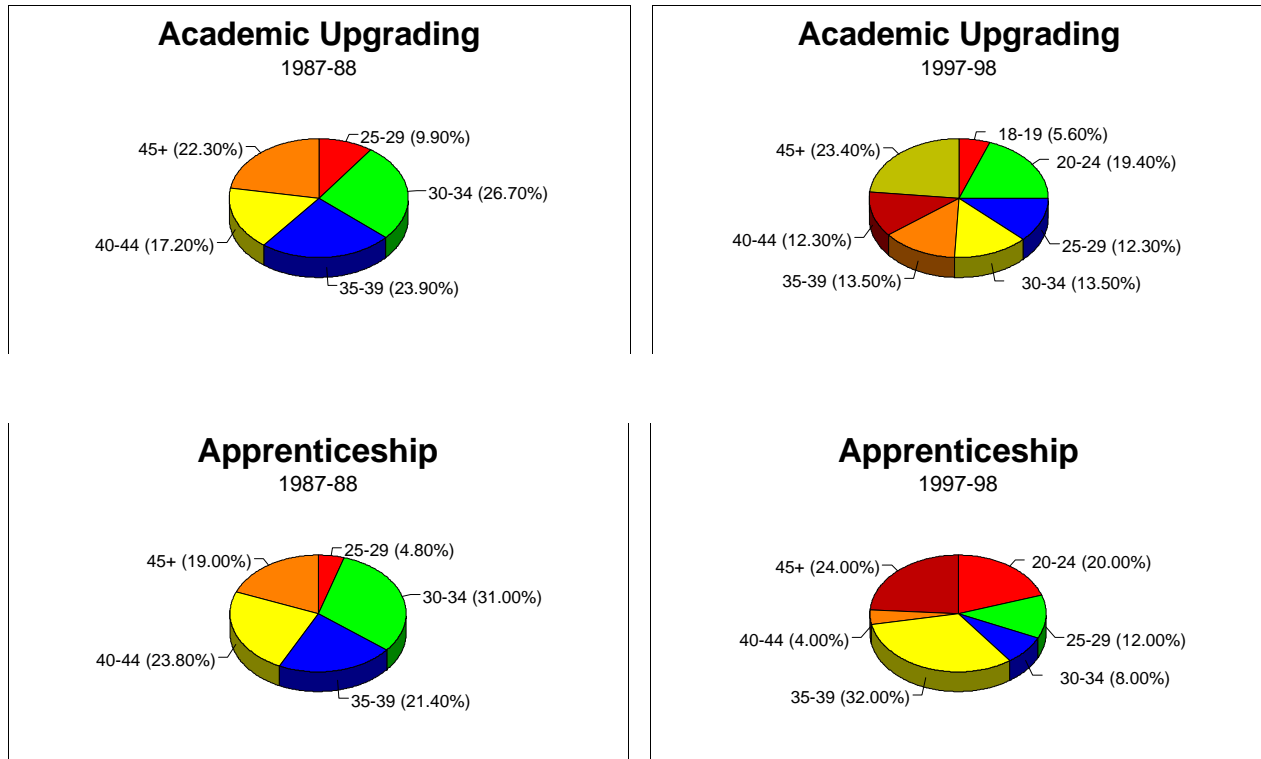
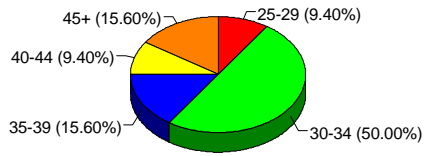
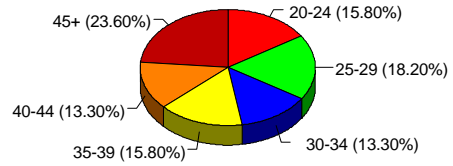


