

AN EVALUATION OF THE OO-ZA-WE-KWUN CENTRE'S
LIFE SKILLS COURSE

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by

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An Evaluation of the Oo-Za-We-Kwung Centre's Life-Skilles Centre.

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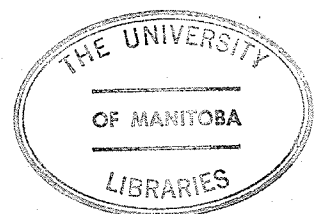
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ABSTRACT

This study undertook to determine from an evaluative research perspective the effects of the Oo-Za-We-Kwun Centre's Life Skills course.

The goal of the Oo-Za-We-Kwun Centre is to help reserve Indians, most of whom have had little or no sustained contact with White society, make a successful transition from the reservation to an urban community. A basic premise of the centre is that Indians must acquire social as well as vocational skills to successfully adjust to life in an urban environment. The objective of the Life Skills course is to teach such social skills, which are defined in the course as "problem-solving behaviours responsibly and appropriately used in the management of personal affairs" (Training Research and Development Station, 1973:1).

Although this definition of life skills as "problem-solving behaviours" establishes the primacy of behavioural change as a course objective, the words "responsibly" and "appropriately" imply a definite attitude change objective as well. It was from this perspective of attitude change that the evaluation of the Life Skills course was undertaken. An attitudinal index, corresponding to the five general areas of attitude and behaviour change covered by the course (Self, Family, Community, Job and Leisure), was constructed embodying these attitude change objectives. This index, based on a Likert scale, was administered to

five successive groups of Life Skills students (a total of forty-five persons) according to a "pre-test, post-test" experimental research design using a time-lag control group. In the event of significant attitude changes taking place in a majority of the experimental sample, an attempt was to be made to investigate the association of such personal factors as age, sex, education, family size and previous residence with a major change in attitudes.

The findings of the study, however, illustrated that there were only a few significant changes in attitudes as a result of taking part in the Life Skills course. Of the eight significant changes in attitudes recorded on the index, six were in a positive direction (i.e. the individual's score was higher on the post-test than on the pre-test) and two were negative.

The fact that only six native persons indicated a significant change in attitudes ruled out the possibility of a valid statistical analysis of the relationship of test performance to individual characteristics. This study was led to conclude that the failure of the Life Skills course to achieve its behaviour and attitude objectives is due to the invalidity of the fundamental assumptions on which the program is based, specifically, the assumption that a tribally-based culture can be changed by a five week course to one amenable to mass industrialized society.

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Introduction

This study undertakes the evaluation of an innovative program designed to help Manitoba Indians make the transition from reserve to urban community. Using a methodological approach based on a relatively new field of applied social research termed "evaluative research", the study attempts to objectively determine the degree to which the Life Skills course, taught at the Oo-Za-We-Kwun Centre in Rivers, Manitoba, achieves its goal of inculcating a number of attitudes and values regarded as necessary prerequisites for life in today's urban, industrial society.

An adequate understanding of this study's approach and the course whose objectives it evaluates, however, presupposes an even broader knowledge of the history of Indian-White relations in Canada, the goals of the Oo-Za-We-Kwun Centre program, and the field of evaluative research. The first half of this study, therefore, is devoted to a general discussion of these broad areas of interest. The latter half of the study discusses the manner in which the research design for the evaluation of the Life Skills course was formulated, executed, and its results finally interpreted.

CHAPTER I

A HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE OF THE CANADIAN INDIAN

An adequate explanation of the need that the Oo-Za-We-Kwun program's Life Skills course is designed to meet cannot be attained without some understanding of the people for whom this program was designed. Such understanding, in turn, requires a knowledge of the place the Indian has traditionally occupied in Canadian society.

Historically, the Indian people have always been one of Canada's most disadvantaged minority groups and, therefore, as a group have been one of the largest recipients of the services provided by various social welfare programs. Despite the attention they have received, however, they remain at the bottom of our society, living in conditions of abject poverty.

Statistics documenting the condition of Canada's half-million Indians are numerous. A brief look at only a few of the figures available is sufficient to obtain an idea of the Indian's plight:

"In 1964, the per capita income for Indians was about \$300, as compared to an average over Canada of \$1,400 (Govt. of Canada, 1966:45).¹

In 1970, nearly 50 percent of the Indian population was

¹Although this figure is somewhat "dated", it represents the last time such data was compiled on a national basis. Data from the 1971 census is not available.

unemployed and receiving government financial assistance; a figure ten times as high as the national average" (National Indian Brotherhood, 1970:6).

No matter what statistics are quoted, the picture remains the same - Canada's Indians have not shared in either the material or social well-being that has come to be associated with our affluent society. One can only concur with the findings of the Special Senate Committee on Poverty (Govt. of Canada, 1971:35) which was led to conclude that: "Clearly we have failed to do right by our native peoples, and their plight is a blot on Canada's record and a cause for shame for all Canadians."

Early Government Policy

The reason for the Indians' disadvantaged position in our society may be seen as the logical outcome of the treatment they have received at the hands of the Canadian government, which has traditionally been responsible for the formulation of Indian policy through its Indian Affairs Branch. Although federal policy has historically fluctuated according to the prevailing climate of opinion, the government has, from the outset, considered the Indian people to be the special "wards" of the Crown. While the purpose of this trusteeship was ostensibly to protect Indian interests, the main objectives of this policy, when seen from a historical perspective, appear to have been to prevent the Indian from effectively participating in the affairs of the larger society.

During the 1800's the government pursued a policy of segregation, effectively isolating the Indian by placing him on reserves far removed from the larger society. Once this process was completed, the government took a custodial approach to its task of administration, deeming it necessary to intervene in Indian affairs only in times of crisis. As one writer describes the situation:

Government, as such, contented itself with the most limited discharge of its bare responsibilities under the treaties contracted with various Indian bands...with a strictly limited range of administrative, health and other services, designed to spend as little public money as possible - enough to keep our Indian population from falling back too far, but not enough to assure even the barest minimum of progress or recovery from the pathetic state in which they had been left as a result of the white man's take-over of the country (Govt. of Canada, 1966:361).

This government policy can be seen as a reflection of the prevailing popular conception of the Indian in the post-Confederation era, which tended to view the "red man" in somewhat idealized terms (Haycock, 1971:1). This romantic conception of the Indian saw him as a child of nature, at peace with himself only if he was left in his natural setting, where he could pursue his traditional economic activities (hunting, fishing, and trapping) within a familiar cultural environment (the band community). Related to this idealized conception of the Indian was the belief that any attempt at integrating these people into the larger society was doomed to failure, since the Indian could not be expected to adhere

to a tightly regimented work situation. Because the Indian's traditional economic activities were determined by the seasons and weather, it was argued that strict time notions were completely foreign to these people, making it difficult, if not impossible, for them to work in a structured and scheduled occupational environment (Deprez & Sigurdson, 1969:1-3). Also, because the Indian lacked the strong acquisitive drive of his white counterparts, it was argued that he lacked the ambition which was a necessary prerequisite for achieving "success" in white society (Deprez & Sigurdson, 1969:3).

Equipped with such arguments, the Canadian government acted in the authoritarian, paternalistic tradition of a colonial regime, placing the country's Indian population on reserve land where they were isolated from the affairs shaping the society around them. Pursuing a policy of indifference and neglect, the government discharged its responsibility for the welfare of its native people by providing meagre financial support to the work of the churches, parochial schools, and the few voluntary organizations interested in the well-being of the Indian. In retrospect, the tragedy of this policy of neglect is not in the fact it was ever pursued, but that it remained the dominant philosophy of Indian administration from Confederation until after World War II. Describing the historical quiescence of the government's Indian Affairs Branch, the Hawthorne Report states:

The Branch has been engaged in a holding operation throughout most of its history. Its emphasis has been on the prevention of abuse rather than on the promotion of sophisticated social change...until World War II...Indian administration was a version of colonialism. The Branch was a quasi-colonial government dealing with almost the entire life of a culturally different people who were systematically deprived of opportunities to influence government, a people who were isolated on special pockets of land and who were subject to separate laws. Throughout this period a dominating Branch concern was simply to keep the peace and to prevent unruly clientele reactions to Branch policy (Govt. of Canada, 1966:367-368).

The Post-War Years

If the previous eighty years were characterized by government neglect and indifference, then the post-war years were marked by a growing awareness of the Indian's debased status and an overbearing intervention by a plethora of government officials in Indian affairs. The reasons for this important shift in societal attitudes regarding the appropriate government role in the treatment of Indians are numerous and complex, and may be traced back to the major events of the early part of this century. The First World War, and the Great Depression which followed it, permanently altered the public conception of the government's obligations to its citizenry. As one writer describes these changes:

The First World War had initiated changes that were destined to reorder the social and moral concepts of Canadians...Humanitarian interest on a wide, depersonalized scale replaced the humane individualism; social action reached

politics as well as minds; and efficiency for all society entered the intellect (Haycock, 1971:28).

The impetus for this shift in the underlying values of Canadians, however, cannot adequately be understood only within the historical context of domestic affairs alone for, as the Hawthorne Report points out, it was as much a reaction to internal events:

...the evaluation of public and governmental concern for the Indians is the result of a double spill-over, on the one hand, changed expectations with respect to the role of government in Canada, and, on the other hand, the domestic reaction to the demise of a world in which White skins and the possession of power were tightly correlated (Govt. of Canada, 1966:363).

While humanitarian motives undoubtedly were important in providing stimulus for Indian reform, there were practical reasons as well. Over the post-war years, a combination of population pressure on the reserves and the limited productive potential of such traditional Indian pursuits as trapping, fishing and hunting undermined the economic base of the Indian's reserve community. This deterioration of the reserve economy, in turn, led to an increasing reliance of the Indian community upon government assistance (Deprez & Sigurdson, 1969:5). Thus, if the humanitarian motive for improving the Indian's lot did not provide sufficient stimulus for change, the argument that the old system of Indian administration was so inefficient that it was costing the taxpayer too much money did.

Whatever the impetus for change, this shift in values provided the rationale for a new government role in Indian

affairs which, in turn, sparked a controversy (the vestiges of which continue today) both inside and outside the government as to exactly what this role should be. On the one hand were those who subscribed to the view that the Indian reserve culture should be "shored up" by investing money in the reserves to improve their economic base and generally improve the standard of living through better housing, health services and education facilities. On the other hand, there were those who argued that the reserves and the Indian culture they supported were the outdated remnants of a bygone age and served only as an impediment to the Indian's progress (Deprez & Sigurdson, 1969:1-4). The Indian, therefore, had to be prepared to leave his reserve culture and avail himself of the economic opportunities found in the dominant white, industrial society.

While these contrasting points of view are actually idealized constructs of the extreme positions the controversy over Indian policy has taken, public opinion and public policy in the post-war era may be viewed as taking a number of intermediate positions between these opposing points of view.

A detailed discussion of the "revolution in Indian affairs" that took place in Canada during the 1950's and 1960's is impossible within the limitations of this paper. However, in terms of public policy, the manifestations of this new climate of opinion included two major Joint

Committee hearings by the Senate and the House of Commons (1948 and 1961), a major revision of the Indian Act in 1951, the extension of the federal franchise to all Indians in 1969, the commissioning and publication of several major socioeconomic studies of the Indian on both a provincial and national basis (Govt. of Manitoba, 1959, and Govt. of Canada, 1966), the founding of two national organizations dedicated to serving Indian interests - The Indian-Eskimo Association of Canada, and the National Indian Brotherhood of Canada - as well as other events too numerous to mention.

This government interest in Indian affairs was coupled with a steady advance in programs and expenditures by the Indian Affairs Branch. Between 1960 and 1967, there was more than a 100 percent increase in the cost of its child maintenance and protection services. As well, between 1962 and 1967, the branch's social assistance program increased its cash outlay by 65 percent, averaging an 8 percent increase in the number of recipients served yearly (Dosman, 1972:26). In addition, federal expenditures in Indian education between 1951 and 1961 grew from 7.4 million dollars to 27.7 million, and school enrolment increased from 25,000 to 43,000 (Dosman, 1972:26).

The Need for New Objectives

In spite of the very positive aspects of the government's intervention in Indian affairs, it became apparent during the latter part of the 1960's that a new approach to

the problems of the Indians was needed. As the government's Hawthorne Report of 1966 illustrated, Indians continued to remain probably the most disadvantaged group in Canadian society. In their survey of over 22,000 Indian families across Canada, this report found that the family income for 74 percent of their survey population was below \$2,000 in 1964; 47 percent made less than \$1,000 per year (Govt. of Canada, 1966:45). Over half the Indian population was found to be chronically unemployed: the survey reported that 61 percent of the workers held jobs less than six months per year; 23.6 percent for less than two months (Govt. of Canada, 1966:46). As a result of this unemployment and under-employment, more than 1/3 of the families in the Hawthorne study were dependent upon welfare grants from the Indian Affairs Branch (a figure which does not account for a number of bands providing their own welfare funds).

The need for the formulation of new objectives in Indian policy was reinforced by the fact that despite the tremendous amount of money the government had poured into programs designed to improve the quality of reserve life, an ever increasing number of Indians left their reserves during the 1960's to migrate to the nation's urban centres. In 1969, over a quarter of Canada's Indian population lived outside of their reserves (Canada, 1969:10). In Manitoba, about half of the province's 80,000 Indians lived in Winnipeg by 1969, a quarter of which had migrated to the city

in the last decade (Fidler, 1970:4).

