# S O C I A L I N V E N T I O N S

## D. Stuart Conger

## Kanata, ON, Canada, K2M 1X2

# Table of Contents

ii

# ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

# Introduction

# SOCIAL INVENTIONS AND SOCIAL PROGRESS

We are justly proud of the scientific progress that we have made in the past 100 years. It has been said that the way people lived at the turn of the century was more similar to the style of life in Biblical times than to life in the present day. To substantiate this assertion, several examples have been offered: the common conveyance was by means of a donkey in Christ's time, and the horse in 1900, but by automobile or aeroplane today. Most major advances in medicine have been made since 1900, such as Salk vaccine, insulin, tranquillizers, antibiotics, chemical contraception, and many surgical procedures. Communication has greatly improved over the years with the invention of writing in 3000 BC, printing in 1450 AD, radio in 1901, television in 1930, and now the Internet.

In all the ways that mechanical, chemical and electrical technology affect our lives we have progressed a great deal. On occasion our technological progress has been frightening and potentially destructive to our environment and ourselves, and it has been suggested, therefore, that we hold up or arrest scientific development. In the interests of society, we should not stop scientific invention, but rather concentrate on the invention of better methods for the proper functioning of society.

Canada needs to make social inventions to alleviate its social problems. When we compare our social problems with those of Biblical times, we find few basically different ways of coping with the problems in the past 2000 years. Some of our solutions are more systematic and perhaps more humanitarian, but otherwise they are not very different.

**Definition of Social Inventions**

What is a social invention? A social invention is a new law, organization or procedure that changes the ways in which people relate to themselves or to each other, either individually or collectively. Examples of laws that are social inventions include the Poor Law of 1388, which gave the poor the right to relief, the Indenture of Children Act of 1601, which spelled out the terms under which children were bound to another person or family, the English Bill of Rights in 1689, the Compulsory School Attendance Act in Prussia in 1717, the Swiss Unemployment Insurance Act of 1789, the Secret Ballot Act of 1872 in England, or the laws against cruelty to children that were enacted in the United States after 1875, at which time the New York Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals demonstrated that it was possible to prosecute parents for the abuse of children under laws against cruelty to animals. (We had laws to protect animals before we had them to protect children!)

Examples of organizations that were important social inventions include the following:

- schools in Sumer in 2500 BC,
- law courts in the same country in 2400 BC,
- House of Commons in 1300 AD.,
- labour union in England in 1696,
- penitentiary in Rome in 1700,
- adult school in Wales in 1754,
- YMCA in England in 1844,
- Children's Aid Society in New York in 1853,
- Red Cross in Geneva in 1864,
- teachers college in New York in 1894,
- service club in Chicago in 1905,
- Boy Scouts in England in 1908,
- United Appeal in Cleveland in 1913,
- Alcoholics Anonymous in Akron, Ohio, in 1934.

Procedures that represent social inventions include:

- charity, 2100 BC,
- democracy, 510 BC in Athens,
- municipal system, 100 BC in Rome,
- licensing of' teachers, 362 AD.,
- training of lawyers, 1292,
- oath to tell truth to the courts, 1327,
- Hansard (the written record of debates in the House of Commons) in 1608,
- formal steps in teaching, 1838,
- probation in Boston, 1841,
- IQ tests in Paris, 1905,
- programmed instruction in US, 1957,
- computer assisted instruction in US, in 1960.

A social invention such as the law court, school, municipal government, or prison, spawns many ancillary inventions that ultimately create a social system. For instance, the social system developed around the civil law court includes the judge, jury, lawyer, plea, coroner, justice of the peace, code of law, law schools, etc. Each component of the system was itself an invention, but adapted to fit the system.

Each social system comprises a series of social inventions. Some systems are relatively well developed such as the law, while other systems - such as intragroup relations have so few methods to rely on that the system is more of a constellation of problems than of solutions.

An essential difference between the health and education systems is that medicine has developed a system for inventing better methods of curing and preventing disease and people recognize this and support medical research. On the other hand, education does not have a system for the invention of new methods of education, although there is some investment in educational research, and there are in Canada at least a few centres doing important educational experimentation. Other social systems such as welfare and corrections are very stable as far as

their technology is concerned because they have not established research laboratories at all, and hence, improvements in these areas can hardly be expected except at a very slow rate.

**Need for Social Inventions**

The Special Senate Committee on Poverty recognized the need for new approaches to social problems suggesting that the the social welfare structure has outlived its usefulness and stated

> "The whole welfare system, at all levels, costs Canadians more than six billion dollars a year, yet it has not significantly alleviated poverty, let alone eliminated it. Welfare rolls have not diminished. The problems grow, costs go up, and up, and up, and will, in time, suffocate the taxpayer." (Special Senate Committee, 1971: vii).

Other social problems also bespeak the need for new social inventions. Our approach to unemployment is still largely to blame the unemployed for being without jobs. The fact that we train and retrain some 300,000 adults each year is mute evidence that we consider their unemployment to be their lack of skill. We know that our correctional institutions do not reform. We have no answer to marriage breakdowns, except separation and divorce.

Some 270,000 Canadians suffer from alcoholism and the average working alcoholic loses two to three weeks annual working time because of addiction. It is said that the majority of serious motor accidents are caused by drivers that are impaired. There is an urgent need to invent a cure for this social disease.

The first strike took place in 427 AD when the Plebs struck for certain rights. We still have not invented a better method of resolving labour disputes. Striking Canadian workers usually lose 5,442,000 working days each year in about 535 strikes. Ironically enough, we are not even experimenting with new methods of resolving strikes.

In expressing their desire to overcome these problems, politicians attempt to capture the essence of national social objectives in a phrase such as, "elimination of poverty", "War on Poverty", "the just society", "equality of opportunity", and "new deal for people". The process of developing enabling legislation often distorts these ideas to accommodate existing legislation, jurisdictions and constitutional prerogatives, but damaging as that may be, it is in the implementation that the real ruin sets in. By the time a program is made operational, it bears little relationship to the original objective of the politician which was intended to do something for the people. Three main factors wear away the promise and blunt the intent of the legislation:

- Consideration of the war on poverty illustrates a first reason. The "action" in the war on poverty was limited according to the usual jurisdictions of federal, provincial and local government, with each level divided again according to departments within those jurisdictions. For instance, at the federal level, different agencies and operating departments had responsibility for different aspects of poverty: Secretary of State; Manpower and Immigration; Health and Welfare; Regional Economic Expansion; Indian Affairs and Northern Development, to name but a few. There was no focus of responsibility and authority. The result was the "cop out" phenomenon, whereby each

agency interprets its legislation in such a way as to narrow its area of involvement as much as possible and diligently recognizes the jurisdictional prerogatives of other agencies. Thus, no comprehensive planning or programming can be achieved. With similar jurisdictional problems at other levels of government, the War on Poverty looked more like a guerilla war than a National Crusade.

• But if the complex nature of government in our federal system cannot frustrate the intent of the legislation, a second factor adds its influence. Policy formulation is placed mainly in the hands of economists who translate social problems into economic problems and limit program conceptualization to allocation of money and other resources. Partly because of the predominance of economic thinking and of economists in the higher echelons of the federal civil service, the social objectives of the government become translated into economic objectives. These are then expressed in economic programs, such as manpower development, labour force participation, job creation, industrial and economic development, and incentives to industry for the employment of native people. The economic tools of money and resource allocation become ends in themselves, rather than means to the achievement of social goals. Economic development programs are necessary but are not substitutes for social development programs. They will not in themselves resolve the problems of poverty. The fallacy in the reliance on economic development seemed to be in the expectation that the jobs created by industrial and regional development will be filled by the poor indigenous to the area; this does not happen unless significant efforts are made to motivate, train, place, counsel and sustain such people in their preparation, entry and adjustment to the work environment. There are numerous examples of industrial development creating new jobs with labour and staff imported to fill them, while the indigenous poor remain untrained, unemployed and continue to subsist on transfer payments of one sort or another.

• At the implementation level, a government that wants to diminish the existence and seriousness of social problems such as poverty, illiteracy, racial strife, unemployment and crime, usually either:
  1. Reorganise the delivery of services to the people, or,
  2. intensifies the use of present methods of casework, training, etc.

There is at present a serious gap between the national desire to produce social change on a massive scale and the necessary educational, welfare, technological and manpower resources to meet this objective. More than money is needed; more than re-allocation of resources is needed; a change in approaches, methods and institutions is required.

Canada needs better methods of human and social development to achieve a just and equitable society; neither surveys nor armchair techniques can create them. They can be developed only by means of action-research, which conceives, develops, tests and evaluates various methods in real life situations among the people. Experience with adult retraining programs proved that training, while necessary, is frequently not enough to enable people to extricate themselves from poverty. The multifaceted problem of poverty must be attacked by an integrated and comprehensive program of services. This requires a marked change on the part of many social institutions providing single solutions based upon the methods of a single profession; there is a need to

develop multi disciplinary integrated programs to deal effectively with poverty. Our social problems are going to be with us until we invent better solutions. It is impossible to alleviate these problems when no positive action is being taken to provide possible solutions.

Some of our social problems in Canada do not have a system of social technologies to provide relief and hence we can anticipate continued frustration with little hope of improvement. A critical example of this is the burgeoning problem of racial/linguistic discord in Canada. The social technology for dealing with this problem does not exist and no real efforts are being made to develop it. Among the needed methods are vastly improved methods of:

(1) teaching languages,
(2) overcoming prejudice,
(3) creating and sustaining dialogue,
(4) fostering equality between groups, etc.

The present methods that are available are so crude that while they may be used to force progress in one area they create a backlash in another. Thus, for instance, efforts to make more people bilingual apparently increase prejudice, and, therefore, our programs in the entire area of racial/linguistic reconciliation amount to a zero sum game. The elements or components of this system, therefore, act to maintain the status quo rather than effect some progress.

Our present systems of law, education, welfare and municipal government can be directly traced back two, three, four or five thousand years. Changes over the years have represented important but only secondary inventions that have modified the system; however, they have not created entirely new systems. Furthermore, social systems, as a rule, operate as monopolies which, of course, tend to be less susceptible to change or replacement. The citizen does not have a choice of school, jail, court or welfare agency to attend.

The educational institutions were invented in Sumer in 2500 BC. Teacher contracts in 445 BC, state-supported schools in 75 AD, licensed teachers in 362, schedule of teachers salaries in 376, teacher training in 1672, classroom instruction in 1684, vocational education in 1695, compulsory attendance in 1717, adult schools in 1754, public schools in 1763, kindergartens in 1837, formal steps in teaching in 1838, educational tests in 1845, guidance counsellors in 1909, teacher aides in 1953, educational television in 1956, programmed instruction in 1957, and computer-assisted instruction in 1960. All of these inventions, subsequent to the invention of the schools and universities, were ones that made education more efficient, but have not changed the essential nature of the institutions.

If you consider transportation, you find the citizen has several separate choices of systems that can be selected, e.g., bus, train, car, snowmobile, and motorcycle, which involve powered land transportation alone. Each of these systems is separately owned and operated, or manufactured and sold, thus giving the citizen real choice. Each of these represents a prime invention that spawned its own system, e.g., the car prompted the invention of motels, credit cards, paved highways, service stations, drive-ins, driver training schools, traffic police, parking metres, shopping centres, and automobile associations, to name but a few.

When we look at education today, we see some signs of people chafing at the monopolistic education system which includes schools, universities, colleges of education, departments of education, and teachers' unions. These act as a constellation interacting in mutual maintenance and stability. It has been said that it is easier to move a graveyard than to change a curriculum, and this describes well the slowness to adopt a new invention, even if it is compatible with the system. There are too many vested interests to contend with.

The invention of computer-assisted instruction (CAI) might lead to the recognition that education can be achieved outside formal institutional structures. This could lead to an acceptance that there are alternative sources of learning and then to the separation of the certification of knowledge from the institutions that teach. Thus, CAI could be a very major social invention, but its potential may not be fully realized until it spawns its own educational system, or alternatively, is adopted by a more appropriate agency established for the advancement of learning.