Chart A4, continued

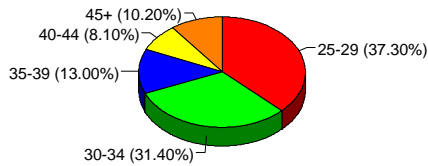
Job Readiness Training
1987-88



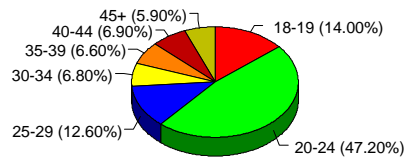
Job Readiness Training
1997-98



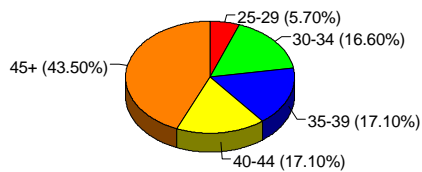
Pre-Employment
1987-88



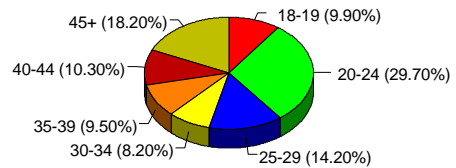
Pre-Employment
1997-98



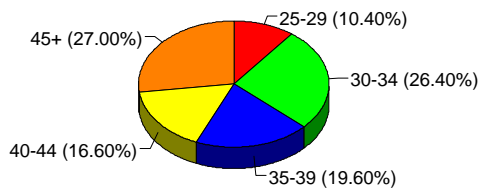
Second Language
1987-88



Second Language
1997-98



Special
1987-88



Special
1997-98

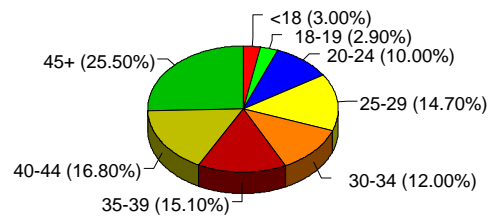
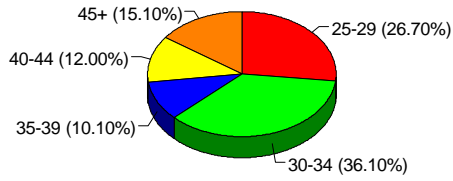
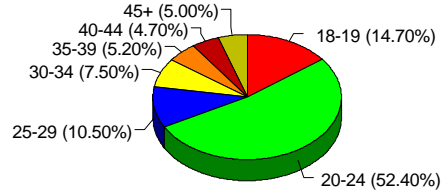


Chart A4, continued

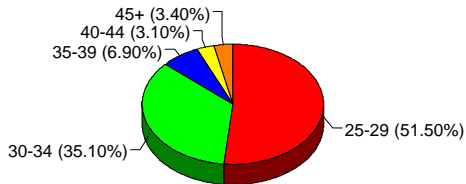
Technical
1987-88



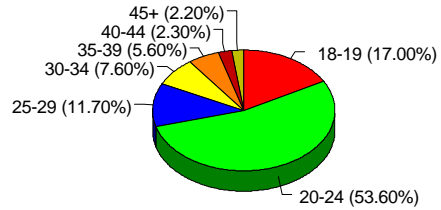
Technical
1997-98



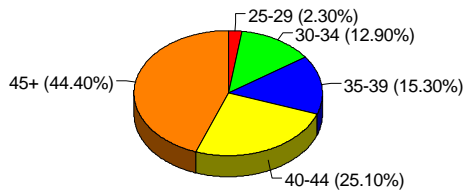
Technology
1987-88



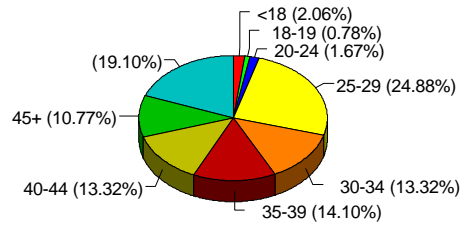
Technology
1997-98



Upgrading
1987-88



Upgrading
1997-98



Source: See Table A5

Chart A5

Sponsorship at Community College

Sponsored vs. Non-Sponsored

	1996-97	1997-98
Non-Sponsored	42.8%	62.3
	7443	8998
Sponsored	57.2%	33.7
	9899	5424
Totals	17342	14422

Source: Calculated from data provided by NB Department of Education

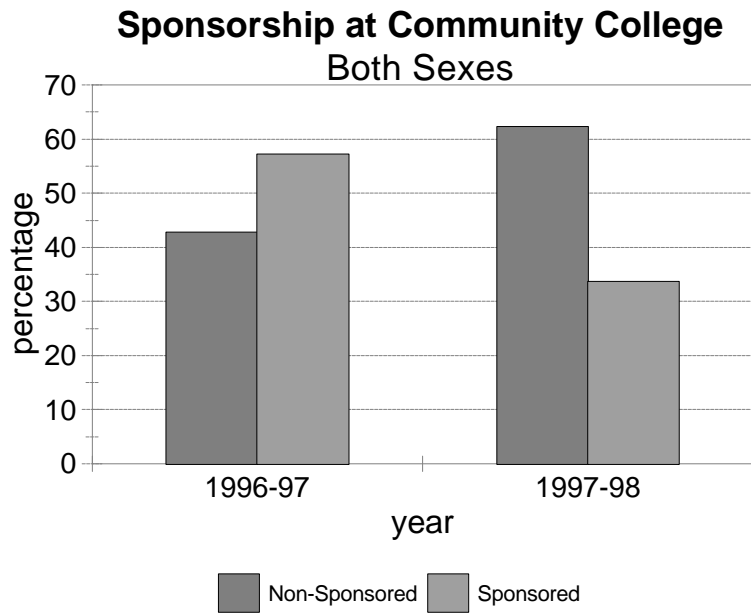


Chart A6

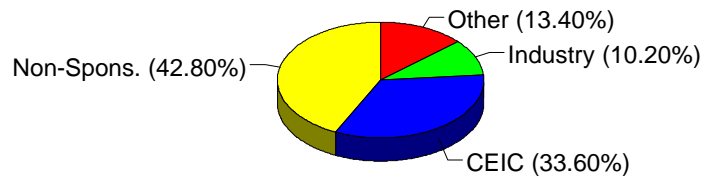
Sponsorship by Category 1996-97 vs. 1997-98