The White Paper

Having reviewed the government's efforts at improving the economic and social welfare of Canada's Indian population, the Hawthorne Report concluded that:

Something has gone wrong. For a century public policy affecting Indians has suffered from the twin and related evils of absence of widely agreed meaningful objectives, and by a relative failure of the Canadian people and their government to provide the funds and personnel to mount large scale positive programs of development for the Indian people (Govt. of Canada, 1966:400).

This demand for new, comprehensive programs took on a certain dramatism and urgency with the emergence of a new, articulate and militant Indian leadership, which tended to link the problems facing Canada's Indians with those of other oppressed minorities, particularly the situation of the black in the United States.

The response of the federal government to these demands was the introduction of what has variously been termed the White Paper on Indian Policy, the White Paper or, more simply, the New Policy. The introductory paragraph of this document presents the government's objectives:

The government believes that its policies must lead to the full, free and non-discriminatory participation of the Indian people in Canadian society. Such a goal requires that the Indian people's role dependence be replaced by a role of equal status, opportunity and responsibility, a role they can share with other

Canadians (Govt. of Canada, 1969:5).

Having concluded that previous policies of "special treatment" and "different status" led only to deprivation and frustration, the New Policy proposed a number of measures which it felt "would lead gradually away from different status to full social, economic and political participation in Canadian life" (Govt. of Canada, 1969:5).

According to the New Policy, such participation was impossible for many Indians who lived on reserves that could not "properly support their present Indian populations, much less the populations of the future". It continued: "Many Indians will, as they are now doing, seek employment elsewhere as a means of solving their economic problems". To assist such individuals, the New Policy stated that the government would provide "enriched services" and "evolve programs that would help break past patterns of deprivation" (Govt. of Canada, 1969:10).

The appearance of the New Policy created an immediate controversy among Indian leaders, who quickly divided into opposing factions.

The New Policy was attacked by many Indians and sympathetic whites as being blatantly assimilationist, seeking to force the Indians off their reserves and into the acceptance of a white middle class life-style (Fidler, 1970, and Swankey, 1971). Harold Cardinal, President of the Indian Association of Alberta, stated that the government was in

fact advocating a policy of "cultural genocide", concealed behind abstruse phrases about participation and equality (Cardinal, 1969).

The reaction of Canada's Indians to the New Policy, however, was not entirely unfavourable. Various Indian leaders, such as James Wuttunee, saw the policy as a "dramatic breakthrough for the Indian people" and a "great step forward" (Wuttunee, 1971:23-24). The Manitoba Indian Brotherhood (M.I.B.), holding the government to its promise of providing "enriched services" for those Indians seeking employment outside of their reserves, presented the Indian Affairs Branch with a proposal calling for the establishment of a permanent vocational training centre which would approximate as closely as possible the style of life found in the urban environment.

The M.I.B. Proposal

According to the Brotherhood's proposal, a gap exists between reserve Indians and the rest of society which is not only occupational, but social and cultural as well. Because of these differences, Indians, even though they may be occupationally skilled, often fail to successfully adjust to an urban environment because they lack the social and cultural prerequisites necessary to function in this type of setting. The philosophy underlying their proposal, then, was that reserve Indians required more than just vocational training to succeed in an urban-industrial environment and, therefore,

as an accompaniment to occupational training, they should receive training in certain social skills ("life-skills") as well.

The Brotherhood called for the establishment of a training centre which would provide Manitoba Indians with the opportunity to undergo this double process of adjustment in a controlled environment. Those coming to such a centre would bring their families with them, living with other Indian families and those of the centre's administrative and teaching staff. Together, it was hoped that these families would form the nucleus of a new community which, in turn, would act as a kind of "half-way house" for native families making the transition from reservation to city. A former air force base located 150 miles northwest of Winnipeg near Rivers, Manitoba, was seen as an excellent site for such a centre because of the facilities it provided for housing both the families of those taking part in the program, and the on-site industries which would provide vocational training and experience. In addition to a number of hangars that could be modified to accommodate various light industries, the Rivers location offered 405 modern houses, a 22-room school, office and classroom space, and a variety of recreational facilities, including a pool, bowling alley, indoor hockey rink, and nine-hole golf course.

With the acceptance of the Brotherhood's proposal by the federal government, the conversion of the former airforce

base began. Nine directors, jointly nominated by the federal government and the Manitoba Indian Brotherhood, were given the responsibility of managing the centre and administering its \$1.3 million annual budget. Shortly after November, 1972, when the first industry set up operations at the newly-named Oo-Za-We-Kwun Centre, Indian families began arriving from various Manitoba reservations and the training program commenced operation.

CHAPTER II

THE OO-ZA-WE-KWUN CENTRE PROGRAM

As mentioned previously, the Oo-Za-We-Kwun program is focused on Indian families who have had little, if any, sustained contact with the larger society outside their reserve. Families interested in taking part in the centre's program must apply directly to the corporation, after which they are visited by one of its staff members. In screening prospective families for the program, such factors as age (approximately 20 to 40 years old for males), education, quality of the parent's relationship, and motivation for applying to the centre are taken into consideration. This last factor is considered particularly important, and recruiters look for an evident wish on the part of parents to improve their family's general welfare through participation in a job-training program and eventual relocation in a community where there is a demand for such vocational skills.

Upon arrival at the training centre, each family is provided with a furnished home which they will occupy for the duration of the program. In addition, the male parent of each family receives a Manpower training allowance which he continues to receive until he begins his occupational training. The first few days of a family's stay at the centre are devoted to orienting them to their new environment. Children, if any, are placed in either the centre's school or, in the case of pre-schoolers, in the centre's day nursery.

After their initial orientation, both parents take part in the centre's five week Basic Life Skills course.²

Fundamentally, the goal of this phase of the program is to equip these native people, who for the most part have had only limited contact with white society, with a number of attitudes and behaviours which the centre's staff feel are necessary for survival in today's urban, industrial (and predominantly white) society. This portion of the program is carried out by three specially trained coaches (both Indians and whites) who, in turn, are backed up by family counsellors who help in the task of transferring classroom experiences into everyday thought and behavior patterns. These counsellors maintain contact with each family for the duration of their two year stay at the centre, helping the families cope with whatever problems they may encounter in their new environment.

In the latter part of the Life Skills course, an attempt is made, within the limitations of the centre's capacities, to place each potential wage earner in an industry which coincides with his particular occupational interests. Unfortunately, due to the relatively restricted manpower requirements and limited number of industries located at the centre, students must sometimes accept jobs which do not coincide with either their vocational interests or previous

²The Life Skills Course is described in detail in Chapter III.

occupational skills. However, as centre staff point out, the emphasis of this part of the course is not so much on teaching specific vocational skills as it is on giving trainees experience working within the highly controlled and regimented atmosphere of a manufacturing industry.

Once he enters this industrial phase, the trainee no longer receives his Manpower allowance, but instead receives half of his industry's regular wage, a sum which is roughly equivalent to the Manpower rate. After the six month training period, each worker is put on full salary for the remaining fifteen months he will stay at the centre. Towards the end of this period, the trainee is helped by a Manpower placement counsellor to obtain a job suited to his particular vocational skills and, when such a position is found, the trainee and his family leave the centre.

CHAPTER III

THE LIFE SKILLS COURSE

Although the idea of developing a Life Skills course was initially conceived by the American psychologists Winthrop Adkins and Sydney Rosenberg in 1965, no definite plans to teach such a course were made until 1968, when Saskatchewan NewStart Incorporated³ of Prince Albert, Saskatchewan, undertook to develop a Life Skills course as part of its adult training and education program.

Under the direction of Ralph Himsl, NewStart staff worked to create a course that would equip "disadvantaged" persons with a number of specific behaviours termed "life skills", defined in course literature as "problem-solving behaviours appropriately and responsibly used in the management of personal affairs" (Training Research and Development Station⁴, 1973a:4). Equipped with such skills, the course's developers theorized that disadvantaged people would be able to deal more effectively with the many problems they encountered in their daily lives and, consequently, free themselves from such undesirable characteristics of lower class life as chronic unemployment, marital instability, and

³Saskatchewan NewStart Incorporated is sponsored by the Saskatchewan Department of Education and the Canadian Department of Regional Expansion.

⁴The Training Research and Development Station will, for the sake of brevity, be hereafter simply referred to in references as T.R.A.N.D.S.

drug and alcohol abuse.

To achieve the behavioural change objectives of the course, project staff developed the Life Skills lessons as a series of planned "group dynamics" experiences, in which groups of ten to fifteen people work to improve individual competence in five general areas identified as Self, Family, Community, Job and Leisure. These experiences are presented to students as problems, to which they are encouraged to apply the problem-solving life skills outlined in the course. Describing this focus on problem-solving, Berscheid writes:

The Life Skills course is itself an applied problem-solving system. The member enters the group with a set of problems. These are usually poorly defined and the member may not be aware of the problem itself, only the effects as he interrelates with others. Life Skills examines techniques useful in resolving problems, and by studying, and perhaps solving some of his own problems while on the course, the member acquires a set of skills he can apply in everyday problem-solving (T.R.A.N.D.S., 1970:89).

Each lesson of the Life Skills course is taught by a specially trained "coach", a graduate of the NewStart Corporation's six week training program. The functions of the coach, as described by Berscheid, include "creating situations conducive to learning, establishing a model of behaviour, introducing new values, facilitating the flow of communication, and participating as an expert" (T.R.A.N.D.S., 1970:90).

The Five Phase Lesson Plan

Each lesson in the Life Skills course focuses on a particular skill objective; the coach helps students achieve this objective through the application of a five step lesson plan:

In the stimulus phase of the lesson, the coach introduces the group to the problem under study. The manner in which the problem is presented depends upon the particular skill objective of the lesson. Some presentation methods are passive, with students listening to a taped program, viewing a film, or reading a case study; others are active, where students take part in "trust exercises" or answer questions which are designed to introduce the topic under study.

In the next step of the Life Skills lesson, termed the evocation phase, students are encouraged to express their attitudes and feelings regarding the problem under study. Particular care is taken by the coach not to lead group members into giving a certain response, but to assist them in expressing their own opinions. Through this discussion, students gain a better understanding of the problem being studied:

As the students share their knowledge about the topic, the coach helps them clarify the problem situation, classify the ideas expressed and define the problem. He helps them formulate fact-finding questions for investigation in the next section (T.R.A.N.D.S., 1973a:9).

Having formulated these "fact-finding" questions, the group moves into the objective inquiry/skill practice section of the Life Skills lesson. In this phase, students seek to find answers to the problem as it has been defined and, if necessary, practice new skills relevant to the resolution of the problem. Their search for information may involve studying films, reading books and magazines, or consulting resource people in the community. Practicing the skills deemed necessary for resolving the problem under study may involve the students watching their actions as recorded on video, or examining their behaviour according to checklists.

In the application phase of the lesson, students have the opportunity to apply their newly-found knowledge and skills to the solution of the problem being studied which, in this phase, is presented as close to a real life situation as possible:

The real life situation changes as the course develops. In the early parts of the course, the here and now situation is the learning group. In mid-course, the home, the community, or the job become the focus; students interact in the community, invite outsiders in, or plan simulations of real situations (T.R.A.N.D.S., 1973b:5).

In the final stage of the Life Skills lesson, the evaluation phase, the students and coach determine to what degree the group achieved the objectives of the lesson. The

coach also notes the performance of each group member, indicating where further practice is required and the most effective means of providing it.

Theoretical Basis of Behaviour and Attitude Change

A description of the Life Skills course would not be complete without some discussion of its underlying theoretical premises regarding attitude and behaviour change.

Although the definition of life skills as "problem-solving behaviours" establishes the primacy of behavioural change as a course objective, the words "responsibly" and "appropriately" imply a definite attitude change objective as well. This fact is recognized by the developers of the Life Skills course. Discussing the meaning of the adjective "responsibly", Himsel writes:

This word suggests value judgements of some sort. Clearly, training which gave the student skills and no judgement as to their use, or gave no practice in their responsible use, would reflect a faulty design; the course design must identify the criteria for responsible use of skills, and provide practice in the application of the criteria (T.R.A.N.D.S., 1970:205).

These "criteria" are delineated in the second phase of the Life Skills lesson:

The design of the objective inquiry phase of the lesson aims at creating some rational basis for...opinion and attitude formation, and the actions related to these opinions and attitudes. During this phase of the lesson, the student conducts an investigation of sources containing information relevant to the topic at hand. He makes his own judgement on the value of these

and tests his developing opinions in the interaction with others (T.R.A.N.D.S., 1970:206).

One of the members of the group which the student "tests" his attitudes against is the group's coach; this individual, by his words and actions, reinforces certain opinions and beliefs while discouraging others, therefore defining the attitudinal and behavioural objectives of the course:

The coach, by his behaviour, implicitly or explicitly introduces new values into the group. The way he reflects feelings, clarifies comments, and actively behaves focuses attention on those problems which he feels the group should eventually handle (T.R.A.N.D.S., 1973a: 13).