For instance, because CAI is essentially a self teaching method, it does not require the stand-up teacher, but solely a person who can occasionally answer a question or explain a point at the request of the student. Furthermore CAI does not require a class of students at all, nor does it require a small class such as 35 students. Finally, it permits each student to learn simultaneously even though each student may be at a different point in her/his studies. All of these conditions are completely foreign to our present educational system that dictates what material will be covered on what dates, how many will be in the class, etc.

On the other hand, we do have another learning institution that allows people to study at their own paces, to be left alone unless they want help, and that accepts people who want to learn regardless of hair length or clothing style. This institution places no limits on the number studying. It is the ideal institution to use CAI. It could be the alternative school for the student who can learn better alone through programmed materials and other self teaching devices. This institution is the library. We could switch many of our educational programs to the libraries except for the fact that the schools have a monopoly on education. We could make great gains in educational progress and economy if we gave the libraries the same right to issue certificates of knowledge as the schools have. Students could be given the option of going to school or attending the library. Providing this alternative to the students and this competition to the schools could benefit society.

The individual social inventions that have made up our legal, educational, welfare and other social systems are important and have indeed contributed a great deal to society. None of us would want to live without the protection of police and a legal system that presumed us innocent and accepted only rational evidence nor would we want to live as illiterates, unable to read the paper, etc.

But society is far from perfect, and our social problems are greatly in need of solutions. Ten social inventions, however, will not be enough to cure 10 social problems. Although Banting and Best invented insulin 50 years ago as a cure for diabetes, medical research laboratories are still engaged in important research on the same illness. Perhaps it will take ten or twelve inventions to really cure diabetes. So it might be with each of our social problems.

It has been demonstrated that it takes about 50 years for a new educational invention to be used in half the schools. It is certain that other social institutions take just as long to adopt new improved methods. Because of the monopolistic nature of our social institutions and systems, and their difficulty in adapting to new circumstances or achieving a significant measure of self renewal, it may be as necessary to invent new social institutions as to invent new laws or procedures.

Our social problems are growing in severity and people are no longer docile about being in jail, unemployed, poor, or discriminated against, and they are using television, strikes, boycotts, demonstrations and even violent means to draw attention to their problems. Each of these techniques represent social inventions. It may be necessary to deploy protest inventions in order to underline the need for solution inventions.

Present organizations that are almost overwhelmed by the sheer demand to provide services on a minimum budget cannot be expected to invent new methods. Sometimes such agencies are not able to adapt sufficiently to adopt new social inventions. A similar situation would have been to expect the railways to invent a better alternative means of transportation. They were not even prepared to adopt the car when it was invented. We would still be in the railway age, and the car would still be an awkward means of transportation if the automobile had been given to the railways to develop or implement after it was invented.

Yet, this is precisely what is done with our social problems and innovations. If a new educational method, such as CAI, is invented, which does not require a stand-up teacher, it is assigned to stand-up teachers to try it out, and naturally, they find it isn't very good.

For the same reason there has been little progress in the reformation of criminals since Pope Clement invented penitentiaries in 1700. The reason is that research and innovation in prisons has been assigned to prison officials, and they are no more likely to come up with a new method than the railway might have invented the car. The invention of the prison was made by a Pope, not by people engaged in handling criminals, and better methods of penal reform will be made only by people who have no direct or indirect interest in maintaining the present system. Canada jails a disproportionately high number of its citizens relative to other countries in the western world. The rate of jailing, the rate of crime, and the changing nature of crime do not auger well for the health and stability of the Canadian society. It is imperative therefore that Canada undertake serious social experiments to develop new and better methods of improving present methods of dealing with crime and corrections.

**The Need for Social Invention Centres**

We know that we need research centres to find cures for medical ailments; experimental farms to develop cures for infestations and diseases of plants and animals; oceanographic research stations to study aquatic conditions. What we fail to see is that we need experimental stations to invent new ways of dealing with our social ailments.

Canada needs research stations to create new ways of:

1.      alleviating poverty,
2.      creating jobs,
3.      teaching languages,
4.      achieving interracial accord,
5.      reducing crime,
6.      increasing family harmony,
7.      overcoming addiction,
8.      curing mental illness,
9.      providing adequate housing,
10.      settling labour disputes.

This is not to say that we have made no progress in these areas in the past 2000 or 2,000,000 years. We have made some progress, thanks to the limited number of social inventions that have been made over the years, with little or no official support for the research activity. Why have we not supported social research centres to the same extent that we have funded natural science and engineering research?

There are five reasons why we do not have social invention centres:

1. We tend to see the problems of society such as poverty, unemployment, crime, and poor housing, as resulting from failings in human nature that should be addressed educationally, moralistically, punitively or tolerantly, rather than as ailments in need of more effective treatment processes.
2. We have not acknowledged the importance of social technology in developing our society over the years and hence the potential that social inventions have for the further improvement of society. For instance, we do not realize that schools, courts, legislatures and other institutions were social inventions that resulted in great social progress, and that it is possible to invent new institutions of similar value to overcome present ailments and further social progress.
3. We have vested interests in the way things are done now, and are apprehensive about the implications of any tampering with society. The disturbances in the courts and in the streets confirm in our minds that the people demanding changes in our social institutions are more intent on destroying our way of life than on the constructive development of it. We do not see these disturbances as signs of the need for inventing some improvements for society.
4. Social scientists are wary of attempting to create social inventions and generally prefer an analytic role rather than inventing things that are instrumental to change. Some social scientists, however, have invented certain important procedures including: intelligence tests, psychoanalysis, behaviour modification and programmed instruction. The inventions of new social institutions over the past 70 years have come from a wide variety of sources, such as the Boy Scouts by a soldier; Alcoholics Anonymous by an alcoholic, and service clubs by a businessman. Thus, social scientists have invented what they could in the laboratory or the clinic, but it is a broader group that has invented the social institutions in the community. Both types of social inventions need to be made, either separately or in concert.
5. We do not understand the experimental process, and are horrified at the idea of experimenting with people - when in fact, people like to be experimented with because they get more attention from the researchers than they usually receive in their normal day, and because they want to help.

**Can You Experiment With People?**

Some people believe that it is wrong to experiment with human beings. They argue that researchers "use" people for their own purposes and deny the subjects their own freedom, dignity and self-direction. They feel the researcher is probably misleading these people or tricking them into believing or doing certain things that are contrary to their nature or integrity.

People do not want to be treated as "guinea pigs." This is a popular notion, but it is wrong. People envy the special attention that guinea pigs get. People resent being treated as part of the economic machine. They want to be treated as human individuals. Workers on the assembly line don't get this. Typists in a clerical pool seldom get it. A child in a class of 30 students doesn't get it. Subjects in social experiments do get the special attention of someone (the researcher) paying some attention to them, and being genuinely interested in their reactions. Indeed, the good feeling that the experimenter creates in human guinea pigs has been known to ruin good experiments!

It is possible to experiment with people, and they like it. The real problem is to experiment with the right people. To obtain required information on social problems such as prejudice, illiteracy, crime, etc., the experiments must take place with people who typify these problems. Furthermore, the experiments must take place where the action is. If, for instance, the research problem is to test hypotheses why people commit crimes, then the experimental study must be done where people commit crimes, and generally in the circumstances under which crimes are spawned. If, on the other hand, the experiment is to test new methods of reforming criminals then the experiments must take place in reform schools, prisons, halfway houses, or other appropriate circumstances. Certain experiments may be done in isolated social laboratories, but the ultimate social experiment must take place in normal circumstances if the researcher wants to find out what really happens.

Experimenting with people means that you assess them at some point in time, try a new program with some, and an old program with others, then you assess the people again to see if those who took the new program are any better off than those who took the old. Technically, you are not experimenting with people but with programs, because if you find that the people are no better off for taking the new program, you fault the program and say we have to find a better way or we have to make a better program.

We can be assured that people do not mind being subjects in human experiments. They will trade their cooperation in the project for being treated as human beings

Saskatchewan NewStart experimented with up to 110 people in its educational laboratory at any one time. It traded two things for the cooperation of these adults, (1) a commitment to help them meet their objectives in further education, and (2) some greater attention to them as people. The first objective had the double advantage of meeting the experimental subject's needs, and at the same time also furthering the objective of the research for NewStart. Thus, it is possible to experiment with different training methods while at the same time serving the subjects through the face validity of the work. It is also possible to explain to the students that they are subjects in an experiment.

Enormous sums of money are being spent on physical sciences and related areas, but at the present time in Canada little is being done to invent better methods of reducing poverty, and other social ills. These age-old problems are getting more serious and there is an immediate need for new methods of resolving our present social problems. The methods can only be invented by a process of action-research which conceives, conducts and evaluates new approaches in real life situations producing usable and effective methods.

**Generations of Social Programs**

Manufacturers of consumer goods, such as clothes and cars, have been able to design obsolescence into their products so that there is regular repeat business. Designers of social programs have been less attentive to the motives of their clients and do not exalt the client in the way that business suggests it does when it proclaims the customer is king. Certainly, no social agency would dare to provide an equivalent to "goods satisfactory or money cheerfully refunded." Most social agencies know that their services are not satisfactory and that there is seldom a cheerful relationship between client and agency.

The problem is not that the agencies fail to add a little "pizzaz" to their service, but rather, that they do not bring out new improved models or methods in keeping with the increase of social science knowledge, the development of social technology, or the changes in society itself. As far as the relationship between agency and client is concerned, too often the delivery of social services is done either in a punitive manner or at best in an impersonal "business like" style, whereas business uses a more seductive approach.

These contrasting approaches are illustrated by premises such as the following: commercial firms spend money on consumer research, improving the product, attracting the client and packaging information for the client in order to win customers while government legislates compliance; the trading relationship between firm and customer versus the begging relationship of agencies for funding; and, emphasis of a company on building the client's self-image versus the social agency's role in the humiliation of self-examination and revelation.

Inventions in education penology, welfare, etc., have not kept up with the tempo of mechanical, chemical and electronic inventions. It is a fact of commercial life that it is necessary to come up with a "new improved" something each year or season. But it is also understood that something "new and improved" will be introduced the following year. Sometimes an innovation is an improvement of substance, sometimes of style, and sometimes it is a failure. Occasionally the improvement represents a new generation of the product. Examples of such developments include the self-starter in automobiles, automatic timers for ovens, and instant electronic baking.

The Ford Motor Company undertook a great deal of technical and consumer research in designing the Edsell. This car, however, was not popular with the public, but fortunately Ford is a company and was able to discontinue it. Had the Edsell been developed by a governmental agency (which of course is forbidden to err, and therefore cannot acknowledge its lemons) it would still be in production and it would be given to underdeveloped countries as foreign aid or as a bonus for buying our wheat. Ford did not give up its consumer and technical research, and subsequently, developed very popular cars such as the Thunderbird and Mustang.

We must do the same with our social programs. We must see them as "generations" in the evolution of truly valuable and important social technologies. In education, tests, lectures, case study methods, audio visual aids, behavioural objectives, individually prescribed instruction, were important developments which must be continued and continually improved.

In psychotherapy, psychoanalysis, non-directive counselling, reality therapy, life skills training, etc., represent "generations" in the art. Further generations must be developed. In welfare and corrections, and particularly in race relations there has not been very much development of methods at all, let alone generations of these methods.

One of the problems that we face in prompting social invention is the lack of recognition that they are necessary. This is because of the lack of social invention technology, and the closeness between the social program and the political world.

People recognize that cancer can be cured only by medical research. The political issue here, therefore, is how much money is devoted to cancer research.

People and politicians (if they can be separated in this way), do not acknowledge that intergroup relations can be resolved through inventing better methods of learning languages, understanding, etc., rather it is seen as the need to face relationships and reality. What really is needed is a series of social invention centres to invent these better methods; not just once, but continuously.

The great advances of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries were based upon the development of procedures for technical invention - what we know as the scientific method. The social sciences have adopted the scientific method to evaluate practices, not to develop new social technologies. The process of social invention as practised in curriculum development involves the following stages:

**Stages of Development**

1.  *Concept Study* This initial stage comprises a review of the nature of the problem area and attempted solutions to date. This includes a study of the theoretical and research literature, a study of the requirements of the situation, and assessment of various theories and methods of intervention. The concept study results in preliminary specifications for the desired outcomes, identifying the skills or other factors required to achieve the outcomes, and designing the broad strategies to achieve these goals.