% of all enrollments

Source	1996-97	1997-98
CEIC	13.4	2.8
Industry	10.2	4.4
Other	33.6	30.5
Non-Sponsored	42.8	62.3

Source: Calculated from data provided by the NB Department of Education

Sponsorship at Community College 1996-97



Total Enrolment at Community College by Category: 1997-98

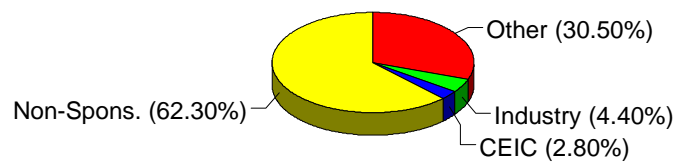


Table A6**Sponsorship of Females at the Community Colleges 1985-99**

Year	Non-sponsored		CEIC-Sponsored		Industry-Sponsored	
	Number Females	% of non-sponsored	Number Females	% of sponsored	Number Females	% of sponsored
1985-86	128	44.6	131	36.9	24	70.6
1986-87	1886	45.1	1565	34.0	155	19.2
1987-88	2044	46.5	1214	32.5	113	11.8
1988-89	2618	48.2	1416	32.5	196	38.3
1989-90	2689	48.0	1787	31.2	353	35.4
1990-91	2454	47.5	1488	26.6	225	28.0
1991-92	2347	44.1	1066	21.7	189	31.8
1992-93	2672	44.0	623	17.0	150	24.2
1993-94	2825	42.4	433	13.6	70	10.5
1994-95	3073	45.1	557	17.6	67	7.8
1995-96	3093	45.4	377	14.2	42	5.3
1996-97	3404	45.6	313	13.4	96	5.4
1997-98	3567	39.4	17	4.2	71	11.1
1998-99	3602	43.4	36	2.9	27	16.2

Year	Other-Sponsored		Total-Sponsored	
	Number Females	% of sponsored	Number Females	% of sponsored
1985-86	335	34.4	490	35.9
1986-87	701	37.2	2421	33.2
1987-88	939	37.5	2266	31.5
1988-89	2946	55.0	4558	44.6
1989-90	2799	53.4	4939	41.3
1990-91	2542	45.7	4285	35.8
1991-92	1912	38.6	3167	30.2
1992-93	2101	41.7	2874	30.9
1993-94	2735	46.6	3238	33.3
1994-95	3410	55.0	4034	39.5
1995-96	4147	53.2	4566	40.5
1996-97	2857	48.6	3266	32.7
1997-98	1996	45.0	2084	38.1
1998-99	524	44.7	587	24.8

Source: Calculated from data provided by the NB Department of Education

Chart A7 (see table 6)

Sponsorship of Females
at the Community Colleges 1985-99

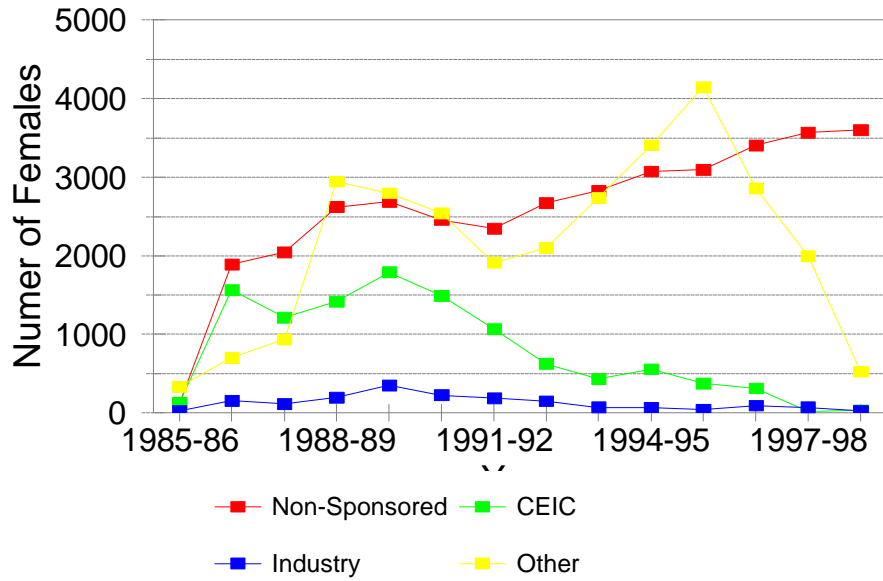


Chart A8 (source: see table 6)

Females as Percentage of Total
Sponsored at Community Colleges 85-99