Through the coach, therefore, the Life Skills course introduces a number of attitudes to its students which are regarded as essential to the "responsible" and "appropriate" application of the problem-solving behaviours it teaches. Given its attitudinal and behavioural objectives however, certain questions remain to be answered about the Life Skills course. Specifically, what are the theoretical assumptions of the behaviour/attitude relationship which underlie its approach? Does the course attempt to change attitudes on the premise that such changes will alter behaviour or, conversely, does the course aim at changing behaviour on the basis of the assumption that such changes will lead to attitudinal change?

The relationship of attitudes to behaviour is not clearly defined in the Life Skills literature. Hims1 writes that:

Some people distinguish between skills and attitudes unwillingly, or prefer to think that skills do not develop without attitudes, or alternatively, attitudes do not develop without skills. Most everyone can name an attitude easily enough: sullen, warm, stubborn... A little added thinking soon discovers the related behaviours. With this widely held opinion for support, the coach can think of determining the direction of his training in precise behavioural descriptions of the objectives, without resolving the relationship between attitudes and behaviour (T.R.A.N.D.S., 1970:42).

...a coach can create a perfectly sound objective for a Life Skills lesson without coming to any categorical position on which comes first, attitude change or behaviour change (T.R.A.N.D.S., 1970:43).

In the above statements, a distinction between attitudes and behaviour is avoided. Rather, Hims1 implies that certain attitudes are "related" to specific types of behaviour. Since these differing behaviours can be more precisely defined than their related attitudes, it is argued that Life Skills coaches should not define their lesson objectives in terms of attitudes, but as clearly identifiable behavioural skills. Presumably the attitudes associated with the "appropriate" and "responsible" use of these skills will be internalized by the student in the course of learning the desired skill.

In a later statement, Hims1 appears to contradict

himself. He argues that the student's ability to transfer the skills learned in the course to his fellow students and, ultimately, a real-life situation, depends upon his first internalizing the values upon which the behavioural skill itself is contingent:

The structure of the lessons contain procedures to help the student transfer his skills ...in the fourth part, the application phase, the student uses his new found skill in a real life situation. As the group moves to the fifth or evaluation phase of the lesson ...the student teaches the skill he has just learned to another person. This procedure ensures mastery of the skill cognitively and behaviourally; it also develops effective support since the student must internalize the values on which the behaviour depends before he can effectively demonstrate it to others (T.R.A.N.D.S., 1970:208).

From the above statement, it seems Himsl regards the internalization of a number of new attitudes as a prerequisite to learning new behaviours. However, in a discussion of contingency management, a differing view is put forth:

"...the focus of the Life Skills course is on changing behaviour in order to change feelings and attitudes" (T.R.A.N.D.S., 1973a:130). Since their theoretical approach to attitudinal and behavioural change is not clearly specified in the Life Skills literature, an examination of the teaching techniques is needed to determine the theoretical basis of their approach.

An important aspect of the skill-training process is the opportunity the course provides for the student to practice the skills he has been exposed to in a real-life situation.

To learn the skill, however, the student must first be exposed to it either by means of a visual presentation or "role-modelling" by a "role-competent" individual. The function of role-playing in the Life Skills course is described in the following manner: "Individuals learn to take a particular role by imitating the model; in role-playing they act out roles in order to learn new behaviours and attitudes" (T.R.A.N.D.S., 1973a:154).

Role-playing in the Life Skills course, therefore, acquaints students with new behaviours and attitudes; to ensure that the students subscribe to these new behaviours and attitudes, the Life Skills coach uses a system of rewards and punishments: "...A reward following a bit of behaviour will strengthen that behaviour whether or not it occurs during training hours" (T.R.A.N.D.S., 1973a:139).

Cognitive Dissonance Theory

What the Life Skills course hopes to accomplish, therefore, are permanent changes in attitudes and behaviour using, among other techniques, group discussions, role-playing situations, and a system of rewards and punishments for specific types of behaviour. Implicit in their approach is the idea that the student is learning new, unfamiliar behaviours and attitudes (hence the need for discussions to clearly conceptualize these variables), requiring a certain amount of practice to be mastered (hence the need for role-playing) and a system of rewards (to ensure their continued

use).

When conceived of in this manner, the theory underlying the Life Skills approach to behaviour and attitude change corresponds to Festinger's theory of cognitive dissonance (Festinger, 1957). Cognitions, as the term is employed in this theory, are fragments of knowledge, opinions or beliefs that the individual holds about himself or his environment. According to Festinger's theory, the presentation of an atypical or counterattitudinal behaviour to an individual causes inconsistent or "dissonant" cognitions, the content of which is at variance with his present attitudes and behaviour (Collins and Hoyt, 1972:559). Insofar as the individual cannot tolerate such inconsistent cognitions, he will strive to eliminate or diminish them. This is accomplished in a number of ways: "A person can reduce dissonance either by changing his behaviour, or by changing internal environment (attitudes and perceptions) or his external environment" (Zimbardo and Ebbeson, 1969:72).

A crucial part of Festinger's theory is the explanation of what factors determine whether or not cognitive dissonance is aroused; in other words, the specification of what conditions or situations will facilitate changes in behaviour and attitudes. Zimbardo and Ebbeson (Zimbardo and Ebbeson, 1969:70-72) outline two decision-making situations which are likely to create dissonance, described as forced public compliance and free choice decision-making.

Examples of the first situation are circumstances under which an individual is induced to give a speech to a group or engage in a role-playing activity. Both these actions, if at variance with the person's attitudes, are likely to cause dissonance. In such instances, the individual can reduce this dissonance by either changing his attitudes, denying he ever engaged in such activities, or by providing his own justifications for his public actions.

In the second, or free-choice decision-making situation, the individual is offered a number of alternative behavioural choices, each of which possesses certain positive and negative features, from which he may choose. If these alternatives are almost equally attractive to the subject, dissonance is aroused once he makes the decision to adopt one form of behaviour over the others, since the loss of the positive qualities of the other alternatives are dissonant with the knowledge that those alternatives were not chosen. In this situation the primary method of reducing dissonance is by increasing the attractiveness of the chosen alternative and decreasing the attractiveness of the unchosen alternatives. This process, of course, means changing previously held attitudes regarding the alternatives presented.

In both the free-choice and forced compliance situations, the amount of dissonance the subject experiences and, therefore, the magnitude of the pressure he feels to reduce dissonance, is inversely related to the justification

provided for engaging in the new behaviour. In the first case, this justification is required because of the external demands put on the individual to engage in a particular type of behaviour. In the second case, this justification is needed because of the internal demands made on the individual as a result of his selection of one form of behaviour over others.

Of the aforementioned two methods of changing attitudes, it appears that the Life Skills course favours the use of the forced compliance situation as a means of producing changes in individual attitudes and behaviour. Contingency management, a technique used in the course, is a system of rewards and punishments designed to encourage certain patterns of behaviour in students. As noted in the Life Skills literature, the coach uses this technique to encourage students who often do not see the purpose or benefits of course activities:

Your role, as a Life Skills coach, is to use whatever means you have to deliberately and consciously help students improve in their level of skills performance. This will no doubt involve the deliberate use of reward and punishment with some or all students. It is not enough to say that the students will see the personal benefit of improving themselves; in many cases this is not true. Thus you must identify the types and amounts of consequences and power you can use to see that the students fulfill their commitments and achieve their goals (T.R.A.N.D.S., 1973a: 130).

Another technique used extensively in Life Skills

training is role-playing, whose function, as described in course literature, coincides with that it serves in the forced compliance situation. Specifically, it forces the individual to publicly engage in a counterattitudinal behaviour, therefore producing cognitive dissonance and, possibly, attitude change. As described in a Life Skills coach manual, one of the functions of role-playing is:

...to change the attitudes of students toward people with whom they disagree, dislike, do not understand, etc. There is considerable evidence that "role reversal" is an effective technique in producing attitudinal and behavioural change (T.R.A.N.D.S., 1973a:166).

To summarize the preceding discussion, it may be stated that, although no theory is specified in the Life Skills course literature, an analysis of the teaching techniques used in the course indicates that the theoretical basis of its approach to attitude change is cognitive dissonance theory. Viewed from this perspective, the "life skills" students practice in their lessons will only become part of their everyday behaviour if these new behaviours succeed in creating psychologically inconsistent cognitions in the students which, when resolved, produce attitudes that are supportive of, or consonant with, these new behaviours. Thus, an evaluation of the Life Skills course must incorporate a measure of the degree to which this training program achieves its underlying objective of attitude change, for without such

changes, the behaviours practiced by students in the classroom stand little chance of being repeated once these people leave the controlled setting where these life skills are taught.

CHAPTER IV

STATEMENT OF THE RESEARCH PROBLEM

The Oo-Za-We-Kwun Centre required an evaluation which would serve two functions: (1) assess the validity of the Life Skills course as a means of preparing the reserve Indian for life in urban society, and (2) serve as a model for future course evaluations which, in turn, would provide centre staff with information for on-going program assessment and improvement.

In addition to these practical concerns, there were others of human interest as well. One of the most often cited explanations for the Indian's lack of participation in the affairs of Canadian society is the supposedly great difference which exists between the Indian and White cultures. If the Indian culture is so different from that of the larger society which dominates it, however, is it realistic to expect that the attitudes and behaviours which make it so distinctive can be changed in a five week course? Patterns of thought and action developed in the course of a lifetime might be expected to offer a certain amount of resistance to efforts at change. An additional objective of this study, therefore, was to determine from an additudinal perspective the magnitude of this change.

Basic Research, Evaluative Research and Study Objectives

A valid answer to the questions raised by the Life Skills course can only be obtained through objective research (i.e. research based on standardized and verifiable procedures of inquiry); securing such evidence is the function of evaluative research.

The distinction between evaluative research and basic research is one of purpose rather than method (Suchman, 1969: 16). Evaluative research utilizes the scientific method primarily to answer questions of social significance, whereas basic research employs scientific methods to answer questions of theoretical importance. These two interests are not mutually exclusive, however, and evaluative research can, as in the Oo-Za-We-Kwun situation, provide answers to questions of both social and sociological significance. Perhaps the best manner in which to conceptualize these dual functions is to view evaluative research as being situated at the intersection of theory and practice.

Today's social "action" programs may be seen as social "experiments", representing the practical application of the theories of social science (derived from basic research) to the social problems facing certain groups in society. Evaluative research, utilizing the same techniques of data collection and analysis as pure, or basic research, measures the effectiveness of these efforts at social intervention. In so doing, it not only provides evidence on how successful

these efforts at directed social change are, but also on the validity of the underlying theories of change on which they are based. When conceived of in such conceptual and methodological terms, evaluative research can make a major contribution to both social policy and social science knowledge, providing information of interest and relevance to both policy-makers and social theorists.

Thus, the evaluation of the Oo-Za-We-Kwun Centre's Life Skills course serves two functions: first, it provides the program's administrators with an objective measure of the degree to which they are achieving their desired objectives, and secondly, it provides a measure of the extent to which they succeed in operationalizing the course's theoretical approach to behaviour and attitude change.

CHAPTER V

THE EVALUATIVE RESEARCH FIELD

Evaluative research is a relatively new methodological field which has developed during the last two decades on a trial-and-error basis largely as a response to the proliferation of new "social action" programs. Like most new methodological activities, there is little agreement as to precisely what should constitute evaluative research and, from perusing the voluminous literature on the subject, one gets the impression that what passes for this endeavour is, in fact, a motley assortment at best and virtually chaos at worst. As Suchman (Suchman, 1967a:27) points out, one finds a wide variety of statistical records, inventories, surveys, testimonials and experiments subsumed under the general heading of evaluative studies. These studies vary from highly subjective assessments typified by an "Is everybody happy?" approach, to complex experimental designs with detailed statistical analyses. The only notable feature of the field of evaluative research is its lack of comparability and cumulativeness of findings.

In order for evaluative, evaluation, or evaluational (the terms are used interchangeably here) research to be useful, however, there must be an understanding of its scope, of the various approaches such assessments can take, of the ways this research can be utilized, and of the different viewpoints of people working in the field. It is these issues

which will be considered in this section.

Definition

It would seem logical to first have some understanding of the term evaluation. In so doing, no attempt will be made to offer a denotative definition with which everyone is expected to agree. Rather, an analysis of the key dimensions of the various definitions of evaluation will be made which, it is hoped, may provide a clearer understanding of this term.

Attempts at defining evaluation reflect concern with both information on the outcomes of programs and judgements regarding the desirability or value of programs. In their definitions, Suchman (Suchman, 1967a), Tripodi, Fellin and Epstein (Tripodi, Fellin and Epstein, 1971), Hyman and Wright (Hyman and Wright, 1967) and Alkin (Alkin, 1969) emphasize the informational aspect of evaluation. Suchman (Suchman, 1967a:31-32) defines evaluation as "the determination...of the results...attained by some activity...designed to accomplish some valued goal or objective". Tripodi, Fellin and Epstein (Tripodi, Fellin and Epstein, 1969:12) refer to evaluation as the "systematic accumulation of facts for providing information about the achievement of program requisites and goals relative to efforts, effectiveness, and efficiency..." Hyman and Wright (Hyman and Wright, 1967) define evaluational research as "fact-finding methods that yield evidence that is objective, systematic, and comprehensive".

Similarly, Alkin (Alkin, 1969:107) refers to evaluation as "the process of ascertaining decision areas of concern, selecting appropriate information, and collecting and analyzing information in order to report summary data useful to decision-makers in selecting among alternatives".