2.  *Exploratory Development* This is the preparation of initial program strategies, methods and materials, and examination of them to evaluate the feasibility of the proposed solutions and determining their parameters. It may involve a reformulation of the concept study, but in any case, will result in more detailed specifications and cost figures.

3.  *Prototype Development* This stage comprises the preparation of detailed program strategies, methods, materials and evaluation system, and the training of staff to conduct them. Cost time and resource estimates are made and scheduled.

4.  *Pilot Study* This stage is the test of the new prototype which allows a sufficient acquaintanceship with the problem and the prototype to permit necessary reformulations including the specification of logical alternatives.

5.  *Advanced Development* This stage is the redevelopment or further development of the entire program including the strategies, methods, materials, staff training program and evaluation system.

6.  *Program Experimentation* This comprises formally structured, systematic, experimental effort to test alternative program elements, or the value of the program with different groups or under different circumstances. This stage may involve repetition of testing, on all or selected components of the program.

7.  *Program Formalization.* The program development process is essentially a sequence of trial-revision interactions with modifications after each test to successively approximate the consequences being sought. The cyclical nature of the process means that each stage to this point may have been repeated several times. The preparation of the program into a formal model which can be used elsewhere with predictable results must take place at the optimum time considering results of evaluation and urgency of need for the program.

8.  *Field Test*. Once a satisfactory program model has been prepared, it is then tested under ordinary operating conditions to determine the essential characteristics of the program support services required by the user in a field setting, and the interaction between the program and other programs and services in the institution or community. Some testing of content and process may be included in this stage.

9.  *Operational Systems Development.* This stage is the preparation of the implementation and other systems that will be used by the institution expected to use the new methods. The systems are prepared for the implementers, the administrative support personnel and the monitoring agency.

10. *Demonstration Project* This stage is the first major attempt to foster adoption of the new program. It includes joint sponsorship of the project by a potential user agency in which the operation systems are used.

11. *Dissemination* This stage may take place at the same time as previous stages and involves the conduct of publicity, seminars, conference presentations, publication of books and other documents. This activity is necessary to get the relevant academic, professional and administrative reference groups in full support of the project's widespread adoption.

12. *Installation* This final stage includes the provision of consulting services and staff training necessary for satisfactory adoption of the program.

The above developmental steps are appropriate for the invention and installation of new methods in existing organizations and reflect the necessity to ensure that the method is compatible with the traditional method of operation of the organization. Or, if this is not possible, to invent a new type of agency to use the new social technology.

## Chapter One

# INSTRUMENTAL VERSUS ORGANIZATIONAL
# SOCIAL INVENTIONS

For decades many of our social institutions have received much criticism from the public, their clients and their staffs. An increasing flow of research studies casts very serious doubt on the minimal effectiveness of schools, penal institutions, welfare agencies, and other organizations that operate for the presumed welfare of all society. The agony of other important institutions, such as the church with a reexamination of its objectives, methods and organization, is also apparent in their search to be of more value to mankind.

Large bureaucracies are demonstrating their inadequacies with a variety of symptoms. These include the enormous time required to reach a simple decision, the apparent necessity felt by some dedicated public servants to "leak" secret documents, the continual reorganization of government departments, and their view that increased public relations will help gain public acceptance of certain unpopular measures. The best marketing and advertising programs could not sell the Edsell and the Ford Motor Company simply had to discontinue it and develop different and more acceptable automobiles. In contrast, our governments and social institutions with their power to legislate and regulate people are not as concerned with public reaction. It is a curious phenomenon of the day that although our social institutions are most certainly not achieving their objectives, our governments are consumed with a passion to force manufacturers to give and honour product performance guarantees. We need exactly the same type of guarantee from government agencies and other social institutions.

The essential difference between business institutions and social institutions is that in the former, the client is king and the employees his or her servants, whereas, in the latter, the clients are the subjects and the professionals their masters. It is this way because most of our social institutions were invented without first inventing the procedural or instrumental methods that could make them function well. When they were set up, they did not attempt to invent better, constructive, relevant methods.

We must, therefore, look at the invention of organizations as greatly different from the invention of procedures. A procedural social invention is an instrumental social invention in the sense that it is a method that might be used by many organizations in many contexts. Examples of instrumental social inventions include examinations, grades, instructional methods, curriculum design, mental tests, guidance, probation, instructional T.V., CAI, behaviour modification, and psychoanalysis.

Examples of organizational social inventions include the school, service club, mental health association, John Howard Society, Women's Institute, child guidance clinic, jails, community college, YMCA, and church.

Voluntary organizations such as most churches, service clubs, Boy Scouts, and mental health associations put themselves on the marketplace to be valued and to survive or fail in accordance with the service they provide.

Government managed institutions on the other hand, such as schools, prisons, and government departments themselves, have no such test, and accordingly, do very little to invent better ways of providing their service. They are placed in the enviable position of judging their students, subjects or inmates rather than being accountable for their improvement. The seemingly total lack of one single instrumental or procedural invention to increase the reformation of inmates since the invention of workhouses in the 1400's and prisons in the 1700's, is mute testimony to the stagnation of correctional activity. All that has been done in the name of penal reform has been the replacement of physical punishment with psychological punishment within the prisons.

In the case of education, on the other hand, we may see that a reasonable number of procedural inventions have been made in recent decades including case study method of teaching, computer assisted instruction, standardized achievement tests and instructional television. The fact that these have not been widely used is a reflection of the fact that the organization was invented first and has a monopoly.

Once an organization is invented, it seldom concerns itself with inventing instrumental or procedural methods for the delivering of its service or objectives, rather, it becomes consumed with developing methods of self maintenance and extension. The restriction of employment to teachers in educational institutions, to social workers in welfare agencies, etc., is intended to preserve territorial imperatives and prevent crossbreeding of ideas or methods. Thus, the inventions of teachers' contracts, teacher training institutions, jurisdictions, etc., become the focus for social inventions of the organization.

It is to be expected, therefore, that most instrumental social inventions will be made outside the institutions in which they should be utilized. This is why we need social invention centres that are separate from service delivery institutions. It is because of the inherent threat to the latter of a new procedure that they do not advocate such research centres. A very interesting example is the college of education that conducts research on teaching - even on new methods - but does not implement the new methods in its own institution! The difficulty of a social institution in adopting new ways raises the question of the value of establishing alternative social institutions and removing the monopoly given to most existing social institutions.

The use of audio visual methods of instruction is a very interesting example. The advantages of visual methods are legendary - "a picture is worth a thousand words" - and in recent decades a number of overhead projectuals, films, etc., have been prepared as instructional aids to the teacher. Unfortunately, however, while almost every school has audiovisual equipment most audio visual materials are used only occasionally. Those who have watched programs such as University of the Air know the minimal acceptance that teachers have made of audio visual methods. This program utilizes the television camera only to take you to a professor in front of the chalk board and leave you there without any instructional methods that are suitable for television. Documentary television programs reviewing the history of nations provide a far superior method of teaching social studies than the common practice of memorizing dates of successions of kings and queens. Yet the old practice too often persists.

Sesame Street demonstrated the value of audio visual directed learning in contrast to audio visual assisted learning. What this means is that the invention of audio visual methods of instruction required its own institution (television) to be properly used in fulfilling its purpose. Many other

instrumental social inventions are underused or misused because they are virtual prisoners of old social institutions. Examples of such procedural inventions are:

1. Computer-assisted instruction which is capable of teaching virtually all knowledge without the aid of teachers, classrooms or schools.

2. Achievement tests which are capable of certifying a person's knowledge regardless of whether he or she got it in school or elsewhere.

3. Human relations training, affective education or Life Skills training that is offered only in adult remedial programs when it should be a part of primary education.

4. Psychological tests that should be used in schools, welfare agencies, etc., to help understand the clients better.

5. Vocational aptitude, ability and interest tests that should be used universally to help students make career decisions.

6. Audio visual directed educational programs which could greatly increase the comprehension of subjects by students.

7. Computer-assisted instruction that provides interactive relationship between the student and knowledge.

Each of these instrumental inventions has been only partially implemented in a few institutions and this demonstrates the difficulty of putting new wine in old bottles. The bottles don't get damaged. They just sour the new contents.

Very few organizational inventions have been based on instrumental inventions. One example is the child guidance clinic invented in 1896 by Witmer, which integrated several instrumental inventions, including: psychodiagnosis, case histories and remedial instruction.

Interestingly, a new social organizational invention in 1907 (the Mental Health Association) widely promoted the creation of child guidance clinics, although typical of organizations, the association did not itself create any instrumental social inventions.

One of the pressing needs for a new social invention today is a method of achieving equality between various segments of society. It is a reflection of the way in which organizations bind up jurisdictions that we should assign the major responsibility for equalizing to education and give the schools the job of undertaking a massive adult reeducation program, when in fact the schools had already demonstrated their inability to educate the disadvantaged segment of the population.

Only after several years of adult retraining which was ineffective on many counts, including a dropout rate of more than 65%, was there an acknowledgement that some methods of training adults needed to be created. This gave rise to the Canada NewStart Program in 1967. The first invention of this program was an organizational innovation that involved both federal and provincial departments entering into equal partnership by means of joint ownership and control of an incorporated society. In this way they were able to overcome the constraints of their own jurisdictions to experiment in comprehensive human resource development methods. The

decision to do this was eloquent acknowledgement of the crippling constraints placed by dividing work rigidly into jurisdictions and assigning it to monopolistic institutions. Not surprisingly, however, the NewStart corporations worked only at devising new methods and not at inventing new organizations that could achieve human resource development objectives more effectively than present institutions. Saskatchewan NewStart, for instance, invented methods of individualized instruction and life skills training.

Most organizational inventions have been made to arrange or deliver certain activities in a new or more concerted manner. Each uses instrumental inventions, but does not prompt the invention of new methods. This is not to suggest that social institutions do not recognize that they have problems with their clientele or jurisdiction. The Boy Scouts' movement, for instance, experiences a tremendous drop-off in interest as compared to the very successful Cub program. Churches are worried about the loss of youth and indeed almost entire congregations. These institutions, however, largely try to regain their losses by rearranging their standard methods into "new" programs rather than inventing new methods.

A caution must be expressed to those agencies that attempt to introduce new programs which are simply old methods in a new organization format: the intentions of these programs are more likely to be great in rhetoric and modest in achievement. An even greater caution must be expressed to those who expect much through reorganisation of government departments, educational institutions, or other organizations. They may result in greater efficiency once the confusion of the reorganisation is overcome, but it would be unrealistic to expect that realignment of old functions would result in dramatic improvements in program effectiveness.

Prisons represent an organizational invention without an instrumental invention. In fact, this is what is wrong with prisons - they are essentially manning depots for criminals rather than correctional institutions. Prisons were invented as havens for convicts to provide an alternative to harsher treatment, like hanging or banishment to Australia. I would predict that we will continue to witness the problems of disturbances in prisons and very high recidivism until such time as we do make instrumental social inventions in the correctional field.

Thus, there is a great need for change, but the fact is, we do not have the methods to achieve the changes. It is not essentially a problem of delivery of services (an organizational problem), but rather of better services (an instrumental problem).

How do we determine if we need an instrumental or organizational social invention? The following questions will help.

1. Are methods of resolving the problem available, but people are not using them? (Delivery of services.)

2. Are present methods ineffective with large numbers that try them? (Instrumental.)

An organizational invention does not lead to instrumental invention. This latter must be prepared outside the framework of an agency concerned with implementation of social inventions. The creation of social inventions that are organizations may be made to implement known methods (or non methods, such as incarceration). We should not expect new organizations to do things differently, therefore, but rather to be a better method of getting known things done. This would

also be true of organizational social inventions. It should be pointed out, however, that in numerous cases, reorganisation is undertaken when in fact what is required is an instrumental innovation. Because of this incorrect definition of the problem, much confusion and inefficiency occur with no resolution of the problem (although it may seem lessened as it becomes overshadowed by the new problems created by the reorganisation).

When we look at a social problem and are tempted to see the solution in terms of reorganization, I suggest we look again to see if the real requirement is instrumental.

# Chapter Two

## ORGANIZATION-FREE HUMAN SERVICES

The Special Senate Committee on Poverty (1971) was very critical of the organizations that deliver social welfare services. In the Foreword to their report, the Committee wrote:

> The social welfare structure so labouriously and painstakingly erected in Canada over the past forty years has clearly outlived its usefulness. The social scientists who have studied it, the bureaucrats who have administered it, and the poor who have experienced it are of one mind that in today's swiftly changing world the welfare system is a hopeless failure. The matter is not even controversial; everybody's against it. But what is to take its place?

The same criticism and the same question may be made in respect to many of the other social institutions that were established for the presumed welfare of Canada and Canadians. The school system, the penal system, the mental hospital system, and perhaps even the church, among others, merit the same judgment and the same perplexity.

With regard to education, Livingstone wrote, "The modern history of efforts aimed at fundamental change of educational system has been one of almost continual failure". (1973: 1) Describing social agencies generally, Illich (1970) observed that, institutions both invite compulsively repetitive use and frustrate alternative ways of achieving similar results.

The Special Senate Committee did not answer its own question to its satisfaction. It was able to propose an economic answer (guaranteed annual income) for the economic part of the welfare problem, but it was not able to provide an answer for the social part.

Much of the criticism levelled at our social institutions has been concerned with two things: (a) the social procedures such as teaching, casework, worship, (b) the organizational procedures of the agency. Organizational procedures are usually seen as the prime villain in the deficiencies of the social institutions. The bureaucracy of government, education, welfare, and even the church, has been widely criticized. Frequently, professionals in these organizations see organizational procedures as negating the intent of the social procedures of the agency.

The conflict between organization and individuals has been recognized by attempts to introduce human relations programs, participative management and job enrichment in industry; humanized learning and affective learning in schools, but in actual fact, no substitutes have been found for standard organization procedures and these newer approaches have basically been a thin and patchy sugar coating.

Considering the almost inherent conflict between organizational and social procedures, the necessity of organization itself must be questioned. At first glance such a challenge seems to smack of anarchy, but on reflection it is possible to note a number of neophyte organization-free social delivery systems.

Educational television programs, such as Sesame Street and the Electric Company, and counseling programs such as radio open line shows, crisis centres, computer-assisted

counselling, and dropin centres are organization-free social systems. These are similar to the "convivial" organizations that Illich (1970) advocated, in contrast to traditional institutions which he described as "addictive".

At perhaps a midpoint between organization-free and organization-controlled is the Open University of the United Kingdom that has avoided many of the bureaucratic structures and constraints of the standard university. The Open University multimedia learning system loosely fits the model of a nationally sponsored educational innovation outside of the traditional institutions. The Open University employs a coordinated mixture of instructional techniques including (a) television and radio programming, (b) a correspondence and home study program with kits, (c) face to face meetings with other students and with tutors in specially provided local study centres, (d) short residential courses. Central to the Open University idea are the 250 local study centres equipped with broadcast receiving equipment, audio visual media and tape libraries - in other words, multimedia learning centres integrated with the main university centre which prepares the material to be used.

The difference between the organization-free social program of Sesame Street and radio hotlines, on the one hand, and Open University on the other, is that the former are totally organization free in the delivery of their service. The Open University has established a new delivery system with a minimum of organizational constraints on the clients and with several options for their utilization of the varied delivery services.

Open University is not simply a new program, rather, it is an entirely new system with new procedures for acceptance (not selection) of students, teaching, counselling, etc. The phenomenal success of Open University points to the practicality of creating alternative delivery system for all social systems that are having difficulty.

It is a trite practice of our time to describe almost all difficulties between individuals, groups and organizations as communications problems. The truth in this may be the possibility that these problems rely on outmoded practices and new solutions are needed for the difficulties.

It might be reasonable to assume that with further experimentation with organization-free social programs society will begin to phase out organization-directed programs in favour of program directed organizations with new delivery system such as exemplified by Open University. The Internet currently provides considerable promise to provide organization (bureaucracy) free human services. This is becoming evident as more and more government information and services are provided over the internet. In some cases departments are simply "dumping" printed information onto the Internet. On the other hand, Human Resources Development Canada and Industry Canada have created several important programs specifically for delivery on the Internet.

In some cases the innovation may be most effective in its organization-free state. In other instances it may be desirable to integrate a number of innovations into one system. In the case of some social inventions, it may not be possible to fully assess the merits of the new procedure until it has been tried in a traditional setting, an organization-free setting, and a new program-directed system.

Traditionally, we have thought of innovations providing incremental improvement in a social system. Perhaps it is possible for the same invention to prompt improvement of geometric proportions when used in an organization-free manner, or in a delivery system designed specifically for the new invention.

A single invention may have profound implications for a major improvement in the human, social or political condition, but it my take many decades before it is used very extensively. For instance, the ombudsman was first invented in Sweden in 1809. The second ombudsman position was not created until 1919 (110 years later) in Finland. Others were established in Denmark in 1955, and subsequently in 1962 when Norway and New Zealand appointed ombudsmen. Since that time many governments have created such positions.

There are numerous reasons regarding the long delay among the first invention and the widespread adoption, and these have been documented in reports of diffusion and adoption of innovations in education, agriculture, and elsewhere. The general findings are that the early adopters are more affluent, progressive, cosmopolitan, and capable than the later adopters or non-adopters. Where they are employed in an organization (such as a school board) the employer provides a basic philosophy, organization structure, and risk capital that favour experimentally adopting new methods.

The characteristics of an innovation that is adopted early have been identified by Rogers and Shoemaker (1971). The several characteristics of innovations, as sensed by the receivers, which contribute to their different rate of adoption include:

1. Relative advantage over present methods.

2. Compatibility of the innovation to existing values, past experiences, and needs of the receivers.

3. Complexity or simplicity to understand and use.

4. Trialability or the degree to which the innovation may be experimented with on a limited basis.

5. Observability or the extent to which the results of an innovation are visible to others.

A single invention that can readily be fitted as a component into an ongoing system is more likely to be adopted early in contrast to an innovation that requires a change in the system. The latter may require a series of inventions that will result in several changes in the system. This has been recognized in the twelve stage development model described in chapter one. Stage nine includes the development of the operational system required by the innovation, including the needs of the implementers, administrative support personnel, and the monitoring agency.

The "systems approach" to social inventions is extremely important because there is not likely to be a single cure invented for complex social problems. Furthermore, the stagnation of many social institutions inhibits the development of a new system in favour of adding on (however - reluctantly) new methods that might become available.

The experimental testing of a new invention can be greatly affected by the context in which it is tried. The factors that bear upon the results include the resources allocated, the dedication of the staff of the organization trying it out, the philosophy and organization of that group, the image of the organization in the eyes of its clientele, and the particular clientele that it serves (which has perhaps been attracted because of the nature of current, rather than the experimental program). It is quite possible that the new experimental procedure and the other procedures of the agency have some self-cancelling features which harm the tender new social invention trying its first wings.

The more fundamental the nature of the innovation the less the likelihood that it will be easily inserted into the ongoing program of an agency. Rather, it may be necessary to invent a series of new methods that will present an entirely new way of doing things. It is for this reason that the experimenters need their own experimental agency that they might invent all of the required components.

Many of our social agencies are engaged in the maintenance of their clientele and few deal with development of them so that they no longer need the agency. A good example is a welfare department which doles out money, advice, etc., but does not have the program for the development of the clientele to the point where they are self-sufficient. The staff recognize that they do not serve the clients as they should because of many pressures to do administrative type chores, but few recognize that they do not have the program resources even if they did have the time. When new programs come along, they are not integrated into the system because of the incompatibility of maintenance and development philosophies.

Social inventions commonly encounter a "rejection" reaction from a social institution. And hence, experience slow acceptance at best, impairment generally, and total rejection commonly. This rejection reaction would appear to be a natural physiological function in social institutions as in the human body.

In the case of social inventions, the transplant to an old organization may not be nearly as desirable as the creation of a new non-organization that might incorporate other social inventions. Most of our social institutions are very old and new systems may be required in addition to individual social inventions. Therefore, the experimentation within relative organization-free social systems which utilize the current communications delivery system (e.g. the Internet) might be the most suitable for both exploiting the full potential of the innovation and serving the people the way the people wish to be served.

## Chapter Three

# SOCIAL INVENTIONS FOR MENTAL HEALTH PROGRESS

(Adapted from a talk to the Annual Meeting of Mental Health/Saskatchewan, Regina, May 1, 1973)

When we look at the history of the treatment of the mentally ill, we see a number of important inventions such as shock treatment, prefrontal lobotomies, and tranquillizers. If we go back to 1907, we see another type of invention: a social invention intended to end man's inhumanity to man in asylums and insane hospitals. I refer, of course, to the founding of the mental health association by Clifford Beers, who had at one time been mentally ill and when he recovered, he determined to do something to alleviate the cruelty that was measured out to many patients in the mental hospitals of the time. Over the almost 70 years of its existence, the mental health association has prompted many improvements in the treatment of the mentally ill. But its job is far from done, as is commonly known. While generally speaking, more humane treatments certainly prevail over the conditions of the turn of the century we are still greatly in need of more human methods of treatment. The chemical, electrical and surgical treatments of today benefit a great many people, but too often subdue the symptoms and to some extent the person by drugs.

We need far more methods of treatment than drugs and boarding houses. What we need are social treatments and a number have been invented over the years, including: hypnosis in 1765, psychoanalysis in 1896, psychodrama in 1921, client-centred counselling in 1940, and in more recent years reality therapy, encounter groups, life skills training and behaviour modification. Each of these has represented an important contribution to the treatment of emotional illness, but at the same time, we are in need of several more such inventions to provide more effective treatment and social rehabilitation.

If we are really to expect people to fully recover and become human and social equals, we need social forms of treatment that will remove the vestiges of the disease and provide the spirit and skills to live fully in society. This being our challenge, we realize that there are many people in the world who have never been in a mental hospital or psychiatric centre who very definitely require social therapy. I refer to the many lonely, pessimistic, anxious and sad people who inhabit this world. Popping a tranquillizer is no solution; what they need is social, not chemical treatment.

The original invention of a mental health association was the Connecticut Committee for Mental Hygiene, founded by Clifford Beers in 1907. The association subsequently invented what it first called White Cross Clubs, and which we now call Community Service Centres.

The procedures carried out by the Community Service Centres include industrial contracting, occupational therapy and social activities, but nothing new has been invented by the Community Service Centres for the rehabilitation of mental patients. The Centres have been able to use standard approaches with a reasonable measure of satisfaction. This could also be said of nearly all the activities of the mental health association.

The fact that the Association has not invented new methods does not infer that it has not been progressive, for indeed, we have some examples wherein the Association is teaching life skills to former patients. This was instituted within three or four years of the first invention of a life skills course.

A social invention might take the form of a law, procedure or organization. Naturally enough one cannot say that a voluntary organization can create laws - although it can advocate new laws. Similarly, perhaps, the association has not invented new psychotherapeutic procedures such as reality therapy or behaviour modification. Typically, this kind of invention is made by an individual or a professional team working in a clinic or research centre. The Association does and should fund such experimental research. The type of social invention that the mental health association has made is that of inventing an organization the Community Service Centre as a fully integrated active treatment social rehabilitation centre.

Mental hospitals, psychiatric treatment centres in general hospitals, and boarding houses all to a very large extent represent a custodial approach to the treatment of the mentally ill. The average psychiatric patient today receives only a few minutes of psychotherapy or social therapy a day. The remainder of the day is spent in sleeping, sitting, walking around, or watching television. A few patients admittedly do receive occupational therapy which, to the extent that it is craft work simply helps consume time, but to the extent that it is socially interactive in the production of plays etc., can be classed as socially therapeutic.

Hours and hours of idleness in a hospital or boarding house can be accepted if the passage of time is indeed the active treatment agent. The administration of shock treatment or the injection of a tranquillizer may be all that some require. The vast majority, however, require a great deal more. They require an active social treatment program that develops their skills of interacting confidently, competently and pleasantly with other people, that develops their skills of managing their own lives responsibly and appropriately, and that develops their own self-acceptance (and society's acceptance of them) as normal, healthy, wanted human beings.