The judgemental dimension is emphasized by Scriven (Scriven, 1967:123-124) who defines evaluation as a "methodological activity which...consists simply...'of'...the gathering and combining of performance data with a weighted set of scales to yield either comparative or numerical ratings". Riecken (Riecken, 1953:86) similarly emphasizes that evaluation "is the measurement of the desirable and undesirable consequences of an action intended to forward some goal".

For the purposes of this study, Carol Weiss provides perhaps the most useful definition of evaluation, incorporating in her definition both the information gathering and judgemental aspects of evaluation, as well as an explanation of the relationship of evaluative to non-evaluative research. As Weiss (Weiss, 1972:3-4) writes, "evaluation research is concerned with finding out how well action programs work. It represents the application of social science research methods to discover information of importance to program practice and public policy".

The Goal Model

Traditionally, the focus of evaluation has been on outcomes or, in other words, on how well a program, either on a

long or short term basis, has succeeded in achieving its stated goals. In recent years, however, there has been considerable discussion of a "system model" of evaluation rather than a "goal model". As Weiss (Weiss, 1972:16) observes, while there is little consensus of opinion as to what the elements of this model should be, the advocates of the system model share the belief that programs fulfill other functions and have other consequences besides achieving official goals, and that these must also be studied. Both the goal and system model have their advantages and limitations and, insofar as differences in viewpoints among researchers derive for the most part from their emphasis on different types of evaluative models, the characteristics of these differing models will be discussed in some detail.

In the evaluative research field there is general agreement that one of the most difficult and also critical phases in the evaluative process is the clarification of a program's objectives. Once these specific objectives have been clearly defined, however, proponents of the goal model feel that the appropriate methodology and criteria for assessing the program can be correctly selected. This goal model of evaluation has been widely described in sociological literature and possesses many of the characteristics of classical or "non-evaluative" research. As Suchman (Suchman, 1967b:329) explains, "the scientific method is the only logical basis for all research. Therefore it follows that both evaluative and

non-evaluative research must obey the same rules and utilize the same techniques".

The techniques employed in the goal-attainment model of evaluation, then, are derived mainly from the controlled experiment tradition. In its simplest form outlined by Rossi and Williams (Rossi and Williams, 1972:29-38), the controlled experimental design is composed of one experimental (treated) group and one control (untreated) group, the members of each group being selected randomly from the same universe before the treatment is given. Once the experimental group has been given the treatment, measures of the presumed effect of the treatment are taken in each group. The test of program effectiveness is given by the significance of the difference between the experimental and control group.

Suchman (Suchman, 1967a:93) stresses that this model represents the ideal experimental model from which all adaptations must ultimately be derived and, if the conditions of control are satisfied, its results are infallible. "The fly in the ointment" as Weiss observes, is that outside of the laboratory the requirements of this design can rarely be met and deviations and compromises have to be made if evaluative research is to be carried out.

Campbell (in Suchman, 1967b:336-337) summarizes the major form such adaptations take. The simplest and probably weakest research design for evaluating the goals of a program involves measuring a group only after it has been exposed to a

program to see whether they show the desired effect. In this case, there is no base line measure to compare the extent to which the experimental group has changed as a result of their exposure to the program. In this form of research, there is always the possibility of a self-selective sampling bias with those individuals most susceptible to the treatment provided by the program exposing themselves to a greater degree than others.

An improved design for measuring goal attainment, still lacking a control group, is termed by Campbell as the "one-group, pre-test, post-test" design where the same group is measured both before and after exposure to the program. Employing this method, the evaluator can measure the degree of change and also compare those who changed with those who did not. However, as Suchman (Suchman, 1967b:337) points out, five sources of error are still possible: (1) the real cause of observed change may be due to external factors which occurred at the same time as the program; (2) the change may be due to "unstimulated" change as a result of time alone (natural improvement); (3) the "before" measure itself may act as a stimulus for change; (4) changes in the after measure may be only reflections of the testing instrument's unreliability; and (5) unreliability may produce statistical regression, with values shifting towards the mean.

A third experimental technique for assessing goal

attainment involves the introduction of a control group to the after-only portion of the evaluation process. Provided that there is reason to believe that the control and experimental groups were comparable to begin with, this evaluative design provides a much closer approximation to the experimental method than other evaluative models.

Other designs have been put forth by other evaluators, but insofar as these designs are variations of the aforementioned basic models, this paper will not discuss them. Suffice it to say, no matter which experimental design is used, the demonstration or proof of effectiveness is ultimately related to the ideal experimental situation. What is important for the purposes of this study is the criticisms that have been made regarding the use of this experimental model for measuring the worth of social programs. Before outlining these criticisms, however, an explanation of the system model will be given, since this model has been introduced as an evaluative tool for researchers largely because of the supposed inadequacies of the goal model of evaluation.

The System Model

As mentioned earlier, there is little agreement as to what elements should be included in the system model. Rather its advocates share the belief that programs fulfill important functions which, although they may not be directly related to achieving official program goals, nevertheless

have important consequences and are therefore worthy of evaluative analysis. Etzioni (Etzioni, 1960) provides probably the fullest explanation of the system model of program evaluation. As he points out, the starting point in this approach is not the conceptualization of a program's goals, but the construction of a working model of a social unit which is capable of achieving a goal. The system model, according to Etzioni, is a "multifunctional unit" which recognizes the fact that a program must fulfill four important functions if it is to survive. In addition to studying the achievement of goals and subgoals, the system model analyzes how a program: maintains coordination of its subunits; acquires and maintains necessary resources; and adapts to its operating environment and internal demands.

A fundamental assumption of the system model is that a significant part of a program's resources are of necessity devoted to inobtrusive activities related to the organization's maintenance, which, although non-obvious, are critical elements in the effective functioning of the program and, therefore, are worthy of study. In contrast to the goal model of evaluation whose primary focus is on the degree of success a program realizes in attaining a certain objective, the system model aims at determining the degree to which an organization realizes its objectives in light of the exigencies of the situation within which it operates. The key question, according to Etzioni, is: "Under the given

conditions, how close does the organizational allocation of resources approach an optimum distribution?" The key word in Etzioni's evaluative model, then, is optimum, and what is important from his perspective is the balanced distribution of resources among all organizational objectives, not the maximal satisfaction of one particular goal.

Rather than focusing exclusively on goal-attainment, therefore, the system model uses other criteria of effectiveness as well, such as the agency's ability to recruit resources, attract top-quality personnel, achieve integration in its operating environment, and gain political support in the community, etc. (Weiss, 1970:334). A key feature of the system approach is what Etzioni terms "program feedback mechanisms" which continually monitor the agency's operation, providing administrators with a constant flow of information about their program that can be used to more effectively plan later phases of the program and correct current inadequacies.

A Comparison of the Goal and System Approaches

In seeking to conceptualize possible approaches to evaluation, two fundamental research models, the goal or goal-attainment model, and system model, have been discussed. Our attention will now turn to the consideration of the reasons why these two different modes of evaluation have been put forward.

The introduction of the system model of evaluation as noted earlier can be seen largely as a response to the

supposed inadequacies of the goal model of evaluation. Some of the most often voiced criticisms of the goal model are that they are "one-shot" efforts and have what one writer terms as only "terminal availability" (Guba, 1969:258). It is argued that a program cannot be judged realistically on a "pass-fail" basis, since very rarely are the results of a single evaluation study so conclusive as to "prove" a program a complete success or failure. Also, the goal model of evaluation produces data only at the end of the program and, therefore, if the services provided are judged to have been inappropriate or inadequate, nothing can be done to correct the inadequate treatment received by those who have already completed the program. Benefit from the evaluation is derived only in the future. In contrast, advocates of the system model argue that this technique, since it is a continuous on-going process, provides information at every stage of a program's development and, therefore, can be used more effectively to plan later phases of the program and correct current inadequacies.

To the proponents of experimental designs, such arguments are based upon a misunderstanding of the goal model's potential applications. The requirements of experimental designs do not necessarily imply a self-contained, "one-shot" study of the effectiveness of a clearly defined program. As Suchman (Suchman, 1970:61-62) states, there are a number of phases in the life cycle of a program, each of which requires

a different form of evaluation: a "pilot phase" during which new approaches and new organizational structures or procedures are tried on a trial-and-error basis: a "model phase" when the program administrator tests a particular program strategy which he feels stands the greatest likelihood of success; a "prototype" phase when the program is no longer in the experimental stage but is an on-going part of the organization.

Evaluation may occur, says Suchman, at each stage of the above sequence since each of these processes can be seen as a series of purposive activities designed to achieve its own goal. At each phase of a program, evaluation provides information regarding how well that particular phase of a program has achieved its objectives, thereby giving the program administrator necessary information on how to further develop his program. While Suchman (Suchman, 1970:58) concedes that generally the goal model, with its experimental design, has traditionally been employed as an evaluative technique when a program has become operational, he sees no reason why research and planning cannot also be evaluated using this approach.

In a similar manner, Michael Scriven (Scriven, 1967: 123-124), another advocate of the goal model of evaluation, does not see the usefulness of this technique being limited to judging the worth of a program in a pass-fail manner. Like Suchman, Scriven makes a distinction between evaluation

whose primary aim is to aid in the development of a program in its early phases ("formative" evaluation), and evaluation which judges the worth of a program once it is in operation ("summative" evaluation). But as Scriven (Scriven, 1967:127) observes, "it is obvious that if the goals aren't worth achieving then it is uninteresting how well they are achieved". Thus, he believes that evaluation must include, as an equal partner to the judgement of the worth of a program on the basis of the achievement of certain goals, procedures for the evaluation of these goals.

Critics of the system model of evaluation have noted that it does not provide any mechanism for judging the worth of a program strategy because it lacks definitive criteria, such as goals, against which to gauge a program's effectiveness. As Scriven (Scriven, 1969:125) observes, evaluation must always include some estimation of merit, worth or value, for "we cannot afford to tackle anxiety about evaluation by ignoring its purpose and confusing its presentation". In system-oriented evaluation, writes Suchman (Suchman, 1970: 76-77), there is always the possibility of "...a tendency to work within the system and to take for granted its general legitimacy". Suchman sees the system model of evaluation as "corrective rather than challenging to the existing structure or operation" and "while the system may become more efficient as a result of such evaluative efforts, it is not likely to undergo any basic changes". In contrast, evaluations based on a goal model attempt to directly relate

activities to outcomes, giving a better indication of the worth of a particular program.

To summarize the foregoing discussion, it might be said that differences among researchers regarding the relative merits of the system and goal (or experimental) model of evaluation are fundamentally related to their differing opinions regarding the purposes this type of research should serve. Faced with these alternative designs, perhaps the best course a would-be evaluator could follow would be to select the approach he sees as most relevant to the purposes of the program he intends to study.⁵

The Politics of Evaluation

Selecting a suitable design for evaluation is not the only problem faced by the researcher in a program setting. As many who undertake this kind of study are discovering, the problems associated with carrying out evaluative research are not only conceptual and methodological, but political as well. As one observer comments:

Evaluation...produces information which is at least potentially relevant to decision-making ...Decision-making, of course, is a euphemism for the allocation of resources - money, position, authority, etc. Thus to the extent that information is an instrument, basis, or excuse for changing power relationships within or among institutions, evaluation is a political activity (Cohen, 1970:138-139).

⁵The particular research design used for the evaluation of the Life Skills course is discussed in detail in Chapter VI.

In this portion of the paper, an effort will be made to systematically review the political implications of undertaking the evaluation of a social action program like the Life Skills course. To accomplish this purpose, the relationship between evaluative research and action programs generally will be examined as this research activity proceeds through its introduction, execution, and eventual utilization in such programs.

While the primary purpose of evaluation is seen by many as being a rational aid to decision-making, a number of writers (Caro, 1969:80; Luchterhand, 1967:506-521; Suchman, 1970:81) have noted that it can also serve a variety of political ends:

Program decision-makers may turn to evaluation to delay a decision; to justify and legitimate a decision already made; to extricate themselves from controversy about future directions by passing the buck; to vindicate the program in the eyes of its constituents; its funders, or the public; to satisfy conditions of a government or foundation grant through the ritual of evaluation (Weiss, 1972:14).

Very often, the political ends evaluation is called upon to serve are couched in the abstruse phraseology of the research specifications (less benevolently termed "research restrictions") laid down by program administrators as guidelines for the researcher to follow. If the would-be evaluator is not fully cognizant of the covert political motives often hidden in such research specifications, he may later find himself the victim of subtle political pressures to

alter the direction of his study or direct efforts to "torpedo" it entirely. Resisting such subversive activities is of dubious value once the study has begun, for its recommendations will more than likely be discredited or ignored by the program's staff anyway. Before undertaking an evaluation, therefore, the researcher must have a clear understanding of both the restrictions placed on his study and the ends it is designed to serve.

Having accepted the conditions of his employment, the researcher is faced with the task of operationalizing the goals of the program under study in a manner that allows them to be objectively measured. While this procedure varies according to the approach (goal or system model) the study is to follow, it is nevertheless an important stage of any evaluation and, very often, the most difficult. The criteria of success in narrow-aim programs, such as educational up-grading or occupational training, are relatively easy to specify and, therefore, are readily translated into suitable operationalizations. The aims of broad-aim programs, by contrast, are often numerous and diffuse and present a legion of difficulties for the researcher seeking clearly delineated program objectives.