What is definitely required is an active treatment social program. I suggest that the component parts of such a program have largely been invented. I would draw your attention to such elements as psychotherapeutic counselling, group counselling, life skills training, psychodrama, human relations training, reality therapy and certain forms of recreation.

The problem for the patient today is that he or she needs a battery of these treatment techniques but in the rare occasion when they are available, they are offered in complete isolation. What is needed is an organization of these treatment forms into some type of social treatment system. This is the type of program required in the social rehabilitation of psychiatric patients and perhaps many who have never seen the inside of a psychiatric centre.

The mental health association could invent an organization that would bring together these various forms of social treatment, integrate them into a total treatment program and, thereby, complete the work that medications may have started. The invention of an organization to do such work would be of as great a significance as the invention of other great organizations such as the labour union in 1696, the YMCA in 1844, the Red Cross in 1864, 4-H Clubs in 1904, Boy

Scouts in 1908, AA in 1934, and the Child Guidance Clinic in 1896, and the mental health association itself.

It is usual that new methods of treatment are invented by highly trained professionals who have worked long and hard on their inventions. On the other hand, it is the ordinary citizen who shows genius in inventing organizations: so it was with Clifford Beers when he invented the mental health association, with Paul Harris when he invented the service club, and with Baden-Powell when he invented the Boy Scouts.

Of course, one person cannot invent an organization because it takes several people to form one. However, organizations are usually formed because of the inspiration and leadership of one person. It is a group of laymen who are capable of creating an organization and developing a program that uses methods taken from many sources to achieve great goals.

What is required today is a new organization perhaps based on the Community Service Centre that becomes a very effective social rehabilitation service. This organization can integrate components of recreational therapy, occupational therapy, life skills training, counselling, work experience, etc., to become a fully effective total social treatment program. I am not referring to something that is just a sheltered workshop for people who will never be able to cope with life's stresses and strains. I am talking about a social therapy program that will give the people the skills and confidence to succeed very well. If there is any hope for a truly human effective social organization that will provide a total, integrated, human, social rehabilitation program it is with the Canadian Mental Health Association.

A starting point may be the examination of all sorts of existing programs for the rehabilitation of people with various ailments. A study of these should include the activities that are carried on, the amount of time spent in rehabilitation activities, and the time spent on time-killing activities. Once the objectives for the social rehabilitation program have been established, a reexamination of the programs available including life skills training, recreation, role playing, creative job search techniques, group and individual counselling should occur. There should be a proper mixture of all these programs. It may be decided that you cannot expect people to become fully socially rehabilitated unless they get a job. Therefore training in how to get and keep a job, and some type of employment service might be provided.

This is obviously a big organizing job and this is why the professionals have not done it. Only laymen are good organizers. If this can be accomplished, it will rank with the invention of the Mental Health Association by Beers in 1907. It seems a shame to have to go back 66 years to the most recent invention of a mental health organization. Indeed, now is the time for another.

## Chapter Four

# SOCIAL INVENTIONS FOR EDUCATIONAL OUTREACH PROGRAMS

(A background paper prepared for the Community Action Program Conference,

Keewatin Community College, The Pas, Manitoba, June 1973.)

It has taken some 4,500 years since the invention of the school in Sumer to develop the educational system to its present state. Over this time educational progress has taken three forms: new laws, new organizations, and new methods. In this context I refer to the creation of a new law, organization or method as a social invention, for I believe it is important that we recognize that progress in education comes through social inventions just as progress in communications comes through electronic inventions and progress in medicine comes through chemical inventions.

This comparison can be taken further to relate the resources devoted to educational, medical and communications research. One does not need figures to illustrate the imbalance that exists between the money spent on human science versus natural science research. Much of the educational research that is being done in Canada is by individuals working in isolation and on a part time basis. It is doubtful that such work can have an impact and value in the development of new improved methods or organizations for education.

If we look at the organizations that have been invented in Canada alone to provide educational outreach, we discover that they have virtually all been inspired and created outside the educational system. I would draw your attention to the following organizations that were invented solely to provide educational outreach:

Women's Institute Antigonish Cooperative Movement
Frontier College
Farm Radio Forum
National Film Board

I should like to emphasize that I am referring to Canadian organizational inventions and not including the large number of foreign inventions that are widely used in Canada, such as represented by agricultural extension, university extension, correspondence schools, YMCA, and many more. Indeed, the array of organizations for educational outreach is quite amazing.

Contemplation about the essential differences among outreach programs conducted in Canada by the above organizations leads one to the observation that they addressed motivation as much as knowledge. Or, to be more specific, they addressed the context in which the people wanted and needed new knowledge and fostered groups to use their knowledge. In several cases they addresses economic needs as well. This is very evident in the educational programs of such educational outreach organizations as the Antigonish Movement and the National Film Board,

which were mainly concerned with motivation and social mobilization. They wanted learners to use their newfound knowledge for their personal, family and community betterment.

**Social movements and educational outreach**

An interesting phenomenon of virtually all social movements is that they recognize the need for an educational component in their programs and in their organizations. For instance, the labour movement set up a variety of worker education associations, the agrarian movement resulted in agricultural extension, and the native organizations have established their own training institutions such as the Indian Cultural College in Saskatoon, Oo-za-we-kwun at Rivers, Manitoba, Alberta Indian Education Centre, Edmonton, and Pe-Ta-Pun in Lac La Biche.

An outreach program that takes cognizance of what is happening in society must do more than deliver its traditional offerings in remote locales. It must present courses that are appropriate to the continuing development of society in the area. In these parts of Canada where we are seeing the social mobilization of Native peoples, and perhaps other disadvantaged groups, it is important to understand and develop the relationship between education and a social movement.

Blumer (1969) said that social movements stem from "gradual and pervasive changes in the values of people - changes which can be called cultural drifts. Such cultural drifts stand for a general shifting in the ideas of people, particularly along the line of the conceptions which people have of themselves, and of their rights and privileges. Over a period of time many people may develop a new view of what they believe they are entitled to - a view largely made up of desires and hopes. It signifies the emergence of a new set of values, which influences people in the ways in which they look upon their own lives ... people have come to form new conceptions of themselves which do not conform to the actual positions which they occupy in their lives."

The stages of development of a social movement were described by Blumer (1969) as:

1.  People are restless, uneasy, they are susceptible to appeals and suggestions that tap their discontent and hence the agitator is likely to play an important role.

2.  Popular excitement stage is characterized by unrest that is not so random or aimless. More definite notions emerge as to the cause of their condition and as to what should be done in the way of a social change. There is a sharpening of objectives. The leader is more likely to be a prophet or a reformer.

3.  In the Formalization stage the movement becomes more clearly organized with rules, policies, tactics and discipline.

4.  In the Institutional stage the movement has crystallized into a fixed organization with a definite personnel and structure to carry into execution the purposes of the movement. The leader is likely to be an administrator.

It is the common experience of social movements that existing social institutions do not facilitate their progress but on the contrary attempt to manage and control people through traditional services and sanctions. This is apparent when differences in social class and needs are not

reflected in public policy and programs which have been formed for the presumed welfare of the lower classes. Any social reform directed at the shortcomings of people, rather than of society, is hindered by the humiliating imputations of its policy.

There is an element of doubt, for instance, whether education and training alone will significantly reduce poverty or other afflictions of the disadvantaged. It is true that the present middle classes have generally achieved their status because of education and training, but also because their values system was identical to that of the larger society - and compatible with the education system. Education agencies serve as perpetuators of the present culture, and therefore, have not facilitated the development of people or groups engaged in a social movement except to help them adapt to society and adopt its ways.

Adult education must realize that to be effective in some areas it must involve itself actively with groups seeking change in the fabric and nature of society. In this way adult education would assist groups to define and plan for action, to mobilize resources, and to facilitate coordination among various groups. By being involved with such groups and speeding the process whereby they develop member education programs and community education programs, educators can assist the maturation of the groups and the accommodation of and to society.

**Adult Educators and Community Organizations**

There have been major developments in the direction of organizing many special interest activist groups, and as they gained an organization, a position, and a voice, they made their voices heard increasingly, and won a greater, if not a predominant, role in determining the form and content of certain human services. Their power came not only from a switch in power over policy, from social agencies and community power structures to the service recipients.

If a community college is to serve the educational interests of community groups and foster community development, it must realize that educational decisions are really political in terms of kinds of programs, objectives, budgets, etc., and adult educators should take an active role in the decision making.

Three basic premises may be adopted in this context:

1. adult educators must perceive the educational development of human resources as the central contributing force in the socioeconomic development of communities;

2. adult educators must conceive of continuing education as a nonpartisan legal-political process as well as an educational process;

3. for program development and evaluation adult educators must use theories and practices that have been designed for the explicit purpose of using education as an effective instrument for socioeconomic development in the reorganization of human communities. Most educational theory is based on individual development and not on the utilization of knowledge by groups and, therefore, new theories are required for training adults.

A community college established at the local level could provide a focal point for social development efforts within one or more communities. In this role it is expected to

- significantly and meaningfully involve the special concern groups in developing and carrying out their programs.

- mobilize public and private resources in support of community development.

- co-ordinate efforts throughout the community so as to avoid duplication, improve delivery of services, and relate programs to one another

- plan and evaluate both long and short range strategies for overcoming problems in the community.

- serve as an advocate on matters of public policy and programs which affect their status, promoting institutional improvement and desirable changes in social policies and programs.

- encourage administrative reform and protect individuals or groups against arbitrary action.

In looking at outreach we are not looking solely at organizational outreach, but in fact, instrumental change in the curriculum to be offered and in the role of the educator.

**Reorganization versus New Methods**

This point must be stressed because too frequently organizational change is mistaken for substantive change. They are two very different things and changing the organization of the delivery system itself will not change the nature of what is delivered. There seems to be an essential confusion in the thinking of public policy personnel who are continually reorganizing government departments (which usually results in a minimum of six months delay in effecting the changes they want) and fail to see that the fault is not with the organization but with the methods that it uses. This distinction is not always clear in the human services and because we have not made it clear we have found they are being reorganized when they should be given new types of methods to improve education.

# Chapter Five

# SOCIAL CLASS AND SOCIAL INVENTIONS

Social reform is a legislative act which enables more people to utilize certain social inventions such as welfare or education. It usually involves extending to a lower class certain rights or privileges which are generally enjoyed by a higher social class. It does not simply mean that the service is changed to meet the needs of the new clientele. In fact, the staffing and control of the service usually remain in the hands of the senior social class.

Canada lacks an integrated, comprehensive social policy. To a large extent, our preoccupation with social policy is in fact a concern for ailments (crime, poverty, etc.) rather than a policy of developing social potential. Social "maintenance" programs such as welfare and criminal corrections are designed for the lower classes whereas social development programs such as education are designed for the middle and upper classes. This distinction raises a question of the differential class utilization of various social inventions. This chapter will, therefore, examine certain characteristics of social class, the means by which a lower social class rises in the social ladder, and finally, the characteristics of the social inventions used by different social classes.

The social class system is conceived of as a continuum of classes rather than as several rigidly demarcated classes. There are no precise definitions of the various social classes and there is a relatively high degree of mobility between classes (Loeb 1968, 199). One component of virtually every definition of social class is income and wealth, and of course, the rich and the poor are found at opposite ends of the social class continuum. Some of the other factors that are used in defining social class include education, occupation and life style. The class system reflects income and wealth principally at the extremes of the social ladder and is based largely on economic criteria and therefore does tend to polarize rich from poor.

A factor that has been very important in promoting social mobility has been industrialization. The process of industrialization requires an open class system that permits and encourages people with ability to gain education and skills no matter what their class origins might be. Industrialization places great demands on society to produce well educated and trained workers (for instance the number of unskilled jobs in Canada has steadily and rapidly decreased as industrialization has progressed). Thus industrialization has prompted an egalitarian ideology which holds that individuals should be able to move through the hierarchy of classes according to their inclinations and abilities. Thus, industrialization and egalitarian ideology come into conflict with the structure of classes. With industrial development the demands of the occupational system become so great that nothing short of a transformation of the educational system is sufficient to meet these demands which are reinforced by the demands of social equality (Porter, 1965).

The occupational differences between dropouts and graduates may be due less to their level of education than to their social class background. Not everyone has even the opportunity to take advantage of the possibility of upward mobility. The barriers to mobility and the nature of poverty are such that many people in the low class are locked in and unable to achieve upward mobility.

This has been demonstrated by Ornati (1966), when he found distinct correlates of poverty to include aged head of household, female head of household, coloured, rural farm family and low education. These are problems that are not easily overcome (Miller, 1964). Many writers have defined social class differently because of the apparent lack of agreement on the variables to be included. Riessman (1964: 114) attempted to distil the major themes of low income culture as identified by several investigators and he listed the following characteristics,

1. Security vs Status

2. Pragmatism and anti-intellectualism

3. Powerlessness, the unpredictable world, and fate

4. Alienation, anger, and the underdog

5. Cooperation, gregariousness, equalitarianism, and humour

6. Authority and informality (not in contradiction)

7. Person-centred outlook, particularism

8. Physicalism, masculinity and health

9. Traditionalism and prejudice

10. Excitement, action, luck and the consumer orientation

11. Non-joining

12. Special significance of the extended family. Stable, female-based household.

The lower-lower social class have few marketable skills and experience only sporadic and marginal employment. Typically they have eighth grade education, were married and became parents when upper middle class children had five more years of schooling ahead of them. They have poor housing, many debts, are below average in everything, and are critical, despairing, pessimistic, hostile, yet maintain close ties in the family. They belong to few formal organizations and withdraw from the larger social arena. This cultural deficiency is a handicap to gaining the social characteristics required for social and economic success. Thus educational accomplishment is not itself sufficient to produce changes in social status. Stable character, hard work, thrift and the acquisition of a marketable skill are essential to upward mobility.

Haggstrom (1964) saw two alternative ways to understand the characteristics of the poor: as resulting from poverty, or as the psychology of the powerlessness of the poor. In arguing that the problem is one of powerlessness, Haggstrom suggested that joint initiatives by the poor on their own behalf should precede and accompany responses from the remainder of society and that they would be most effective if exercised by powerful conflict organizations based in neighborhoods of poverty.

"The situation of poverty is the situation of enforced dependency, giving the poor very little scope for action . . . Middle class socialization and middle class positions customarily both provide bases for effective action; lower class socialization and lower class social positions

usually both fail to make it possible for the poor to act." Haggstrom called for social action by the poor for the poor to improve their circumstances and give them normal feelings of power.

The extent to which the poor are, and perceive themselves as, powerless does suggest that the philosophy and practice of democracy do not extend to the lower classes. This has been clearly demonstrated in voting patterns where the percentage of votes is less in poor than middle class districts. When a group or class recognizes their powerlessness but also perceive a measure of hope they are more likely to organize to achieve what they consider to be their justifiable rights. The object of their resentment, however, is not necessarily the opposite end of the social class ladder. Indeed, it would appear that there is more hostility between lower and middle classes than between lower and upper (Miller, 1964). This has been underlined by findings that the rioters in the US urban ghettoes were largely employed workers, and the objects of their violence were usually in their own area and that of middle class people and not the institutions or individuals of the upper class.

The eruptions of violence may be seen in perspective by reviewing the stages of social movements. Blumer (1969) said that social movements stem from "gradual and pervasive changes in the values of people - changes which can be called cultural drifts. Such cultural drifts stand for a general shifting in the ideas of people, particularly along the line of the conceptions which people have of themselves, and of their rights and privileges. Over a period of time many people may develop a new view of what they believe they are entitled to - a view largely made up of desires and hopes. It signifies the emergence of a new set of values, which influence people in the ways in which they look upon their own lives . . . people have come to form new conceptions of themselves which do not conform to the actual positions which they occupy in their lives.

"A specific social movement is one which has a well-defined objective or goal which it seeks to reach. In this effort it develops an organization and structure, making it essentially a society. It develops a recognized and accepted leadership and a definite membership characterized by "we consciousness". It forms a body of traditions, a guiding set of values, a philosophy, sets of rules, and a general body of expectations. Its members form allegiances and loyalties. Within it there develops a division of labour, particularly in the form of a social structure in which individuals occupy status positions. Thus, individuals develop personalities and conceptions of themselves, representing the individual counterpart of a social structure."

The stages of development of a social movement were described by Blumer and outlined on page 30 were: (1) People are discontented and the agitator is likely to play an important role; (2) People are restless and know what should be done in the way of a social change - the leader is more likely to be a prophet or a reformer; (3) The movement becomes more clearly organized; and (4) The movement has crystallized into a fixed organization to execute the purposes of the movement - the leader is likely to be an administrator.

Any social reform directed at the shortcomings of people, rather than of society, is more likely intended to stifle reform than make it.

"Social welfare programs cannot succeed in integrating slum communities with the wider society. Faced with many handicaps, the slum dwellers retreat into a subculture which, though it increases these handicaps, protects them from humiliation. Hence, they are not receptive to the

values which welfare workers and social institutions represent as agents of society. (Blumer, 1969)

It would appear, therefore, that where there is a poverty class that is powerless the society is not equalitarian. The point that Haggstrom (1964) makes is that additional income for the poor would not make the essential difference. After reviewing four subgroups within the American lower classes, Miller (1964) concluded that three basic policies are required to assist the poor, (1) direct economic aid, (2) direct services and (3) indirect change (social, psychological, political) of the neighbourhood where they live. The social movements invariably aim to change these but it is this powerlessness business that defeats many projects. Therefore, the issue is not strictly rich vs poor.

Democratic society is essentially permissive in its philosophy and practice in the sense that the people have the right to participate. It is the middle and upper class institutions that take advantage of these programs. For instance, urban and suburban schools of higher socioeconomic status have done more to change the content of science and mathematics courses, have made greater use of institutes for teachers, have done more about augmenting guidance programs, have made greater use of funds for remodelling and equipping facilities for mathematics and foreign language instruction, and have made greater use of advanced placement and other programs than have rural schools and schools of lower socioeconomic status (Warren, 1969).

The organizations set up for the presumed welfare of the poor are run by middle class people and often operate in veiled punitive form. Thus, the poor are alienated. Thus the critical problem seems to be that egalitarian ideology has not extended to democratic institutions because the methods of democracy are alien to the poor. Their life style is not one of electing spokesmen, of extended planning and debate or of a complex verbal interaction. As Riessman noted their life style is much more pragmatic, action oriented, anti-intellectual, with a sense of alienation and powerlessness, and they are not members of formal organizations (except religious). Therefore, the representative democratic system is not one that they can use. The social movements of the poor and the contest strategies (Clark and Jaffe,1972) are closely allied. It is only recently that the poor have engaged in the contest strategies to obtain firstly, certain rights and secondly, control over certain agencies. In the context of today the definition of democracy is being refined to accommodate such moves. Thus we have the terms "representative democracy" and "participative democracy" come to the fore. The stages of a social movement (Blumer, 1969) suggest that its strategies are successively contest, campaign and collaborative (Warren, 1969). The fact that democracy can encompass and adjust to such movements by the poor does indicate that the egalitarian ideal can be progressively achieved.

The ideals of education have been to maintain low class barriers and to increase upward mobility. While a good education does help a person attain these ideals, the educational system has generally reflected the social barriers to social mobility in its curriculum, social system, etc. Social movements lead by the poor include among their objectives the gaining of control of the schools to make them serve the lower classes. This could defeat the educational ideals because the schools would be oriented to one class more than they are now. Rather than developing cultural unity in a pluralistic society the schools would actually foster forms of separatism. Educators have been enormously lethargic in putting their ideals into practice and they may lose even the opportunity if one social class takes over explicit control.

The educators who have been most prepared to change are the adult educators who have deliberately seen all adults as their legitimate "market" and not dictated curricula, but rather developed courses to meet the declared interests of adults. Many adult educators, aware of the need for people to become more equal in their own land, have and do advocate that they must assume an activist role in social reform.

Elementary and secondary schools in poverty-stricken areas should learn from adult education and teach knowledge in the context of personal and social mobilization. The curriculum would teach these subjects:

*Self Development* - Forty percent of the children in high schools do not have confidence in themselves and believe that they will make a mess of their lives even if they do get a good education. There is a need, therefore, for education intended to improve personal competence and self concept of students.

*Family* - Getting married represents the most important decision that a person makes in life. For many there is no way to correct a poor decision - and for 75% the particular decision proved a poor one. In addition many youth are at odds with their parents. There is a need therefore to train people in the skills of family living and decision making.

*Community* - There is a need to teach organization skills, including campaigning for improvement, coping with gangs, and peer helping.

*Leisure* - Many people cannot manage an evening of leisure, let alone a two-day weekend. The extra curricular activities could be much more beneficial to students if they were an integral part of the curriculum.

*Job* - In spite of what may be said by some, jobs are here to stay, but they will be more diversified, more interesting and more human. Sixty percent of children in high schools do not have an adequate idea of what they will do on graduation, and guidance counsellors (as parents know so well) are ill-equipped to help them. The career development curriculum movement does hold some hope of improvement in this area.

These five topics should be the subjects taught in school. Enough mathematics, communications, science, etc., can be embedded in the subjects in a relevant way that students will be well equipped for life. More important it will equip the students with the attitudes and skills to manufacture their society.

The "invention" of future education will not be restricted to changes in the curriculum but will include the proliferation of "alternative" schools. The reason for the change will be that it will soon be possible for a student to obtain a superior education at home, at the library, or elsewhere (even at school for that matter) thanks to computer-assisted instruction.

The computer will give the student a few placement tests to find out what he or she knows, and how each learns best. It will then prescribe learning packages for study which might be text books, audio visual materials or computer-assisted instruction, depending on his best learning style. After one has studied the material, the computer will test the student, analyse the answers, and prescribe more learning materials. The computer will also give a certificate on the completion of certain milestones or grades. Some students may qualify for the certificate on their

first meeting with the computer. This will be fine, as it does not really matter how or where the person learned.

Man's eternal struggle to master himself and his neighbour has resulted in inventions such as psychotherapy and prison, democracy and dictatorship, marriage and morality, religion and belief, writing and rights, unions and universities, strikes, statistics, judge and jury, ombudsman and official. Each of these, and thousands more, are the social inventions that mankind has made over the millennia, and which have produced the society we have today in which certain of the social inventions are used differently, by different classes, in various societies.

A number of specific innovations have been taking place in an effort to improve the services that social agencies offer. However, the most significant changes will not take place with the adoption of an occasional new technique; for regardless of the merits that it might have, it will usually find its special merits muted by the total effect that the old system has on a new intruder. Therefore, the really significant changes will take place when new systems incorporating many of the new methods are installed.

Frequently, the adoption of a single innovation is simply a way of sugar coating or modernizing the exterior of an old and inadequate program. Clark and Jaffe (1972) have described this clearly in contrasting two types of crisis centres. One type represents the traditional agency that recognizes that it is not "reaching youth" and employs some "hip" youth as outreach workers, but does not alter its philosophy, organization structure or services. The alternative type of organization, on the other hand, is run entirely by people who can barely be distinguished from the clients, who believe that their role is to collaborate with the clients rather than counsel them. Such an organization lacks hierarchical structure or has a transitory one that changes in response to client needs.

This alternative organization type compares with professional-dominated organizations and with participant-directed organizations. Examples of the former include schools and welfare offices, while Alcoholics Anonymous and Weight Watchers would be more traditional examples of the latter.

A major change that must overtake our human service agencies in the future to ensure that they meet the true needs of the clients of all social classes will be the adoption of a service development and delivery system that will:

1.   exemplify the theory that the client is king and not subject.

2.   deal with clients in a developmental-collaborative manner rather than a jurisdictional bureaucratic way.

3.   incorporate client advocates within the organization.

4.   include a majority of client representatives on governing boards.

5.   meet the needs of clients without imposing jurisdictional barriers.