As Weiss and Rein (Weiss and Rein, 1970:102) note, the researcher must often subject program personnel to intensive questioning in order to determine what the program's objectives are. Unfortunately, "What the social scientist thinks

of as 'objective investigation' the practitioner often takes as 'hostile attack'" (Wilensky and Lebeaux, 1958:20). Consequently, administrators often feel that the evaluator, in his search for suitable measurement criteria, is purposely trying to lead them into an over-simplification or misrepresentation of their program's aims. As well, the administrators of broad-aim programs often do not know exactly what the impact of their program will be, and can only provide the evaluator with a list of the objectives they hope their program will achieve through its intervention.

Even when the evaluator is successful in operationalizing suitable criteria for the measurement of a program's full range of consequences, however, his problems are not necessarily at an end. His next task is the collection of data for the study and, although this would appear to be a relatively straight-forward phase of the evaluation process, a number of obstacles often confound its execution.

Agency records usually do not meet the informational requirements of the researcher and, as a result, he must frequently ask both the program's clients and staff to answer questions, fill out forms, or engage in other information-gathering activities. As Weiss (Weiss, 1972:7) observes, program staff often resent the disruptions and delays these activities cause since they are taken away from their primary function of assisting the program's clients.

Program staff may also be reluctant to provide the

researcher with certain information for ethical and professional reasons. First, the project worker may deny the researcher information because he feels it violates the confidentiality of his relationship with a client. Second, a staff member may not wish to ask clients certain questions because he feels they are a violation of the person's personal privacy. Third, the practitioner may feel that asking such questions will jeopardize his ability to help a client who has come to the agency largely because of the degree of relative anonymity which their treatment process allows.

Having collected and interpreted the data for his study, the researcher arrives at the final phase of the evaluation process - the presentation of the study's findings. Although obtaining a hearing for the presentation of results is not a problem, current information (Morehouse, 1972:870; Weiss, 1966:318; Elinson, 1967:299) indicates that many carefully designed and well executed evaluations have not affected program policy-making in a significant manner in spite of the efforts of researchers. This is a serious shortcoming, for if a primary function of evaluation is to serve as a "handmaiden to social policy", it would appear that it has often failed in a major purpose. Given the potential of this type of research to serve as an aid to rational decision-making, what factors are responsible for its frequent non-utilization?

The most obvious explanation for the non-use of the

findings of evaluation is the evaluator's lack of authority. Although an evaluation may make a number of suggestions relevant to agency decision-making, policy-makers are not necessarily obliged to act upon them. Very often, administrators accept findings which are consistent with their own line of thinking but ignore those with which they do not agree.

If the findings of an evaluation are particularly at odds with administrative thinking, but cannot be ignored because they are subject to scrutiny by a governing body outside of the agency, they are likely to become a matter of debate rather than purposive action. On the one side of this controversy are administrators who, in order to secure adequate support for their projects, have frequently pitched their claims regarding the efficacy of their programs much higher than can be realistically expected. On the other are program evaluations which, as various commentators (Rossi, 1972:22; Weiss, 1970:332; Morehouse, 1972:4-5; Elinson, 1967:297-298) have observed, frequently illustrate little, if any, positive effects.

When the discrepancy between stated claims and measured results is too great, the likelihood of the evaluation ever being used as a basis for rational action is greatly reduced. If administrators have never seriously entertained the possibility that the results of an evaluation might be negative, they are not likely to accept such findings once they are

presented. Rather, they are more likely to believe the fault is with the evaluation, not their program. In such a situation, the characteristic response of the administrator to the findings is to "go for the throat" of the writer, for either the evaluation or program must be discredited, since neither can grant the legitimacy of the other without admitting the error of the assumptions upon which their own work is based.

A similar problem in the use of evaluation results is related to the different perspectives of evaluators and program administrators. Evaluation, by the very role in which it has been cast, has a vested interest in determining the effectiveness of social programs. "Effectiveness", of course, is synonymous with efficiency and, therefore, implicit in the role of being an evaluator is the idea of finding out what components of a program are inefficient and encouraging change in these areas. Thus, evaluations are predisposed to being change-oriented. Service programs, by contrast, are likely to value constancy rather than change. In part, this is due to the manner in which these programs evolve:

Very few programs are born without roots in the existing order of things. There are ties and obligations to old agency philosophies and ways of work and to the assumptions and methods of traditional professions (Weiss, 1970:335).

Service programs also tend toward stability rather than change because of the very fact that they are organizations.

As Longwood and Simmel (Longwood and Simmel, 1962:314) comment: "No matter what purpose an organization is created for, once it is established its purpose becomes to perpetuate itself". Like other bureaucracies, the social service organization, once established, becomes elaborated in its own structure, tending to legitimate certain hierarchies of authority, lines of communication, and rules for intra-organizational competition for promotion. When changes are suggested, particularly those which do not come from within the organization itself, there is always the chance that some standardized, familiar procedures will be changed, some established practices discredited, or worse, a bureaucrat's self-styled empire destroyed. It is well known that in many organizations, the jockeying for power and prestige often take precedent over the delivery of service.

From this perspective, all changes can be seen as inimical to the organization, since they introduce with them into the organizational structure unknown and unpredictable elements which are bound to upset its homeostatic balance. In this instance, resistance to the findings of evaluation is not due to differences in professional ideology regarding the most efficient manner in which to achieve the agency's objectives, but to the threat evaluation results represent to the established manner in which the organization functions.

Part of the reason evaluative findings may not be utilized is, of course, attributable to the manner in which they are presented. While administrators typically seek firm,

clear recommendations which will serve as a basis for future program policy-making, they often instead receive findings that are expressed in abstract terms having only limited applicability and relevance to their programs. This is due to what one writer has termed the "unsuitabilities of academic social science for policy research". Listing the shortcomings of an overly formal approach to policy research, Gans writes:

Academic social science seeks to understand society, not intervene in it, resulting in many organizational, theoretical and methodological features that cannot be applied to policy research...it is possible to identify some prevailing theoretical and conceptual features that make it unsuitable for policy purposes. These are: its detachment, "impersonal universalism", high levels of generality and abstractness, and last but not least, its metaphysical perspectives (Gans, 1971:19).

In order to be useful to the administrator, the evaluative researcher's findings must be policy-oriented rather than academic in perspective. Although the specialized vocabulary of social science may be conceptually and contextually coherent to other academics, it is far removed from the realities of the day-to-day operation of a social action program and is, therefore, not likely to provide administrators with positive guidelines for policy design and program intervention.

To be useful, the results of an evaluative study must be translated into recommendations about actual organizational and procedural changes that would improve the

program's ability to realize its objectives. As Suchman (Suchman, 1967a:162) points out, the more specific and detailed the evaluation is in terms of identifying what parts of the program have failed or need revision, the greater its likelihood is of being used as a basis for correcting program deficiencies.

In conclusion, it may be said that in order to effectively conduct an evaluation, the aspiring evaluator requires not only a knowledge of research methodology, but an awareness of the political implications of undertaking this type of research as well. Very often, the canons of research may indicate one action, but the organizational, interpersonal, and political exigencies of the action program setting dictate quite another. A good evaluation, therefore, is one which combines a sound methodological approach with an appreciation of both the informational requirements of the decision-maker and the constraints imposed by the situation in which the evaluation takes place.

CHAPTER VI

METHODOLOGY

A number of factors had to be considered in the development of a suitable research design for the evaluation of the Life Skills course.

First, there were only a few "graduates" of the two year Oo-Za-We-Kwun program, which made it impossible to construct an evaluation of the Life Skills course on the basis of a follow-up study of individuals who had completed their training at the centre. While additional students have, since the time this study was undertaken, completed the program, they have not had sufficient time in their new social environment to allow a valid measure of their progress.

Secondly, there were considerations of time and resources as well. The evaluation could not make great demands on the time available to students for instruction nor could it involve great expense. In these terms, the ideal evaluation was one which could be easily administered and would involve a minimum of disruption in the teaching program.

A third factor which had to be considered was that of developing suitable operationalizations of the goals of the course being studied. In the case of the Life Skills course, with its numerous and diffuse goals, the task was to clarify which goals should be measured. While the course's ultimate aim is to help native people make the transition from reserve to the mainstream of Canadian society, its immediate

objectives, like helping a former farm worker adjust to the regimen of a factory assembly line, or teaching a couple how to budget, are far more specific yet still difficult to operationalize.

Evaluative Objectives and Criteria

As noted earlier, while the Life Skills course formulates its objectives in terms of teaching specific problem-solving behaviours, the student's acquisition or "mastery" of these skills is contingent on his ability to define their "appropriate" and "responsible" use, implying definite attitude change objectives in the course as well. Since it was impossible to observe whether or not the Life Skills students used these new behaviours once they left the classroom, it was obvious that the only way in which the goals of the course could be evaluated was by determining the degree to which the students internalized the attitudes necessary to support these new patterns of behaviour. The extent to which the Life Skills course achieved its attitude change objectives, therefore, would serve as a measure of the degree to which it realized its goals of producing enduring and generalized changes in behaviour.

Unfortunately, the attitudinal objectives of the course are not stated in the Life Skills literature. To fill this information gap, the head of the Life Skills training program at the centre, Mr. Arthur Carriere, listed what he felt the attitudinal change objectives of the course were. These

attitude change goals, categorized according to the five general areas delineated in the course, were expressed as follows:

Self

Develop self-confidence, self-awareness, a positive self-image.

Ability to speak publicly.

A positive attitude towards the law.

Family

Develop positive attitudes toward family life generally.

Ability to communicate effectively with one's spouse.

Responsibility towards children.

Ability to budget effectively.

Community

Ability to develop effective interpersonal relations with neighbours, fellow members of the community.

Willingness to cooperate with others.

Develop a feeling that the individual has certain rights in the community and some control over community affairs.

Job

Develop a positive attitude to work generally.

Ability to get along with employees, bosses, customers.

Develop a feeling of responsibility to one's company.

Leisure

Develop an understanding of the broad meaning of leisure.

Recognition that leisure is not necessarily an individual diversion, but can be enjoyed by all.

Recognition that leisure time may be used for purposive action to benefit oneself.

The Research Design

The research design for the evaluation of the Life Skills course was developed to provide an objective measure of the degree to which the course realized the aforementioned goals of attitude change.

With the cooperation of the centre's staff, an attitudinal index was constructed embodying these change objectives. This index was administered to five successive classes of students according to a "pre-test, post-test" experimental research design using a time-lag control group. The test of the program's effectiveness in changing individual attitudes was based on the significance of the difference between the test scores on the first and second test. To ensure that any significant changes in the overall attitude scores were attributable to the course, the design incorporated a time-lag control group made up of native persons living at the centre who had not taken the Life Skills course. In the event of significant changes in attitude scores occurring in the experimental groups, the control group would be measured over an identical time period to determine whether the changes measured were due to the program's intervention or some alien factor.

As well as determining the degree to which the Life Skills course achieved its attitude change objectives, the

evaluation was designed to also provide information on why these objectives were (or were not) being achieved with respect to certain groups or individuals taking the course. The tests distributed to the students, therefore, included questions on the respondents' age, education, previous places of residence, family size, and past job experience. By analyzing the student's test scores in terms of each of these variables, the evaluation would provide further insight into what individual characteristics were associated with attitude change in the Life Skills course.

The use of a pre-test, post-test experimental design for evaluating the Life Skills course was dictated by a combination of methodological and practical considerations. As noted earlier, despite the differing designs available to the evaluative researcher, the experimental model, both in scientific and political terms, remains the ideal in evaluation methodology. Like any evaluation, this study's methodology is open to attack and, in the face of this possible criticism, it was felt the best approach would be one which could rule out rival explanations for the outcomes measured on the strength of its own design. Judged on this basis, the experimental design for evaluation was preferable to that of a process oriented, qualitative approach like the system model because of the potential sources of invalidity the latter design leaves free.

The system model of evaluation, as noted earlier, breaks down program activities into a logical series of

interrelated phases, each of which are worthy of study. In the Oo-Za-We-Kwun situation, such areas of research might be the organization's ability to maintain a certain standard of productivity in its Life Skills course, adapt to changes, integrate its learning activities with those of the larger community, and maintain its organizational structure.

While information on these latent functions of the Oo-Za-We-Kwun organization would undoubtedly have provided a broader basis of analysis for the evaluation of the Life Skills course, the measurement of such diverse phenomena would of necessity have had to be very subjective in nature, an undesirable feature in this evaluative situation. Also, the information desired by the centre's staff was on course outcomes, not the organization's overall efficiency in achieving such outcomes. Since the system model by its very nature forecloses the opportunity for making such overall judgments of course utility, the decision was made to use an experimental approach for the evaluation of the Life Skills course.

The idea of using the classic experimental model, however, which requires that people be randomly assigned either to a treated (experimental) or untreated (control) group, was not practical in the Oo-Za-We-Kwun situation; program staff could neither randomly assign people to different groups nor withhold treatment from an incoming group for the five week training period. Since a control group was required only if

those taking the course experienced a significant change in their attitudes, the decision was made to postpone satisfying the methodological requirements of a control group until a measure was made of whether or not such change did in fact take place.