The extent of such a change may be imagined from a review of the present situation that characterizes most social institutions. A fundamental problem lies in the fact that most

organizations are designed on an authoritarian structure appropriate to the commanding of armies and the production of manufactured goods. Associated with this impersonal bureaucratic system are a number of problems: rigid qualifications that people must meet to obtain service; strictly enforced jurisdictions; vagueness or even secretiveness of the agency about the full range of benefits available to its clients; the opinion of the staff that the clients are inferior to them and need "counselling" when the clients' problem(s) may be created by the institution itself; the staff "reward" system that gives merit points for the quantity of people processed rather than quality of help provided; defensiveness of the executives to criticism from inside or outside the organization; "beggar" status of many social institutions which must make public appeals for funds; poverty of ideas brought about by poverty of funds; priority of paper work over professional work; low importance placed by the executive on professional competence of staff; and, a lockstep sequence of procedures that the client must endure.

Future human development agencies need to have these characteristics:

1. Services fully defined and advertised in outcome benefits that the clients are able to understand and relate to themselves. Literature describing the programs (which is now written at college level of difficulty) written at a level, perhaps grade six, that at least half of the clients can comprehend.

2. "Cafeteria" services that permit the student or client to determine sub-goals or terminal goals, select an appropriate starting point and proceed according to his plan. To be specific, a grade nine student could, on entrance or at any time, "test out" of grade nine, ten, eleven or higher, on any subject, and by so demonstrating her or his knowledge of the subject save the time normally occupied in passing through each subject in each grade. The student would also have a much wider range of graduation options than now because of the possibility of individualized instruction that could be available in all conceivable subjects. Students could also select the appropriate quantity of the subject to learn in terms of their goals.

3. Multi-jurisdictional services that provide the client with health, legal, learning, and counselling services on location in accordance with the needs of the person.

4. Staff take the client's side and viewpoint and help get the services that they need and want. Additional services may also be offered in case the client is not aware of them.

5. Professional services are mediated. Training, information, counselling and certain other services are also mediated, that is provided by means of self-operating video tapes. There will be no waiting for the professional. The client simply selects the learning or information package and slips it into the video cassette player. By simply having the player replay parts of the tape the client can have the professional repeat her/his message until it is clearly understood. This means that the client has access to the most competent professionals no matter where they are. Similarly a client may receive training or counselling on demand from a computer.

6. Staff accept hostility from the client as a natural and justified expression of honest feelings.

An organization incorporating these approaches will require changes in structure, including the following:

1. *A Reception division* is responsible for seeking clients and encouraging them to exploit the services of the organization. It welcomes clients and encourages and assists them to express their feelings about the services that they want and the problems they have encountered. It then obtains appropriate services from resource divisions and follows up to ensure client satisfaction.

2. *A Development division* provides the services requested by the client. The division also provides knowledge and skill in obtaining and using the services of the community and of applying new and old knowledge and skills in the community. Its emphasis is on problem solving and opportunity utilization and hence is developmental.

3. *A Resource division* contains professionals and subject matter specialists who advise staff and clients how to obtain the knowledge and skills they seek. These specialists collaborate with clients and do not simply advise them.

4. *An Application division* does follow-through activities with clients. Note that the emphasis is on a follow-through and not follow-up. The purpose of follow-up is simply to identify what happened while the purpose of a follow-through is to see that the client really did get the services wanted and that they were useful. These staff are prepared to help the client resolve difficulties with any aspects of solving problems and using opportunities. Staff may identify weaknesses in various aspects of the agency's services and feed this back to institute self-correcting activities.

A key to this plan as with all schemes is the staffing of the organization. The reception, development and application divisions will be staffed by coaches who will help the clients. They may not be professionals, but they will be specially trained in the helping skills.

The social inventor faces the same moral dilemma as the scientific inventor who worries about whether an innovation will be used for good or evil. In the case of many social inventors, their own value systems influence the type of invention that they make just as the value system of a social institution influences its adoption and rejection of various social inventions. Consequently, social inventions per se and their use are likely to reflect certain social class distinctions. It is possible that one of the reasons for the perpetuation of age-old, crude methods of resolving interclass struggles (such as strikes) is because social inventions have not been designed to permit appropriate interclass communication, negotiation and problem solving.

## Chapter Six

## ORGANIZATION OF SOCIAL INVENTION CENTRES:

## The NewStart Projects

The experimental invention of a new social procedure is a risky endeavour, because it may provoke unfavourable reactions including some public criticism. For this reason (as well as those cited in the Introduction) governments, universities and other social agencies are reluctant to experiment with new methods of dealing with people, and they are particularly reluctant to experiment with people in the development of entirely new methods.

In the middle of the 1960's, therefore, when the federal government saw the need to develop new methods of training and counselling people enrolled in its Adult Training Program, there was considerable attention given to the question of who should conduct the action-research required. A prime consideration in these discussions was the ability to make mistakes, acknowledge them, and continue to experiment. Government departments and agencies do not normally have this ability because a defensive posture is required by the fact that their every act may be scrutinized and used in the legislature to cripple the agency itself.

Companies, on the other hand, do not have the same mortal fear of innovation because the forces of competition require that companies continually introduce new goods and services. Frequently, these innovations are not successful in the marketplace, and it is necessary for the company to discontinue an item or an entire product line and to resume experimenting with new ones. This is normal practice for companies, but not for social institutions, and hence, the corporate posture has an appeal to the social inventor.

The first federal/provincial program for the experimental development of social inventions was in the field of new methods of human resource development. This was the Canada NewStart Program which was established in 1967 by the then Department of Manpower and Immigration and the departments of education in Alberta, Saskatchewan, Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island.

Subsequently, in 1968, federal responsibility for the NewStart Program was transferred to the Department of Regional Economic Expansion.

In each province where the program was put into effect it was organized as an incorporated society, jointly owned by the federal and provincial governments to achieve related federal and provincial objectives for their separate jurisdictions. This organizational device had no precedent before the NewStart Program.

**The Constitutional Question**

There were several considerations taken into account in deciding the structure for the NewStart experimental training projects. The decision in favour of organizing the research program under the provincial companies or societies acts was taken only after careful analysis of other alternatives which could be provided by the Technical and Vocational Training Assistance Act (which was in effect at that time), a new Act of Parliament, and the Companies Act of Canada.

Section 7 of the Technical and Vocational Training Assistance Act read as follows:

7.  (1) The Minister may undertake and direct research in respect of technical and vocational training, and without restricting the generality of the foregoing, may undertake and direct research in respect of any of the following matters:
    a.  trade analyses for course content;
    b.  training aids, examinations and standards;
    c.  the changing needs of the economy for trained workers;
    d.  the relationship between technical and vocational training and the needs of the economy; or
    e.  any studies that, in the opinion of the Minister, would assist in improving technical and vocational training in Canada.

    (2) The Minister may, where he deems it appropriate, undertake and direct any research referred to in subsection (1) in cooperation with any province or all provinces.

    (3) The Minister may collect, compile, analyse, abstract and publish information relating to any research undertaken and directed by him pursuant to this section."

It may be questioned why, with this authority at hand, the federal government wished to accomplish the same thing by another means, namely, the incorporation of provincial corporations. In assessing the suitability of this authority to mount the program it was felt that the NewStart research project required:

1.  a high degree of autonomy from direct control by either the federal or provincial governments;
2.  freedom from governmental staffing procedures (i.e., the provisions of the Civil Service Act) and procurement processes (i.e., the Department of Supply and Services);
3.  freedom from the appearance of a direct federal intervention into an area - the field of education - in which some provinces have indicated sensitivity in the past.

The most important problems were the staffing and procurement problems associated with normal government organization, and the desire to have the cooperation of the provinces in implementing the program under consideration. None of these problems could be overcome by the authority provided in the Technical and Vocational Training Assistance Act, thus some other form of authority was accordingly sought.

An option would have been the creation and passage by the Parliament of Canada of a separate Act which would bring into being the research organization in question. The particular advantage of an Act of Parliament would be that the organization could be tailored exactly to the felt needs for the program. The National Research Council is an example of an experimental centre established by the federal government by a specific Act of Parliament, which has cooperative research projects with provincial research councils. This solution, however, was also rejected on the footing that it was another example of direct federal action in a field related to education, and again it was desired to solicit the cooperation of the provinces in carrying out the scheme.

Another solution to these problems might have been to incorporate a company under the provisions of the Companies Act (Canada) Part I, and take advantage of the provisions of the Government Companies Operations Act. This latter statute, applicable to companies incorporated under Part 1 of the Companies Act, all of whose shares are held by the Government, provides that employees need not be hired pursuant to the provisions of the Civil Service Act. It also has the advantage in that under certain circumstances, the employees may gain the benefits of the Public Service Superannuation Act. Another possible advantage was that such a company could operate projects in various provinces more or less in the form of branch offices of the central company. This solution was rejected, however, principally for the reason that again it had the appearance of a federal intrusion into the education field and it was desired so far as possible to prevent this appearance.

It was thought that provincial cooperation with the scheme would be more forthcoming if the provinces were given an opportunity to participate at the outset. Obviously, a solution along the lines of the National Research Council and provincial research councils would allow for better federal/provincial collaboration than could be done under the Companies Act. At that time, however, the country was faced with a minority government and a slowdown in legislature productivity because of the flag debate. (One province had indicated that it was prepared to go to its legislature for an act to set up a NewStart project, but at the federal level this was out of the question.)

*Federal/Provincial Corporations*
Accordingly, the solution adopted was that of the incorporation of a provincial society to operate within a province. It was felt that this form of organization would meet the requirements set forth above, namely, autonomy from direct control by either the provincial or federal governments, and freedom from governmental staffing and procurement problems. It would also afford opportunity for a province to cooperate in the formation of the society, in the appointment of the directors thereof, in approval of the plan of operations of the society, and in avoiding the appearance of federal intrusion into the sensitive area of education. Additionally, it would free the research organization from the typical restraints to be found in the federal and provincial educational and administrative structures.

The authority to form incorporated societies with provinces was already within the jurisdiction of the government and, therefore, there was no need to seek legislation.

It was readily apparent, then, that the device of a jointly owned incorporated society has several advantages:

1. its objectives can meld different but complimentary federal and provincial objectives.

2. it can unite what the federal government separates into federal and provincial jurisdictions (financial incentives for social programs vs. methodology and delivery of social programs).

3. it can permit a more rational apportionment of the costs of the work. For instance, similar experimental work conducted by a province under the terms of the Canada Manpower Training Program (CMTP) would be reimbursed for only 50% of its costs even though the federal government paid 100% of the operational costs of the training program. In other words, the federal government asked the provinces to pay 50% of the research costs of a

fully funded federal program! The 100% federal costs worked out for the
federal/provincially owned NewStart corporations were much more sensible when the
results of the work were to be used in the 100% federally funded CMTP.

4.  it can permit, (indeed require) integrated activity across federal and provincial jurisdictions.
    For instance, NewStart operated in the federal jurisdiction of recruiting adults for training,
    selecting them for training, placing them in training, and placing them after training.
    NewStart's major activity, however, was in the provincial jurisdiction of training
    methodology and in the delivery of the training.

5.  it can permit action without the interference of all the abominable "no-men" of public
    service commissions, public works, public purchasing agencies, public service unions, etc.

To ensure the power of the executive director of the corporation, and hence the "autonomy" of
the project from various vested interests, he was also made chairman of the board of directors
and of the society itself.

### *A Central Technical Support Agency*
A "Technical Support Centre" was established (within what was then known as the Social and
Human Analysis Branch of the Department of Regional Economic Expansion), to assist the
NewStart corporations, but it never realized a substantial influential role. This was anticipated by
the Quebec Minister of Education at the federal/provincial conference of January 13, 1966, when
he asked if the Technical Support Centre would be given as much autonomy from administrative
constraints as the projects were to receive. The Deputy Minister of Manpower and Immigration
said the Technical Support Centre should get such freedom, if necessary.

The role of the Technical Support Centre in assisting the NewStart societies was to include the
following activities:

1.  gather information on existing programs and techniques.

2.  anticipate some of the needs of the NewStart corporations by developing hypotheses,
    methods and materials for their use.

3.  at the request of corporations, develop specific methods and materials for their use.

4.  provide continuing consultation and exchange of information with and between the
    corporations.

5.  encourage and assist the corporations to experiment with various methods.

6.  with assistance of the corporations, design methods of evaluating the program.

7.  collate and evaluate the total program and prepare methods and materials for widespread
    use.

8.  provide administrative guidelines to ensure that expenditures were within the limits of the
    NewStart program.