Using a pre-test, post-test experimental design was advantageous in the Oo-Za-We-Kwun setting because it greatly diminished the likelihood of the program's selection process acting as a source of error in evaluation results. Because of the manner in which candidates are selected for treatment by social action programs, there is always the chance that those persons being studied in an evaluation do not in fact represent a typical sample of the population which the program is designed to serve. Thus, by chance or some bias in the selection process, the possibility exists that the group being studied, although receiving no benefit from the program's treatment, may exhibit in their attitudes and behaviour characteristics which are associated in the evaluation with the realization of the program's objectives. In the case of the Oo-Za-We-Kwun centre, which has very definite criteria for selecting candidates for its two year program, the likelihood of such an occurrence was high. By utilizing a design which incorporated a pre-test of each group as it entered the program, however, this source of error was largely eliminated.

Another possible source of bias in the research findings

involved the effect the pre-test itself might have as a stimulus to change independent of the effects induced by the course's instruction. In this instance, the "testing sensitization" of the initial test may affect how the subjects react to the post-measure, regardless of the effects of the intervening process of treatment. An example of this phenomenon is an experiment on therapy for weight control, where the initial weigh-in itself serves as a stimulus to weight reduction, even without the therapeutic treatment (Campbell, 1967:9).

The provision of a control group for the measurement of the effects of the Life Skills course, however, eliminated this potential source of bias in the research findings; any such pre-test effects, should they have occurred, would have been manifested equally in both the experimental and control groups and, thus, would have been apparent when a comparison of these groups was made.

The Attitude Index

As previously stated, the index used for the evaluation of the Life Skills course was designed to provide a valid measure of the degree to which the course succeeded in changing specific attitudes. While there were any number of standardized and widely-used attitude measurement scales which conceivably have been used to measure the effects of the Life Skills course, there were a number of reasons for developing a new index specifically formulated in terms of

the program's attitude change objectives.

The indexes available for the measurement of individual attitudes in the broad areas of the family, self, community and work invariably contained a number of items which were not relevant to the objectives of the Life Skills course and, therefore, would tend to confuse the interpretation of data and detract from the evaluation's validity if used. Also, a series of different tests would take considerable time both to administer and analyze, factors which made them unfeasible in a practical sense as well.

Another reason for constructing a measurement device of direct relevance to the Life Skills course was the researcher's desire to provide a test whose questions would be meaningful to those completing it.

Most of the Indians enrolled in the Life Skills course at the Oo-Za-We-Kwun Centre have had only limited contact with white society and, consequently, cannot be expected to have either a comprehensive knowledge of, or facility, in its language. While they undoubtedly attach the same meaning to many words used in the larger society, it is equally likely that there are many words and phrases that are either not used or are entirely meaningless in the social context of the reserve community.

Thus it was thought useless to administer a standardized test, developed under differing conditions for a different racial and cultural group, to those native persons enrolled

in the Life Skills course. Instead, an index was constructed which, in its original form, consisted of 53 summated scale items (subsequently reduced to 44) covering the five general areas (self, family, community, job and leisure) of attitude change outlined in the Life Skills course.⁶

Based on a Likert scale, each statement on the attitude index presents a definite attitude position which is related, either in a positive or negative manner, to the attitudinal objectives of the Life Skills course. A Likert scale was used for the test largely because it is simply constructed, easily understood, and has been found in previous attitude research to yield results which compare favourably to other scales in terms of reliability (Maranell, 1974:231-232, also chapter 22).

"Reliability" in the case of a summated type of attitudinal index is determined by the homogeneity which exists between the items included in the test. This internal consistency, in statistical terms, is usually achieved by assuring that the items in a particular attitude dimension or complex are positively correlated with a common attribute and thus with each other.

Although the most widely used method of determining internal homogeneity or consistency is by means of a "split-

⁶See Appendix I for the format of the final version of the index distributed to students in the Life Skills course. A number of open-ended questions were added to the test in order to allow students to express their reasons for coming to the centre and satisfaction with the program.

halves" test, where even numbered items on a particular attitudinal dimension are correlated with those which are odd-numbered, a more statistically rigorous test of reliability, called an "inter-item correlation matrix" was employed in testing the Life Skills index. On the basis of pre-tests of three groups entering the Life Skills course, scores for each of the fifty-three statements comprising the index were calculated and, rather than simply correlating scores for the odd and even statements, the scores for each item on the index were correlated with the scores for every other item belonging to the same attitude dimension. In addition to testing by means of a correlation matrix, the additivity of each of the items comprising a particular attitude dimension was tested by correlating every item with the total scale score for the dimension to determine whether or not the items "added" something to the scale. As well, to determine each item's discriminative ability, the range of response to each item on the test was calculated.

By deleting those items which on the basis of the pre-test proved to have (1) negative or weak Pearson's r correlation coefficients, or (2) failed to elicit a broad range of response from the subjects, the final index consisting of 44 statements was developed.⁷ A second pre-test of three

⁷See Appendix II for the correlation matrix of the items comprising the index.

"intakes" into the Life Skills course using this revised test confirmed the index's reliability, yielding high correlations for the five dimensions of the test.⁸

The Administration of the Index

The data for the study was collected from the students of the Life Skills course through the use of self-administered attitude indexes. This index was given to five groups of students (45 persons⁹) enrolled in the Life Skills course during the months of June, July, August, and September, 1974.

As mentioned earlier, the pre-tests were given to students before they began the Life Skills course. These people had arrived at the centre only a few days before writing the test, and had not received any information on the attitudinal index or the objectives of the Life Skills course. The post-tests were conducted on the last day of the course five weeks later.

The researcher distributed the index to the students himself, to ensure standardization of the administration procedure and disassociate the test from the centre's staff.

⁸See Appendix III for the Pearson correlation coefficients of the individual items with the sum of these items for each attitudinal dimension.

⁹The experimental group was composed of 24 males and 21 females. Males outnumbered females for the following reasons: (a) one female could not read; (b) one female respondent was in the hospital at the time of the post-test; and, (c) one female did not attend classes the day of the pre-test.

Before handing out the index, however, the researcher identified himself as a university student interested in studying the Oo-Za-We-Kwun Centre's program. The students were asked to help in this research by completing the index (never referred to as a "test" in their presence), and were assured that any information given by them would not be seen by anyone other than the researcher or used as a criterion to judge their eligibility for the program. The instructions for the index were read to the students, who were encouraged to ask any questions they had concerning its completion.

All of the students asked to fill out the test were very cooperative and had little or no difficulty writing the test, which usually took an average of thirty minutes to complete.

CHAPTER VII

ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION OF THE DATA

The Findings

The responses of 45 persons to the attitude index indicate there is little, if any, appreciable change in individual attitudes as a result of taking part in the Life Skills course.

Out of a possible score of 220 on the index, the mean total score for the students was 154.9 on the pre-test and 158.4 on the post-test, a mean difference of only 3.9 between the tests. Table I presents the frequency breakdown for the sample according to pre- and post-test scores.

A significance test (at the .05 level), commonly referred to as a "difference of proportions" test,¹⁰ of the differences between pre-test and post-test scores of the students indicated that there were only 8 significant changes in total attitude scores on the index. Similarly, for the 5 attitude dimensions of the index, only 11 significant scores were recorded distributed along every dimension: self, 4; family, 1; community, 2; occupation, 3; leisure, 1. Of these 11 changes in single dimension scores, 7 were measured in conjunction with significant changes in overall attitude scores, while 4 were associated with scores which were themselves not significant. For the purposes of

¹⁰For a discussion of this test, see, for ex. Freund, 1973:317-320.

TABLE I : Frequency Breakdown of Pre-test and Post-test Scores:

Score	Absolute Freq.	Relative Freq.	Absolute Freq.	Relative Freq.
below 131	0	0	0	0
131 - 135	2	4.4	1	2.2%
136 - 140	2	4.4	2	4.4%
141 - 145	7	15.6	5	11.1%
146 - 150	6	13.3	7	15.6%
151 - 155	4	8.9	3	6.7%
156 - 160	8	17.8	6	13.3%
161 - 165	10	22.2	7	15.6%
166 - 170	3	6.7	6	13.3%
171 - 175	1	2.2	5	11.1%
176 - 180	2	4.4	2	4.4%
181 - 185	0	0	1	2.2%
above 185	0	0	0	0
	<u>45</u>	<u>99.9%</u>	<u>45</u>	<u>99.9%</u>

study, these significant attitude change scores were divided into 2 units: (1) those persons who changed significantly in their total attitude scores as well as along various individual attitude dimensions, and (2) those persons who changed significantly on a single dimension, but not totally.

Of the 8 significant changes recorded in total index scores, 6 were in a positive direction, (i.e. the student's score was higher on the post-test than on the pre-test) while 2 were negative. Among those indicating a positive change in attitudes, 1 changed significantly on the self dimension, 1 on the community dimension, 1 on the family grouping, 1 on the occupation dimension, 1 on both the occupation and community complexes, and 1 not significantly on any single dimension but through an accumulation of small changes in each of the five areas. For the 2 persons indicating a negative overall change in attitudes, 1 changed negatively on the self grouping, the other along every dimension.

Of the 4 significant changes in single dimension scores, recorded for persons who did not indicate a significant total change in attitudes, 2 were negative and 2 positive. Both negative scores were recorded on the self dimension, while the positive scores were measured on the occupation and leisure groupings.

Table II indicates the mean scores calculated for the sample on the variables sex, age, education, job experience,

TABLE II : Mean Scores for the Sample on the Variables Sex, Age, Education, Job Experience, Residence, and Family Size.

	Total Sample	Males	Females
Age 18 -	26 yrs.	27 yrs.	24 yrs.
Education (grade)	8.0	7.5	8.2
Job Experience ¹	11.0	19.6	4.0
Residence ²	5.2	4.0	6.3
Family Size ³	2.2	-	-

1. The measure of "job experience" was based on the number of months the respondents had worked in the last 5 years.
2. The measure of "residence" was based on the number of months the respondents had lived outside of a reserve in the last 5 years.
3. The measure of "family size" is expressed as the number of children per family in the sample.

residence, and family size.¹¹ Unfortunately, with only 8 people recording a significant change in attitude scores on the index, no statistical test of the relationship of these personal variables to attitude changes could be undertaken. Nevertheless, when the 8 significant attitude changes measured on the index were viewed in terms of these personal characteristics, the variables sex, age, family size, and residence all show some limited effect on test performance:

Of the 8 persons indicating significant changes in their total attitude scores on the index, 3 were male and 5 were female. Among the females, 4 experienced a positive change in attitudes while 1 indicated a negative change. Among the males, 2 indicated a positive and 1 a negative change.

The mean age of the sample was 26 years (27 for males and 24 for females) but the average age of those who recorded a positive attitude change was 21 years, while the average age of those experiencing negative change was 34 years.

While the mean number of children per family in the sample was 2.2, those who changed positively had only 1.1, while those who indicated a negative change had 6.5.

While those who did not experience a significant change

¹¹The distributions of the experimental sample on the variables age, education, job experience, residence and family size are provided in Appendix IV.

in attitudes spent an average of 7.9 months of the last 5 years outside of the reserve community, those who changed positively lived an average of 21 months outside the reserve, while those who changed negatively spent an average of only 3 months in an unfamiliar social environment.

Neither education or previous job experience appeared to affect performance on the test.

The 4 persons indicating a significant change in attitudes on only single dimensions of the test were evenly divided by sex, with 2 males recording a negative change on the self dimension and 2 females changing on the leisure and occupation groupings. Other than sex, none of the experimentally delineated variables appeared to have any effect on those persons who indicated single dimension attitude changes, as this group was comparable to the rest of the sample in terms of age, education, family size, job experience and residence.

As noted earlier, of the 5 attitude dimensions comprising the index, the self dimension recorded the largest number of significant attitude changes. While the 7 significant scores recorded on the other attitude dimensions were positive, however, 3 of the 4 changes indicated on the self dimension were negative. As well, the magnitude of this change on the self dimension was in most cases greater than that found on the other dimensions of the index.

Certain additional information was acquired on the

index by including 3 open-ended questions. These background questions, although not related to the measurement of attitudes, were of sufficient interest to warrant inclusion in the test. The first two questions asked students how they found out about the centre and what their most important reason was for attending it; the third question asked what activities they felt the community should provide for them. Although these questions were included on both the pre-tests and post-tests given to each group in the sample, the responses discussed here, except in the case of the last question, are those given on only the pre-tests, since the responses on the post-test tended to represent a reiteration of phrases learned in the Life Skills course rather than expressions of individual opinion.

In response to the first question, "How did you find out about the Oo-Za-We-Kwun Centre?", most students wrote that they were visited on their reserves by a member of the centre's staff. Others wrote that they had been informed of the centre by relatives and friends, some of whom were already enrolled in the program.

When asked, "What is your most important reason for coming to the centre?", most students replied that it was to improve their standard of living. Although usually expressed in very specific terms, such as getting a better job, earning more money, or "getting off welfare", most replies generally expressed a desire to improve the individual's economic

status or learn new occupational skills. Never did the students reply that they were seeking an occupational skill that was marketable in an urban community, or state that they were trying to learn social skills that would equip them for life in the larger society, a fact which suggests that generally they did not know the aims of the program at this point in their training.

In response to the question, "What activities do you feel the community should provide for you?", most students listed a number of sports and recreational activities in which they would like to be involved. On the post-test, a few people stated that they would like to have a committee, or "town council", to which they could express their opinions. Who should sit on this committee, and what its function would be, however, was not specified.

CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

Before proceeding with a discussion of the implications of the research conducted at the Oo-Za-We-Kwun Centre, it would appear useful to first briefly summarize the objectives of the study in terms of the informational needs the evaluation was called upon to serve.

As noted earlier, this study was designed to answer questions of both social and sociological significance. When conceptualized in practical terms, the purpose of the evaluation is to provide the centre's staff with an objective measure of the degree to which their Life Skills course achieves its goals of attitude change and, to the extent that individual behaviour may be viewed as a manifestation of personal values and beliefs, behavioural change as well. In so doing, the evaluation also provides a measure of the extent to which they succeed in operationalizing the course's theoretical approach to behaviour and attitude change.

Implicit in this evaluative function, however, is the judgement of the value premises, as well as theoretical assumptions, which underlie this attempt at social change. In the case of the Life Skills course and Oo-Za-We-Kwun Centre, these untested assumptions are multiple, and underlie not only the aims of these programs, but the Indian population whose needs they are designed to serve.

The findings of the research conducted at the Oo-Za-We-Kwun Centre indicate that the Life Skills course is not achieving its attitude change objectives. Clearly, when only 8 of 45 persons enrolled in the course indicate a significant change in attitudes and, of these 8 persons, only 6 experience change in direction favourable to its objectives, the course cannot claim to be an effective agent of attitude change. Furthermore, if the results are interpreted according to cognitive dissonance theory, which suggests that enduring changes in behaviour occur only in conjunction with similar changes in attitudes, then the course, insofar as it failed to change attitudes, has also failed in its objective of making students adopt "life-skills" as part of their everyday behaviour.

Given these negative findings, the question which remains to be answered is why these results occurred. The null results obtained by this study may be attributed to any of four possible factors: (1) the evaluation itself may have been faulty; (2) the theoretical assumptions underlying the course's approach to attitude and behaviour change may be false; (3) the course itself may have failed to "operationalize" the theory on which its approach is based; (4) the social or "value" assumptions underlying not only the Life Skills course, but the Oo-Za-We-Kwun program as a whole, may be false.

Although the index used for this study was constructed

specifically in terms of the objectives of the Life Skills course and was tested and re-tested to ensure the reliability and validity of its measurements according to the prescribed methods of attitude scale construction, the negative findings obtained by this evaluation are not necessarily final. This is in large part due to the potential sources of bias which the research design could not eliminate.

One possible source of such bias in this study is the comparatively few persons comprising its experimental sample (a total of 45), a number determined, in part, by the small number of people enrolled in the Life Skills course at any one time (usually one group of 10 to 15 people every two months) and, in part, by the time limits set for the study. In this instance, some distortion in the research findings may have occurred because the experimental sample was not in fact representative of the majority of native persons typically taking the Life Skills course.

Another potential source of bias in the evaluation results is that it totally relies on the information provided by self-administered indexes to draw its conclusions. As various researchers have pointed out, obtaining information in this manner has certain drawbacks, as individuals may respond to attitude statements in a particular manner for reasons other than the content of the statements themselves. Some persons simply want to make sure that they use every response category available on the index; others are "yes-

men", willing to go along with anything that sounds good because they feel it is the socially desirable response. In the case of the Oo-Za-We-Kwun Centre, where presenting a positive image to project staff ensures continued residence in this community, it is very likely that certain responses were given precisely because the subjects wished to appear socially acceptable to either the centre's staff or the researcher.¹²

Still another possible source of bias in the evaluation findings is the index's scale items themselves. Although item analysis and pre-tests ensure the homogeneity or consistency of the statements comprising the five attitude dimensions of the Life Skills index, these processes do not guarantee that these dimensions in fact measure only one property or that the items on the scale provide a proper sampling of content. Given the wide range of attitudes which may be incorporated under the headings of Self, Family, Community, Job and Leisure, it is very possible that even though conceptualized in terms of the course's objectives, the Life Skills index failed to include statements which, had they been incorporated in a particular attitude complex, would have provided a more representative picture of native person's feelings in these attitude areas. Similarly, it is

¹²The possibility does exist, however, that those Indians enrolled in the program see the Life Skills course as a game, in which they merely pretend to adopt new attitudes and patterns of behaviour. If such is the case, then attitude changes measured by the Life Skills index would be of little value in predicting effective changes in behaviour.

equally likely that the responses to certain statements, although they correlate highly with the responses to other statements on a particular attitude dimension, in fact belong to another attitude region entirely. Nevertheless, given the lack of theoretical guidelines for determining what feelings and sentiments ought to be included in any attitude area, particularly in the case of a group such as that of the Indian, the researcher is virtually forced to rely on admittedly imperfect statistical procedures such as content sampling and item analysis for the formulation and conceptualization of his index.

There is also the remote possibility that the attitude changes the Life Skills index was designed to measure did not take place until after the evaluation's post-test. Recent social psychological research indicates that desired attitude changes may not occur until some time after exposure to a stimulus (Zimbardo and Ebbeson, 1969:23). However, it should be pointed out that in research where this "sleeper effect" did occur, the situation was invariably one where the attitude change stimulus was of short duration, measurable in terms of hours, not weeks, as in the case of the Life Skills course. Thus, although a certain amount of unrecorded attitude change may have occurred in the experimental sample since the time of the evaluation's post-test, it is extremely doubtful that this change is of sufficient size to warrant a reformulation of the study's findings.

Insofar as the negative results obtained by the evaluation are real, they indicate a serious weakness in either the course's theoretical approach, its method of implementing this perspective, or the fundamental assumptions on which it operates.

The first possibility, that the change theory on which the course bases its approach is deficient, is not in fact a valid explanation of the results obtained by this study. Group oriented techniques like those used in the Life Skills course have been proven effective in both research and program settings.¹³

One possible explanation of the negative evaluation findings, however, may be the failure of centre staff to adequately "operationalize" the underlying theory on which their work is based, for although the students in the experimental sample took part in such dissonance-producing activities as group discussions, role-playing situations, and videotape sessions, it appeared that those centre staff responsible for conducting these operations did not have a knowledge of the theoretical basis of their work. Rather, these sessions were simply conducted on the assumption that in such a group-learning situation, students would be exposed to new, more "effective" patterns of thought and action which, in turn,

¹³Three of the most recent and comprehensive reviews of research on attitude change are by the following authors: Zimbardo and Ebbeson, 1969; Abelson et.al., 1968; Collins and Hoyt, 1972.

would lead in some unspecified manner to major changes in individual attitudes, perceptions and patterns of behaviour. Unfortunately, without the application of a consistent and clearly defined theoretical approach to behaviour and attitude change in these life skills lessons, centre staff may actually have created a situation which, rather than providing a positive atmosphere for change, served only to reaffirm already established attitudes and behaviours.

Attributing the negative evaluation results to either a faulty or inadequately implemented theoretical approach, however, circumvents what is probably the main reason for the course's failure to change attitudes, namely, the invalidity of the fundamental assumptions on which it operates. These value assumptions serve not only as a basis for the Life Skills course, but the Oo-Za-We-Kwun program as a whole and, in contrast to its theoretical assumptions, are subjective rather than objective in character, defining what constitutes an acceptable and appropriate means of social intervention.

In the Oo-Za-We-Kwun approach to planned social change, these value assumptions are numerous and varied, concerning not only the program itself, but the Indian people it was designed to serve. The most pervasive of these assumptions may be summarized as follows: first, the program assumes that reserve Indians subscribe to certain distinct attitudes and behaviours which can be significantly changed by taking

a five week course and living in the Oo-Za-We-Kwun community; secondly, it is thought that this change process should be one of White enculturation.

When viewed in light of these assumptions, the task to which the Oo-Za-We-Kwun centre has dedicated itself is not merely one of teaching Indians a number of clearly identifiable behaviours termed "life skills", but rather one of changing entire patterns of thought and action. In attempting to induce native people to adopt life skills behaviours as part of their everyday pattern of existence, the program is actually trying to alter whole conceptualization schemes, that is, the customary manner in which these people interpret and act in the world. This is not easy to do, and requires that the individual in fact be re-socialized, undergoing a near total transformation in which he "switches worlds", substituting a new plausibility structure for the one he has developed since birth. In the Oo-Za-We-Kwun situation, this involves trying to substitute the values of a nationally based, individualistic, future-oriented capitalist society for those of a tribally founded, communal, past and present oriented cultural group — a next to impossible task.

Apart from the question of whether or not such dramatic and fundamental changes are in fact possible in a five week course, the Oo-Za-We-Kwun program also raises the ethical question of whether or not such changes should actually be attempted. As noted at the beginning of this study, the

Indians' disadvantaged position in our society may be seen as the logical outcome of the treatment they have received at the hands of the Canadian government which, although officially adhering to a policy of fair and equal treatment for all Canadians, has historically treated the country's native population as second class citizens. Unfortunately, it appears that the Oo-Za-We-Kwun program represents the continuation of this government duality with respect to the Indian; although officially subscribing to a policy of cultural plurality, in which every racial and ethnic minority group is allowed to retain its distinct cultural heritage, the government, through the Oo-Za-We-Kwun program, is attempting to mould Indians into White-encultured members of the dominant society. While assimilation into the larger society may in fact be the most humane way to help Canada's native population, it seems that the loss of much of the Indian cultural heritage implied by such a move is a rather high price to pay.

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APPENDIX I
FORMAT OF THE ATTITUDE INDEX DISTRIBUTED
TO LIFE SKILLS STUDENTS

OO-ZA-WE-KWUN CENTRE INDEX OF ATTITUDES

NAME _____ AGE _____
 (LAST) (FIRST)

DATE _____
 day mo. yr.

Highest grade completed in school - Grade _____

Please list the places you have lived in during the past five years beginning with the most recent:

Place	How long did you live there?
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____

Please list the jobs you have worked at in the last five years beginning with the most recent:

Job	How long did you work at it?
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____

Do you have any children? _____ How many? _____

How did you find out about the OO-ZA-WE-KWUN Centre?

What is your most important reason for coming to the centre?

The following pages contain a number of statements about which people often do not agree. People differ widely in their opinions about each item. THERE ARE NO RIGHT OR WRONG ANSWERS. The purpose of this index is to see how different people feel about each statement. In this way, our program can be adjusted to fit your needs. We should like your honest opinion on each of these statements.

Think of how each of the statements on the following pages applies to you. If you think the statement fits what you think very well, below the statement, underline "strongly agree"; if you think its only partly true, underline "agree"; if you cannot tell how you feel one way or the other underline "don't know"; if you think the statement is not true, underline "disagree"; and if it is really not true, underline "strongly disagree".

PLEASE PUT DOWN THE OPINION THAT COMES TO YOU FIRST.

Do not go back and change your answers.

Remember, there are no wrong answers.

1. THE ONLY REASON FOR WORKING IS TO MAKE MONEY.
J1 strongly agree agree don't know disagree strongly disagree
2. PEOPLE SHOULD SHARE THEIR THOUGHTS WITH THEIR FAMILY.
F1 strongly agree agree don't know disagree strongly disagree
3. AFTER WORK, THERE IS NOT MUCH TO DO FOR ENJOYMENT.
L1 strongly agree agree don't know disagree strongly disagree
4. MOST PEOPLE CAN BE TRUSTED
S1 strongly agree agree don't know disagree strongly disagree
5. OLDER PEOPLE ARE NOT INTERESTED IN SPORTS AND GAMES
L2 strongly agree agree don't know disagree strongly disagree
6. SOMETIMES I FEEL THAT I NEED TO STAY AWAY FROM HOME
FOR A LITTLE WHILE.
F2 strongly agree agree don't know disagree strongly disagree
7. MOST PEOPLE DON'T CARE ABOUT YOUR PROBLEMS.
S2 strongly agree agree don't know disagree strongly disagree
8. PEOPLE SHOULD BE WILLING TO MAKE SACRIFICES FOR THEIR
FAMILY.
F3 strongly agree agree don't know disagree strongly disagree
9. MOST PEOPLE HAVE FEW FRIENDS THAT THEY CAN TELL THEIR
PROBLEMS TO.
S3 strongly agree agree don't know disagree strongly disagree

10. POLICEMEN ARE USUALLY HONEST.
S4 strongly agree agree don't know disagree strongly disagree
11. IT IS EASY TO FIND A JOB THAT IS ENJOYABLE.
J2 strongly agree agree don't know disagree strongly disagree
12. THERE IS NOT MUCH A PARENT CAN DO TO HELP HIS CHILDREN
IF THEY ARE IN TROUBLE.
F4 strongly agree agree don't know disagree strongly disagree
13. MOST SPORTS AND GAMES ARE FOR CHILDREN.
L3 strongly agree agree don't know disagree strongly disagree
14. FRIENDS ARE EASY TO FIND.
C1 strongly agree agree don't know disagree strongly disagree
15. IT IS EASY TO KEEP YOUR JOB WHEN YOU DO IT WELL.
J3 strongly agree agree don't know disagree strongly disagree
16. CHILDREN DO NOT LIKE TO TALK TO THEIR PARENTS ABOUT
IMPORTANT MATTERS.
F5 strongly agree agree don't know disagree strongly disagree
17. BEING SUCCESSFUL REQUIRES WORKING HARDER THAN IS FAIR.
J4 strongly agree agree don't know disagree strongly disagree
18. A PERSON SHOULD NOT TAKE PART IN SPORTS AND GAMES IF HE
IS NOT GOOD AT THEM.
R4 strongly agree agree don't know disagree strongly disagree

19. MY WIFE/HUSBAND DOES NOT UNDERSTAND MY PROBLEMS.
F6 strongly agree agree don't know disagree strongly disagree
20. MANY LAWS DO NOT HELP PEOPLE LIKE MYSELF.
S5 strongly agree agree don't know disagree strongly disagree
21. MOST JOBS PAY ENOUGH MONEY TO LIVE ON.
J5 strongly agree agree don't know disagree strongly disagree
22. IT IS IMPORTANT TO HAVE OTHER PEOPLE LOOK UP TO YOU.
S6 strongly agree agree don't know disagree strongly disagree
23. YOU HAVE TO BE YOUNG TO ENJOY SPORTS AND GAMES.
L5 strongly agree agree don't know disagree strongly disagree
24. IF YOU DO SOMETHING THAT MIGHT HURT YOUR HUSBAND/WIFE,
IT IS BEST NOT TO TELL THEM ABOUT IT.
F7 strongly agree agree don't know disagree strongly disagree
25. GETTING TO KNOW THE PEOPLE WHO LIVE AROUND YOU IS EASY.
C2 strongly agree agree don't know disagree strongly disagree
26. IF I WORK HARD ENOUGH, I CAN USUALLY ACCOMPLISH WHAT I
WANT TO.
S7 strongly agree agree don't know disagree strongly disagree
27. POLICEMEN HAVE A VERY IMPORTANT JOB TO DO.
S8 strongly agree agree don't know disagree strongly disagree

28. IT IS HARD TO GET ALONG WITH YOUR BOSS.
J6 strongly agree agree don't know disagree strongly disagree
29. IF CHILDREN DON'T GET HELP FROM OLDER PEOPLE, THEY WILL
HAVE A HARD TIME IN THE WORLD.
F8 strongly agree agree don't know disagree strongly disagree
30. MOST COMPANIES ARE ONLY INTERESTED IN YOU AS LONG AS
YOUR WORK HELPS THEM.
J7 strongly agree agree don't know disagree strongly disagree
31. EVERYONE IN THE FAMILY HAS TO HELP KEEP THE HOME LOOKING
NICE.
F9 strongly agree agree don't know disagree strongly disagree
32. IT IS EASY TO GET ALONG WITH OTHER PEOPLE WHO LIVE NEAR
YOU.
C3 strongly agree agree don't know disagree strongly disagree
33. IF PEOPLE ARE WILLING TO WORK HARD AND COOPERATE, THEY
CAN MAKE THEIR COMMUNITY A MUCH BETTER PLACE TO LIVE IN.
C4 strongly agree agree don't know disagree strongly disagree
34. PEOPLE USUALLY LISTEN TO WHAT YOU SAY.
S9 strongly agree agree don't know disagree strongly disagree
35. SOMETIMES I FIND IT EASY TO GET ANGRY AT PEOPLE AROUND
ME.
S10 strongly agree agree don't know disagree strongly disagree
36. MOST COMMUNITIES DO A GOOD JOB OF PROVIDING PLACES FOR
YOU TO GO WHEN YOU ARE NOT WORKING.
C5 strongly agree agree don't know disagree strongly disagree

37. MOST BOSSES TRY TO MAKE YOU WORK HARDER THAN IS FAIR.
J8 strongly agree agree don't know disagree strongly disagree
38. I AM HAPPIEST WHEN I AM WITH MY OWN HUSBAND/WIFE
(AND CHILDREN)
F10 strongly agree agree don't know disagree strongly disagree
39. GOOD JOBS ARE HARD FOR AN INDIAN TO FIND.
J9 strongly agree agree don't know disagree strongly disagree
40. IT IS IMPORTANT THAT YOUR FAMILY COMES FIRST FINANCIALLY.
F11 strongly agree agree don't know disagree strongly disagree
41. TIMES ARE GETTING BETTER.
S11 strongly agree agree don't know disagree strongly disagree
42. IT IS EASY TO GET ALONG WITH YOUR FELLOW WORKERS.
J10 strongly agree agree don't know disagree strongly disagree
43. DOING A JOB WELL GIVES A PERSON A GOOD FEELING.
J11 strongly agree agree don't know disagree strongly disagree
44. MANY PEOPLE FEEL THAT IT IS UP TO THE COMMUNITY TO GIVE
THE PEOPLE WHO LIVE THERE PLACES WHERE THEY CAN TAKE
C6 PART IN ACTIVITIES LIKE DANCES, BINGOS AND SPORTING
EVENTS.
- a) HOW GOOD A JOB DO YOU THINK COMMUNITIES DO OF
PROVIDING THESE ACTIVITIES?
- very good good average poor very poor no opinion

b) WHAT ACTIVITIES DO YOU FEEL THE COMMUNITY SHOULD PROVIDE FOR YOU.

APPENDIX II
CORRELATION MATRICES FOR THE SELF, FAMILY,
COMMUNITY, JOB AND LEISURE DIMENSIONS
OF THE LIFE SKILLS INDEX

TABLE III : Correlation Matrix for the Self Dimension

	Self 1	Self 2	Self 3	Self 4	Self 5	Self 6	Self 7	Self 8	Self 9	Self 10	Self 11
Self 1	1.00	.36	.23	.46	.48	.42	.59	.68	.40	.35	.50
Self 2	.36	1.00	.42	.39	.33	.28	.48	.47	.36	.37	.46
Self 3	.23	.42	1.00	.28	.22	.47	.31	.32	.25	.53	.42
Self 4	.46	.39	.28	1.00	.51	.35	.47	.61	.63	.35	.66
Self 5	.48	.33	.22	.51	1.00	.32	.43	.69	.59	.45	.47
Self 6	.42	.28	.47	.35	.32	1.00	.74	.62	.36	.32	.43
Self 7	.59	.48	.31	.47	.43	.74	1.00	.75	.38	.28	.51
Self 8	.68	.47	.32	.61	.69	.62	.75	1.00	.64	.35	.61
Self 9	.40	.36	.25	.63	.59	.36	.38	.64	1.00	.27	.49
Self 10	.35	.37	.53	.35	.45	.32	.28	.35	.27	1.00	.65
Self 11	.50	.46	.42	.66	.47	.43	.51	.61	.49	.65	1.00

TABLE IV : Correlation Matrix for the Family Dimension

	Fam 1	Fam 2	Fam 3	Fam 4	Fam 5	Fam 6	Fam 7	Fam 8	Fam 9	Fam 10	Fam 11
Fam 1	1.00	.21	.72	.66	.61	.47	.41	.49	.64	.57	.75
Fam 2	.21	1.00	.20	.28	.38	.58	.55	.34	.48	.26	.39
Fam 3	.72	.20	1.00	.57	.63	.30	.18	.53	.67	.56	.70
Fam 4	.66	.28	.57	1.00	.51	.59	.35	.40	.45	.32	.54
Fam 5	.61	.38	.63	.51	1.00	.20	.16	.67	.72	.60	.72
Fam 6	.47	.58	.30	.59	.20	1.00	.63	.18	.32	.23	.33
Fam 7	.41	.55	.18	.35	.16	.63	1.00	.27	.71	.29	.23
Fam 8	.49	.34	.53	.40	.67	.18	.27	1.00	.58	.58	.40
Fam 9	.64	.48	.67	.45	.72	.32	.71	.58	1.00	.61	.80
Fam 10	.57	.26	.56	.32	.60	.23	.29	.58	.61	1.00	.59
Fam 11	.75	.39	.70	.54	.72	.33	.23	.40	.80	.59	1.00

TABLE V : Correlation Matrix for the Job Dimension

	Job 1	Job 2	Job 3	Job 4	Job 5	Job 6	Job 7	Job 8	Job 9	Job 10	Job 11
Job 1	1.00	.13	.13	.61	.43	.21	.32	.30	.25	.56	.37
Job 2	.13	1.00	.45	.39	.32	.11	.22	.23	.30	.42	.42
Job 3	.13	.45	1.00	.31	.40	.35	.50	.55	.28	.74	.80
Job 4	.61	.39	.31	1.00	.33	.18	.49	.42	.44	.14	.35
Job 5	.43	.32	.40	.33	1.00	.28	.44	.20	.31	.42	.65
Job 6	.21	.11	.35	.18	.28	1.00	.38	.67	.61	.24	.26
Job 7	.32	.22	.50	.49	.44	.38	1.00	.39	.23	.47	.44
Job 8	.30	.23	.55	.42	.20	.67	.39	1.00	.46	.54	.53
Job 9	.25	.30	.28	.44	.31	.61	.23	.46	1.00	.12	.37
Job 10	.56	.42	.74	.14	.42	.24	.47	.54	.12	1.00	.69
Job 11	.37	.42	.80	.35	.65	.26	.44	.53	.37	.69	1.00

TABLE VI : Correlation Matrix for the Community Dimension

	Com 1	Com 2	Com 3	Com 4	Com 5	Com 6
Com 1	1.00	.57	.65	.65	.60	.44
Com 2	.57	1.00	.43	.38	.65	.50
Com 3	.65	.43	1.00	.62	.32	.38
Com 4	.65	.38	.62	1.00	.61	.35
Com 5	.60	.65	.32	.61	1.00	.46
Com 6	.44	.50	.38	.35	.46	1.00

TABLE VII : Correlation Matrix for the Leisure Dimension

	Leis 1	Leis 2	Leis 3	Leis 4	Leis 5
Leis 1	1.00	.63	.62	.30	.52
Leis 2	.63	1.00	.66	.20	.74
Leis 3	.62	.66	1.00	.40	.78
Leis 4	.30	.20	.40	1.00	.54
Leis 5	.52	.74	.78	.54	1.00

APPENDIX III
CORRELATION MATRICES FOR ITEMS OF THE SELF, FAMILY,
COMMUNITY, JOB AND LEISURE DIMENSIONS WITH TOTAL
SCALE SCORES

TABLE VIII : Correlation Matrices for Items of the Self, Family, Community, Job and Leisure Dimensions with Total Scale Scores.

	Self Sum	Fam Sum	Job Sum	Com Sum	Leis Sum
Self 1	.69	Fam 1 .82	Job 1 .59	Com 1 .83	Leis 1 .77
Self 2	.65	Fam 2 .60	Job 2 .55	Com 2 .75	Leis 2 .81
Self 3	.53	Fam 3 .75	Job 3 .78	Com 3 .75	Leis 3 .86
Self 4	.72	Fam 4 .71	Job 4 .55	Com 4 .80	Leis 4 .62
Self 5	.71	Fam 5 .77	Job 5 .68	Com 5 .78	Leis 5 .90
Self 6	.68	Fam 6 .60	Job 6 .60	Com 6 .73	
Self 7	.77	Fam 7 .55	Job 7 .59		
Self 8	.87	Fam 8 .71	Job 8 .74		
Self 9	.69	Fam 9 .80	Job 9 .57		
Self 10	.63	Fam 10 .72	Job 10 .66		
Self 11	.80	Fam 11 .81	Job 11 .83		

APPENDIX IV

DISTRIBUTION OF THE EXPERIMENTAL SAMPLE
ON THE VARIABLES AGE, SEX, EDUCATION
RESIDENCE, FAMILY SIZE AND JOB EXPERIENCE

TABLE IX: Age Distribution of Respondents to the Life Skills Index.

Age	Absolute Frequency	Relative Frequency
16 - 19	9	20.0%
20 - 23	14	31.1%
24 - 27	9	20.0%
28 - 31	7	15.6%
32 - 35	1	2.2%
36 - 39	2	4.4%
40 - 43	1	2.2%
44 - 47	2	4.4%
	45	99.9%

TABLE X : Education Distribution of Respondents to the Life Skills Index

Education (grade)	Absolute Frequency	Relative Frequency
none	1	2.2%
1 - 3	2	4.4%
4 - 6	11	24.4%
7 - 9	19	42.2%
10 - 12	12	26.7%
	45	99.9%

TABLE XI : Distribution of the Sample on the Variable "Residence".

Residence ¹	Absolute Frequency	Relative Frequency
0	32	71.0%
less than 1	8	17.8%
1 - 2	4	8.9%
3 - 4	0	0
5 - 6	1	2.2%
	45	99.9%

TABLE XII: Distribution of the Sample on the Variable "Family Size".

Family Size ²	Absolute Frequency	Relative Frequency
0	4	16.7%
1 - 2	14	58.3%
3 - 4	3	12.5%
5 - 6	2	8.3%
7 - 8	1	4.2%
	24	100.0%

¹The measure of "residence" was based on the number of years the respondents had lived outside of a reservation in the last 5 years.

²The measure of "family size" is expressed as the number of children per family in the sample.

TABLE XLII: Distribution of Sample by Variables "Sex" and "Job Experience".

Job Experience (years)	TOTAL SAMPLE		MALES		FEMALES	
	Absolute Freq.	Relative Freq.	Absolute Freq.	Relative Freq.	Absolute Freq.	Relative Freq.
0	14	31.1%	3	12.5%	11	52.4%
less than 1	16	35.6%	8	33.3%	8	38.1%
1 - 2	11	24.4%	9	37.5%	2	9.5%
3 - 4	2	4.4%	2	8.3%	0	0
5 or more	2	4.4%	2	8.3%	0	0
	<u>45</u>	<u>99.9%</u>	<u>24</u>	<u>99.9%</u>	<u>21</u>	<u>100.0%</u>