**The Role of the Executive Head**

The creation of jointly owned federal/provincial societies was an invention which seemed very sensible. Interestingly enough, the structures of crown corporations were carefully examined in selecting the organizational model, but the roles of agency heads were not. When one examines the roles of the heads of the Bank of Canada, the CNR, CBC, Polymer, NFB, NRC, etc., one does note that John Grierson of the National Film Board, A.D. Dunton of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, C. J. Mackenzie of the National Research Council, and James Coyne of the Bank of Canada were men who performed their roles very differently from others in the same jobs. Therefore, to what extent the job can shape the man is questionable, but it is quite clear that the outstanding people had a very clear definition of their mission.

The roles assumed by the heads of various government corporations, including C.J. Mackenzie of the NRC, Davidson Dunton of the CBC, Donald Gordon of the CNR, John Grierson of the NFB, and H.M. Tory, founder of NRC and several universities, represent the only Canadian tradition that might be followed. On the other hand, the United States has a long history of a great many private and "semi-autonomous quasi non-governmental" organizations which serve as training ground for both directors, executive directors, and management staff for foundations or government supported projects. The various leaders of the Company of Young Canadians did not provide admirable models; although they were noble people, they did not have an adequate definition of themselves in their role as director. The role that the executive director of a NewStart corporation defined for himself in terms of the work of the society, and relations with the two levels of government who appointed him, was very critical to the outcomes achieved.

No federal department has a real conception of the methods of social invention or the stages of successive approximations required by social institutions to become the organizations they should. Although there are interminable reorganizations that take place in federal departments (the creation of a Department of Industry out of Trade and Commerce, and then putting them back together after a few years is only one of many examples), these changes are purely organizational and avoid the real issue. Too often governments rename programs rather than improve the programs themselves.

The question of the appropriateness of the provincially incorporated, jointly owned society must reopen the examination of the other forms of organization originally considered. At the present time the federal government is spending many times as much money on physical science research as on social science research. Should the government decide to right the balance and significantly increase social research funds, then the organizational structure of social invention centres becomes very important. The NewStart program was the largest single project using social science research dollars in 1970. Therefore, the NewStart corporation, on the one hand, and traditional government departments on the other represented the two major distinct organization structures carrying on social research. The question remains that if the government were to dramatically increase the funds for social research, should it be channelled into organizations similar to NewStart societies?

The model presented by the National Research Council may be more appropriate in that (a) legislation could be enacted setting forth specific parameters of activity, (b) it would provide the authority of Parliament over the agency more than exists with the society, and (c) it could

provide for certain controls such as the Financial Administration Act. Some problems might be encountered because of the federal government's view of the constitution. For instance, social research requires the experimenters to do things for and with people (e.g., train them, pay them, and collaborate with them). Therefore, the actual projects conducted at the federal and provincial levels must cut across the so-called jurisdictions of federal and provincial governments. The NewStart program did this very well. Similar provisions would need to be incorporated in any new social invention centre. The federal government might feel that it would be easiest to delegate all social experimentation to the provincial level, but in so doing, it would have to be prepared to abdicate its priorities for such research (as in the invention of better methods of teaching language, the invention of better ways of manpower training, etc.). It would also have to abdicate its right to require experimentation with any given methods of language training or whatever.

It is unlikely, however, that the federal Parliament would enact any legislation setting up a federal agency and give it some powers to take action in provincial jurisdiction. The corporate structure as represented by NewStart, therefore, would seem to be the most appropriate.

The one major change, however, would necessarily be the incorporation of a federal society which could itself (a) fund regional or federal/provincial research societies, (a) conduct research and development itself, and (c) provide the services of a technical support centre to the federal/provincial societies. The federal society should have directors appointed in collaboration with appropriate provinces because of the crossing over of jurisdictions that is entailed in experimental social research.

The corporate form of organization was selected for the NewStart program because it permitted equality between governments in directing the program and because it permitted the project to operate in both jurisdictions. Such jurisdictional problems are not found only between levels of government. Indeed, too frequently, they exist very much between departments at the same level of government. At least three federal departments have identical programs of work orientation for the disadvantaged (Work Activities of National Health and Welfare; Manpower Corps of Regional Economic Expansion, and Basic Job Readiness Training of Manpower and Immigration). Three federal departments that pay people who have inadequate incomes have entirely different programs for them: welfare allowances for the very poor, insurance payments for the unemployed and training allowances for those in Manpower training. A corporate form of organization could permit more integration of these or other services that present legislation tends to set apart.

<div align="center">

**Chapter Seven**

**LOCATION OF SOCIAL INVENTION CENTRES**

</div>

There are several important issues to consider in deciding the location for a social invention centre. Among them are the following:

*A good library* with up to date acquisitions in the subject matter of the projects undertaken by the centre. The library must be a part of the social invention centre itself or at least in the same building complex. The library should be used extensively during the formulation of the concept which will be researched and developed. The library must have books, periodicals and also program materials that have been used in related projects.

*Access to professional and special services* such as consultants, professional groups, other relevant specialized libraries, university personnel, etc., to facilitate the informal exchange of ideas and the more economic obtaining of contractual professional services. The larger the city in which the social invention centre is located, the more readily available are such services.

*Access to decision makers* is an important consideration. A social invention centre has many decision makers that it must constantly cultivate in order to: (1) carry out research and development that it thinks is required; (2) obtain necessary approval in terms of funding, facilities, etc.; (3) obtain approval for experimental field tests of new methods being developed; (4) make arrangements to gather data through surveys and other means; (5) promote adoptions of the methods developed; and, (6) obtain feedback from users to gain information that can be used in redevelopment. All of this requires a constant interaction of staff of the social invention centre with a wide variety of federal, provincial and institutional personnel. It is, therefore, beneficial to be on a main air route with good connections with all parts of Canada.

*Isolation from nonproductive events*. A social invention centre must be judged by the number, and value of its inventions and the extent to which they are put into use. A great deterrent to such productivity is the tying up of valuable staff time in the procedural rituals of the large bureaucratic organizations. Examples may include frequent meetings on organizational problems, staffing of task forces to deal with urgent current problems, preparation of somewhat related position papers for conferences, or preparation of speeches for senior officials and politicians.

*Interaction with potential adopters* on a frequent basis. The preparation, experimental conduct and evaluation of a new method take up to four years of intensive work and do not require frequent interaction with the federal bureaucracy that supports the work. More frequent interaction is required with more progressive institutions that are likely to be "early adopters" to experiment with new methods in their settings and programs. The process of deciding to adopt a new measure is one of discussing the method with the developers, viewing it in action, adopting it for experimental use and adapting it for general use. This process should be initiated before the first prototype is developed by the social invention centre because the entire process is a slow one and requires an early start. The location of a social invention centre requires, therefore, ready transportation between it and institutions that might adopt the methods developed. It is important

for the social invention centre to be able to have continuous daily interaction with the conduct of the initial test runs of the new methods in order to gain the most detailed observations on the use of the methods and to make the best plans for redevelopment of the procedures.

*Access to a clientele*. The clientele for a social method may vary with each project. For instance, a cross section of clientele required might include natives, whites, illiterates, language students, vocational students, welfare recipients, psychiatric patients, aged, infirm, or any other classification of "disadvantaged" people. The social invention centre requires ready access to such people in order that the staff has a firsthand acquaintance with them. In this way the professionals can develop better judgement as to what is appropriate and possible rather than simply using the literature or the reports of others. Because of the range of subjects that a social invention centre will address over the period of years, it is essential that the centre be located where most of these groups will be available. In some cases such groups are mutually exclusive. For instance, it is not likely to find both rural and urban residents in the same place. Thus, the largest and most cosmopolitan city is not necessarily the most appropriate.

*The politics of location*. The location of an enterprise (whether it is an industry, school or government agency) is so important to a community from an economic standpoint that it is not often located or relocated without some political activity. Rivalries between cities and provinces for a given factory, for instance, provide ample evidence of the issues that can arise. These are relatively mild, however, compared to the reactions of a community when a government attempts to remove an institution from a community.

In some projects, and particularly experimental social programs, one may expect to find a mixed reaction to the clientele and to the project itself. A publicly financed program or institution is always a fair and popular target for criticism and it is, therefore, placed in a position that makes it difficult for it to experiment. It is perfectly legitimate for a social invention centre to make mistakes for this is at the very heart of the experimental process and it is impossible to develop new methods without the possibility of experimenting and hence making mistakes. It is essential, therefore, that a social invention centre develop a legitimacy for its role in the community where it is located. This acceptance must be gained from a number of sources including professionals, the media, chamber of commerce, politicians and other opinion leaders. As a matter of interest, it took some three or four, years for Saskatchewan NewStart to gain this support in Prince Albert. The experience of that organization was that it was essential to have politicians of all parties to defend its actions and to promote its continuation.

# CONCLUSION

Inventions are original creations. The same product can only be invented once. Innovations are taken from one situation and introduced into another. The same single invention can be introduced to thousands of organizations and each time as an innovation. It typically takes many decades for an invention to become widely used. Progress in all areas of endeavour comes as a result of introducing innovations in place of less effective methods or as absolutely new entities. There are many areas of life that cry out for new inventions because there are not more effective means anywhere to be found.

Social inventions may take any of three forms: a law, an institution, or a procedure. Laws that represent inventions include: inventions include the first poor law, the first indenture of children act, the first bill of rights, the first compulsory school attendance act, and the first unemployment insurance act. Institutions that represent inventions include the service club, church and Red Cross. Procedures that represent inventions include writing, language, psychotherapy and teaching. Each of these inventions has been adopted in many lands and circumstances. These adoptions (or adaptations) are innovations in these lands and or jurisdictions.

The thesis of this book is that the laws, organizations and procedures needed to solve many of our social ills have not been invented and there is a need for centres dedicated to the invention of new solutions. In many ways these social invention centres have parallels in other areas - such as medical research laboratories and agricultural research stations. I have argued that the same level of investment is required to create social inventions as has been devoted to chemical, biological or electronic inventions.

**About the Author**

*Stu Conger*, Former Chairman and Executive Director, Saskatchewan NewStart Inc., Canada

## SOURCES

Blumer, Herbert. 1969. "Social Movements," in Barry McLoughlin, ed. *Studies in Social Movements*, New York: Free Press.

Clark, Ted and Jaffe, Dennis T. 1972. "Change Within Youth Crisis Centers." *American Journal Orthopsychiatry.* 42(4): 675-687.

Haggstrom, Warren P. 1964. "The Power of the Poor", pp. 205 - 223 in Frank Riessman, Jerome Cohen, Arthur Pearl, editors et al, *Mental Health of the Poor*: *new treatment approaches for low income people.* New York: Free Press.

Illich, Ivan. 1970. *Deschooling Society.* New York: Harper and Row Livingstone, David W. 1973. "Some General Tactics for Creating Alternative Educational Futures." *Interchange.* Vol. 1: 1-9.

Loeb, Martin B. 1968. "Social Class and the American Social System", pp.199-207 in Edward J. Nussel, Charles W. Sprandel, Allen J. Repashy, eds, *An Introduction to the Foundations of Education: a book of readings*. Dubuque, Iowa: Wm. C. Brown. Miller, S.M. 1964. "The American Lower Classes", pp. 139-154 in Fr1ank Riessman, Jerome

Cohen, Arthur Pearl, eds. *Mental Health of the Poor*: *new treatment approaches for low income people*. New York: Free Press.

Ornati, Oscar. 1966. *Poverty Amid Affluence.* New York: Twentieth Century Fund.

Porter, John. 1965. *The Vertical Mosaic, An Analysis of Social Class and Power in Canada*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Riessman, Frank, Jerome Cohen, Arthur Pearl, eds. 1964. *Mental Health of the Poor*: *new treatment approaches for low income people.* New York: Free Press.

Rogers, Everett M. and Floyd F. Shoemaker. 1971. *Communication of Innovations.* New York, Collier Macmillan.

Special Senate Committee on Poverty. 1971. *Poverty in Canada.* Ottawa: Information Canada.

Warren, Roland L. 1969. "Types of Purposive Change at the Community Level" pp. 205-222 in Ralph M. Kramer and Harry Specht, ed. *Readings in Community Organization Practice*. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall.