

Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism

PROPERTY OF
PRIVY COUNCIL OFFICE
LIBRARY.

Book III The Work World

Part 3 The Private Sector

Part 4 Conclusions



Other vols. in
this set are
part of
D0BEG. REV

PROPERTY OF
PRIVY COUNCIL OFFICE
LIBRARY

122

Report of the Royal Commission
on Bilingualism and Biculturalism
Volume 3B

PROPERTY OF
PRIVY COUNCIL OFFICE
LIBRARY.

Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism



To His Excellency
The Governor General in Council

We, the Commissioners appointed
as a Royal Commission, beg to submit
to your Excellency
Volume 3^B of our Final Report

A. Davidson Dunton, Co-Chairman
Jean-Louis Gagnon, Co-Chairman
Clément Cormier, c.s.c.
Royce Frith
Paul Lacoste
Gertrude M. Laing
André Raynauld
J. B. Rudnycky
F. R. Scott
Paul Wyczynski

Peter C. Findlay, Co-Secretary
Gilles Lalande, Co-Secretary

Michael Oliver, Director of Research
Léon Dion, Special Consultant on Research

Ottawa, September 19, 1969.

©Crown Copyrights reserved

Available by mail from the
Queen's Printer, Ottawa,
and at the following
Canadian Government bookshops:

HALIFAX
1735 Barrington Street

MONTREAL
Æterna-Vie Building, 1182 St. Catherine Street West

OTTAWA
Daly Building, Corner Mackenzie and Rideau

TORONTO
221 Yonge Street

WINNIPEG
Mall Center Building, 499 Portage Avenue

VANCOUVER
657 Granville Street

or through your bookseller

Price \$2.00 (subject to change without notice)

Catalogue No. Z1-1963/1-5/3B

QUEEN'S PRINTER FOR CANADA
Ottawa, 1969

Book III of our *Report* is being published in two volumes: the first volume, numbered 3A, contains Parts 1 and 2; Parts 3 and 4 appear in this volume, 3B. Volume 3B contains not only a full table of contents for this volume, but also a resumé of the contents of Volume 3A.

Part 3 The Private Sector 443

Introduction to Part 3 445

- Heterogeneity of the private sector 445
- Role of Francophones and Anglophones in the private sector 445
- Focus of Part 3 446
- Plan of Part 3 446

Chapter XII Participation and Language Use in the Private Sector 447

- Francophone ownership 447
- Francophone occupational participation 447
- Quebec manufacturing firms 448

A Participation 448

- 1 The general pattern 448**
 - Methodology 448
 - Participation and salary level 449
 - Participation related to nationality and language of owners 450
 - Francophone-owned firms 451
 - Canadian-owned firms with head offices in Quebec 451
 - Smaller firms 452
 - Summary 453
- 2 Regional variations 453**
 - a) Canada outside Quebec 453
 - Atlantic provinces 453
 - Ontario 454
 - Western provinces 454
 - b) Quebec outside Montreal 454
 - Large corporations 454
 - Francophone-owned firms 455
 - Smaller firms 456
 - Francophones outside Quebec 456
 - Persistence of the patterns 456
 - c) Montreal metropolitan area 457
 - Large corporations 457
 - Francophone-owned firms 457
 - Smaller firms 458
 - Comparison with Quebec outside Montreal 458
 - Summary 458

- B The Place of French 458**
 - Methodology 458
 - 1 The general pattern 459
 - 2 Regional variations 460
 - a) Outside Quebec 460
 - Employees earning \$5,000 or more 460
 - b) Quebec outside Montreal 460
 - Language use 460
 - Francophone-owned firms 461
 - c) Montreal metropolitan area 461
 - Large corporations 461
 - Francophone-owned firms 462
 - Smaller firms 462
 - 3 Internal and external communication 462
 - a) Internal communication 462
 - Employee relations 463
 - Production 463
 - Engineering, research, and development 463
 - b) Printed documents 464
 - Widely circulated documents 464
 - Interoffice memoranda, shop drawings, and manuals 464
 - Smaller firms 465
 - c) External communication 465
 - Purchasing 465
 - Sales and marketing 466
 - Public relations 467
 - Relations with shareholders 467
- C Summary 468**
 - Participation 468
 - Language use 468

Chapter XIII Barriers to Equal Partnership in Business 471

- A Supply and Employment Patterns of University Graduates 471**
 - 1 Supply 471
 - Commerce and business administration 472
 - Science and engineering 472
 - Fields of specialization 473
 - 2 Employment patterns 474
 - Managers and administrators 474

- Engineers 474
- Scientists 475
- 3 Significance of supply and employment patterns 475
 - Contacts between industry and educational institutions 475
 - Usual explanations 475
 - Actual employment preferences 476
 - Francophone and Anglophone perceptions of opportunity 476
 - Advances in Quebec educational system 477
- B Corporate Policies on Bilingualism and Biculturalism 477**
 - Traditional perceptions 477
 - Current perceptions of the issue 478
 - Difficulties of hiring and promoting Francophones 479
 - English still management's language of work 479
 - The real problem 479
- C Cultural Differences in the Work World 480**
 - Cultural differences 480
 - Goals of business 480
 - Compatibility between work and other roles 480
 - Management styles 480
 - Implications 481
 - The Francophone dilemma 481
 - Differences in Francophones' and Anglophones' perceptions of the problem 482
 - Francophones' sense of alienation 482
 - Language and cultural differences and Francophone participation 482
- D Corporate Personnel Practices 482**
 - 1 Recruitment 482
 - Language recruitments 482
 - Language use 483
 - University recruiting 483
 - Interpretation of recruitment data 484
 - 2 Training 484
 - Formal training 484
 - Language of instruction 485
 - Language training 485
 - Informal training 485
 - 3 Geographic mobility 487
 - Those earning \$5,000 or more 487
 - Engineers 487

- 4 Appraisal and promotion 488
 - Value of systematic promotion procedures 488
 - Company practice 489
 - Language used 489
 - Deficiencies 489
 - Conclusion 489

Chapter XIV Some Examples of Linguistic Policies in Business 491

- A Introduction 491
- B Recent Developments in Quebec 493
 - The role of government 493
 - Education 493
 - Labour unions 493
 - The nationalization of electricity 494
 - Para-governmental companies 494
 - The salient points: education and economic development 494
- C Hydro-Québec 494
 - 1 Hydro-Québec and the Quebec economy 495
 - Preferential purchasing as a policy 496
 - 2 Linguistic policies 496
 - The nationalization of electricity in 1963 497
 - 3 Linguistic Services 498
 - Results achieved through language courses 499
 - Francophones 499
 - Anglophones 499
 - 4 Relations with the public 500
 - Calls for tender 500
 - Drafts and estimates 501
 - 5 The Hydro-Québec Research Institute 501
 - Energy: requirement for technological development 501
 - 6 Conclusions 501
 - Qualified personnel: the "vicious circle" of supply and demand 502
- D Marine Industries Ltd. 503
 - Language of work 503
 - Language of service and its effects 503
 - Conclusion 505

- E** Canadian National 505
 - Language of service 505
 - Language of work 507
 - Language training 508
 - Conclusion 509
- F** Alcan 509
 - Scope of the company's operations 509
 - The problem of language use 510
 - Classification of personnel according to language 511
 - The Quebec plants 511
 - French as the language of work in Quebec plants 512
 - Head office 512
 - Bilingualism 513
 - Language courses and training 513
 - Recruitment of university graduates 514
 - Conclusion 514
- G** General Observations and Conclusions 515
 - 1 Objectives 515
 - 2 The milieu 516
 - 3 Marketing requirements 517

Chapter XV Equal Partnership in the Private Sector 519

- A** Introduction 519
 - Language use and economic opportunity 519
 - Effect of language-use pattern on the vigour of French 519
 - Limitations of formal language rights 520
 - The situation in Montreal 520
- B** Equal Opportunity and Institutional Bilingualism 521
 - Institutional bilingualism—the basis for equal opportunity 521
 - The application of institutional bilingualism 522
 - The companies 523
 - The place of French in Quebec 524
 - Outside Quebec 524
- C** Policies and Programmes for Change 525
 - Recommendation 42 525
 - Recommendation 43 526
 - Importance of government leadership and assistance 526
 - Participation by universities and unions 526

- Recommendation 44 526
- New Brunswick 527
- Recommendation 45 529
- Ontario 529
- Recommendation 46 530

- D Recommendations to Industry 530**
 - Recommendation 47 530
 - The target 531
 - Need for phased planning 531
 - Effect on management development 531
 - An example 532

 - 1 Recruitment 532
 - Recommendation 48 533
 - Recommendation 49 533

 - 2 Employee training 533
 - Recommendation 50 534
 - Recommendation 51 534

 - 3 Job transfers outside French-speaking regions 534
 - Geographic mobility in the private sector 534
 - Recommendation 52 535

 - 4 Promotion 535
 - Recommendation 53 536
 - Recommendation 54 536
 - Recommendation 55 536

 - 5 Language training and translation 537
 - Need for better programmes 537
 - The corporate contribution 537
 - Who should receive language training 537
 - Acquired language skills must be used to be effective 538
 - Need for co-operation among firms and governments 538

- E The Role of the Federal Government 538**
 - The federal government as purchaser 538
 - Recommendation 56 539
 - Recommendation 57 539

- F Conclusion 539**
 - Commitment to institutional bilingualism 540
 - Role of government 540
 - Quebec the focus but not the whole 540

Part 4	Conclusions 541
---------------	------------------------

Chapter XVI	Towards Equal Partnership in the Work World 543
	Extent of Francophone disadvantage 543
	The basic change 544
	Related measures and their effects 544
	Limitations of policies 545
A	The Broader Economic and Social Context 545
	Variety of programmes required 546
	Three main types of policies 546
1	The supply of qualified Francophones 547
	Economic trends 547
	Education 547
	Increasing the number of Francophone managers and entrepreneurs 548
	Manpower retraining 550
	Immigration 550
2	Economic development 551
	Research 552
	Regional development programmes 552
	Investment 553
	A social accounting system 554
3	The urban situation 555
	Persistence of economic disparities 555
	Social policies in the urban context 555
B	The Agents of Change 556
	Need for co-operation 556
	The role of governments 556
	The role of the Quebec government 556
	The federal responsibility 557
	The goal 558
	Recommendations 559
	Dissenting Opinion 565
Appendix I	The Terms of Reference 571
Appendix VII (Cont'd.)	Descriptive Notes on R.C.B.&B. Studies Cited in Part 3 573

64	Language Group of Salaried Personnel Earning \$5,000 and Over	450
65	Ownership and Location of Manufacturing Firms	450
66	Francophone Salaried Personnel Earning \$5,000 and Over	452
67	Language Group of Salaried Personnel in Quebec outside Montreal	455
68	Language Group of Salaried Personnel in Montreal	457
69	Salaried Personnel in Bilingual Positions	459

Introduction to Book III

Part 1 **Socio-economic Status and Ethnic Origin**

Introduction to Part 1

- Chapter I** **Income**
- Chapter II** **Education**
- Chapter III** **Occupation**
- Chapter IV** **Ownership of Quebec Industry**
- Chapter V** **Factors Contributing to Socio-economic Disparities**

A **Analysis of Income Disparities**

- 1 Factors affecting income
- 2 Relative weight of factors

B **Dynamic considerations**

- 1 Interrelation of factors
 - 2 Economic development
 - 3 The poverty cycle
 - 4 Institutional factors
-

Part 2 **The Federal Administration**

Introduction to Part 2

- Chapter VI** **The Federal Public Service: History of Language-Use Policy and Franco-
phone Participation**
- A** **From Patronage to Merit: Confederation to the 1930's**
- B** **The Heightened Struggle: The 1930's On**

C Increasing Concern: The 1940's to 1960's

- 1 The Jean Committee
- 2 The Glassco Commission

D Conclusions**Chapter VII Language Use****A Government Policy on Language**

- 1 General Policy
- 2 Policy on language of service
- 3 Policy on language of work

B Language Capacity in the Public Service

- 1 Individual bilingualism
- 2 Changes in language ability

C Language Use in Practice

- 1 Language of service
- 2 Language of work

D Language Use in Three Selected Departments

- 1 The department of External Affairs
- 2 The department of National Revenue—Taxation Division
- 3 The Treasury Board
- 4 Prospects for institutional bilingualism in the three departments

E Existing Programmes for Bilingualism in the Public Service

- 1 Translation Bureau
- 2 Language training

F Conclusion**Chapter VIII The Public Service and the Universities: Recruitment and Orientation****A Language and Recruiting**

- B** Supply and Demand
- C** University Graduates and the Public Service
- D** Attitudes in Universities
- E** University Recruiting Programmes
- F** Summer Employment Programmes
- G** Summary

Chapter IX **Participation and Career Development**

- A** Measurement of Participation
 - 1 Geographic distribution
 - 2 Departmental distribution
 - 3 Principal factors of status
 - 4 Some related characteristics
 - 5 Summary
- B** Importance of Middle-level Public Servants
- C** Background Characteristics of Middle level Personnel
 - 1 Mother tongue, ethnic origin, and country of birth
 - 2 Geographic origin
 - 3 Social origin
 - 4 Education
 - 5 Previous work history
- D** Work, Community, and Commitment to the Public Service
 - 1 Reasons for joining
 - 2 The Public Service as a place of work
 - 3 Living in the federal capital
 - 4 Commitment to the Public Service

E Careers in the Public Service

- 1 Career development
- 2 Comparisons of middle-level Francophones' and Anglophones' careers
- 3 Francophones' career advancement
- 4 Entering the upper level
- 5 The culture of the Public Service

Chapter X Towards Equal Partnership in the Public Service: Conclusions and Recommendations

- A The Challenge**
- B The Basic Proposal: French-language Units**
 - 1 The regional unit
 - 2 The headquarters unit
 - 3 The cluster
- C The Language Régime**
- D Second-Language Facilities: Training and Translation**
- E Staffing the System**
- F Administrative Structures for Adaptation to Equal Partnership**
- G The Process of Implementation**
- H Towards Equal Partnership**

Chapter XI Canadian Forces

- A Introduction**
- B Language Policies and Practices**
 - 1 Historical background
 - 2 Relations with the public
 - 3 Written language within the Forces

E Careers in the Public Service

- 1 Career development
- 2 Comparisons of middle-level Francophones' and Anglophones' careers
- 3 Francophones' career advancement
- 4 Entering the upper level
- 5 The culture of the Public Service

Chapter X Towards Equal Partnership in the Public Service: Conclusions and Recommendations**A The Challenge****B The Basic Proposal: French-language Units**

- 1 The regional unit
- 2 The headquarters unit
- 3 The cluster

C The Language Régime**D Second-Language Facilities: Training and Translation****E Staffing the System****F Administrative Structures for Adaptation to Equal Partnership****G The Process of Implementation****H Towards Equal Partnership****Chapter XI Canadian Forces****A Introduction****B Language Policies and Practices**

- 1 Historical background
- 2 Relations with the public
- 3 Written language within the Forces

	4	Effects of recent organizational changes
	5	Language training
	6	Military colleges
	7	Education of children of Canadian Forces personnel
C		Participation and Career Patterns
	1	Francophones and Anglophones
	2	Participation
	3	Career patterns
D		Language Capacity and Use
	1	Language capacity and individual bilingualism
	2	Language use at work
	3	Language use outside the work situation
E		Officer Cadets
F		Conclusions and Recommendations
	1	Basic language rights and conditions of equality
	2	Creation of a functionally integrated French-language work milieu
		Recommendations
Appendix I		The Terms of Reference
Appendix II		Statement of the Right Hon. Lester B. Pearson Regarding Policy Respecting Bilingualism in the Public Service
Appendix III		Tables
Appendix IV		Participation in Federal Crown Corporations and Agencies
Appendix V		Differences in Status within Managerial and Professional Occupations in the Federal Departmental Public Service
Appendix VI		Other Public Services in Canada and Abroad
Appendix VII		Descriptive Notes on R.C.B.&B. Studies Cited in Parts 1 and 2

1006. Despite the importance of the federal government as an employer and despite the rapid increase in employment by provincial and municipal governments, the vast majority of employed Canadians work in the private sector. In this Part we shall examine the private sector in terms of bilingualism and biculturalism and make recommendations designed to create an equal partnership between the Francophones and Anglophones who work in this sector.

1007. The private sector is made up of a heterogeneous network of institutions, ranging in size from national and international corporations whose employees number in the tens of thousands to small proprietorships comprising only one or two persons. Some firms mobilize vast sums of capital and use sophisticated technologies to produce goods and services that are sold throughout the country and, indeed, throughout the world. Others require little capital, use simple technologies, and cater solely to the needs of their own communities. The former frequently seek the highly skilled managerial and technical talent they need on the national and international labour market; the latter usually rely on the local community to meet their more simple skill requirements.

1008. Part 1 of this Book gave some indication of the role played by Canada's Francophones and Anglophones in the world of industry. For instance, we noted that, relative to their proportion in the total Canadian population, Canadians of French origin in all regions of the country participate less in the high-level occupational categories (particularly those of managers, professionals, and technical personnel) and more in the blue-collar and unskilled occupations. Those of French origin in the male labour force also have lower average levels of schooling than Canadians of British origin and proportionately fewer have completed secondary or university education.

Heterogeneity
of the private
sector

Role of
Francophones
and Anglophones
in the private
sector

1009. We also discovered that the extent of Francophone ownership of industry in Quebec—where Francophones outnumber Anglophones four to one—is very weak and varies widely from one industrial sector to another. They predominate in small industries but have almost no ownership of the industries which require large investments and advanced techniques.

Focus of Part 3

1010. The analysis in Part 1 raises many questions, only some of which we can attempt to answer in this Part. Quite obviously, because of the size and diversity of the private sector, our research studies had to be selective. Our selection reflects our judgement as to where the problem is most acute and, consequently, where marked and immediate change is most vital. We chose to concentrate on the managerial and technical occupations and on the large manufacturing corporations, particularly those in Quebec.

1011. We chose to study the managerial and technical occupations because they are of growing importance in modern society; the forces of automation and technological change are reducing the proportion of the labour force in blue-collar jobs and increasing it in these categories. Furthermore, these are the occupations that lead to positions of influence in the economy. They are also precisely those occupations in which Francophones are most underrepresented at the present time. Therefore, we must determine the factors impeding Francophone participation in these occupations and seek ways of eliminating these barriers.

1012. Similar reasons led us to concentrate on large corporate enterprises rather than on small businesses. The former play a dominant role in the economy; the power of the men who run them extends far beyond the corporations themselves, and their policies and practices relating to the language of work have a widespread influence on the language patterns outside their walls. Moreover, these organizations provide the setting in which many of the new, highly rewarding occupations are practised.

1013. We have focussed on the situation in Quebec because it is the home of more than 80 per cent of Canada's French-speaking citizens. We have singled out Montreal for special attention because it is the largest metropolitan region and industrial centre in the province, and because 35 per cent of its residents are not French-speaking.

Plan of Part 3

1014. In Chapter XII, we examine the present degree of Francophone participation and the use of French in private manufacturing corporations with operations in Quebec. Chapter XIII deals with the factors contributing to the maintenance of this situation. Chapter XIV studies the place of French as a language of work in four large enterprises, and in Chapter XV we present our recommendations.

1015. Our research on the private sector was focussed on the larger corporate enterprises because they are playing an increasingly important role in the work world. They employ large numbers of people and, consciously or unconsciously, they have developed a corporate language policy. For these reasons their influence on language patterns extends well beyond their immediate sphere. Furthermore, many of the most skilled managers and scientific and technological experts—that is, those who have access to major sources of power in contemporary society—are employed by these same large corporations. It is important to discover the extent to which Francophones and Anglophones are found at the decision-making levels of these corporations, especially in Quebec.

1016. As we have seen in Part 1 of this Book, the ownership of Canadian industry by Francophones is almost completely restricted to Quebec, and within that province it is very unevenly distributed among the different branches of industry. Francophones are owners and proprietors in large proportions in agriculture and to a lesser degree in the service fields and retail trade. In wholesale trade they play a still smaller role, while in finance and manufacturing they account for about one-fourth of the total. Moreover, within manufacturing itself, the pattern of ownership is also uneven. In small-scale manufacturing, such as the production of wood products, Francophones predominate; but in fields requiring large capital investment and highly advanced technology, such as the manufacture of chemicals and petroleum products, they play virtually no role in ownership or control.

1017. Francophone participation in high-level occupations reflects a similar pattern. The proportion of Canadians of French origin in the higher occupational groups (that is, managers, professionals, and tech-

Francophone
ownership

Francophone
occupational
participation

nicians) is considerably less than their proportion in the total work force, while the proportion in lower-level occupations is correspondingly higher. Between 1941 and 1961, in the country as a whole they consistently lost ground. The disadvantaged occupational position of Canadians of French origin has its parallels in the areas of income and schooling.

1018. While the data on occupations and incomes are consistent with facts about ownership and control of industry, they need to be supplemented by more detailed information. It is important to know whether the Francophones in the high-level occupations are to be found chiefly in small or large corporations and, to the extent that they are employed in large firms, whether they appear at all levels in the organizations or are clustered in particular levels or occupations. Such knowledge would let us see to what degree Francophones are in a position of real influence in the work world and to what extent the French language is used as the language of work.

Quebec
manufacturing
firms

1019. To obtain such information we turned to the corporations themselves, particularly to those operating in Quebec. The focus of study is restricted to the manufacturing sector, the largest sector of industry in Quebec. In 1961 it employed almost 500,000 workers. It includes a substantial number of large firms and is a segment of industry where managerial competence and technical and scientific expertise are at a high level. Although the larger manufacturing firms may not be entirely representative of the rest of the work world, it is nonetheless likely that they reflect the way the rest of industry is moving.¹

A. Participation

1. The general pattern

Methodology

1020. The following data are based on a sample survey of large manufacturing corporations which have operations of significant size in Quebec or in adjacent areas where Francophones form a substantial

¹ The data we needed had never been collected, so the Commission launched a series of research studies which generated a large body of information bearing on the two central concerns of this chapter: the participation of Francophones and the use of the French language within manufacturing enterprises. From a substantial number of very large firms we were able to collect very detailed information; from a much larger number of smaller firms we collected a much narrower range of data. The rest of this chapter summarizes the results of our research. Ecole des hautes études commerciales and The Graduate School of Business of McGill University, "Corporate Policies and Practices with Respect to Bilingualism and Biculturalism / Politiques et pratiques du monde des affaires relativement au bilinguisme et au biculturalisme," a study prepared for the R.C.B.&B.

part of the population.¹ Many of the firms in the sample have operations elsewhere in Canada, and they were asked to report on these facilities as well. We were thus able to obtain both an accurate general picture of participation and language use within Quebec and an idea of the main characteristics of the situation in other provinces. However, the data drawn from our geographically biased sample cannot provide an accurate picture of the Canadian industrial scene as a whole.²

1021. The findings of the survey confirmed the widely held impression that Francophone participation in large Canadian industrial firms is much weaker than that of Anglophones. In the sample, Francophones comprised approximately 45 per cent of the employees earning less than \$5,000 a year and only 31 per cent of the personnel earning more than \$5,000; Anglophones formed 55 per cent of the former category and 69 per cent of the latter. This comparison does not bring out the major difference between the Francophone and Anglophone positions, which appears only when the variations by salary level are examined.

1022. The proportion of Francophones declined as the salary level rose in the large manufacturing corporations (Table 64). Francophone personnel were always an absolute minority at the higher salary levels; they constituted about 36 per cent of the total at the levels just above \$5,000, and only about 15 per cent at the top levels. The *total* work force of the large corporations in the sample was approximately 43 per cent Francophone. Thus, participation by Francophones was not only somewhat below average in the group earning from \$5,000 to \$6,499 but very low at the higher salary levels, particularly among those earning \$12,000 or more per year.

Participation
and salary level

¹ The survey covered 41 large manufacturing firms of which 36 made available the necessary data on salaried personnel earning \$5,000 or more. For the criteria employed in drawing up the sample, see R. N. Morrison, "Corporate Policies and Practices of Large Manufacturing Firms," in *ibid.* See also Appendix VII.

² Most of the large firms in our sample had establishments in English-speaking regions of the country, which naturally reduces the proportion of Francophones among their total numbers of employees. This fact is clear when one observes that of the 19,888 employees earning salaries of \$5,000 or more in the 36 firms in our sample, 7,933—40 per cent—were working in establishments outside Quebec. The distribution of employees was as follows:

	Number	%
Quebec outside Montreal	4,342	21.8
Montreal metropolitan census area	7,613	38.3
Ontario	5,413	27.2
Western provinces	1,966	9.9
Atlantic provinces	554	2.8
Total	19,888	100.0

Table 64. Language Group of Salaried Personnel Earning \$5,000 and Over

Percentage distribution within salary levels of salaried personnel in 36 large manufacturing firms, by language group¹—Canada, 1964

Salary level	Number	Language group		
		Francophones	Anglophones	Total
\$ 5,000– 6,499	7,862	36	64	100
6,500– 7,999	5,344	35	65	100
8,000– 9,999	3,448	25	75	100
10,000–11,999	1,368	19	81	100
12,000–14,999	994	15	85	100
15,000 and over	872	15	85	100
All salary levels	19,888	31	69	100

Source: Morrison, "Large Manufacturing Firms."

¹ The language group was determined on the basis of mother tongue, or the official language of greatest fluency if the mother tongue was neither French nor English.

Participation
related to
nationality
and language
of owners

1023. The 36 corporations surveyed can be divided into five groups according to the nationality and language of the owners (Table 65). Only 17 per cent were owned by Canadian Francophones. This low proportion parallels the pattern of ownership reported in Chapter IV.

Table 65. Ownership and Location of Manufacturing Firms

Numerical distribution of 36 large manufacturing firms, by nationality and language group of their owners, and by the location of head office—Canada, 1964

Language group and nationality	Location of head office		
	Quebec	Elsewhere in Canada	Total
French			
Canadian	6	0	6
Foreign	3	0	3
English			
Canadian	12	4	16
United Kingdom	4	0	4
United States	5	2	7
Total	30	6	36

Source: Morrison, "Large Manufacturing Firms."

1024. There is also a noteworthy difference in the size of the firms owned by the two language groups. The nine Francophone-owned corporations employed an average of about 91 employees earning salaries of \$5,000 or more a year. By contrast, the Anglophone-owned firms averaged 706 salaried employees at this level. The firms owned by Canadian or foreign Francophones were much smaller than the other firms in the sample.

1025. Firms with different types of ownership had very different proportions of Francophones among their staff earning salaries of \$5,000 or more. In those firms with headquarters in Quebec and whose owners were Canadian Francophones, 78 per cent of the salaried personnel were Francophones. Next came the firms owned by foreign Francophone interests, 62 per cent of whose salaried personnel were Francophones. In the Anglophone-owned firms with headquarters in Quebec, both those owned by citizens of the United Kingdom and those owned by Canadians, 35 per cent of the salaried staff were Francophones, but in those owned by Americans, only 23 per cent were Francophones. The Anglophone-owned firms with headquarters outside Quebec had lower proportions of salaried Francophones: 22 per cent in the Canadian-owned firms, and 15 per cent in the American-owned firms were Francophones. However, in actual numbers, the Anglophone-owned firms employed more Francophones earning salaries of \$5,000 or more than did the Francophone-owned firms.

1026. Clearly, the Francophone-owned firms employed a very small segment of the total number of employees earning more than \$5,000—815 out of 19,888, or 4 per cent. The Francophones they employed accounted for only 3 per cent of this total and for about 10 per cent of the 6,100 Francophones in the sample. These Francophone salaried personnel were working to an overwhelming degree in the corporations owned by Anglophones.

1027. The nine Francophone-owned firms tended strongly to employ only Francophone salaried personnel at these levels. Anglophone personnel within them were few and were employed almost entirely in sales work. By contrast, the corporations owned by Anglophones tended to employ higher salaried personnel of both language backgrounds and to employ them in a greater variety of functions and activities. The Francophone-owned corporations thus had a much more homogeneous work force than the other firms.

1028. The differences in the composition of the work force earning \$5,000 or more in corporations owned by Francophones and Anglophones can be seen vividly if we limit our comparison to Canadian-owned firms with head offices in Quebec (Table 66). In firms owned by French-speaking Canadians, Francophones constituted an overwhelming

Francophone-owned firms

Canadian-owned firms with head offices in Quebec

majority (except in the group earning salaries of \$10,000 to \$11,999, who were almost all sales personnel). In the firms owned by Canadian Anglophones, Francophone salaried personnel were in the minority at all levels. In both types of firms—as indeed for all types in the sample—the participation of Francophone salaried personnel was less at the upper than at the lower end of the income ladder. In the sample as a whole, although there were anomalies in the distribution in the firms owned by Canadian Francophones, the low participation of Francophones at the middle and upper levels was clear, the proportion of Francophones among those earning from \$10,000 to \$11,999 being less than half that at the \$5,000 to \$6,499 level.

Table 66. Francophone Salaried Personnel Earning \$5,000 and Over

Percentage of Francophone salaried personnel in 18 large Canadian-owned manufacturing firms with head offices in Quebec, by salary level—1964

Salary level	In 6 firms owned by Canadian Francophones		In 12 firms owned by Canadian Anglophones	
	Number	%	Number	%
\$ 5,000- 6,499	260	95	3,415	38
6,500- 7,999	104	63	2,581	44
8,000- 9,999	75	71	1,662	33
10,000-11,999	61	46	611	20
12,000-14,999	38	68	487	15
15,000 and over	35	80	451	12
Total	573	78	9,207	35

Source: Morrison, "Large Manufacturing Firms."

Smaller firms

1029. A second survey¹ of manufacturing, designed to supplement the findings on the large firms, sought somewhat less detailed information on the policies and practices of 358 firms with head offices in Quebec and Ontario and employing from 50 to 1,500 workers. These firms employed an average of 200 workers each, and there was little difference between the two provinces in this respect. In absolute terms, these 358 firms together employed roughly half as many as the 36 large firms combined; in language of ownership, and proportion of Francophone and Anglophone employees, the patterns in general resembled those of the large firms.

¹ R. N. Morrison, "Small Firms Employing between 50 and 1,500 People in Quebec and Ontario," in the study cited above.

1030. This brief overview of the situation in manufacturing firms yields the following conclusions. The presence of Canadian Francophones in the ownership and control of large manufacturing firms was extremely meagre. Within such firms, Francophones formed a minority of those earning salaries of more than \$5,000¹ (Francophone-owned firms excepted). Most Francophone salaried personnel at these levels in large manufacturing enterprises worked in firms under the control of Anglophones. In all such manufacturing firms, the proportion of Francophones tended to decline as salary level increased.

Summary

2. Regional variations

1031. The patterns of deployment of the two language groups in Quebec manufacturing differed notably according to whether a firm's operations were carried on only within the province or in other parts of Canada as well. Also, the patterns in areas of Francophone concentration outside Quebec appeared to differ from those inside the province. Within Quebec there were again notable differences between Montreal and the rest of the province.

1032. These three geographic areas—Canada outside Quebec, Quebec outside Montreal, and the Montreal metropolitan census area itself—are in one sense three distinctive language regions. In the part of Quebec lying outside Montreal, those of French mother tongue formed 92 per cent of the male labour force in 1961. In Canada outside Quebec, they made up 7 per cent. In the Atlantic provinces and Ontario, the proportion of those of French mother tongue was slightly higher—13 per cent in the Atlantic provinces and 7 per cent in Ontario. In the Montreal metropolitan census area, the percentages were 62 for those of French mother tongue and 38 for those of English and other mother tongues.

a) Canada outside Quebec

1033. The general pattern of Francophone disadvantage is now familiar: in income, occupation, schooling, and position in the large corporations, Francophones rank low. This is not simply a factor of minority status, for the disadvantages of Francophone workers outside Quebec stand in sharp contrast to the place of Anglophone workers in Quebec.

1034. In the Atlantic provinces, where a small fragment of the work force in our sample was located, roughly 13 per cent of all employees in the large manufacturing firms surveyed were Francophones, and the

Atlantic provinces

¹ It must be remembered that these observations are based on a sample of enterprises containing several with establishments outside Quebec (see note to § 1020).

proportion decreased as salary level increased: they formed 10 per cent at the lower salary levels, less among personnel at the middle salary levels, and were virtually absent at the highest income level. Slight as such participation was, in the medium-sized firms the proportion was still lower—7 per cent.

Ontario 1035. In Ontario the proportion of all Francophones employed in the sample firms was lower again: about 5 per cent. Those earning from \$5,000 to \$6,499 made up about 4 per cent of the total at this salary level, while at the topmost levels Francophone participation was around 3 per cent.

Western provinces 1036. In the western provinces, Francophones made up less than 1 per cent of all employees in the large manufacturing firms, although their share of the positions with salaries of over \$5,000 a year—2 per cent—was somewhat higher. Among the smaller firms, the percentage of Francophones at all levels was as low as in the large companies—about 1 per cent.

1037. In all establishments located outside Quebec, then, the participation of Francophones was very slight. It was most substantial in those areas in New Brunswick and Ontario where Francophones form a sizable part of the population. In such areas, however, their proportion was noticeably higher in the group earning less than \$5,000. In the mainly Anglophone areas, the few Francophone employees on staff were more evenly distributed throughout the different wage and salary levels.

b) Quebec outside Montreal

Large corporations 1038. Of the total male labour force in Quebec outside the Montreal metropolitan census area, almost 92 per cent were of French mother tongue. In the large corporations surveyed in this region, 86 per cent of the employees earning less than \$5,000 and 85 per cent of all salaried workers were Francophones. Among the smaller firms the numerical predominance of Francophones was even more marked: the percentages of Francophones among wage-earners and all employees were 95 and 93 respectively. Roughly 90 per cent of employees in our samples of manufacturing firms in Quebec outside Montreal were of French mother tongue. However, the small Anglophone group was highly concentrated at the opposite end of the salary spectrum from the Francophone minority in manufacturing plants outside Quebec.

1039. The highly advantaged position of Anglophones in the large manufacturing firms in Quebec outside Montreal can be summarized briefly: although only 15 per cent of all employees were Anglophones, they comprised some 30 per cent of those earning more than \$5,000.

Moreover, they made up 61 per cent of those earning from \$10,000 to \$14,999, and 77 per cent of those in the highest income range (Table 67).

Table 67. Language Group of Salaried Personnel in Quebec outside Montreal

Percentage distribution within salary levels of salaried personnel in 31 large manufacturing firms, by language group¹ — Quebec (excluding Montreal), 1964

Salary level	Number	Language group		
		Francophones	Anglophones	Total
\$ 5,000- 6,499	1,704	82	18	100
6,500- 7,999	1,309	76	24	100
8,000- 9,999	773	61	39	100
10,000-11,999	266	42	58	100
12,000-14,999	158	35	67	100
15,000 and over	132	23	77	100
All salary levels	4,342	70	30	100

Source: Morrison, "Large Manufacturing Firms."

¹ The language group was determined on the basis of mother tongue, or the official language of greatest fluency if the mother tongue was neither French nor English.

1040. The striking advantages of Anglophones were inversely reflected in the proportion of Francophone managers in the higher salary brackets, which was almost halved every time the salary level went up \$5,000: Francophones constituted approximately 80 per cent of those earning \$5,000 to \$9,999, 40 per cent of those earning \$10,000 to \$14,999, and 20 per cent of those earning \$15,000 and over.

1041. As noted above, there was a sharp distinction in the employment of Francophones at the higher salaried level between the large manufacturing firms owned by Francophone interests and those owned by Anglophone groups. In the firms owned by Canadian and foreign Francophones, 97 per cent of those earning salaries of \$5,000 or more were Francophones. However, as in the whole group of Francophone-owned firms, the number of personnel employed by these firms was only a small fraction of the total employment by sample firms in Quebec outside Montreal. As a result, Anglophones predominated in the positions of influence in the large Quebec manufacturing concerns outside Montreal, despite the offsetting situation in the Francophone-owned firms.

Francophone-
owned firms

Smaller firms

1042. In the smaller firms, the Anglophone employees did not enjoy as great an advantage. This reflects the very high proportion of smaller firms in the region which were both owned by Francophones and staffed for the most part with Francophone managers at all levels of responsibility. Even so, in these firms, Anglophones were proportionally three times more numerous among salaried personnel than among wage-earners.

Francophones outside Quebec

1043. The true extent of the Anglophone advantage in Quebec industry outside Montreal is very clear when contrasted with the position of Francophones outside Quebec. Approximately 30 per cent of all personnel earning more than \$5,000 in the sample of large manufacturing companies in Quebec outside Montreal were Anglophones, a proportion which was over four times that of Anglophones in the male labour force of the areas. By contrast, less than 4 per cent of the personnel at the same levels outside Quebec were Francophones—a little more than half the proportion of Francophones in the non-Quebec male labour force. Whereas the proportion of Anglophones at the higher salary levels in Quebec outside Montreal increased as the salary levels rose, the proportion of Francophones outside Quebec slightly declined at the higher salary levels. Thus, in terms of concentration in the command posts of Canadian manufacturing industry, the Anglophone presence was overwhelming, even in the regions where they were very much in the minority.

Persistence of the patterns

1044. As these patterns of participation indicate, firms relied heavily on the local labour market for blue-collar employees but very little for higher managerial and professional staff. This situation reflects the circumstances at the founding of many big operations in Quebec.¹ Many of these firms brought with them their own skilled craftsmen as well as foremen, engineers, and managers. They relied on the local community only for blue-collar workers, some clerical help, and a few more highly paid people to perform roles as intermediaries between the plant management and the Francophone workers and community.

1045. Some changes have occurred, but strong traces of the old pattern still remain. The fact that 79 per cent² of personnel at salary levels from \$5,000 to \$7,999 were Francophones suggests that there has been both a sizable movement of Francophone blue-collar workers into supervisory and lower managerial positions and an increasing reliance on Francophones in the "relations" functions. However, there appears to have been little increase in the Francophone proportion of administrative and professional employees.

¹ See E. C. Hughes, *French Canada in Transition* (Chicago, 1943).

² This percentage applies to the large corporations in Quebec outside Montreal; the corresponding figure for Quebec as a whole is 59 per cent.

c) *Montreal metropolitan area*

1046. In 1961 there were some 337,000 men of French mother tongue in the labour force of the Montreal metropolitan census area. They represented 62 per cent of the male labour force in the Montreal metropolitan census area; the other 38 per cent was split between those of English mother tongue (23 per cent) and those of other mother tongues (15 per cent). Montreal is a great mixer of peoples and languages, but numerically the two charter groups and the two official languages still predominate. Table 68 shows the relative position of Francophones and Anglophones in the Montreal operations of 36 large manufacturing corporations.

Table 68. Language Group of Salaried Personnel in Montreal

Percentage distribution within salary levels of salaried personnel in 36 large manufacturing firms, by language group¹—Montreal metropolitan census area, 1964

Salary level	Number	Language group		Total
		Francophones	Anglophones	
\$ 5,000- 6,499	2,655	49	51	100
6,500- 7,999	1,946	41	59	100
8,000- 9,999	1,337	27	73	100
10,000-11,999	593	23	77	100
12,000-14,999	557	17	83	100
15,000 and over	525	17	83	100
All salary levels	7,613	37	63	100

Source: Morrison, "Large Manufacturing Firms."

¹ The language group was determined on the basis of mother tongue, or the official language of greatest fluency if the mother tongue was neither French nor English.

1047. Francophones accounted for 60 per cent of total employment in the sample, almost exactly their proportion in the Montreal male labour force as a whole. But only 37 per cent of the personnel earning \$5,000 or more were Francophones. At the level just above \$5,000 they constituted slightly less than half the total; at the highest level their participation shrank to 17 per cent.

Large
corporations

1048. Once again, the firms owned by Francophones followed a different pattern. In those owned by Canadian Francophones, Anglophones accounted for only 5 per cent of the personnel earning \$5,000 or more, and were mainly spread through the middle management echelons. The firms owned by foreign Francophones interests, on the other hand, employed a larger proportion of Anglophones—about

Francophone-
owned firms

29 per cent—whose greatest concentration occurred at the higher salary levels and who, for the most part, held jobs in marketing.

Smaller firms

1049. In the smaller firms, the greater extent of Francophone ownership and the almost exclusive employment of Francophones produced an overall distribution more favourable to French-speaking personnel. Francophones formed 73 per cent of the wage-earners and 51 per cent of the salaried personnel.

**Comparison
with Quebec
outside
Montreal**

1050. Compared with the rest of Quebec, Montreal has greater linguistic heterogeneity. In the large Montreal corporations, the proportions of Francophones earning less than \$5,000 and more than \$5,000 were lower by 20 and 34 points respectively. In other words, for employees of the large corporations, Montreal was a much more Anglophone milieu. The difference between Montreal and the rest of Quebec was most acute in the lower salary ranks. The proportion of Francophone employees at the \$5,000 to \$6,499 level dropped from 82 per cent outside Montreal to 49 per cent within the metropolitan area, while among those earning \$15,000 and over it fell only from 23 to 17 per cent.

1051. Despite this situation, Francophone participation in the Montreal manufacturing industry remained far above that in the rest of Canada. To this extent the pattern in the bilingual metropolis still strongly reflected the French character of Quebec.

Summary

1052. Obviously, the participation of Francophones and Anglophones in the Canadian manufacturing industry was influenced by regional factors. Outside Quebec, few Francophones were present and they followed one of two participation patterns. In areas of Francophone concentration, there was a larger proportion of Francophone employees earning less than \$5,000 than those earning more than that amount; in Anglophone areas, the extremely rare Francophone employees were spread throughout the different wage and salary levels. In Quebec outside Montreal, Francophones were an overwhelming majority of the salaried employees, and the few Anglophones were concentrated in the higher positions. Montreal was something of a half-way stage, the proportion of Francophone and Anglophone employees being more nearly equal. Yet here, as elsewhere in the country, Anglophone predominance at the upper levels was clear.

B. The Place of French

Methodology

1053. It is difficult to measure the actual use of languages in the day-to-day activities of firms. For the large firms we have data on the number and function of specific positions designated as requiring a

bilingual incumbent, on the language of work within specific work units,¹ and on the language of memos and other documents. The less-detailed questionnaire for smaller firms solicited information on the proportion of Francophone and Anglophone employees with bilingual ability, on the use of spoken and written French in various fields of work within the firm, and on the relative importance of the ability to speak French or English in various levels and divisions within the enterprise.

1. The general pattern

1054. The general situation is well illustrated in the large corporations by the distribution of Francophone and Anglophone personnel earning \$5,000 or more between posts that call for bilingualism and those without such a requirement (Table 69). In general, bilingualism was demanded of most Francophones but not of most Anglophones. Throughout his career, the probability of an Anglophone finding himself in a bilingual post was roughly one in seven, while for a Francophone the probability was seven out of eight. There are regional variations in this pattern; obviously, a firm's language practices are affected by the languages spoken in the area where it is situated.

Table 69. Salaried Personnel in Bilingual Positions

Percentage of Francophone and Anglophone salaried personnel occupying positions requiring bilingual ability in 36 large manufacturing firms—Canada, 1964

Salary level	Francophones		Anglophones	
	Number	%	Number	%
\$ 5,000- 6,499	2,830	68	5,032	8
6,500- 7,999	1,870	81	3,474	12
8,000- 9,999	862	88	2,586	13
10,000-11,999	260	82	1,108	15
12,000-14,999	149	87	845	15
15,000 and over	131	88	741	15
All salary levels	6,102	76	13,786	11

Source: Morrison, "Large Manufacturing Firms."

¹ The term "work unit" refers to departments or divisions within each firm defined both on a regional and a functional basis. For instance, a firm that operates manufacturing plants and sales offices in both Montreal and Toronto would be classified as having four separate "work units." Clearly, work units may vary greatly in terms of size. See description of Morrison, "Large Manufacturing Firms," in Appendix VII.

2. Regional variations

a) Outside Quebec

1055. Considering the small extent of participation by Francophones in business outside Quebec, it is not surprising that French had a very restricted use as a language of work. According to our survey of large corporations, some 97 per cent of work areas outside Quebec operated totally in English. The only places where French was used to any noticeable extent were those few areas where it is the language of the local population and therefore of the blue-collar workers.

Employees
earning \$5,000
or more

1056. Among the employees earning more than \$5,000, the use of French was extremely limited. In the operations of the large corporations outside Quebec, fewer than 2 per cent of the Anglophone managers were required by their job specifications to speak French. In the smaller firms as well, only a very small proportion needed to be bilingual. Those Francophones in this group—2 to 4 per cent of the total—were almost all bilingual. For them the opportunity to use French at work was the exception rather than the rule and in most respects, including language of work, they were interchangeable with their Anglophone counterparts.

b) Quebec outside Montreal

1057. In 1961 those of French mother tongue constituted less than 7 per cent of the male labour force in Canada outside Quebec, but 77 per cent within the province. Thus, the position of French in that province might reasonably be expected to have been the exact opposite to the position of English in the rest of Canada. This, however, was far from the case, even in the areas outside Montreal, where the population was 92 per cent of French mother tongue.

1058. However, French was widely used among the employees earning less than \$5,000; most spoke only French at work, and relatively few were bilingual. Also, compared with the rest of Canada, a much higher proportion of employees in this region who earned \$5,000 or more were Francophones. Twice the proportion of work areas operated in French at this level outside Montreal as in the Montreal area. More Anglophones earning \$5,000 or more—59 per cent of them—than in any other region were required to be able to speak French.

Language use

1059. Yet English is still used extensively among those earning \$5,000 or more. Except for the two lowest salary brackets in that range, well over 96 per cent of the Francophones occupied posts for which one requirement was a knowledge of English. Though the Anglophone salaried employees in this region were as a group the most bilingual of any

in Canada, some 41 per cent of them were still not required to use French on the job.

1060. Nonetheless, there was a high incidence of bilingualism in this region. It is not surprising to find that the proportion of Anglophones earning more than \$5,000 who must function bilingually was between three and four times as high as anywhere else, even Montreal; but it was less expected that the same proportion of Francophones as in Montreal functioned bilingually. Finally, 70 per cent of the work units operated in both languages, compared with 54 per cent in the metropolis.

1061. The practices of the Francophone firms provide an interesting perspective on the question of language use in Quebec outside Montreal. At the lowest salary level above \$5,000, only 19 per cent of the posts held by Francophones carried a bilingual requirement. As the salary level rose, however, the ability to speak both languages rapidly became a prerequisite attached to the majority of posts. Over 90 per cent of the positions in the \$8,000 to \$9,999 range and 100 per cent of those carrying salaries of over \$12,000 had a bilingual requirement. Even though their fellow employees were predominantly of French mother tongue, the Francophones at the middle and top levels in Quebec outside Montreal had, almost to a man, to possess the ability to speak English.

Francophone-
owned firms

1062. The language predicament of a Francophone working outside Quebec thus bears little resemblance to the situation of his Anglophone counterpart working in Quebec outside Montreal. First, at all levels in the overall sample of firms, a Francophone employed outside Quebec had few colleagues of his own mother tongue, since less than 4 per cent of those earning more than \$5,000 outside Quebec were Francophones. Second, almost none of the Anglophones were capable of speaking French, so a Francophone had little choice but to work in English. An Anglophone in Quebec outside Montreal faced no comparable hardship: depending on his salary level, from one to four out of five of his colleagues were Anglophones. Among his Francophone colleagues, 80 per cent were capable of speaking English, so the Anglophone could be sure of a comprehending audience when speaking his own language.

c) Montreal metropolitan area..

1063. High-salaried employees in the manufacturing industry in Montreal worked in English to a great extent. Over 60 per cent of all those earning \$5,000 or more in our sample were Anglophones, and only 14 per cent of these people were required to speak French in their jobs. Among the Francophones, 78 per cent had to be able to speak English. Moreover, 36 per cent of the work units in Montreal func-

Large
corporations

tioned in English alone—more than three times the proportion in Quebec outside Montreal, and more than three times the percentage functioning in French alone in Montreal.

1064. Although the proportion of work units operating in English alone seems large in relation to the situation outside Montreal, the majority—55 per cent—of all work units were bilingual. Unfortunately, there is no way of determining from our data the relative use of the two languages within these “bilingual” units. It may vary from an equal use of both languages to a very infrequent use of one or the other. As in all other regions of Canada, the proportion of Francophones required to be bilingual increased at the higher salary levels.

Francophone-
owned firms

1065. As in Quebec outside Montreal, there was a high bilingual requirement for posts within firms owned by Francophones in the metropolitan area. At the \$5,000 to \$6,499 salary level, 67 per cent of the positions held by Francophones required ability in both languages. Above this level, 93 per cent of the jobs had such a specification. Thus, for all except the lowest salary levels, most higher-level Francophone employees had to be bilingual, regardless of whether they worked as a minority group within Anglophone-owned firms or as a homogeneous majority within the companies owned by Francophones.

Smaller firms

1066. The smaller businesses in our sample required the use of English almost, but not quite, as much as the giant corporations: 79 per cent of salaried Francophones had to be able to speak English, but only 23 per cent of their Anglophone counterparts held jobs requiring a knowledge of French.

1067. These figures on Montreal and the rest of Quebec leave no doubt that English was the language of business communication in the middle and higher echelons of the Quebec manufacturing industry.

3. Internal and external communication

1068. The extent to which each official language was used varied in different fields of work as well as according to the level in the hierarchy. The language of oral communication frequently was not that of written communication. Printed material circulated inside and outside the firm might be linguistically adapted in several ways.

a) Internal communication

1069. Since clear and rapid communication is necessary for efficient operation, ways of communicating vital information have been devised in those firms with staff of both language groups. Most firms have found that special translation facilities are too costly and too slow to be

practical in the daily exchange of orders and information. The solution adopted has been to place a formal or informal bilingual requirement on those positions where communication between Anglophones and Francophones is a major part of the duties.

1070. This is demonstrated by the job requirements and the characteristics of personnel in the employee relations function. In the large manufacturing corporations, proportionately more employee relations officers were Francophones than in most other groups. Moreover, Anglophones holding these posts were more often required to be bilingual than Anglophones performing other functions. An illustration of this pattern is provided by the corporations owned by Canadian Anglophones and having their headquarters in Quebec. In their operations in Quebec outside Montreal, the vast majority (86 per cent) of employee relations officers were Francophones. Of the small group of Anglophones in this field, 92 per cent were required to be able to speak French. This group of firms has gone further than others in its adaptation, but the same tendencies were manifested to a lesser degree by most firms.

Employee relations

1071. Nevertheless, for the sample as a whole, a large number of the employee relations personnel were unilingual Anglophones, especially in the more senior posts. This is of particular significance in such a sensitive field, where clear communication with the workers and their union representatives is of utmost importance.

1072. If communication between language groups is important in the employee relations field, it is even more so in plant operations. Those engaged in production work formed the largest group of employees earning \$5,000 or more in our sample. In Quebec, both within and outside Montreal, there were proportionately more Francophones in these positions than in other types of work. There was also a bilingual requirement on more production jobs held by Anglophones than in most other fields of work. The smaller firms as well as the large corporations followed these patterns.

Production

1073. As with the employee relations officers, there was a discrepancy between the extent of bilingualism expected of Anglophone and Francophone personnel in production positions. A majority of the Anglophones were not required to be bilingual, so the burden of language adaptation was on Francophone blue-collar workers.

1074. Of all the fields of activity represented within the large firms, the field of engineering, research, and development was—with the exception of top management—the one where the Francophone presence and the use of French were most attenuated. In the entire sample, only 22 per cent of the personnel in this area of work were Francophones. Less than 10 per cent of the Anglophone engineers, scientists,

Engineering, research, and development

and technicians occupied posts with a bilingual requirement. However, for Francophones as well as Anglophones, bilingual ability was not as important here as in other fields. Although the majority of Francophones were required to know English, a higher proportion than elsewhere were permitted to function only in French. The fact that they work with things and mathematical symbols rather than words allows them a greater latitude to work in their mother tongue.

b) Printed documents

Widely
circulated
documents

1075. We can obtain a measure of language adaptation in the area of internal communication by comparing the availability of documents in French with the proportion of Francophone employees in each region. In these terms, French was used more than might be expected throughout Canada in such printed material as application forms (20 per cent), booklets describing employee benefits (27 per cent), benefit certificates (37 per cent), and employee newspapers (20 per cent). Within Quebec, these items—as well as such documents as copies of union contracts, notices, safety and direction signs, and identification cards and badges—were provided either in French alone or in French and English by the large majority of companies.

1076. Most of these documents can be printed and distributed in large quantities, and revisions are likely to be infrequent. Because they are usually short, it is a relatively easy matter to have them translated or prepared separately in French. The language adjustments on these documents have a considerable usefulness and probably an even greater symbolic importance.

Interoffice
memoranda,
shop drawings,
and manuals

1077. However, the efforts towards language adaptation of other classes of printed and written materials are less impressive. Such documents as interoffice memoranda, shop drawings, and training and instruction manuals are undoubtedly of much greater importance in the day-to-day conduct of work. These items are usually reproduced in small quantities and are speedily circulated and revised. Moreover, because they are technical and managerial communications, they are likely to be drafted in English by Anglophones.

1078. Outside Quebec, the use of English in such documents was almost universal: only two large firms in the entire sample, for instance, had bilingual instruction manuals for use across Canada. When the figures for Quebec were included the picture improved somewhat, but 17 per cent of the firms still reported the exclusive use of English in training manuals, 26 per cent in instruction manuals, 48 per cent in interoffice memoranda, and 72 per cent in shop drawings. That the Francophone labour force should be forced to rely on an English-

language version of so many of these documents—the mastery of which is vital to the acquisition of skills and job competence—is a clear illustration of the disadvantaged position of Francophones in the work world.

1079. Although our data on them are less detailed, we noted that the smaller firms in Quebec outside Montreal displayed a relatively high use of French in internal communications; the overall average is undoubtedly raised by the large number of Francophone-owned enterprises. Approximately four-fifths of the oral communication and three-quarters of the written communication were carried on in French. The greatest use of French occurred among the labour force, the next among office employees, and the least (by a slight degree) in the top ranks. As in the large corporations, French was used more frequently by those working in the personnel, industrial relations, and production fields than by those in other areas.

Smaller firms

c) *External communication*

1080. Another important aspect of the language of work in business, an aspect affected by a quite different set of forces, is external communication between companies and shareholders, suppliers, customers, the local community, the various levels of government, and other individuals and agencies. The external patterns of language use are influenced by the nature of the product manufactured, for this determines who are the suppliers and customers. In our sample, the patterns of language use in firms manufacturing consumer goods were quite different from those in firms manufacturing industrial supplies.

1081. In purchasing, two main factors shape the patterns of language use. Many firms in Quebec reported that they made it a policy to buy locally and in such contacts to use French as much as possible. Yet the great majority of the suppliers of raw materials are firms owned by Anglophones, so English is still used more often. French was used in purchasing by only 17 per cent of the large firms in our sample. The dependence on English-speaking sources for industrial supplies is also demonstrated by the fact that all the Francophone-owned firms in the sample of large corporations—irrespective of the location of their purchasing offices—regarded purchasing as a function requiring an ability to speak English.

Purchasing

1082. Only two of the Anglophone-owned firms with purchasing offices outside Quebec regarded French-language ability as either a necessity or a significant advantage for their purchasing staff. On printed forms relating to purchasing, only English was used by most corporations outside Quebec. The smaller firms followed a similar pattern.

1083. Of the large corporations with purchasing offices in Quebec, 72 per cent of those outside Montreal—but only 50 per cent of those within the metropolitan area—saw a purchasing manager who speaks French as either a necessity or a significant advantage. Throughout the province, between 59 and 68 per cent of the firms used only English for order forms, conditions of purchase forms, and specifications.

Sales and
marketing

1084. The use of French in sales and marketing exceeded its use in purchasing. Within Quebec, 57 per cent of the sales personnel employed by the large corporations in the sample (90 per cent of the Francophones and 20 per cent of the Anglophones) were required to be bilingual. However, in marketing, the nature of the product is a decisive determinant of language use. Industrial goods are most frequently sold to Anglophone customers because they are often exported to firms outside the province and also because, within the province, most industrial concerns are owned by Anglophones. Consumer goods, on the other hand, are sold much more frequently in French, largely because their markets are more highly concentrated within Quebec.

1085. The companies owned by Francophones were concentrated most heavily in the consumer goods field, with their markets largely localized in Quebec. The tendency to use French in marketing, already strong because the staff is almost exclusively Francophone, was thus reinforced. However, there was considerable emphasis on bilingualism because of the need to communicate with the sizable English-speaking portion of the market.

1086. Companies located outside Quebec but selling in Montreal or the rest of Quebec adapted their language to that of the buyer—usually French for consumer goods and English for industrial goods. In companies operating in markets outside Quebec, the dominant language was English. However, the existence of some sensitivity to the language of Francophone customers outside Quebec was indicated by the fact that 10 per cent of the salesmen of large firms in Ontario and the Atlantic provinces were bilingual.

1087. Within Quebec, the split between manufacturers of consumer goods and manufacturers of industrial goods is reflected in their patterns of language use. The former hired many more Francophones for marketing functions. Among manufacturers of industrial goods, 27 per cent of the marketing units in Quebec operated completely in English, but only 9 per cent of those among manufacturers of consumer goods did so. Advertising procedures also reflected the split. Of the firms in the sample marketing consumer goods in Quebec, only 4 conceived their advertisements in English and translated them, 7 conceived them separately in each language, and 3 translated their French-language material

into English. Sellers of industrial goods were much less likely to use French. The manufacturers of consumer goods spent more per customer for advertising on the French-language market than on the English-language one.

1088. Purchasing, marketing, and sales are the fields in which the greatest volume of external communication takes place. However, there are other smaller but important fields of activity in which external relations are involved. Public relations is one such sensitive and strategic function. Here, the exigencies of maintaining good relations with a linguistically diverse public are strongly mirrored in the selection of employees. In the sample as a whole, Francophones enjoyed the highest concentration relative to Anglophones in this numerically small field: about 55 per cent of all specialists in public relations were Francophones. The majority of Anglophones in this field are unilingual, but the proportion who are bilingual is higher than the average for other functions. Fewer work units than in any other sphere of activities used English alone. In the image they seek to convey to the public, the firms in our sample are clearly aware of the need to adapt to a bilingual and bicultural community.

Public relations

1089. Like public relations, the matter of relations with shareholders perhaps reflects a greater concern with image than with the details of internal administration. Among the firms providing their shareholders with an annual report there were varying degrees of sensitivity to language differences. The annual report of 22 out of 35 firms was available either in separate French and English versions or in a combined, bilingual edition. Twelve firms published their annual report only in English and one Francophone-owned firm published its report only in French. The practice of publishing only in English was most prevalent among American-owned companies. French was considerably less likely to be used in annual meetings and on share certificates than in annual reports.

Relations with shareholders

1090. One recurrent theme in the study of large corporations is that firms in the sample actually showed a greater use of French in external communication than market factors alone would compel. This appears to indicate a general desire to present a more "French" image in Quebec. Social and political pressures do seem to have been effective in increasing the use of French in recent years. For example, firms dealing with the Quebec government cited a new insistence by its agencies as a persuasive influence in changing their language patterns. Greater care was now exercised to submit bids and conduct correspondence in French and to use Francophone personnel in their relations with the government.

C. Summary

1091. The foregoing figures demonstrate vividly the extent to which Anglophones have been the active element and Francophones the passive in the founding of the manufacturing industry in Canada. The ventures of Francophones as entrepreneurs and managers of firms outside Quebec have been very rare in comparison with the inroads made by Anglophones in the exploitation and development of the resources in regions originally settled and inhabited by Francophones. Unfortunately, we have no more detailed data on the participation of Francophones and the use of the French language in industry outside Quebec. The materials that have been presented, however, do provide a generally accurate description of the situation. The picture they reveal is a dark one from the standpoint of equal partnership. Clearly Francophones in these regions did not enjoy anything close to an equal partnership in private work institutions in terms of being able to work in their own language and cultural milieu, or in terms of proportional representation at the higher levels.

Participation

1092. Within Quebec the situation was much more complex. Contrary to some popular myths, Francophones did have a substantial numerical presence at the managerial level in large manufacturing corporations, although considerably below their proportion in the total population of the province. Yet these bald figures tell little about the real situation of Francophone participation and French-language use in the world of business in Quebec. Although Francophones constituted 55 per cent of all personnel earning salaries of \$5,000 to \$9,999, they formed only 23 per cent of those earning \$10,000 or more. They enjoyed their highest proportional concentration in the fields of work that required bilingual ability in order to perform a liaison function between an Anglophone higher management and a Francophone work force and public.

1093. By far the largest group of Francophones earning \$5,000 or more was concentrated at the lower levels in the production or manufacturing divisions of the large corporations. This strongly suggests that most of them occupied supervisory posts in the manufacturing plants, having worked their way up from blue-collar jobs. The Francophone managers with university degrees in our sample were heavily concentrated in the "relations" functions, and the Anglophones were more likely to be in the administrative and technical divisions that offer better prospects for long-term advancement to the executive levels.

Language use

1094. This description of the distribution of Francophones among the corporate jobs gives some notion of the inequality of partnership that presently prevails. But, by itself, it underestimates the gravity of the

situation. In terms of the opportunity to express themselves, to learn and to develop within a setting where the linguistic and cultural idiom is accepted and understood, Francophones are seriously handicapped. Roughly 90 per cent of the Francophones earning \$5,000 or more in our sample worked in companies owned or controlled by Anglophones. Within these companies, 86 per cent of those with salaries of \$10,000 or more were Anglophones. Of these, only 18 per cent were in positions that had a bilingual requirement. English was overwhelmingly the language of work at the top levels. The relatively few Francophones at this level must work within a predominantly English-speaking milieu but, more important, the many Francophones at the lower levels are also forced to use English as their language of work. The meetings, conferences, telephone conversations, and written reports and memoranda were predominantly in English.

1095. No one would deny that the exigencies of operating in the North American world of business and technology exert strong pressures on companies to use English extensively in their external communications. But this does not mean that they need use it exclusively as the language of work. The fact that unilingual Anglophones predominate at the higher levels in the firms in our sample produces what could be termed "arbitrary" pressures to its use beyond those exerted by the business environment. There are many units in these firms where French could easily become the language of daily work, were it not for the necessity of communicating in English with officers and units that do not have a bilingual capacity.

1096. In our view, the present situation is highly unjust. These arrangements constitute major difficulties for Francophone employees; they have far-reaching implications with respect to work performance, career advancement, and retention of linguistic and cultural identity.

1097. At the managerial and professional levels in the large manufacturing corporations in Quebec, there is a generally low level of Francophone participation and very limited use of the French language. This situation is reflected in the rest of the Canadian manufacturing industry and in other industries where large Anglophone-controlled corporations predominate. Several factors have helped to produce and maintain this situation. Among them are the policies and practices of Anglophone-controlled firms and their managers, as well as the institutions, qualifications, and habits of thought of Francophone Canadians. Each set of factors influences the other, and the present situation is a product of their interplay in the past. If this situation is to be corrected, both groups will have to make changes in their policies and practices.

A. Supply and Employment Patterns of University Graduates

1. Supply

1098. Post-secondary education is now a virtual prerequisite for entry into most professional and administrative careers in large organizations. The role of Canadian universities and other institutions of higher learning as sources of qualified personnel is clearly important to any assessment of the chances for Francophones to increase their numbers in high-level positions. There is a marked lack of good comparable data (particularly of comparison over time¹) and no full-scale study has been carried out on the preparation for the work world received by

¹ The substantial structural differences between post-secondary education in Québec and the rest of Canada, and the scope of recent changes, further complicate the comparison.

Francophones and Anglophones in their institutions of higher education. However, some basic observations can be made.

1099. As we saw in Part 1, 13 per cent of those of British origin in the non-agricultural male labour force of Canada in 1961, compared with 6 per cent of those of French origin, had attended university. With the exception of those of Italian origin, the French had the lowest rate of university attendance among the six ethnic groups we considered.¹ Compared with the English-language schools, the French-language institutions granted a considerably higher proportion of all their degrees in the arts and social sciences and a much lower proportion in the natural sciences and engineering. Relatively fewer Francophones had either the level or the kind of educational qualifications required for managerial and professional functions in modern industry. This is particularly true for those disciplines geared to provide entry to business careers—commerce and business administration, and the sciences and engineering.

Commerce
and business
administration

1100. Slightly more than 50 per cent of the commerce and administration graduates of Canadian universities working in Quebec in 1964 received their degrees from French-language institutions.² This proportion is low, considering the large Francophone majority in the Quebec population. However, this disparity seems to be in the process of disappearing, since the proportion of Francophone commerce graduates has been increasing over the last few years. Between 1962 and 1965, French-language institutions accounted for slightly under one-third of the Canadian total of 5,456 bachelors and masters degrees in commerce. In Quebec, commerce degrees granted by the Universities of Laval, Montreal, and Sherbrooke outnumbered those granted by McGill, Sir George Williams, and Bishops universities by 1,556 to 833.³

Science and
engineering

1101. Graduates in science and engineering are in even higher demand than commerce graduates. However, the supply of newly qualified Francophone scientists and engineers in the labour market in 1961 was much lower than that of commerce graduates. According to the 1961 census, only 33 per cent of the engineers practising in Quebec, and 38 per cent of those in scientific occupations, were of French origin.⁴ According to a 1964 study on membership in the Quebec Cor-

¹ See Table 6 in Volume 3A.

² See article by Bertin Nadeau, "Inventaire des Canadiens français aptes à occuper un poste de cadre administratif," in "Facteurs explicatifs," edited by Roger Charbonneau, a part of the study conducted for the R.C.B.&B. by a group of researchers of l'École des hautes études commerciales and the Graduate School of Business of McGill University, "Corporate Policies and Practices with Respect to Bilingualism and Biculturalism/Politiques et pratiques du monde des affaires relativement au bilinguisme et au biculturalisme."

³ Herbert Taylor, "The Output of Canadian Universities and Colleges, 1962-65," a study prepared for the R.C.B.&B.

⁴ Cited by Nadeau in Charbonneau "Facteurs explicatifs."

poration of Engineers, the proportion of Francophone engineers was greater than that indicated by the census;¹ according to another study conducted in 1963 by the department of Labour, the proportion of Francophone scientists was found to be lower.²

1102. Although the proportion of engineering degrees granted by the French-language universities has increased dramatically over the last 30 years, especially in the 1960's,³ these institutions still place much less emphasis on science and engineering than the English-language universities. Of all degrees in science and engineering awarded by Canadian universities from 1962 to 1965, only 15 per cent of the bachelors degrees, 13 per cent of the masters and licentiates, and 6 per cent of the doctorates (3,989 out of 27,716 degrees) were granted by French-language universities.⁴

1103. There were major differences in the fields of specialization chosen by engineers and scientists of the two language groups. Among the engineers practising in Quebec in 1963, graduates from Francophone universities were particularly concentrated in civil engineering, with a proportion of 47 per cent in the province. But less than 20 per cent of the electrical, mechanical, metallurgical, and chemical engineers were Francophones. Apart from civil engineering, they participated most strongly in geological and mining engineering.⁵

Fields of
specialization

1104. Francophone participation in some specialities has increased substantially since 1945. Civil engineering has always been the mainstay of Francophones, and their share in this group has not grown radically; however, dramatic gains have been registered in most other specialties. In electrical engineering, the Francophone proportion among the young graduates working in Quebec in 1963 was nearly triple the proportion among those with 11 to 20 years' experience. (The creation of Hydro-Québec was probably an added stimulus to this development.) In chemical and metallurgical engineering, the proportion of young graduates was double. Of course, the original size of the French-speaking corps in these fields was quite small.

1105. Among the scientists, too, participation of Francophones and Anglophones varied in the different fields of specialization. Francophone participation was by far the strongest in the field of biology: 70 per cent of the biology graduates working in Quebec in 1963 were graduates of French-language universities, double their proportion in

¹ *Ibid.*

² *Ibid.*

³ R. N. Morrison, "Corporate Policies and Practices of Large Manufacturing Firms," in HEC and McGill, "Corporate Policies and Practices."

⁴ See Table 43 in Volume 3A.

⁵ Study by the federal department of Labour cited by Nadeau in Charbonneau "Facteurs explicatifs."

any other field. Their proportion was 31 per cent in chemistry, 37 per cent in geology, and 26 per cent in mathematics and physics.

2. *Employment patterns*

1106. Although the more limited supply of Francophone candidates qualified for industrial careers has undoubtedly been a factor in the lower participation by Francophones in the higher levels of industry, their patterns of employment have compounded the situation. Even among candidates with the educational qualifications suited to careers in industrial management, there appear to be substantial differences between Francophones and Anglophones as to where they actually choose, or are chosen, to work.

Managers and
administrators

1107. For instance, in 1964, commerce graduates of McGill were employed in industry to a greater extent than graduates of the *École des hautes études commerciales*. The latter, particularly those with a licentiate rather than a bachelor degree in commerce, were much more likely to be employed in chartered accountancy firms and in government service.¹

1108. The membership list of the Institute of Chartered Accountants of Quebec showed a similar pattern of employment. More than 90 per cent of the chartered accountants employed by the provincial and municipal government were Francophones; in industry and commerce less than 40 per cent were Francophones. Among both commerce graduates and chartered accountants, however, there was a trend among the younger Francophones towards greater participation in the private sector. Even so, Anglophones still outnumbered Francophones to a considerable extent among the younger employees.

Engineers

1109. The proportion of Francophone engineers working in private industry in 1963 was similarly low; only 25 per cent of Francophone engineers, compared with 70 per cent of Anglophone engineers, were employed in this sector.² This situation was partly due to the Francophone concentration in civil engineering, a field less likely to lead to a career in industry. On the other hand, the proportion of non-salaried Francophone engineers—those working on their own or in partnerships—was well above the proportion of non-salaried Anglophone engineers (19 per cent compared with 12 per cent). Indeed, almost half of all the non-salaried practitioners in Quebec were Francophones, and a much larger proportion of Francophone than Anglophone engineers was publicly employed (over 33 per cent compared with 7 per cent).

¹ Nadeau in Charbonneau, "Facteurs explicatifs."

² Study by the federal department of Labour cited by Nadeau in Charbonneau "Facteurs explicatifs."

1110. Of course, this is a changing picture. In recent years, substantial gains in Francophone participation have occurred in private industry. The Francophone proportion of recent engineering entrants to industry is more than three times their proportion among those who entered the labour market before 1941. Another notable increase has occurred among the public utilities since the Hydro-Québec consolidation in 1962.

1111. The pattern of employment of science graduates from Francophone universities among industrial sectors has many of the same features as that of Francophone engineers. Among scientists employed by provincial and municipal governments, 85 per cent were Francophones. Their proportion was much lower in teaching (43 per cent), the federal government (39 per cent), and non-salaried professional services (32 per cent). Like the engineers, they had low proportions in the large mining and manufacturing sectors (14 per cent) and in construction, transportation, and communications (13 per cent).

Scientists

3. *Significance of supply and employment patterns*

1112. While our data are admittedly fragmentary, they do reveal a pattern of action that includes elements of both choice and necessity. The figures themselves can be summarized briefly: fewer Francophones than Anglophones go to university; those that do so show a different pattern of concentration in the various fields of study, and after graduation they exhibit a different pattern of occupational practice. As a result, proportionately fewer Francophones than Anglophones enter the professional and managerial functions in large private corporations.

1113. The links between industry and the universities are much looser for French-language than for English-language institutions. The graduates of the English-language universities now occupy most of the top places in industry, and these close contacts ensure that the curricula are continually adapted to the current needs of industry. A different sector of the work world has been served by the French-language institutions: their graduates are less prominent in the major industrial enterprises, but are concentrated instead in the clergy, the liberal professions, small enterprise, and public service. Therefore, the contacts between the French-language universities and the economy mainly concern the needs of these sectors. Thus, the concentration on these fields and the relative isolation from the world of big business are perpetuated.

Contacts between industry and educational institutions

1114. This pattern is often thought to be the result of completely free choice on the part of Francophone students and educators. It is alleged that there is a strong component in the culture of French-speaking

Usual explanations

Canada that place a low value on the materialism of science and industry, and this has led Francophone educators and students to eschew these fields in favour of the liberal arts, the traditional professions, public service, and the smaller enterprises. While there are elements of truth in these explanations, they overlook important aspects of social reality.

Actual employ-
ment preferences

1115. A recent study indicates that, when asked to rank occupations according to their social standing, both Francophones and Anglophones in fact rated highly the occupation of general manager of a manufacturing plant.¹ Another study showed that despite the actual differences in their patterns of employment, both Francophone and Anglophone engineers strongly preferred to work for private industry. However, in Montreal, while 52 per cent of the Anglophones preferred large corporations and 42 per cent chose small enterprises and consulting firms, the Francophones reversed the order, 31 per cent choosing large corporations and 62 per cent the smaller firms.² But more Francophones and fewer Anglophones employed in large corporations expressed a preference for that milieu. At any rate, the data indicated an increasing desire on the part of Francophones to move into what was to them a new field.

Francophone and
Anglophone
perceptions of
opportunity

1116. Student choice and university capacity are inextricably tied to the character of demand from the economy and the perceptions of job opportunity which spring from it; and there is compelling evidence that Francophone and Anglophone students have quite different perceptions of the opportunities available to them. A study conducted by the department of Manpower and Immigration in 1965 on the career decisions of Canadian youth disclosed a particular sense of uncertainty on the part of Francophone secondary students about their job futures.³ In Quebec, 32 per cent of the Francophone students but only 16 per cent of the Anglophones reported they were "quite worried about where to look and what to do to find a job." For New Brunswick, the corresponding figures were 39 per cent and 18 per cent. In Quebec, 48 per cent of the Francophones and 17 per cent of the Anglophones were "quite worried about finding a job I like," compared with 44 per cent and 22 per cent in New Brunswick.

1117. The disjuncture which they felt between education and the work world was also clearly demonstrated by the students' replies. In

¹ John Porter and Peter C. Pineo, "French-English Differences in the Evaluation of Occupations, Industries, Ethnicities, and Religions in the Montreal Metropolitan Area," a study prepared for the R.C.B.&B.

² Jacques Dofny, "Les ingénieurs canadiens-anglais et canadiens-français à Montréal," a study prepared for the R.C.B.&B.

³ Raymond Breton and John C. MacDonald, *Career Decisions of Canadian Youth: A Compilation of Basic Data*, I (Ottawa, 1967), Tables 145-7.

Quebec, 36 per cent of the Francophones and 18 per cent of the Anglophones expressed worry about "getting a job for which I have been trained."

1118. Clearly, Francophone students perceive definite obstacles to obtaining the necessary training for, and making a smooth transition to, the modern work world. These perceptions relate both to deficiencies in university facilities and curricula and to real obstacles to employment in such predominantly Anglophone work institutions as the federal Public Service and the large private corporations. Obviously, if equal partnership is to mean anything, these obstacles must be removed. Ways must be found to build more bridges between French-language educational institutions and the important sectors of a modern economy. The need for such links is important in the fields of public and business administration but particularly urgent in the sphere of science and engineering where the deficiencies of the French-language universities are especially pronounced.

1119. Since the Parent Commission presented its report, the government of Quebec has made great efforts to improve its educational system and bring it into line with the demands of modern society. More students now have the opportunity to reach university, and the French-language universities themselves are expanding their programmes in the industrially oriented fields. There is also evidence that new links are being forged between post-secondary institutions and industry. Perhaps the most significant development is the creation of the Collèges d'enseignement général et professionnel (CEGEPs)—institutions designed to provide new routes to university and to offer technical training related to the needs of modern industry. These developments are gradually breaking through the traditional relative isolation of the French-language educational institutions from the world of industry.

1120. Although Francophone students now have more real equality of opportunity to prepare themselves for careers in the private sector, they still perceive barriers to obtaining satisfactory employment. Access to education is of limited significance unless there is also free access to suitable employment afterwards. The practices of enterprises must be examined in order to isolate the real and perceived barriers to Francophone participation.

B. Corporate Policies on Bilingualism and Biculturalism

1121. Most of the largest firms in Quebec and in bilingual districts elsewhere were founded by Anglophones who hired Anglophone managers to run them. The Anglophone element in management traditionally extended right down to the foreman level, and the language of

Advances in
Quebec edu-
cational system

Traditional
perceptions

management was English. Even many of the Francophone blue-collar workers needed some facility in English in order to communicate with their supervisors. In those companies where the workers were represented by a union, English was the language of industrial relations even when the Francophones far outnumbered the Anglophones. In most instances, this was not just a display of authority; it was a necessity occasioned by the management representatives' inability to speak French. Behind these language practices was the assumption that English was and would remain the language of work at the management level: there was little thought of ever having to change, for there seemed to be no compelling reasons to do so.

1122. Similar assumptions underlay staffing decisions. Firms usually had a ready supply of Anglophone candidates who had the sort of credentials that were familiar and had worked out well in the past. It was natural to draw on this source of personnel and, in times of surplus supply and in the absence of social and political pressures to the contrary, there seemed no reason to change this smoothly working system.

1123. Thus, many companies which did not actually discriminate against Francophone candidates did little to seek them out. When a Francophone was considered for management, a list of prerequisites confronted him. First, he had to be fluent in English. Second, because his academic credentials were likely to be unfamiliar to his employers, he might be expected to have proved himself in some other way. Third, he would have to get along with his colleagues, to know the prevailing way of doing things, to be at ease in the Anglophone mode of expression. As these qualifications were hard to acquire, the number of candidates who received consideration was correspondingly limited.

1124. In other instances, hiring practices were less innocent. Clearly, active discrimination did exist in some companies. However, the climate of thought must be taken into consideration. Widespread acceptance of the principle that discrimination is abhorrent in the work world is of relatively recent origin. Moreover, in the past, many more enterprises tended to be family-owned and family-run. Criteria based on family and similar connections were openly used in the selection process. Today, although some of the largest firms are still family-owned, rational selection procedures have largely replaced the informal, personal approach.

1125. The ferment in French-speaking Canadian society, especially in Quebec, has in recent years brought strong attacks on the policies and practices of the Anglophone companies, and the Quebec government has been reconsidering its way of doing business with these firms. The increasing demand for qualified personnel has stimulated many firms to begin actively recruiting Francophones. We found that the

executives of many of the larger firms have begun to view bilingualism and biculturalism in a new and concerned light.

1126. Personal interviews conducted with senior managers showed that there has been a major change in attitude in relation to the employment and retention of Francophones. Most executives stated that their companies were now acutely aware of the shortage of Francophones in the administrative and technical ranks of middle and top management and that they were going out of their way to hire, retain, and promote qualified Francophones. However, the executives felt that these efforts were often frustrated because qualified Francophones were not available in the numbers required. The competition from other employers, especially the government of Quebec, also made it difficult to retain good management prospects and, because many Francophones were reluctant to accept transfers to locations outside Quebec, efforts to develop them for top management positions were hampered.¹

Difficulties of hiring and promoting Francophones

1127. Although the executives' views on recruitment and promotion have substantially changed, those on the language of work have not gone so far. There is still a prevalent belief that English must remain the language of work in the executive, administrative, and technical ranks and that consequently, fluent English is a prerequisite for employment. The scarcity of qualified Francophones is always taken to mean a scarcity of qualified Francophones who are also proficient in English.

English still management's language of work

1128. As we have seen, the burden of learning and using the second language falls most heavily on the Francophones. It still seems to be implicitly assumed that, if Anglophone managers learn and use French, the benefits are primarily the abstract and symbolic ones of goodwill or *bonne entente*, while, if Francophone managers learn English, the benefits are instrumental, practical, and vital to the work process. This attitude reflects the executives' view that, because of the pressures of the North American business environment, English will probably remain the predominant language of work in Quebec.

1129. Many executives of the large corporations simply did not see that the conditions under which they expected Francophones to work were in themselves a deterrent to the hiring and retention of Francophones. Because few Anglophone executives had ever had to work in a second language, they failed to grasp the extent of the difficulties involved. Moreover, they showed little understanding of the impact of cultural differences—of the fact that Francophones might possess values, expectations, and ways of doing things that would affect their reactions and performance in the work setting.

The real problem

¹ R. N. Morrison, "Corporate Policies and Management Attitudes," in HEC and McGill, "Corporate Policies and Practices."

C. Cultural Differences in the Work World

Cultural differences

1130. When members of a work team have a similar cultural background, they bring to the work setting a more or less coherent set of values, concepts, expectations, and reactions that gives the organization a distinctive cultural tone. The prevailing tone is generally set by those at the senior levels. When individuals from different cultural backgrounds come together within the same organization, there are likely to be barriers to communication above and beyond those of language springing from these differences.

1131. We have already examined the effect of cultural differences on Francophone participation in the federal Public Service and the Canadian Forces. The same differences apply in private industry, and an examination of these differences sheds new light on the question of obstacles to the fuller participation of Francophones in the private sector. A survey¹ showed that there are significant differences between Francophones and Anglophones.

Goals of business

1132. Present and prospective businessmen might be expected to be in agreement on the most important goals of business organizations, but even on this basic issue there was a small but consistent difference of opinion between Francophones and Anglophones. The Anglophone responses were, on the average, more attuned to strictly economic goals than those of the Francophones, which tended to be tempered with non-economic considerations.²

Compatibility between work and other roles

1133. Clear and consistent differences were also apparent in the degree of conflict the respondents experienced between their present or prospective roles in the work world and their roles as husbands, fathers, and citizens. Regardless of whether they worked in a Francophone or an Anglophone company, a big firm or a small one, Francophones tended to feel a greater incompatibility than Anglophones between these two major areas of their lives.

Management styles

1134. The study examined attitudes towards the exercise of authority and the techniques of supervision. The standard against which the attitudes of Francophone and Anglophone managers were measured was that endorsed by many American and Canadian experts on management and administration—the “team” approach to management as opposed to a more authoritarian approach. Here again, there were

¹ G. A. Auclair and W. H. Read, “A Cross-cultural Study of Industrial Leadership,” a study prepared for the R.C.B.&B. by arrangement with the Institut de psychologie de l’Université de Montréal and The Graduate School of Business of McGill University.

² Examples of the strictly economic goals were extending the company’s share of the market, raising production levels, and making a good profit. The “non-economic” goals included provision of good working conditions, participation in the development of social, educational, and religious institutions, and reduction of unemployment.

significant group differences. Anglophones more often advocated the delegation of work and the involvement of subordinates in decision-making, while Francophones favoured a closer surveillance of the work of their subordinates. On the whole, Anglophones seemed to endorse a more open managerial climate, in which mutual advice and criticism are sought, tendered, and accepted with impersonal equanimity; Francophones tended to endorse a more leader-centred approach, in which responsibility and criticism are taken on a more personal basis.

1135. The extent of the difference between Francophones and Anglophones varied substantially according to their level in the organizational hierarchy. Differences in attitude were more pronounced at the lower management level than at the middle and higher levels. Indeed, the Francophones at the lower management level were so different that they seemed to be something of an isolated group on the management team.

1136. These differences have far-reaching implications. Although they relate to attitudes and not to observed behaviour, they are bound to affect the way each group responds in the work setting, and they compound the difficulty of communication posed by language differences. For the Francophones who work in Anglophone corporations, the implications are similar to those related to working in a second language. The cultural tone of management is that of the dominant Anglophone group. Much of the communication between busy managers relies on a shorthand form of oral and written communication based on a tacit sharing of beliefs, ideas, and ways of operating. To the extent that Francophones do not share fully in this web of understandings, they will be at a disadvantage in the communication process. This is bound to hinder their work effectiveness and the evaluation that their superiors place on them.

Implications

1137. Cultural differences also affect the integration of Francophones into informal groups at work, since people make friends most easily with others who share the same beliefs, customs, and language. Informal groups are of considerable significance in big organizations; many important decisions are made in this context, and a junior manager can extend his knowledge of the company and his job through these unofficial channels. A Francophone who does not have full access to these groups, because of linguistic and cultural factors, suffers a real deprivation both in his personal relations with fellow employees and in acquiring valuable knowledge and contacts relevant to the work process. A young Francophone who intends to embark on a career in private industry thus finds himself in a dilemma which Anglophones do not have to face: he feels that he must choose between achieving success in his career and endangering his linguistic and cultural identity.

The Francophone dilemma

Differences in Francophones' and Anglophones' perceptions of the problem

1138. In general, the Anglophone managers tended to see the problems of Francophones primarily in terms of language. The majority of Anglophone managers endorsed the statement that "The more a French Canadian gets ahead in a big English Canadian company, the more he loses his language." The Francophones were much more aware of the cultural dimension: half the Francophone managers agreed that "The French Canadians who have succeeded in large companies are more English than French," but one quarter of the Anglophones agreed with the statement. The differences were even more pronounced on the statement that "Most French Canadians who have obtained several promotions in large English Canadian companies have to protect English Canadian interests at the expense of those of French Canadians." Over 45 per cent of the Francophones, but less than 15 per cent of the Anglophones, expressed agreement with this viewpoint.

Francophones' sense of alienation

1139. The last finding indicates the deep sense of alienation that many Francophones feel when they go to work for Anglophone corporations. A wholehearted commitment to the goals of the organization and the prevailing *modus operandi* is possible for many Francophones only at the risk of feeling that they have "sold out" their individual identity and collective responsibility for the society and culture in which they were born. Although these feelings may diminish with the passage of time, they are unlikely to disappear entirely.

Language and cultural differences and Francophone participation

1140. Clearly, both language differences and cultural differences have far-reaching implications for the participation of Francophones in large business enterprises. They have discouraged participation in the past and, despite changes, continue to do so now. The hardships—the Francophones' sense of alienation, their difficulties in communication, and their inability to work as effectively as they might—cannot be removed by making minor adjustments to the existing situation. Francophones must be able to work and evolve in settings more closely attuned to their own cultural milieu.

D. Corporate Personnel Practices¹

1. Recruitment

Language requirements

1141. Many companies are now making it a policy to hire more Francophones than ever before. However, candidates for white-collar jobs are still usually required to have a certain degree of fluency in English. In the large manufacturing firms which answered our question-

¹ Unless otherwise noted, the figures in this section are based on Morrison, "Large Manufacturing Firms," in HEC and McGill, "Corporate Policies and Practices." It must be remembered that the data refer only to practices during the 12 months ending June 30, 1964.

naire on recruiting policy, almost 70 per cent of the Francophones hired at salaries of from \$5,000 to \$9,999 during 1963-4 had to have a knowledge of English. The firms owned by Francophones, which hired relatively few people, placed an even greater insistence on the ability to speak English.

1142. The language requirements for managers were higher than those for engineers. For management positions in the manufacturing, marketing, and employee relations functions, the firms imposed a bilingual requirement on almost 90 per cent of their new Francophone employees. In the manufacturing function, 100 per cent of the Francophones hired at salaries of \$6,500 or more had to be able to speak English. In employee relations, over 90 per cent at all salary levels required a knowledge of English. In contrast, less than 60 per cent of the Francophone engineers and scientists hired at salaries below \$10,000 a year had to be able to speak English. This bilingual requirement was 20 to 30 percentage points lower than that for Francophone engineers and scientists already on staff.

1143. All but one company in our sample did make French-language application forms available. Although these forms applied more to the hiring of blue-collar than salaried employees, it is reasonable to assume that French was also used extensively by the recruiting teams when approaching Francophone white-collar prospects.

1144. Until recently, the big companies have relied heavily on the graduates of English-language universities and on immigrants for the vast majority of their highly educated recruits but, at the time of our survey, their recruiting teams definitely were not overlooking the French-language institutions.¹ They paid on average twice as many visits to French-language universities as to the English-language institutions. However, in relation to the number of graduates available in 1963-4 from each group of universities, the recruiting efforts at the French-language universities were disproportionately large only for science and engineering graduates. For commerce graduates, in fact, the ratio of visits per graduate was higher for the Quebec English-language institutions than for the French-language universities.

1145. The results of these visits in terms of the number of job offers made and the number of people hired is an entirely different matter. Of the total of 277 graduates in commerce and engineering hired, 24 per cent were from French-language universities and 75 per cent from English-language universities. Nearly two-thirds of all those hired were from English-language universities outside Quebec. Generally

Language use

University
recruiting

¹ The following data must be treated with caution, since less than half the firms in our sample reported that they sent recruiting teams to the universities at all, and we do not know the recruiting methods of the others.

speaking, supply of and demand for managerial prospects and for scientific and engineering prospects appeared to be somewhat different. The proportionately greater demand from Quebec industry for engineers was reflected both in the numbers hired outside Quebec and in the fact that the firms had relaxed their bilingual requirements in order to hire more engineers from the French-language universities.

Interpretation
of recruitment
data

1146. It is difficult to generalize from these data because of the small sample and the short time period involved. They reflect recruitment in only two categories of recent university graduates rather than total hiring and, since they deal with French- and English-language universities rather than individuals, they do not take into account the fact that some of those hired from each group of universities may be of the other linguistic community.¹ However, one thing is clear: the proportion of Francophones among recent recruits was much below the proportion of Francophones in the population of Quebec. It was even 10 points or more below the proportion of Francophones at the lower salary levels already on staff in these companies. Clearly, some intervening factor, such as language difficulty or Francophone reluctance to join the Anglophone corporations, is hindering the development of Francophone participation in private industry.

2. Training

Formal
training

1147. Rapid changes in technology and the need to develop managerial and supervisory skills make it necessary for both companies and their employees to devote a great deal of expense and energy to further education. Thirty-two of the large firms in the sample were engaged in one way or another in further education. Of these, 24 conducted courses within the firm and also offered assistance to employees taking evening and extension courses at universities, technical schools, and other institutions. Nearly 100,000 man-days per year were being spent by employees taking courses inside and outside their companies.

1148. In training given within the companies, Anglophones spent a slightly greater number of man-days taking courses in management and supervisory techniques than Francophones (6,362 man-days as compared with 5,892). However, as only about one-quarter of the total salaried personnel in our sample were Francophones, it is clear that a relatively greater emphasis was being devoted to French-speaking employees.

1149. In the functions of marketing, and finance and accounting, the proportional split of man-days spent in training was more nearly equal

¹ Although only 24 per cent of university graduates hired in the year preceding July 1964 were from French-language institutions, 33 per cent of all those hired were Francophones.

to the proportion of each language group currently employed in these functions. There was a high proportion of Francophones among those taking courses in process operation and other technical fields. Such courses are mainly conducted for skilled and semi-skilled workers, who in Quebec are mostly Francophones.

1150. Francophones were instructed in the English language in nearly all course areas, except for training in supervisory techniques and process operation, where the proportion of man-days spent taking courses given in French was much greater. In marketing and in finance and accounting, nearly all instruction was given in English.

Language of
instruction

1151. The proportion of man-days spent on courses taken outside the companies by Francophones (40 per cent) was significantly greater than their proportion in total salaried employment (25 per cent). No data on the language of instruction were available.

1152. If a Francophone has either little or no knowledge of English, he will face difficulties in working in most units in most of the companies in our sample, where English is the language of work. In the French-owned companies, of course, this is not likely to be true.

Language
training

1153. Many companies are trying to overcome the language problems of recent recruits—as well as that of older employees—by offering language training themselves, or by subsidizing it. Although this practice was for the most part very recent, language training has become a substantial item in the training budgets of many firms. The 32 firms in our sample that offered any kind of training or assistance had spent a total of \$239,700 on language training over the 12-month period prior to the survey. This was almost one-quarter of the total spent on training courses of all kinds.

1154. However less than one-quarter of the man-days spent on language training involved Francophones learning English. By far the larger absolute effort was made to teach French to Anglophones. Yet a different picture emerges if the number of persons involved is considered: there were more Francophones taking English courses.

1155. A new employee also receives informal training from his more experienced colleagues. Much of this training is carried on the context of friendly informal relationships among small groups of associates. This type of relationship occurs more easily among people who share linguistic and cultural backgrounds than among those from different backgrounds. Previously we have noted that a large majority of employees earning \$5,000 or more in the Quebec industries in our sample were Anglophones. Therefore, simply in terms of the number of his colleagues with whom he shared language and culture, a Francophone recruit was at a disadvantage.

Informal
training

1156. However, the heaviest concentrations of Francophones occurred at the lower salary levels, where most new management employees start. In Quebec outside Montreal, three-quarters of those earning less than \$10,000 a year were Francophones. In the Montreal area itself, 45 per cent in this salary range were Francophones. In aggregate terms, it would appear that a newly hired Francophone at this level would have adequate opportunity for making contact with people of his own language and cultural background.

1157. Yet, with the larger proportion of Anglophones in the higher ranks, a Francophone recruit would seem to have less opportunity to make such contacts with his superiors. Superior-subordinate social contacts frequently play a large part in career advancement; they can offer a means of gaining valuable knowledge about company policies and techniques, and they can also give a subordinate an opportunity to demonstrate his capacity and bring himself to the notice of those who make promotion decisions.

1158. The advice and consideration of more senior colleagues may be valuable, for instance, when a decision is made about the division of the company in which a new recruit is to work. Some areas are recognized to be more conducive to later career advancement than others. Where there is some choice in the matter of initial placement within the firm, a new recruit could well use the advice of knowledgeable colleagues. Although our data on this point were far from conclusive, recent Francophone entrants to the work world appeared to be placed more often than Anglophones in functional areas less favourable to future advancement.¹

1159. Training, both formal and informal, is obviously of key importance in the development of an individual's career. At present, the amount of formal training given to Francophones seems to be proportionate to their numbers but, if Francophone participation at the upper echelons is to be increased, it may be necessary to assign to them a more than proportionate share of the training budget. While training will help ease the progress of a Francophone in an Anglophone corporation, it cannot overcome the difficulties raised by cultural differences, and, when the dominant cultural tone is Anglophone, the informal socialization of Francophones will be impeded. These last two points suggest that effective training and development for Francophones will take place only when their work settings enable them to function as Francophones, instead of—as is so frequently the case now—requiring them to operate as quasi-Anglophones.

¹ See § 1093.

3. Geographic mobility

1160. The process of preparation for advancement frequently entails working at several different plants or offices within a company's operations. Geographic movement is explicitly built into a career development programme, and promotions themselves frequently involve transfers. Vacancies arise haphazardly at various locations and an employee must be prepared to move to take advantage of them, or to wait for a vacancy in the area where he wants to work.

1161. In our sample of large firms, Francophones were not nearly as mobile as Anglophones. Francophones constituted 31 per cent of those earning \$5,000 or more, but made only 23 per cent of all the moves by sample members between different regions. Moreover, 86 per cent of their moves were within Quebec, compared with 38 per cent of the moves of Anglophone personnel. The mobility rates of employees in the firms owned by Francophones were the lowest of any in the sample. Such firms, of course, were smaller in size and simply did not have as many branch plants, especially outside Quebec.

Those earning
\$ 5,000 or more

1162. There were some exceptions to this general trend. At the middle levels, Francophones appeared to be slightly more mobile than Anglophones, although most of the mobility was within Quebec. There also seemed to be a large generational difference in willingness to move.¹ Young Francophones were much more willing to relocate than their elders and equally or more willing than the Anglophones.

1163. On the whole, however, Francophones were less mobile than Anglophones. Their reluctance to move is readily understandable when a transfer is to a location outside Quebec where the necessity to work in English is even stronger than in Quebec. Perhaps more important, because of the lack of a French-speaking community and French-language schools and facilities, such moves will probably inflict hardships on employees' families, and their opposition to the move may well be decisive. Many of the companies surveyed claimed that in the light of this imputed reluctance among their Francophone employees, they were less often asked to move. While this displays a sensitivity to the employees' feelings, it may mean a reduced opportunity for Francophones to take advantage of higher paying vacancies that arise in different regions or to acquire the broad experience obtained by working in different plants. Thus their advancement within the organization will be less rapid and will result in the salary disparities already noted.

1164. Like the Francophone personnel earning \$5,000 or more in manufacturing firms, Francophone engineers have moved much less often than their Anglophone counterparts. A large proportion of the

Engineers

¹ Auclair and Read, "A Cross-cultural Study of Industrial Leadership."

latter working in Quebec were migrants, who had received their education in other parts of Canada and outside the country. In Montreal, more than 65 per cent of the Anglophone engineers were born outside Quebec and over half were educated outside the province. As well, a larger proportion (65 per cent) of the Anglophones than of the Francophones (41 per cent) over 40 years of age had worked in more than three different companies.¹

1165. The geographic mobility of Francophone engineers in large manufacturing corporations varied according to the kind of work they were doing. The mobility of those in the fields of engineering and research and development was considerably higher than for those in two other major functions—marketing and manufacturing.² Among the Francophone engineers, there was also a strong age difference in the willingness to move. Those under 40 displayed a much greater acceptance of mobility—almost as much as their Anglophone fellows—than their Francophone seniors. However, compared with the Anglophones, both the older and younger Francophones much more frequently foresaw objections from their wives at the prospect of moving.³

1166. Quite naturally, the Francophones' reluctance to move was closely tied to their perceptions of where they had the best chance to succeed. Although 80 per cent of the Francophone engineers in our Montreal sample thought Quebec offered them the best opportunities, only 9 per cent of the Anglophones agreed with them; almost half the Anglophone engineers named the United States instead. There are indications that the situation is changing, but the evidence is consistent in showing a lower mobility rate and a lesser willingness to move on the part of Francophone engineers and their wives. If they work for a large corporation, the consequence of this difference is the same as for the managers—a slower rate of promotion. For those who work in small firms or Francophone-owned institutions, this effect, though not as pronounced, is still at work.

4. *Appraisal and promotion*

Value of systematic promotion procedures

1167. Systematic promotion procedures usually work to eliminate discrimination at the subjective, personal level. Linked with a manpower inventory and a regular performance appraisal, they form an integral part of the best modern management development plans. Ideally, such procedures ensure that all qualified candidates are considered and that they are objectively assessed solely on the basis of clearly understood

¹ Dofny, "Les ingénieurs."

² Morrison, "Large Manufacturing Firms."

³ Dofny, "Les ingénieurs."

criteria of merit. Therefore, it might be expected that, the more such systematization exists, the less promotion procedures can be used to explain the lower proportion of Francophones in the higher salary brackets.

1168. The large manufacturing firms of our sample are quite progressive in using systematic procedures. Almost all the firms in our sample reported that they always considered more than one candidate when a vacancy arose. More than 80 per cent availed themselves of a job analysis system whereby the duties attached to a particular job and the qualifications of its incumbent are clearly set forth. An almost identical proportion used a systematic or periodic appraisal of job performance, generally involving a standardized appraisal interview.

Company
practice

1169. For job analyses, approximately 60 per cent of the firms used English only; the rest used either both languages or French only. To the extent that job descriptions were used mainly by the personnel staff rather than by the employees themselves, such practices did not influence the latter's chances. To the minor extent that they were for the information of the employees, the limited use of French might lessen the chances of Francophones.

Language
used

1170. A more important issue is the language of the performance appraisal interviews. Two-thirds of the firms reported that they made language adjustments in those instances where the appraiser and the employee were of differing mother tongues, so there does seem to be a reasonable allowance for language differences on this important matter.

1171. The use of systematic techniques does not in itself guarantee that Francophones have an equal opportunity of advancement. Despite the impartiality of such procedures, existing institutional arrangements are such that when judgements are made on past work performance, the whole series of linguistic and cultural handicaps facing Francophones comes into play to prejudice their chances of promotion. Francophones working in their second language are compared with Anglophones working in their first. The former are judged by how well they fit into the firm's way of doing things—when their own cultural upbringing may incline them towards a different approach—and by their ability to mix and communicate with Anglophone colleagues and superiors. Anglophone candidates do not face similar demands to overcome cultural barriers. Then again, factors such as the reluctance of some Francophones to take advantage of rewarding job openings in areas outside Quebec, and the lack of French-language management-training courses, may reduce the Francophones' chances for promotion.

Deficiencies

1172. We must conclude that, in the struggle up the corporate ladder, the present work system in the large corporations gives Anglophones a built-in advantage over their Francophone colleagues, which systematic

Conclusion

promotion procedures may accentuate. To achieve real equality of opportunity, the system as a whole needs to be changed in a rational and systematic manner. Unfortunately, although top-level executives in large corporations are now directing much more attention to the recruitment and training of Francophones than ever before, the implications of equal opportunity for both cultures in the work world have yet to be fully perceived and the process of providing for the "French fact" remains mainly piecemeal and pragmatic.

A. Introduction

1173. The problem of socio-economic relations between Francophones and Anglophones exists throughout Canada, but it is particularly acute in Quebec. This province has the greatest number of institutions ripe for a policy of economic regeneration and development, and it is here that the principle of equality of opportunity in the work world for Francophones and Anglophones would appear to be most fully attainable.

1174. In the preceding chapters we have painted a rather cheerless picture of the place of Francophones in the upper echelons of the private sector—both in Quebec and throughout Canada—and of the position of French as a language of work. Competence in English is essential for most managerial positions, and Francophone aspirants must often become anglicized to some degree in order to obtain such positions. Young Francophone university graduates tend to turn away from private enterprise and gravitate towards the public sector or small enterprises where they can carry on most of their activities in their own language. In Quebec, the limited participation of Francophones and the almost total absence of the French language in key areas of the private sector are highly detrimental to the entire cultural life of Francophone Canadians.

1175. However, we must consider whether these conditions do in fact fully reflect the present situation. For example, if the administration of large enterprises in the private sector is closed to Francophones, must we draw the conclusion that the same applies to all economic activity in Quebec? Since the manufacturing industry is not the whole

economy, are there sectors where Francophones may expect advancement and participation in important decisions, using their own language? Are there cases where big industrial enterprises have made serious efforts to correct the situation described in the preceding chapters?

1176. In replying to these questions, we should not restrict ourselves to the static situation we have already described; we should rather look at an evolving situation and examine the dynamic aspects of socio-economic reality in Quebec, because new developments are taking shape, certain areas of growth are emerging, and new opportunities are opening.

1177. It is the effect of these new forces in Quebec that we shall attempt to bring to light—forces that are strong enough to provide ways for Francophones and the French language to play increasingly important roles in the work world. Thus, these forces may contribute to the achievement of equality between Canada's two languages and cultures. We shall not attempt to take a complete inventory, but rather to examine certain particular examples which seem to us to be significant.

1178. First, let us consider one very important fact: Quebec has all the necessary manpower to effect the desirable transformations. The 1961 census shows that 83 per cent of the Canadian population of French mother tongue lives in Quebec, as well as 77 per cent of the male labour force of French origin, and 80 per cent of the male professionals, administrators, scientists, and technicians of French origin.

1179. Our inquiry focusses first on Hydro-Québec, where all personnel, including the highest executives, may now pursue their careers in French; we shall see how French has come to be the language of work at all levels. We shall next examine the changes in language use which have taken place in Marine Industries Ltd. Finally, we shall turn to the Anglophone sector, in an effort to estimate the possibilities for change, with particular reference to two well-known companies, Canadian National and Alcan.

1180. We are not suggesting models to be followed or rejected, but rather presenting cases where efforts have been made to remedy the very serious problems studied in the preceding chapters. Many types of experiments have been tried in enterprises which have different natures, roles, and past histories. We shall try to discover the methods by which, in varying degrees, it has been possible for French to become a language of work.¹

¹ On this subject, the July 1968 issue of *Industrial Relations*, devoted to the question of the language of work in Quebec industry, provides most interesting reading.

B. Recent Developments in Quebec

1181. Over the past ten years or so, Quebec has undergone sweeping changes in its political, economic, and social life—the “quiet revolution,” as it has been called. This phenomenon has been an all-encompassing one, but we shall mention only some of its more pertinent aspects.

1182. The Quebec civil service has become more important and has attracted new men to its ranks. It is now a genuine, modern administration; the demands of good management have been recognized and modern techniques have been adapted and put into practice. The vocabulary of administration and the attitudes of civil servants have changed radically. The very importance of the tasks to be accomplished, the weight of responsibility, the considerable increase in the resources of the public purse all seem to have created a new climate of confidence, energy, and authority. Is this phenomenon the result of a quickened collective self-awareness, or a fresh perception of today's realities? We cannot tell, but one thing is clear: the Francophones of Quebec have asserted themselves and have acquired a deeper awareness of their own identity.

The role of
government

1183. The changes that have taken place in Quebec society over the same period have led to a revision of priorities in public expenditure. Education has been placed at the head of the list. In 1964, the provincial government and municipalities spent the equivalent of more than 7 per cent of the personal income of the population on education, compared with 4 per cent in 1954. In 10 years, per capita expenditure on education tripled, while personal income only doubled. This effort is not unique to Quebec; it is apparent throughout North America, but for Quebec it has very special significance. In the early 1960's, while it was revamping and modernizing its educational system, the province had also to undertake ambitious projects in other sectors and to make efforts to overcome a definite lag in development. Today, a radical transformation is under way at all educational levels, and more and more of the recommendations of the Parent report are being put into practice.

Education

1184. Labour unions, too, have undergone changes. Here, as elsewhere, a number of new endeavours have sometimes had to be launched concurrently. In addition, the redefinition—at times tempestuous—of the role and status of workers has been punctuated by many conflicts in the public as well as the private sector; these developments have made their mark, to varying degrees, on the entire society. In almost every walk of life, Quebecers have begun to question their traditional social structures.

Labour unions

The nationaliza-
tion of electricity

1185. In such a climate, the nationalization of electricity became a symbol of emancipation. It is not surprising, therefore, that its principal outcome—at least, as we see it—should be the adoption of French as the language of work. This is in fact the first time in Quebec that a major industry has succeeded in surmounting the inherent difficulties of the language question in the North American context.

Para-
governmental
companies

1186. The creation of a number of para-governmental companies has followed on the heels of the nationalization of electricity. In the eyes of the Quebec government, these companies constitute indispensable instruments of transformation. This is the case with the General Investment Corporation of Quebec, founded in 1962 and designed to promote the amalgamation of existing firms and the establishment of new enterprises in Quebec. This corporation has acquired direct participation in a number of enterprises, among them Marine Industries Ltd., to which we shall return later.

1187. The Quebec Deposit and Investment Fund was created principally to provide a reservoir of investment capital; it was planned that this organism should accumulate assets of more than \$2 billion over ten years.¹ In 1965, the government created SOQUEM (Société québécoise d'exploration minière), designed to contribute to the development of Quebec's mineral resources. In 1968, through SIDBEC (Sidérurgie du Québec), the government undertook to invest \$60 million at the rate of \$12 million a year for five years. A portion of this large investment made it possible for SIDBEC to acquire the assets of DOSCO (Dominion Steel and Coal Company Ltd.).

The salient
points: education
and economic
development

1188. There have been two main features in Quebec's evolution over the past few years: the effort expended on education and the importance attached to economic development. As far as education is concerned, the essential machinery is already in place; in the field of economic development, the instruments of public intervention that we have described have only recently been established, and their impact is still difficult to evaluate.

C. *Hydro-Québec*

1189. A more detailed study of Hydro-Québec will give us a better understanding of the challenge that Francophone Canadians are determined to meet in matters that relate to language of work.

1190. For the first time, the Anglophone minority of Quebec is finding itself in a situation similar to that of Francophone minorities

¹ \$2,400,000,000 by 1976, according to *Le régime de rentes du Québec: analyse actuarielle* (March 1965).

in other provinces : Hydro-Québec uses French as its language of work,¹ just as Ontario Hydro uses English. We shall return to the question of language use in Canadian publicly owned corporations.

1191. Hydro-Québec is a public corporation with complete administrative and budgetary autonomy. It submits its budget for approval by the Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council so that the government may foresee the loans that it will guarantee. Furthermore, the public may follow its activities through a standing committee of the National Assembly.

1. Hydro-Québec and the Quebec economy

1192. Because of its size, Hydro-Québec is a major factor in the economy of Quebec. In 1967, its assets were \$3,182 million and its sales \$366 million² (41.2 billion kilowatt-hours). Its annual investments represent between 6 and 7 per cent of all new investment—both public and private—in Quebec, and its capital expenditures about a third of all sums invested in public utilities. These proportions are likely to be maintained, since Hydro-Québec's investments are tied to a demand for power that doubles every 10 years.

1193. Hydro-Québec has about 11,000 regular employees; in 1967, nearly 6,000 men were also at work on its construction projects and the company payroll amounted to \$150 million.³ This represents a significant contribution to Quebec's economy in employment and income, particularly as its power network extends to the furthest corners of the province. Hydro-Québec also contributes to the general economic expansion of the province, in its roles of supplier and consumer with respect to industry.

1194. The prices of electricity in Quebec and in Ontario are almost identical. Quebec can attract new industries, but only if it offers them attractive production costs and prices. Where necessary, Hydro-Québec helps to apply the policies of decentralization recommended by the various levels of government; it can facilitate the establishment of enterprises where the cost of electric power is an important factor in the calculation of return on investment. Its policies have already proven

¹ Except that, in its relations with the public, Hydro-Québec complies with the requirements of its customers.

² For comparison, Ontario Hydro in 1967 had assets of \$3,320 million and sales of \$369.3 million (49.8 billion kilowatt-hours). Hydro-Québec and Ontario Hydro serve areas of comparable size, but the latter's 2,240,000 consumers (individuals, companies, and municipalities) are more concentrated than are Hydro-Québec's 1,646,300 consumers.

³ Hydro-Québec, *Annual Report 1967*.

Preferential
purchasing as
a policy

beneficial in the operations of Cegelec Canada Ltée., Brown-Boveri (Canada) Ltd., and Domtar Ltd. in northern Quebec.

1195. Hydro-Québec's purchasing policy appears to be similar to that of Ontario Hydro; preference is given to suppliers within the province, as long as the price differential does not exceed 10 per cent. Hydro-Québec therefore makes it possible for some industries to maintain—and others to acquire, where justified—a production capacity comparable to that of industries in other parts of Canada and abroad. However, the possibilities of this preferential policy are soon exhausted: in 1966, a third of Hydro-Québec's supplies came from other provinces; when it can find no supplier in Quebec or elsewhere in Canada, the company calls for tenders from abroad.

2. *Linguistic policies*¹

1196. We shall now examine the changes that have taken place at Hydro-Québec since the first steps towards nationalization in the industry in 1944, when Montreal Light, Heat and Power, and Beauharnois Electric were amalgamated to form the nucleus of Hydro-Québec. Management and technical personnel of these two companies were mostly Anglophones, and English was their language of work. There was no change following nationalization.

1197. It would not have been easy to have it otherwise; the recruitment of Francophone technicians and administrators posed difficult problems, for the graduates of Quebec universities were almost all generalists, particularly in engineering. At the time of Hydro-Québec's creation, however, Laval University was founding the first electrical engineering centre where the instruction would be given in French, in the hope of meeting the needs of Francophone students. The creation of a publicly owned enterprise like Hydro-Québec greatly increased the number of positions of interest to Francophones and stimulated the training of specialists in French-language institutions of higher learning. During the 1950's, as Hydro-Québec grew and turned to new areas of development—the construction of power dams and transmission lines—the use of French spread within the company; when there were new positions to be filled, preference was given to Francophone applicants.

1198. These new positions subsequently came to have major importance, for they were in areas of activity where vigorous expansion was taking place. But despite the increase in the number of Francophone employees, and although they were soon to be in the majority,

¹ We have drawn our information on this subject from "La communication linguistique à l'Hydro-Québec," a study prepared by Jacques Brazeau and Jacques Dofny and submitted to Hydro-Québec in May 1964.

English maintained its privileged position at Hydro-Québec, particularly at the higher levels, because of tradition, the unilingualism of some Anglophone managers, and the bilingualism of the Francophone employees.

1199. The linguistic problem became critical in 1963, with the nationalization of four more companies where English was the language of work: Shawinigan Water and Power, Southern Canada Power, Gatineau Power, and Northern Quebec Power. In these newly absorbed companies the pattern was a well-known one: an increasingly large portion of executive positions occupied by Anglophones and a concentration of Francophones in sales and development, where contact with the public or with labour required a knowledge of French. In the other companies nationalized at this time—Compagnie de pouvoir du Bas St-Laurent, Compagnie électrique du Saguenay, and Quebec Power—management was largely Francophone and French was the predominant language.

1200. At the time of its greatest technical accomplishments and the complete reorganization of its administrative structures,¹ Hydro-Québec brought about really radical changes in its language régime. The building of the Manicouagan-Outardes complex presented a challenge that was both technical and linguistic. Manic 5 is the world's biggest multiple-arch power dam and one of the great technical achievements of our age in the hydro-electric field. It was also the scene of the most striking linguistic transformation. In addition, Hydro-Québec worked out a solution to the problem of power transmission that has put the company in the forefront in this field; its 735,000-volt transmission line was the first of such high tension and capacity designed and built for commercial use.

1201. Because the company's operations and the territory to be covered were so extensive, there were serious problems of internal communication. Whether or not the majority of the personnel was Francophone, English was the principal language of work for the newly integrated companies. A number of changes were initiated and French became the language for accounting and group discussion. However, because of the complexity of the language situation, Hydro-Québec commissioned a study on language use in its various departments.² As a result of the company's previous experiences and in the light of the conclusions drawn from the study, the adoption of French as the language of work appeared to be the best solution.

¹ Twelve private companies and some 50 power co-operatives had to be brought under one administrative roof, with integration of all their collective agreements and pension plans, re-adaptation of the distribution and supply network, and standardization of rates.

² Brazeau and Dofny, "La communication linguistique à l'Hydro-Québec."

The
nationalization
of electricity
in 1963

1202. Two principal factors would account for the speed and efficiency with which the linguistic changes were implemented: the level at which the decision was made and the strategic nature of the sectors in which the change took place. The increasing use of French by management at Hydro-Québec set in motion a sweeping chain reaction. Before the 1963 nationalization, pressure for the change had come most of all from the lower levels; the Francophones, being concentrated in development and sales, were isolated from head office. After 1963, however, pressures also came from the higher echelons, and a kind of osmotic process developed. The use of French by the new management encouraged its habitual use by Francophones as a language of work throughout the organization, although up to that time this practice had not been common. French became the language of contact with personnel, of the house organ *Entre Nous*, and of almost all other publications for the use of personnel. Since 1968, all management personnel and 95 per cent of the employees have been speaking French at work and that language has been used exclusively at business meetings and for internal correspondence.¹

1203. However, the change has been most striking in the technological field. The predominance of English as a vehicle of communication in industry and technology is a well-recognized phenomenon, and in a North American milieu it might well have seemed impossible to make French the language of work in these fields of endeavour. Yet it was the construction of the Manicouagan-Outardes complex that really set the changes in motion in 1963. Those in charge of the project succeeded in altering work habits through their own consistent example. Teams of engineers formed voluntarily to find translations for technical terms. Hydro-Québec workmen and foremen began, for the first time, to write their reports in French, with the help of French manuals and glossaries. Words like *blondin*, *bâtardeau*, and *pardier*² came to be everyday terms; thus it was proven on a grand scale that it was possible to use French for technological discussion.

3. Linguistic services

1204. Along with the efforts of the engineers, translation and linguistic research departments helped to build up a French administrative and technical vocabulary. In the head-office personnel department there is now a staff of ten at work on manuals. This staff is responsible for coordinating and revising the writing, translation, and adaptation of ad-

¹ Mr. Robert Boyd, General Manager of Hydro-Québec, on a Radio-Canada television programme on October 9, 1968.

² Cableway, coffer dam, and truck.

ministrative and technical texts for management personnel. It thus provides administrators, engineers, technicians, and the rest of the personnel with indispensable aids for an improvement in the standard of both spoken and written French. The public relations department also has a section working on language matters, writing and translating texts intended for the public.

1205. In the beginning, these linguistic services were concerned mainly with translation, but now an increasing amount of material is being written in French. It has gradually become apparent that it is more economic and effective to adapt French manuals, booklets, and forms than to translate American or Canadian documents written in English.

1206. Hydro-Québec has also set up a programme of language instruction for all employees, but particularly for Anglophones. The *Voix et images de France* method has been adopted. With a few exceptions, all Anglophone management personnel are taking these courses. According to our information, meetings now take place in French without difficulty; however, some Anglophones still write their reports in English.

1207. Hydro-Québec has given us the following data about their language and translation courses. From 1963 to the end of June 1968, 731 employees took language courses—English or French—or translation courses, either at Hydro-Québec itself or at other language schools. These courses have cost the company \$180,817 in direct outlay and \$304,470 in employee time, or a total of \$465,287. The average cost of the courses has been heavy: \$650 per person.

1208. Hydro-Québec is satisfied that these language courses have produced the anticipated results. The reasons for this success appear to be, on the one hand, the element of personal motivation of the individual employees—that is, the necessity of using the language in their work—and, on the other hand, the fact that they are working for an enterprise where they can make use of what they have learned each day.

1209. Even though the language of work is French, a knowledge of English is still considered important; almost as many English courses as French courses are taken by employees. Indeed, they are just as necessary, for some engineers have problems in producing drafts and estimates in English when customers require them.

1210. There are still a few predominantly English-speaking sectors of the company, particularly in western Quebec. In 1965, for example, 90 and 37 per cent respectively of the upper- and middle-management echelons of the old Gatineau Power Company were Anglophones. Most

Results achieved
through language
courses

Francophones

Anglophones

of these were unilingual, and the personnel—Francophones and Anglophones alike—customarily worked in English. The circumstances that have made French the language of work in other areas do not exist to the same extent in this part of Quebec. The administrative personnel therefore requested an increase in the French courses offered, in spite of their geographic remoteness from head office, so that the mobility of employees within the company would not be compromised; some administrative employees were afraid that their lack of French might jeopardize their chances for advancement.¹ The request was granted at once and, since 1965, 37 employees at the managerial level in the Gatineau region have taken intensive courses, studying 28 hours a week for 30 weeks.

1211. Finally, we note that Anglophone university graduates do not seem to be attracted to careers with Hydro-Québec, even though the company provides French courses at its own expense. This is probably due to the same factors that discourage Francophone graduates from seeking employment in most of the major enterprises in Quebec: the necessity of adapting at the same time to a new occupation and a new language of work, as well as concern over the opportunities for promotion.

4. *Relations with the public*

1212. In its relations with the public, Hydro-Québec must take account of North American technology, to which it is closely bound. In this domain, economic and technical imperatives seemed at first to block any efforts to use French as a language of work.

1213. Relations with the public fall into two distinct categories: relations with customers and relations with suppliers. In sales, it is the language of the customer, whether individual or commercial, that determines the language to be used.

Calls for tender 1214. On the other hand, as a buyer, Hydro-Québec sets its own policy when dealing with its suppliers. In the Quebec market, it calls for tenders in French; for other markets it prepares them in both languages. When it uses French, it includes an English version of its specifications in order to accustom the supplier to the corresponding French terms. Since the adoption of this practice, suppliers have been more inclined to make use of the French terms.

¹ It would seem that this fear is justified, judging from the following statement: "It is obvious... that a thorough knowledge of the French language is essential for efficient conduct of business within Hydro-Québec and its affiliates. It is also obvious that it would not be possible for anyone who is not familiar with French to receive promotions that his other abilities might entitle him to." Address delivered on April 28, 1965, to the Canadian Industrial Relations Research Institute by Roger Chartier, personnel director of Hydro-Québec.

1215. Furthermore, Hydro-Québec has initiated the practice of requiring bilingual drafts and estimates; the French version has priority over the English and is considered the official one. This is one of the important fields in which Hydro-Québec has established an official language policy. A number of companies—Northern Electric, for example—have begun to adapt themselves to this requirement, but in order to do so they must not only establish translation departments but also obtain the services of Francophone technicians. In general, the measures adopted by Hydro-Québec have made possible an increase in the use of French in Quebec's economic life.

Drafts and estimates

5. *The Hydro-Québec Research Institute*

1216. The demand for electricity increases between 7 and 8 per cent per year; considering the present and foreseeable cost of electricity as well as the problem of transmission over great distances, all the possibilities for profitable hydro-electric development will have been exhausted by 1985. Hydro-Québec has therefore turned to thermal energy. It has built a thermal power station at Tracy, and has begun the construction of a nuclear power plant at Gentilly, in co-operation with Atomic Energy of Canada and with financial assistance from the federal government. The company has also decided to build its own centre of electrical research and experimentation, at an initial cost of \$30 million; in 10 years this sum will probably have to be doubled. The Institute will be devoted to pure and applied research on transmission and conversion of energy. It will be the only Canadian centre almost exclusively servicing the industry. Most of its fields of research, however, such as its work on the fuel cell,¹ are of worldwide interest.

Energy:
requirement for
technological
development

1217. The Research Institute will be completed in 1971 and will employ about 200 researchers of all languages and origins. In co-operation with universities, it will contribute to the training of highly qualified technicians and scientists, and will offer them attractive careers. The internal language of work will be French; for relations with the public, the language of the customer will be used.

6. *Conclusions*

1218. The radical change in the use of language at Hydro-Québec is a special case. It could not be extended to all major enterprises in Quebec, since conditions differ greatly from one to another. We may nevertheless learn some useful lessons from Hydro-Québec's experience. What impresses us most forcibly is the striking change in attitudes to language since the nationalization in 1963.

¹ The fuel cell will make possible great reductions in the cost of transmitting energy.

1219. The Brazeau-Dofny study noted the scepticism prevailing at Hydro-Québec at the time with regard to the official adoption of French as the language of work at all levels of the company. The preponderance of English in the technical, commercial, and administrative sectors in North America seemed to present an insurmountable obstacle. Particular concern was voiced over the necessity of communicating with the surrounding Anglophone world. In such a context, the adoption of French as a language of work seemed unrealistic, and there was fear that this might turn Hydro-Québec into an enclave.

1220. But the use of French as a language of work has succeeded, and the early fears have proved unfounded. We have reason, therefore, to wonder whether perhaps the use of English had been traditionally maintained only because company executives were unilingual Anglophones, and whether the real needs of the situation had simply been overshadowed by the sheer weight of tradition and historical circumstance.

1221. It was the vitality of the relationship between superiors and subordinates above all that assured the success of Hydro-Québec's linguistic reorganization. When the top management of an enterprise breaks away from certain established practices, employees may be disposed to accept the change; but to be fully effective, a break with the past needs methodical and sustained effort, as well as concrete measures for carrying it out. In Hydro-Québec's case the challenge was a formidable one; originality and inventiveness were essential, as well as the outlay of considerable resources on what, in North America, was a new technical language.

Qualified
personnel: the
"vicious circle"
of supply and
demand

1222. The story of Hydro-Québec shows how closely supply and demand of qualified personnel are related. Custom in recruiting and language of work seem to have contributed as much as technical training—or the lack of it—to the division of work between the two linguistic groups. Francophones did not occupy key positions, but this was not necessarily because of a lack of technical and administrative training. If they were not trained differently in their professional schools, it was also because of the paucity of opportunities open to them.¹

1223. For the time being, Hydro-Québec is a unique example. In other enterprises, past experience and efforts have been attended by different circumstances. Hydro-Québec leads the way because it embarked on new paths and has shown them to be practical and capable of producing results. This is perhaps its most important contribution to the field of language and culture which interests us.

¹ Brazeau and Dofny, "La communication linguistique à l'Hydro-Québec," 13.

D. Marine Industries Ltd.

1224. Marine Industries Ltd. is a manufacturing enterprise which was taken over by the General Investment Corporation of Quebec in 1965. Marine Industries itself controls two other companies, Forano Ltd. and Volcano Ltée.¹ Its head office is in Montreal and it has shops and shipyards at Sorel-Tracy and Paspébiac.

1225. The Marine Industries group employs some 4,500 people, including 200 engineers, technicians, and draftsmen. Its sales increased from \$53 million in 1965 to \$67 million in 1966, and to \$79 million in 1967. In sales volume, the group ranks 77th among the 100 largest Canadian enterprises.

1226. Our examination will focus mainly on the shops and shipyards at Sorel, where operations have been diversified over the last few years; the company has added the manufacture of railway cars, turbines, and alternators to its shipbuilding operations. It is also engaged in the refloating of ships. Its fleet of draggers is the biggest in Canada.

1227. Before the General Investment Corporation took control of Marine Industries Ltd. in 1965, the enterprise was owned by a Canadian Francophone family, but the administration's language of work was mainly English, particularly for accounting, minutes, memoranda, and meetings of the executive committee and the board of directors. English was also the language of work for engineers and technicians. French was used more often by the workmen; since the shipyard was at Sorel, in a French-speaking region, the labourers were almost all Francophones. The situation followed the widespread pattern of industrial life in Quebec, as we saw it in Chapter XII.

1228. With the change in management, French has become the language of work for the general management and executives of the enterprise. Without any precise directives on language policy, management extended the use of French to its relations with employees. The same phenomenon occurred as at Hydro-Québec: the new management's attitude led the Francophones to begin using French as a matter of course; the Anglophones too began to realize the usefulness of knowing the language or learning it. Thus, French has become the principal language of the company's administration (including accounting).

1229. However, the situation is different in production and technology. In these fields, the language of work is that of the customer, who in this sense is in command of the language situation. This is

Language
of work

Language
of service
and its
effects

¹ The head office of Volcano Ltée is in Montreal, its plant is at Saint-Hyacinthe, and it has sales offices in Toronto and Quebec. The head office and plant of Forano Ltd. are in Plessisville, and the company has sales offices in Halifax, Toronto, North Bay, Vancouver, Plessisville, and Montreal.

particularly clear when tenders are called for very complex projects. In such a situation the whole world of technology and commerce has a strong impact on the language of work even within the enterprise. The "technical and economic imperatives" are unmistakably at work in such cases, and work executed for a New York, Halifax, or Vancouver customer forces technical personnel to use English even in the plant.

1230. There is at least one area of work where this impact is favourable to French. Marine Industries Ltd. is one of the top-ranking companies in the world for the fabrication of turbines and alternators, and Hydro-Québec—one of its most important clients—prepares its drafts and estimates and its calls for tender in French. This makes it possible for production and technical work on hydro-electric equipment to be done in French. The use of French in this field is encouraged by the fact that the company manufactures Alsthorn alternators and Neyrpic turbines under licence from French companies; since the technical documentation is in French, it follows that the language of work is French.

1231. On the other hand, Marine Industries has received a \$25-million order for five sets of generators for the powerhouse at Churchill Falls. The units will be fabricated under French licence but, since the customer is Anglophone, it appears that the language of work for engineers, technicians, and draftsmen will be English. In this sector the majority of the management personnel are Francophones; all are bilingual except for a few Europeans (French and Swiss) who speak only French.

1232. A number of federal government departments—National Defence, Transport, and Public Works—are also important customers of Marine Industries. The company has never received calls for tender or specifications from them in both languages; everything is in English. Communication with these departments is carried on exclusively in English, "because the correspondents with whom the company deals are Anglophone and seem to be unable to understand or express themselves in French."¹ This suggests that federal departments are considered to be Anglophone customers and, here again, the language of the customers is imposed on the company's technicians.²

¹ Letter to the R.C.B. & B. from M. Gérard Filion, president of Marine Industries Ltd., June 5, 1968.

² In the dredging division, for example, all business with the National Harbours Board and the department of Transport is conducted in English. Communications with the department of Public Works can be in either language, but are most often in English. In the railway-car division, all communications with Canadian National are in English. We shall later deal more fully with the federal government's influence on language use within enterprises.

1233. A knowledge of French is considered essential for all management personnel, but not for technicians; it is among the technicians, moreover—particularly those involved in shipbuilding—that the greatest number of Anglophones are to be found. All the Francophone executives are bilingual, but some Anglophone executives cannot speak French.

1234. The situation at Marine Industries Ltd. shows the extent of the customer's influence on the language of work in an enterprise. Due to the attitude of top management, it has been relatively easy to make French the language of administration, but it has been more difficult to do so in the technical divisions. The language used by customers in their calls for tender and in drafts and estimates determines the language of work for the technical divisions of the enterprise.

Conclusion

1235. Since Marine Industries' most important customers are the federal government, CN, and Hydro-Québec, it would not be as difficult as one might think to give French a larger place within the company. We have seen that Hydro-Québec already exerts a decisive influence in this respect. If federal government departments and agencies used French in their commercial and technical dealings with Francophone enterprises like Marine Industries Ltd., they too would contribute to the creation of the genuine equality that we would like to see the French language acquire. As it is, the federal government, in using mostly English, in effect imposes the use of that language within Francophone enterprises.

E. Canadian National

1236. Canadian National is perhaps Canada's best-known enterprise. Its operations are pan-Canadian in every sense and virtually all Canadians are aware of its vital role in Canadian history. Because of this role, and because it is government-owned, it is an important Canadian symbol and should therefore reflect certain realities of Canadian life. Canadian National's management—no doubt conscious of these responsibilities—has attacked the problem of bilingualism and biculturalism directly and on several fronts. Unlike Hydro-Québec and Marine Industries, it has done so on the basis of very explicit policy directives.

1237. In April 1966, for example, a bulletin¹ entitled "System Objectives and Policies Relating to the Use of the English and French Languages" was issued to form part of CN's policy manual, issued to

Language of
service

¹ *Management Guide Bulletin 1930*, April 27, 1966.

all officers and available to all employees. It sets out objectives and policies for dealing with the public, including suppliers and public bodies. Throughout Quebec and in other sections of Canada where French is the mother tongue of a significant proportion of the customers of Canadian National, all services are to be readily available in both French and English. In pursuit of this objective, the directive requires that in the localities or services concerned, CN offices and facilities be staffed "as quickly as practical" with sufficient personnel qualified to deal with the public in either language; signs, notices, promotional and informational material, and publications and forms for public use are to be in either language or both "as appropriate"; customers writing to CN in either language are to receive a reply in the same language; and correspondence initiated by the company is to be in the mother tongue of, or the language normally used by, the addressee where it is known or can be readily ascertained. In addition, CN policy requires that signs for the direction and guidance of the travelling public in railway stations and hotels in all principal cities across Canada shall be in both French and English "within a reasonable time." The company has established a "policy committee on bilingualism" of very senior officers who meet twice a month and review progress on implementation. This committee also formulates recommendations to the president.

1238. In March 1968,¹ such a policy review led the president to direct that steps be "immediately" taken to instruct passenger-train and station personnel that the use of both English and French is mandatory in making announcements and when addressing customers throughout Quebec and in certain other specified areas. Prospective trainmen and employees who deal directly with the public were to be advised that their seniority rights would depend on their bilingual capacity, which was henceforth to be considered as one of the important factors in selection, depending on their location and type of employment.

1239. A special group has been set up to study the problem of passenger trains and stations. The most difficult aspect of the problem involves the position of the unions on seniority rights; the company maintains that it must do everything possible to facilitate the use of both languages before asking the unions to waive vested seniority rights where bilingual qualifications are not met. A further difficulty is presented by the seniority rule that lay-offs follow inverse seniority; as a result, newly hired bilingual personnel are the first to go when reductions in the work force take place.

¹ Letter dated March 13, 1968, from the president to all vice-presidents and heads of departments.

1240. The policy objective with respect to bilingual signs has recently been extended¹ to cover signs in the principal stations in Canada down to divisional and junction points "whether the signs need replacing or not." French is to be the prevailing language in Quebec and anywhere else where Francophones form more than 50 per cent of the population.

Language
of work

1241. The bulletin of April 1966 also deals with internal communications. It explicitly states that in Quebec and other sections of Canada where the use of the French language is substantial, CN's purpose is to facilitate and encourage the use of French as an oral and written language of work. In the localities concerned, signs, notices, rules, regulations, instructional material, and publications and forms for the information or use of CN personnel are to be in either language or both "as appropriate"; internal correspondence and narrative reports may be written in the employee's mother tongue; "as quickly as practicable" it should be made possible for a Francophone employee to deal with at least some of his superiors in his mother tongue. Furthermore, CN states its intention to provide language instruction and adequate translation services, so that employees can increase their proficiency in the other official language as required by their present or prospective positions.

1242. The company is also studying the concept of unilingual French-language units. It has been examining the lateral and vertical interrelations of its structural units within Quebec as far as language use is concerned. The explorations have yielded very useful data, but no policy has yet been formulated with regard to the implementation of the concept. The data indicate that, because the *Uniform Code of Operating Rules for Canadian Railways*—the railwayman's bible—is in English, there are deep-seated difficulties in making French the language of work. Accordingly, CN has invested a great deal of time and money in translating this manual into French and has recently received the approval of the Canadian Transport Commission to use the French translation. The results of this step cannot yet be estimated, but it clearly represents one of CN's gestures towards a solution to a widespread difficulty—the lack of a technical vocabulary. To help solve the broader problem of the technical vocabulary, arising from the practice of Francophone management personnel working in English, and the corresponding difficulty of adjusting themselves to working in French, CN has set up a linguistic-services unit incorporating the translation section and the language-training service. Several manuals dealing with French vocabulary on such subjects as freight equipment and passenger business have already been published.

¹ Letter from the executive assistant to the president to the chairman of the policy committee, dated March 14, 1968.

1243. The CN studies also revealed an interesting and somewhat unexpected result: many of the employees surveyed felt that the most important factor encouraging the more extended use of French at the working level was not the need to follow "company policy" but rather the expectation arising from the general trend in Quebec towards the greater use of French at work.

1244. The company has devoted considerable attention to bilingualism at supervisory and senior administrative levels. Its efforts have involved increasing the proportion of bilingual officers for each department; broadening the base of bilingual personnel—principally Francophones—at the bottom of the management pyramid, through university recruitment; promotion and rotation of bilingual personnel to give them experience in different areas of work; language training combined with rotation; and the recruitment of senior specialists who are bilingual.¹ These efforts to establish guidelines or goals at the senior levels are made "with the full realization that it will be many years before the objectives set down can be achieved." Francophones are gradually filling more management positions, and their advancement rate is quite high—two years is an average time in a particular position before promotion. Some Francophones are employed in professions, such as law and medicine, where a much slower rate of mobility is expected. However, management personnel realize that it will be several years before there is more than a small proportion of new bilingual personnel who have acquired the management skills and knowledge required to qualify for top posts. Certainly, in spite of all these strong and widespread efforts, the predominant language of work at Canadian National in the senior administrative levels at the Montreal head office and elsewhere is still English.

Language
training

1245. As a part of its language policy, Canadian National has established a full-scale internal language-training programme.² A systematic programme of French-language training was initiated in 1963. A 22-booth language laboratory was installed and two professional audio-visual experts were recruited; standards were set under the guidance of McGill University experts and the VIF method was adopted. Many adjustments have been made since that time; at present, four groups of 10 to 15 students are on course at any given time, and each group receives six hours of instruction per week for 40 weeks. It takes about 900 hours of instruction before a student can effectively participate in the activities of a French-speaking group; even then, he is far

¹ "C.N.R. Policy and Strategy Regarding Bilingualism at Supervisory and Senior Administrative Levels," April 30, 1968.

² Information on CN language training is drawn from a memorandum entitled "Canadian National Language Training Programme," prepared by Frédéric Phaneuf, chief of linguistic services, April 25, 1968.

from being perfectly bilingual. The Montreal Catholic School Commission has also collaborated in the programme by offering three 50-hour courses to CN employees. Other courses are offered by CN's language-training service for special categories of employees, such as train crew and those who deal with the public; a special vocabulary fitted to their needs is taught. On occasion a group of employees, including senior officers, takes intensive four-week courses at Laval University or elsewhere.

1246. Although CN offers a fully developed language-training programme, it suffers from the weakness of all such programmes: the lack of a practical follow-up programme for students who are not called upon or able to make intensive use of their new skills.

1247. Canadian National's method of attacking the bilingual question by the direct method of policy statements and directives invites comparison with the methods and results of those who have used different approaches to the problem. However, such a comparison is not entirely fair. Hydro-Québec and Marine Industries set out with a different basic objective—to make French the dominant language of work in the enterprise. Because of its pan-Canadian operation, CN has not, and never will, adopt such an objective. Its aim is rather to adapt itself to a bilingual operation, and the management has certainly demonstrated a serious and determined intention to achieve this aim. But if CN is to become a truly bilingual institution, rather than merely increase the number of its bilingual employees, we feel it should consider more fully the various categories of unilingual French-language work units—an area which the company has only begun to study. Such an effort could yield very promising results in view of CN's widespread operations in Quebec and because its head office is located in that province.

Conclusion

F. Alcan

1248. Alcan Aluminium Limited (formerly Aluminium Limited) is a Canadian holding company of international scope. It is at the head of the Alcan group, whose operations we shall describe briefly in order to clarify the framework within which we shall interpret its language policies and usage.

Scope of
the company's
operations

1249. Alcan Aluminium Limited was founded in 1928. It was the offspring of an American company which had built an aluminum smelter at Shawinigan in 1900, and a second at Arvida in 1926. The latter is today the biggest aluminum plant in the world. In 1968, the consolidated subsidiaries of the Alcan group had total gross assets of

\$3 billion and a work force of 61,000. They sold 1.2 million tons of primary and fabricated metal in more than 100 countries. The group has interests in 70 subsidiary and affiliated companies in more than 30 countries.

1250. This vast international complex is controlled from Canada, because the parent company, Alcan Aluminium Limited, has its head office in Montreal. Its principal plants are also located in Canada, as are most of the assets of the group. More than 60 per cent of its production of primary metal is Canadian. Its gross investments up to 1968 were \$1.3 billion in Canada, of which \$765 million were in Quebec, out of total investments of \$2.1 billion. The Canadian work force was 18,000, of which 12,200 were in Quebec. The Alcan group in Canada comprises some 20 companies; the Aluminum Company of Canada, Ltd., whose head office is also in Montreal, is the principal subsidiary. Its commercial and industrial operations are spread from British Columbia to Newfoundland. Its principal plants are at Arvida, Alma (the Isle-Maligne plant), Shawinigan, and Beauharnois, Quebec; at Kingston, Ontario; and at Vancouver and Kitimat, British Columbia. Our examination of the linguistic situation deals only with the operations of the Aluminum Company of Canada, Ltd. and its principal subsidiaries in Quebec.

1251. A company's products and markets in large measure determine its linguistic policies. We should note that, in terms of value, only one half of one per cent of the production of the Aluminum Company of Canada, Ltd. is sold directly to the public, compared with 81.5 per cent to manufacturing enterprises, 14.5 per cent to the construction industry, and 3.5 per cent to public agencies. Foreign customers buy about 85 per cent of its ingot production, with Quebec and the rest of Canada absorbing 6 and 9 per cent respectively. Finally, 15 per cent of the shareholders of Alcan Aluminium Limited are Quebec residents.

1252. Alcan, therefore, is made up of many companies and its roots in Quebec are deeply established. It also does business throughout the world, and its international character is becoming more and more pronounced.

The problem of
language use

1253. Language use poses a problem for almost all great enterprises today. A company communicates with its customers, its suppliers, and its shareholders; it has roots in a certain environment and maintains close relations with public authorities; and, of course, its employees communicate among themselves at work. All these elements must be linguistically homogeneous if language use within the enterprise is not to be called into question. Where they are not, the enterprise should adopt a policy with regard to the language of communi-

cation with the public and the language of work. It must satisfy the needs of its clientele, its employees, and the community in which it is located.

1254. Because Alcan has worldwide operations, all the major languages are in common use within the organization, but English is the language of communication with head office. Therefore, it is natural for the company's attitudes about language use to be very liberal, and for its linguistic policies to be very flexible. In fact, in both its international operations and those in Quebec and other parts of Canada, Alcan makes it a rule to leave the choice of language as much as possible to the people involved, whether they be suppliers, employees, or customers. This rule is a corollary of Alcan's more general principle of trying to adapt to and even identify with the many milieux in which it operates. Thus, Alcan both advocates and practises bilingualism in Canada, especially in Quebec, but there is no definite administrative code regulating the use of French or English and no compartmentalization according to department, locality, or any other type of division.

1255. As we shall see later, this general policy has made French the principal language of work in the Aluminum Company of Canada's plants in Quebec, but English remains the predominant language at the head office in Montreal.

1256. In an organization which leaves the choice of language essentially to personal preference, adaptation to the milieu and the dominant language of work depend in final analysis on a company's policies of recruitment and promotion; these in turn determine the respective proportions of Francophones and Anglophones among the personnel. To classify Alcan's personnel according to language group, we shall consider its Quebec plants and head office separately, as well as its departments and the levels of its hierarchy.

1257. In Alcan's Quebec plants, 95 per cent of the total personnel are Francophones; among those earning \$5,000 or more, the proportion falls to 80 per cent.¹ If this group is divided according to whether they earn under or over \$10,000, most of the Francophones fall into the first group and most of the Anglophones into the second: the percentages of Francophones in these two groups are respectively 82 and 35. These figures are partly due to the relative absence of Francophones in the technical departments, especially among the scientists at the Arvida research centre.²

Classification
of personnel
according to
language

The Quebec
plants

¹ Unless otherwise indicated, the following statistics are based on a study made in 1965.

² The Arvida research centre does not serve the Quebec plants alone; its laboratories serve the entire Alcan international group specializing in aluminum production. Consequently, researchers from many countries are at work there; a constant stream of foreign technicians comes on study missions or for training. It is therefore out of the question that French should be the only language of work at the Arvida research centre.

French as the
language of
work in
Quebec plants

1258. However, Francophones participate fully in plant management. The manager at Arvida and two of his immediate assistants are Francophones. Five of the eight top positions at Alma, including that of the manager, are held by Francophones. The situation is similar in the other Quebec plants.¹

1259. It is consistent with Alcan's linguistic policy that French should be the principal language of work in its Quebec plants. Directives and memoranda to employees are written in French; all printed matter (forms, brochures, and other company documents) is in French or in both languages; posters, traffic and other signs, company identity cards, and telephone directories are in French or in both languages; pay cheques and benefit certificates are in French or in English at the choice of the employee. Labour agreements are negotiated and written in French, the French version being official if there is also an English version.² Plant newspapers are in French only at Arvida, Alma (Isle-Maligne plant), Shawinigan, and Beauharnois. *Le Lingot*, a bi-weekly paper of some 16 pages published for the nine plants in the Saguenay-Lac Saint-Jean region, is in French, except for a few pages which are in English. Alcan hires a great many unilingual Francophones for its plants and requires Anglophones to have at least a receptive capacity in French. Even at the plant-management level, each employee must be free to use his own language.

1260. Of course, English is still used extensively in certain administrative and technical sectors, as well as in positions of authority. Although communication with workers, office employees, and foremen is in French, management personnel often use either language among themselves, depending on circumstances and the people involved. Communications with head office or departments of the group's enterprises outside Quebec are generally in English, and a number of maintenance manuals for equipment manufactured in other provinces or abroad have not yet been translated into French. However, on the whole, French is clearly the predominant language of work in Alcan's Quebec plants.

Head office

1261. The situation at the head office of the Aluminum Company of Canada, Ltd. in Montreal is almost the reverse of that in the company's Quebec plants, both in terms of the number of Francophones employed and in terms of the use of French. Only about 18 per cent of the personnel at head office are Francophones. Among salaried employees earning \$5,000 or more, the proportion of Francophones is only 12 per cent, divided almost equally between those earning less and more than \$10,000 (14 and 11 per cent respectively). As in most

¹ 1969 figures.

² Of the 24 collective agreements in force during 1969, 15 were written in French only and 9 in both languages.

enterprises, the Francophones are relatively well represented in public relations (40 per cent of those earning \$5,000 or more) and in personnel (27 per cent). On the other hand, there are not many in fabricating (4 per cent), in engineering and research (6 per cent), or in the sales and advertising departments (12 per cent). However, a third of the personnel in accounting and finance are Francophones.

1262. In such conditions, the situation of the French language at Alcan's head office cannot be a bright one, but it is better than the statistics might indicate. Indeed, many Anglophones have worked in the Quebec plants at some point in their careers and they often continue to deal with the Francophone plant personnel, with the result that a considerable number of the Anglophones at head office are bilingual. According to information gathered in 1968, 45 per cent of the management personnel in Montreal are bilingual, and the proportion is similar for the personnel as a whole, although the percentage varies from one department to another. It is as high as 70 per cent in the personnel, public relations, and advertising departments, and relatively low in the purchasing and technical departments.

1263. Furthermore, bilingualism is necessary at head office. Although English is the normal language of communication with the plants, directives and other more general texts are sent out from head office in both languages. Engineering drafts and estimates are prepared in English as a rule, but at Alma and at the subsidiary Saguenay Power Company Ltd., this is done in French. Labels on consumer products are almost always bilingual; manuals, technical pamphlets and catalogues, and price lists are distributed in both languages, as is the *Alcan News*. All news releases for the use of the "national" press appear in the two languages, but in Quebec, regional press releases are prepared only in French. Films commissioned by Alcan are generally produced in both languages. The annual report is published in both French and English versions, and share certificates are bilingual.

1264. The language of communication with public authorities is another element that should be emphasized. Generally speaking, the choice of language is left to the correspondent; with the Quebec government and publicly owned enterprises of the province, French is normally used; on the other hand, in communications with the federal government, only English is used.¹

1265. Although there is a great deal of bilingualism within the Alcan group's head office, the language of work is still English because of the strong predominance of Anglophone personnel.

1266. Alcan was among the first of the enterprises to show concern for the question of French as a language of work. No doubt this

Bilingualism

Language courses and training

¹ According to a 1965 study on official communications.

was largely because so many of its plants are in regions where Francophones are in the vast majority; some of these plants have been operating since the beginning of the century. Moreover, Alcan's efforts at broadening the use of French in industry spring from a well-established tradition. French courses for employees date back to 1938-9. (In 1943, the International Correspondence School courses followed by employees were translated, and permission was granted for examinations to be written in French.) From the point of view of language as well as the evolution of labour relations, perhaps more importance should be attached to the job-classification project done jointly over 10 years by Alcan and the CNTU (Confederation of National Trade Unions). This work, and a number of other projects of this type, have helped create and implant a French vocabulary in the aluminum industry. The company will soon publish a bilingual vocabulary of more than 10,000 terms relating to aluminum metallurgy and to such varied fields as accounting, labour relations, and safety.

1267. Alcan has two different ways of encouraging its personnel to study languages. Anglophones whose positions require competence in French are offered courses, given during working hours if necessary, at company expense. More than 200 head-office employees have taken these courses since 1963. The second plan is for the other employees; on request, Alcan pays half the cost of any French or English course taken at a recognized language school outside working hours. Since 1963, 200 head-office employees have taken French courses under this plan, as well as an undetermined number of both Francophone and Anglophone employees at other Alcan locations in Quebec.¹ At the Arvida plant there are three permanent and four part-time French teachers.

Recruitment of
university
graduates

1268. For many years, Alcan has been making concerted efforts to recruit graduates of the French-language universities of Quebec. Among the university graduates that it engages, some 30 per cent or about 15 each year—mainly in engineering, commerce, and science—come from French-language institutions. These graduates are not required to be competent in both languages, but they are strongly encouraged to learn English so their long-term chances for advancement will not be compromised.

Conclusion

1269. Alcan, as an enterprise of international scope, has considered it natural and worthwhile to adapt to the linguistic situation in Quebec. Since the employees of its plants are Francophone, the language of internal communication there is French; French is also

¹ These plans also apply to a variety of advanced courses and further training programmes, many of which are available in both French and English. Furthermore, Alcan supports a permanent management-training centre at Geneva—the Centre d'études industrielles—which is a bilingual institution.

the language of work in these plants; announcements and directives are in French as well as job descriptions and many technical manuals. The fact that most equipment-maintenance manuals are in English only is an anomaly. This situation, which may be ascribed to external factors, might have been corrected if Alcan had always required its suppliers to furnish French instruction pamphlets and manuals. The situation is different at head office, but then head office is a nerve centre with contacts in all parts of the world, and the influence of the local milieu is therefore less constricting.

1270. The Quebec government departments and agencies, in using French, encourage a greater use of the language at Alcan. On the other hand, the use of English by federal government departments and agencies tends to perpetuate the existing linguistic situation.

1271. The company's recruitment and training policies encourage the full participation of Francophones in plant management, as well as in certain management positions of the Alcan group itself, both in Canada and abroad. However, here again we find the usual situation, common to big Quebec enterprises: a concentration of Francophones in public relations and personnel work, and little use of French in the technical and scientific sectors.

1272. Alcan's policy is to encourage the use of French in Quebec, and consequently bilingualism, since communication with the rest of the world is in English. This policy works through individuals, rather than through administrative structures, and there is no formal set of rules for language use.

G. General Observations and Conclusions

1273. We have examined the linguistic policies and practices of four large enterprises in the hope of bringing to bear on our general appraisal both the example of concrete situations and awareness of the different circumstances affecting these situations. Our observations about linguistic problems and their possible solutions have three facets: objectives, the influence of the milieu, and marketing requirements.

I. Objectives

1274. Hydro-Québec and Marine Industries Ltd. have made French the principal language of work at all levels. These two companies have not felt obliged to protect the use of English through any special rules, since this is the predominant language in North America and will continue to be necessary within each enterprise. As far as they are con-

cerned; the solution to the linguistic problem has been simple and direct, if not radical.

1275. At Canadian National and Alcan, English is the dominant language in management circles; the objective of these companies is to become bilingual institutions. As we already know, a bilingual situation is much more difficult to establish and maintain than a unilingual one. Bilingualism presupposes a degree of balance, which is continually menaced by pressures in favour of one language or the other. Constant effort must be exerted to maintain it. On the other hand, from our study of the federal Public Service, we have seen that there is a major difference between the bilingualism of individuals within an institution and institutional bilingualism. The approaches will vary, therefore, depending on which of these objectives an enterprise may choose to pursue.

1276. In effect neither CN nor Alcan have adopted institutional bilingualism. At CN, which has a complex and detailed set of directives concerning language use, the choice of language of work is clearly not left to the employee. However, this is still not institutional bilingualism, because certain indispensable elements are missing—notably the principle of French-language units and the functional and career structures which would permit a Francophone to reach the highest positions without ever being handicapped by his language and culture. At Alcan, the emphasis is clearly on individual bilingualism. Language practices are not precisely defined and the linguistic situation evolves constantly according to circumstances. Linguistic balance—even more precarious than at CN—relies essentially on the energy and perseverance of the Francophones within the company. Individual bilingualism allows for great flexibility and may be appropriate for situations where the two languages have equally firm roots in reality but, where one language tends to predominate, the individuals involved must wage a day-to-day battle to maintain the balance. Under these conditions, the question of whether a qualified Francophone can have a normal career in French does not even arise. He can work in French, no doubt, but if he is not competent in English he will never reach top management positions. The Anglophones, on the other hand, can achieve these levels without being competent in French. The principle of equality is in this way not respected.

2. *The milieu*

1277. It would seem that the most powerful influence on linguistic policies has been the overall climate in Quebec since the early 1960's: a renewed surge of nationalistic self-assertion; a proliferation of the

instruments of governmental intervention; and changes and modernization of existing institutions. This sweeping drive for reform has induced the business community to revise its language policies and practices radically. This has been done at Canadian National, Hydro-Québec, and Marine Industries Ltd., for example, sometimes helped along by a certain amount of restructuring, as in the latter two. At Alcan the changes have been less apparent, partly because the company had adapted earlier to the Francophone milieu, but there too, in the past few years, the language problem has received greater attention than ever before.

3. Marketing requirements

1278. Our studies on the private sector have shown how strong a role the language of the customer plays in the linguistic conditions of an enterprise. In the large Francophone-owned enterprises we have chosen for study, for example, 96 per cent of the Francophone personnel earning \$8,000 and over per year required a command of English.¹ Since almost all their colleagues were Francophones, we must presume that this bilingualism was imposed from outside. The smaller Canadian Francophone enterprises studied sold 72 per cent of their production in Quebec, and yet used French in only 64 per cent of their correspondence with their customers.² It even appears these Francophone-owned enterprises often communicate with each other in English.

1279. If there were a tendency to use more French in business in Quebec, Francophone personnel would be able to use the language more often at work. However, the customer determines the language to be used by the supplier—who in turn is often the customer of a third enterprise; all are caught in a vicious circle, and the French language is usually the victim, except in retail business. A decision to use French at work on the part of a nucleus of large Francophone-owned enterprises—such as Hydro-Québec, the General Investment Corporation, Marine Industries Ltd., and SIDBEC—could break this circle and set off a vast chain reaction in other enterprises.

1280. The momentum this would produce would have even greater impact if federal government departments and agencies used French, for they are often major customers of the manufacturing industry and of social and financial services. It is quite possible that, with a change in linguistic conditions, we may see that the determinant role of the

¹ R. N. Morrison, "Corporate Policies and Practices of Large Manufacturing Firms" in HEC and McGill, "Corporate Policies and Practices."

² R. N. Morrison, "Small Firms Employing Between 50 and 1,500 People in Quebec and Ontario," in *ibid.*

customer's language—which today works so strongly in favour of English—has been, in final analysis, only a matter of tradition, if not the path of least resistance.

1281. In this respect, a remarkable fact is that the two publicly owned companies that we have studied—Hydro-Québec and Canadian National—have in some ways adopted more radical measures regarding language than the two private enterprises, Alcan and Marine Industries Ltd. The first two no doubt feel a greater sense of obligation to the milieu, while at the same time being less subject to the imperatives of the market place.

1282. In closing, we note a certain desire for change and adaptation to the French milieu in all enterprises. Such adaptation may take a variety of forms according to circumstances. The time has come to examine the means of achieving it. This will be the subject of the next chapter.

A. Introduction

1283. English is generally the language of work at the managerial and technical levels in the private sector in Canada, even in Quebec outside Montreal, where Francophones are strongly in the majority. Clearly, this situation frequently makes it difficult for Francophones to enter and advance in many of the most modern and rewarding positions of the work world. In the past, this barrier has undoubtedly contributed to income and occupational disparities; at present, it is a major impediment to a real equality of economic opportunity for Francophones and Anglophones.

Language use
and economic
opportunity

1284. The present patterns of language use also affect the vitality of the French language and culture in Canada. If a language is not used in modern economic and technological activities, it faces the risk of losing its dynamism and its usefulness. English has become the sole language of work of many Canadians of French mother tongue, and there is little long-term hope for the French language in Canada if it is used in the workplace only by blue-collar workers.

Effect of
language-
use pattern
on the
vigour of
French

1285. The conditions that will strengthen the French language and culture in Canada are to a large extent the same conditions that will provide real equality of economic opportunity for individual Francophones. Francophones must have the same opportunities as Anglophones to use their own language as their main language of work if they are to have the same chances for success in the work world. French must be used extensively in business management and technology in this country if it is to maintain itself fully in Canadian life.

Limitations of
formal
language rights

1286. In Book I we presented a blueprint for formal language rights in a truly bilingual and bicultural Canada. This blueprint was designed to entrench the rights of Francophones and Anglophones to be educated in and to receive service from governmental institutions in their own languages. Our recommendations concerning bilingual provinces and bilingual districts were designed to protect the language rights of Francophone and Anglophone minorities. Since then, Parliament has adopted the Official Languages Act and New Brunswick has declared itself officially bilingual. Other provinces have also taken concrete steps in this direction. But these laws and measures are not enough to create a truly equal partnership between the two language groups. These formal rights must be accompanied by measures altering the linguistic situation in the work world.

1287. There is little reason to suppose that the free play of economic forces will in itself bring about real equality of opportunity for Francophones or lead to a strengthening of their language and culture in Canada. Left to themselves, the current pressures are more likely to lead to the opposite result.

The situation
in Montreal

1288. The several dimensions of the problem are most clearly exemplified in Montreal—"the second largest French-speaking city in the world"—where 64 per cent of the metropolitan population is Francophone. Indeed, the Montreal metropolitan census area is the home of 27 per cent of the Francophones in Canada and of 32 per cent of those in Quebec. The industrial capacity of the province is also heavily concentrated in Montreal. But the city is much more than a provincial industrial centre; it is also a great international port, and a hub of nation-wide financial, commercial, and industrial activity. A large minority of its population is Anglophone and, for various historical reasons, English dominates the management of its major private economic institutions. Paradoxically, in the only Canadian industrial metropolis with a Francophone majority, located in the only province where Francophones predominate, the majority must learn and work in another language in order to take full part in the most important sectors of the economic life of the city and province. As the already great urbanization of Quebec continues, more and more Francophones are facing the problems posed by the dominance of English in the work world, despite the fact that their proportion in the population of Montreal has increased.¹

¹ In 1848, those of French origin formed 44 per cent of the population of the city of Montreal; in 1871, 53 per cent; and in 1961, 67 per cent. Similarly, on the island of Montreal their proportion rose from 60 per cent in 1871 to 64 per cent in 1951, declining slightly in 1961 to 62 per cent.

1289. The effects of immigration have accentuated the problems. As Canada's largest city, Montreal is a natural pole of attraction for immigrants to this country. Because of its Francophone majority, the city might be expected to provide the setting for a thriving Francophone immigrant community, but the evidence shows clearly that Montreal has not realized this role. Neither Canada nor Montreal itself has attracted large numbers of Francophone immigrants, and other groups settling in Montreal have tended to affiliate linguistically with the Anglophone community. The recent debate over language rights in education has demonstrated that even the Italian immigrants, who have the highest rate of French-language affiliation, are now showing a strong desire to have their children educated in English. Clearly, the dominance of English in economic life is the great predisposing factor in the language choices of immigrants.

1290. The situation in Montreal, unique as it is in certain respects, is indicative of the future of the French fact in Canada. In the broader context, the combined effects of such trends as the decline in the birth rate, the continuing urbanization of Francophones, and the dynamics of immigration give the issue of the language of work a compelling urgency. Some current developments in the work world offer the potential for greater use of the French language and increased participation for Francophones. However, unless these developments are co-ordinated and substantially extended in form and scale, they will not provide real equality of opportunity for Francophones nor will they support the continued vitality of the French language and culture. Failure to make the changes leading to these goals could have grave consequences for the future of the country.

B. Equal Opportunity and Institutional Bilingualism

1291. The achievement of equal opportunity in the private sector is a much more complex and difficult task than its achievement in the realms of education and government. We must begin by asking what sort of changes would be required to provide Canada's Francophone citizens with roughly the same measure of opportunity as Anglophones now have. The crux of the matter lies mainly in the character of institutions rather than in the capacities of individuals, and the creation of real equality of opportunity in the private sector depends primarily on the development of institutional bilingualism rather than on the learning of a second language by unprecedented numbers of individual Canadians.

Institutional
bilingualism—
the basis for
equal
opportunity

1292. The concept of institutional bilingualism does not require bilingualism of every employee within private enterprise. Nor does it imply that every company in Canada use French and English as languages of work. It would be pointless to propose, for instance, that local business in Calgary use French as a language of work, just as it would be to propose the use of English in similar circumstances in Rimouski. Even under the most favourable conditions of second-language learning in the future, many categories of enterprise in various regions of the country will retain their essentially unilingual character. From this standpoint, bilingualism in a bilingual country can be seen as two linked unilingualisms. However, certain key groups of institutions in some regions of the country will have to develop or expand a bilingual form of organization.

1293. Thus, when we speak of institutional bilingualism in the private sector, we have in mind something quite specific with respect to the organizational structure of business firms. Again, we do not mean that every employee in an institutionally bilingual company should be bilingual. Indeed, we are convinced that reforms built entirely around the notion of a progressive increase of individual bilingual capacity are misguided. In most places where this method has been tried, the main burden of learning and working in a second language still rests with the Francophones, while the Anglophones remain unilingual and English maintains its position as the predominant language of work. The essence of effective institutional bilingualism within an organization is, rather, that there be clearly demarcated units and career channels allowing both Francophone and Anglophone employees to follow careers in their own language. If it should be necessary for employees to use the second language, the burden should fall equally on the members of both groups. The present reality is far from this ideal.

The application
of institutional
bilingualism

1294. If an effectively bilingual private sector is to be achieved, the first priority for change is a vast expansion of work settings in which French is used as the language of work. This can be achieved in two ways: first, by ensuring the vigour and growth of those companies presently using French as the language of work at all levels and, second, by making further changes in the language and staffing practices of those where English currently holds a monopoly. The former group of companies is quite small in terms of employment and the measures to ensure their growth fall mainly within the realm of economic policy; therefore, we have concentrated our attention on the latter.

1295. As in our recommendations for the federal Public Service and the Canadian Forces, the key concept is that of the French-language unit. However, the exact form of the system of institutional bilingualism

may vary in different organizations according to such factors as the location of their plants and offices, the span of their markets, and the changing availability of technically and linguistically qualified personnel. In most cases, the skills of bilingual individuals will remain in high demand. The need for fast internal communication and for contact with the two language groups in the outside community will always be present. But a system of institutional bilingualism should keep the compulsions for working in a second language to a minimum.

1296. The ideal goal must be clearly distinguished from the more immediate objectives. The ultimate target must include equal opportunities for Francophones in institutionally bilingual work settings in various parts of Canada, and particularly in officially bilingual provinces and districts. This, in our opinion, represents the logical and moral conclusion of the concept of equal opportunity within a bilingual nation, and we shall suggest some first steps to be taken to realize the national dimensions of the plan. But prior consideration must be given to the areas where the problem is of present and pressing concern and where the potential for immediate change is greatest. The most significant of these areas is clearly the province of Quebec.

1297. In the General Introduction of our *Report* we discussed the place of Quebec in the creation of a true equal partnership in Canada:

Quebec constitutes an environment where the aspirations and the needs of four out of five Francophones in Canada can be satisfied. The mere fact of this concentration leads to a spontaneous French way of life and makes that way of life easier to organize. This is why we believe the place of the Québécois in the French fact in Canada will in practice have to be recognized much more than it is today; we are thinking particularly of the world of work, in the federal public sector and in the private sector.¹

1298. We have already recommended changes in federal Public Service operations in Quebec. We address ourselves here to the private companies that occupy a pivotal place in the economy of Quebec and that up to this point have used English as the principal language of management and technical operations. These include both the large manufacturing enterprises that are major employers of Francophone manpower and the important commercial and financial institutions. We believe that the present situation with respect to language use and Francophone participation in these organizations is no longer tolerable. These firms must now face up to the responsibilities they bear to the people, the language, and the culture of the communities in which they are situated and whose human and material resources they use.

The companies

¹ *Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, General Introduction, § 89.*

Their will to change, of which we have seen considerable evidence, must be given effective and concrete expression.

1299. The development of institutional bilingualism in the private sector will entail the establishment of many more French-language units at lower- and middle-management level and in support services. To facilitate this, all senior management positions in Quebec should ultimately be designated as bilingual posts. The existing situation, in which the vast majority of senior officers in large private industry are unilingual Anglophones, is clearly not compatible with the idea of equal partnership.

The place of
French in
Quebec

1300. French has a rightful place as the principal language of work within the major work institutions of a province whose population is 80 per cent Francophone. Equal opportunity cannot be achieved merely by sanctioning the use of French in such settings as the shop floor or the personnel or public relations departments. Opportunities must be opened to unilingual Francophones in the fields of engineering, research and development, finance and accounting, operations, and general management—in short, in all the fields providing access to the positions of real power and responsibility. Our basic proposal is flexible in that it allows for the use of English in business in Quebec, because of the national and international span of the operations of many establishments located in Quebec, and because of the substantial Anglophone minority in the province. But the overall effect of our recommendations should be the establishment of French as the principal language of work at all levels within the Quebec economy.

Outside Quebec

1301. However, there are three other important points in the plan, two relating to the situation of Francophones outside Quebec and one to the situation of Anglophones within the province. The first concerns companies with extensive operations inside Quebec but with head offices elsewhere in Canada. Consistent with our recommendations for the federal Public Service and the Canadian Forces, is our belief that these firms have an obligation to provide opportunities for careers in the French language throughout their operations. If the normal line of advancement takes an employee to such a head office, he should have the opportunity to follow this path and to work in his own language while doing so.

1302. We are calling for a commitment to institutional bilingualism, not only from Quebec-based industry but also from firms, based elsewhere in Canada, that have extensive facilities or markets in Quebec. These firms should develop a bilingual capacity in their Canadian head offices, in both written and oral communication. In addition, these firms will have to develop functionally integrated French-language units in their head offices.

1303. Our second point concerns the local operations of major firms in areas of Francophone concentration outside Quebec, most notably northern and eastern Ontario and northeastern New Brunswick. The rights of these minorities must be recognized not only in the courts, the schools, and the government service, but also in the work world. Provisions must therefore be made for the use of French in the major private work institutions in these regions.

1304. In keeping with the principles laid down in the first two Books of our *Report*, our recommendations are designed to ensure equal opportunities for members of both official-language minorities regardless of where they live. This of course implies that there must be work opportunities in English in those regions where Anglophones are in the minority. While it strains credulity to suggest that the status of English is in jeopardy in the private sector in Quebec at the present time, it is fitting to raise this possibility as a future development against which safeguards may be needed.

C. Policies and Programmes for Change

1305. The first requirement for action centres on the need for clear policy statements on equal opportunity and the language of work. The current situation is the result of decades of unplanned, piecemeal decisions. If this situation is to be effectively changed, all the parties concerned must work towards the same broad policy goals.

1306. We believe that Canada must commit herself to the principle of institutional bilingualism in the private as well as the public sector. A public policy must be adopted that puts forth a new conception of the responsibilities of private firms and of governments with regard to the provision of real equality of opportunity in the private sector. Therefore, we recommend that in the private sector in Quebec, governments and industry adopt the objective that French become the principal language of work at all levels, and that in pursuit of this objective the following principles be accepted: a) that French be the principal language of work in the major work institutions of the province; b) that, consequently, the majority of work units in such firms that until now have used English as the principal language of work in middle and upper levels become French-language units; and that such firms designate all management and senior positions as posts that require bilingual incumbents; c) that the majority of smaller or specialized firms should use French as their language of work, but that there should be a place for firms where the language of work is English, as there should be a place anywhere in Canada for such firms where the

Recommendation
42

language of work is French; and d) that the main language of work in activities related to operations outside the province remain the choice of the enterprise.

Recommendation
43

1307. We recommend that in the private sector throughout Canada, the Canadian head offices of firms with extensive markets or facilities inside Quebec develop appropriate bilingual capacities, including French-language units and bilingual senior executives.

Importance of
government
leadership and
assistance

1308. These policy objectives must be translated into effective programmes of change. We believe that individual firms should take part in designing these programmes and that their efforts should be co-ordinated by a permanent agency representing government, industry, labour, and the universities. The leadership and assistance of the federal government and the Quebec government are vital on a number of grounds. As the authorities with ultimate responsibility for the protection of the rights of Francophone and Anglophone citizens, they have a direct obligation to ensure equality of opportunity in the work world. The examples they set in their own administrations and their many dealings with private companies give them a strong indirect influence on the language patterns in the work world at large. Furthermore, the federal government and the government of Quebec have experience and facilities in such fields as language training and translation that could be of considerable practical assistance to industry during the process of adaptation. In the long run, government policies and programmes for education, manpower, and immigration will assure the success of the plan through their effect on the necessary supply of qualified personnel.

Participation
by universities
and unions

1309. Aside from industry and government, the agencies most directly implicated in the change process are the unions and universities. Better bridges must be built between the business world and the French-language universities, and it is crucial that these universities participate in the planning and implementation of the necessary changes. The participation of labour organizations is also essential. Some of the most vigorous initiatives for change in Quebec society in the last two decades have come from the labour movement. By participating in the implementation of the policy we propose, union representatives will be acting in accordance with their traditional roles as guardians of the rights of their members and as agents of social progress.

Recommendation
44

1310. For practical purposes, we believe that the immediate responsibility for initiating a dialogue with industry can best be assumed by the appropriate provincial authorities. **We recommend that the government of Quebec establish a task force to consist of representatives of government, industry, the universities, and the major labour unions with the following general terms of reference: a) to launch discussions with**

the major companies in the province concerning the current state of bilingualism and biculturalism in their organizations and the means of developing institutional bilingualism more fully; b) to design an overall plan for establishing French as the principal language of work in Quebec and to set a timetable for this process; c) to initiate discussions with the federal government and with the governments of New Brunswick and Ontario, to discover areas of potential co-operation in implementing the plan; and d) to make recommendations to the provincial government for the achievement of the goal and for the establishment of permanent machinery of co-ordination.

1311. We have seen that in Quebec, although French is spoken by 82 per cent of the population, it is not generally used as the language of work by the middle- and upper-level personnel in medium-sized and large enterprises. In New Brunswick, although the proportion of Francophones (35 per cent)¹ can be compared to that of Anglophones in the Montreal metropolitan census area (23 per cent),² French is little used in business and industry. At the blue-collar level, even when there is a Francophone majority, French is not the language of work. Furthermore, when we see the inconsequential place of French as a language of work in Quebec and New Brunswick, we can readily understand why its use must be assured by means of measures which anywhere else in Canada would seem to most people to be quite unnecessary. In North America, English dominates not only because of numbers (there are 45 Anglophones to every Francophone) but also because it is the language of finance and technology. It follows that, even where Francophones are a majority, French remains a minority language or—even worse—a foreign language.

New Brunswick

1312. Under these conditions we can see that English will be the language of work in New Brunswick, even though the province has been declared officially bilingual³ as we recommended in Book I.⁴ Francophones in New Brunswick now have formal rights concerning education, and concerning language of service offered by the provincial govern-

¹ According to the 1961 census, there are 232,127 people of French origin in New Brunswick—39 per cent of the province's population. However, we have used mother tongue as the main criterion in our study; on this basis there are 378,633 people of English mother tongue (63 per cent), 210,530 of French mother tongue (35 per cent), and 8,773 of other mother tongues in New Brunswick.

² There is no way of knowing exactly the proportions of Francophones and Anglophones in the Montreal metropolitan census area. The census considers mother tongue, not the language currently used. Furthermore, there has been a great deal of immigration into the Montreal area, and many of the immigrants are not of French or English mother tongue. In 1961, of the 2,109,509 Montrealers, 1,366,347 (65 per cent) were of French mother tongue, 494,667 (23 per cent) were of English mother tongue, and 248,485 (12 per cent) were of other mother tongues. We know that immigrants usually opt for English, so we can consider that, in Montreal, Anglophones form about 35 per cent of the population.

³ Official Languages of New Brunswick Act, S.N.B., 1969, 18 Eliz. II, c.14.

⁴ Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, I, § 293.

ment. But French is still not a language of work either in provincial government departments or in private enterprise. As long as French is not in fact an official language on the same basis as English, equal partnership does not exist.

1313. It would be against the natural order of things if French became a language of service and a language of work only where Francophones form a very large majority of the population. It is important that goals be set for a situation which is not the same as that in either Quebec or Ontario. Otherwise, bilingualism is in danger of becoming in New Brunswick what it has long been at the federal level—a pious hope without any relation to day-to-day reality.

1314. New Brunswick is the only Canadian province with a population reasonably balanced between Francophones and Anglophones. However, the Francophones are largely concentrated in seven northern and eastern counties,¹ so that a purely literal implementation of our recommendation on the establishment of bilingual districts would not reflect this equilibrium throughout the province. For instance, the proportion of Francophones in the population of Saint John is less than the accepted proportion of 10 per cent, but the city is the focal point of the economic development of the whole province. This situation raises a problem which is clearly important: if the Francophones in the labour force are to benefit from the same material advantages as the Anglophones, and thus assure their progress, they will have to be more easily mobile. In other words, the public authorities should attempt to satisfy the cultural needs of Francophones in Saint John by providing appropriate institutions and services. However, it is difficult to see how this can be done without expanding the notion of bilingual districts, even to the point of making the whole province of New Brunswick into one large bilingual district.

1315. If this solution seems to be favourably received by the people of New Brunswick, it will be because they must first of all take their economic imperatives into account. Furthermore, when the demographic composition of the province is considered, it would seem reasonable to expect that individual bilingualism should be more widespread than anywhere else. But, at the moment, it is not. It is true that 19 per cent of the population of New Brunswick is bilingual, but, according to the 1961 census, of the 113,495 bilingual individuals, 98,476 were of French mother tongue.² Thus, the Francophones have the burden of bilingualism: 54 per cent of them are bilingual, compared

¹ Of the 210,530 Francophones in New Brunswick according to the 1961 census, 199,000 live in the counties of Gloucester, Kent, Madawaska, Northumberland, Restigouche, Victoria and Westmorland. See *Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism*, I, § 91.

² *Ibid.*, Tables 8 and 9.

with 4 per cent of the Anglophones. As long as this situation exists, it will be almost impossible to establish a direct link between individual bilingualism and the notion of equality. Only institutional bilingualism can provide a true response to the very real needs of Francophones in New Brunswick. Of course, this would not rule out a genuine interest in individual bilingualism; however, it is easy to see that if the route of institutional bilingualism is taken, the first essential step is to extend the teaching of French in the English-language schools, with the department of Education taking the necessary steps to this end.

1316. If French is gradually to become a language of work throughout New Brunswick, collective bargaining agreements in unionized shops should be drafted in the language of the majority of the employees, if they are in a large majority, and in both languages, if either Francophones or Anglophones form a large minority. In areas where Francophones are in the majority, or are a large minority, French and English should be equally recognized as languages of work at middle and upper levels. It would certainly be unrealistic to believe that this would be possible without sustained effort and close co-operation between the enterprises and the public authorities. But, in our opinion, the goal should be the gradual implantation of French as a language of work in the private sector. Therefore, **we recommend that the government of New Brunswick establish a task force charged with suggesting steps to be taken in education, in the provincial public service, and in the private sector so that French can become a language of work like English, bearing in mind the economic and social conditions in the province.**

Recommendation
45

1317. In absolute numbers, the largest provincial concentration of Francophones outside Quebec is in Ontario. According to the 1961 census they numbered 425,302 (7 per cent) of the total population.¹ The existence of this large number of Francophones in Ontario led us to recommend that the province declare that it recognizes French and English as official languages and accepts the language régimes that such recognition entails.²

Ontario

1318. The government of Ontario has undertaken a programme which involves the introduction of bilingualism in various aspects of Ontario life under its jurisdiction. For example, French-language secondary schools are in operation. Any member of the legislative assembly has the formally recognized right to address the legislature in either English or French, and a very substantial translation service

¹ See *Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism*, I, Tables 5A and 5B. These figures relate to mother tongue; by ethnic origin the figures are 647,941 and 10 per cent.

² *Ibid.*, § 293.

³ Legislature of Ontario, *Debates*, July 2, 1968, 6101.

has been established to serve the administration's internal and external needs. Bilingual capacity is also being developed in the administration of justice, in accordance with local needs.

1319. In the private sector, few if any enterprises have introduced French as a language of work. However, as we pointed out in Book I, there are regions of the province where French is the mother tongue of a large percentage of the population¹ and we recommended the creation of bilingual districts in these regions.

1320. We feel that, in these bilingual districts, appropriate provisions should be made for the use of French as a language of work within enterprises that are major employers of labour. For example, it seems appropriate that an enterprise with a large number of Franco-phone employees should have collective agreements, work rules and regulations, notices, and other such material available in French.

1321. We believe that, in the other regions of Ontario where the language of work cannot be expected to be other than English, head offices of firms having extensive markets or facilities in Quebec and New Brunswick ought to develop appropriate bilingual capacities.

Recommendation
46

1322. The objectives for Ontario must be consistent with its own demographic situation and therefore cannot be of the same nature and depth as those for Quebec and New Brunswick. Nevertheless, there can be a useful and important programme suited to Ontario's own situation. Therefore, **we recommend that the government of Ontario establish a task force charged with preparing a programme of action with the objective of ensuring the progressive introduction of French as a language of work in enterprises in bilingual districts, on the basis of a co-operative and concerted effort by government and industry.**

D. Recommendations to Industry

Recommendation
47

1323. Quite obviously, there is a need for flexibility in the implementation of the general policy objectives of Recommendations 42 and 43. The adjustments to be expected of a company will differ according to whether it is one with all or most of its operations in Quebec, one with most of its facilities and markets outside Quebec, a national firm with its head office in Quebec, or part of a foreign-owned international company. The scope and pace of the expected change will also vary according to the current state of institutional bilingualism in each firm. The proposed task force will have to contact

¹ See *Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism*, I, Map 4: Algoma, Carleton, Cochrane, Essex, Glengarry, Nipissing, Prescott, Russell, Stormont, Sudbury, Temiskaming. The Ottawa situation is unique and will be treated in a separate Book.

each firm and to work out with management a plan tailored to its individual circumstances. **We recommend that the firms at issue in Recommendations 42 and 43 make an explicit policy commitment to establish institutional bilingualism in their operations; and that they immediately designate certain units within their head offices and their operations in Quebec, and in bilingual districts, as future French-language units and designate those executive and senior positions that in the near future will require bilingual incumbents.** We emphasize the need for immediate action of this sort with respect to operations in Montreal.

1324. The target of institutional bilingualism in major firms in Quebec must be an organization in which the senior management group is fully bilingual, the majority of middle-management units and staff divisions function in French, and—according to the firm's circumstances—a limited number of units function in English. French will then be the principal language of work at all levels and in all functions, but this does not mean that all personnel will be expected to work exclusively in French. Most units will function mainly in French, and French will be the routine language of communication among units and with senior management, but English may continue to be used within certain specified sectors and in communication between these sectors and senior management, when the senior management is located outside the province.

The target

1325. This is a target blueprint. In consideration of the magnitude of the steps involved for most firms, the plans should be phased—that is, they should entail progressively greater changes over defined periods of time—but we fully expect that the firms will be able to establish at least some French-language units immediately. At the present time, English is the routine language of work in most middle and senior management and staff units, and files and records are mainly in English. In the transitional period, during which French-language units and bilingual posts will become progressively more numerous, the overall balance of language use in internal communication—including filing systems—should gradually shift in the direction of French. During this period unilingual Anglophone personnel must be given every opportunity either to develop a command of the French language or to work in English-language units.

Need for phased
planning

1326. The implementation of these proposals will require careful planning and action, and professional and management development programmes—which progressive public and private organizations are using increasingly—will be substantially affected. At its most comprehensive, planning in this area includes forecasting manager needs at specified levels, determining the training and experience that new

Effect on
management
development

incumbents will require, recruiting an appropriate number of potential incumbents, and charting their careers in the organization.

1327. Few organizations except the Canadian Forces have such complete plans. Yet most companies do have less comprehensive plans that include many elements of the total scheme. They have recruitment policies, they provide training either in the company or at an outside institution, they move the executive trainees around so that they receive a variety of experience, and they use "merit" criteria in selection and promotion.

An example

1328. These programmes should be systematically modified to take account of Recommendation 47. For example, a firm might decide that at a specified future date a certain unit would become a French-language unit. Accordingly, a career development plan could be designed to ensure that by that date the staff in the unit concerned would have the requisite ability in French. Language training would be started as soon as possible for some of the present incumbents who lack French. Other non-Francophones might be gradually transferred elsewhere. A flow of new staff fluent in French would be started by transferring Francophone personnel from other units, and by recruiting Francophones or by giving language training to prospective Anglophone members of the unit who were not yet completely fluent.

1329. The need for bilingualism in senior management positions will probably be met in the short term chiefly through language training for the present incumbents who are not bilingual and through promotion from within of qualified bilingual personnel. However, it may be necessary to supplement these measures by hiring qualified men from outside the firm. The exact character of the modifications introduced by each firm will depend on the present state of Francophone participation and the use of French in its internal administration, as well as on the state of its existing management development practices.

1. Recruitment

1330. The removal of barriers to the entry of Francophones into the managerial, professional, and technical jobs is both a goal in itself and a necessary condition for the realization of long-term plans for language transformation. One of the most important factors restricting the entry of Francophones is the practice of requiring that Francophone candidates for professional, technical, and administrative jobs be able to work in English. No comparable requirement for ability in French exists in the hiring of Anglophones.

1331. One intention of our general recommendations on institutional bilingualism is that, through the creation of French-language units, many more jobs than before will be open to unilingual Francophones. As our first recommendation on recruiting, therefore, **we recommend that, immediately after designating French-language units in their organizations, the firms also designate a substantial number of professional, technical, and managerial positions as French-language posts.**

Recommendation
48

1332. We expect that the introduction of the language-unit plan and the relaxation of the bilingual requirement for Francophones will greatly expand the base of potential Francophone recruitment, particularly from the universities. However, despite the changes in policy, the longstanding apprehension of Francophones that big business provides an inhospitable climate of employment may continue to deter qualified candidates from coming forward. The business community must take special measures to dispel this feeling of distrust.

1333. Another obstacle to recruitment is Francophone ignorance, especially among students, of the opportunities and conditions of work in the large firms. Business and industry should endeavour to establish better lines of communication with appropriate faculties, placement officers, guidance counsellors, and student advisers of French-language universities, CEGEPS, and secondary schools. Closer contact between industry and the faculties of commerce, business administration, and engineering at the French-language universities will be rewarding for both sides. **We recommend that the firms make every effort to interest Francophone students in business careers, by providing full information on career opportunities to the appropriate officials in French-language educational institutions and by sending recruiting teams to these institutions both within and outside Quebec.**

Recommendation
49

2. *Employee training*

1334. The general policy recommendations for large private firms are designed to enable Francophone employees of these firms to follow careers up to the top levels while continuing to work mainly in French. To make this possible, these employees must have full access to staff training and development programmes in the French language. Because there are cultural differences in management techniques, quality of access to training may also have to involve the development of special programmes geared to the underlying cultural dimension.

1335. On-the-job training is one of the most common methods used by large firms to develop the capabilities of their employees. At present, many young Francophone employees are thrown into a situation where English is the prevailing language of work and are left to cope as best they can with their important initial training in English. The

creation of French-language units in the fields where new Francophone employees are assigned should do much to alleviate this problem.

Recommendation
50

1336. Many firms offer special formal management training courses both for their new employees and their more senior personnel, and these programmes have often been given only in English. To ensure that Francophone employees have equal access to such training and that the training is effective, **we recommend that the firms make their internal training programmes fully available in the French language for their Francophone employees.**

Recommendation
51

1337. With the increasing complexity of technical and administrative methods, there is a marked trend towards training courses at specialized institutions outside the company. This tendency is likely to spread and this type of training must be as accessible to Francophone employees as to Anglophones. Therefore, **we recommend that, where internal training programmes are presently unavailable in French, the firms consult with French-language institutions of higher education in Canada and elsewhere about the possibilities of providing the needed programmes.** A move in this direction may simply entail the revision of old programmes, but it may also lead to the development of entirely new ones at these institutions.

3. Job transfers outside French-speaking regions

Geographic
mobility in
the private
sector

1338. In this era of national and multi-national corporations, most highly qualified personnel are at some time during their careers required to move away from their own communities if they are to take full advantage of their career opportunities. The amount of geographic mobility expected of corporate managers is usually greater than that expected of federal public servants and may even be greater than that demanded of military personnel. Special consideration should be given to the problems that geographic movement poses for Francophones who work in private business and industry; the dilemma of whether to remain within the French-speaking community or to accept a job that takes them outside is likely to be especially acute for them.

1339. Job transfers are an essential feature of effective organizational management and of staff development. Any policy that had the effect of confining Francophone managers to the small world of French-speaking Canada would be costly to business in terms of undeveloped human resources and even more costly to the individuals concerned in terms of lost opportunities. We have observed that Francophone employees of large industrial firms are much less likely than Anglophone employees to be geographically mobile. Many Francophones and their families are reluctant to move outside French-speaking regions of the country,

and in deference to these views some companies do not make these demands of their Francophone employees. We believe that an intelligent policy must seek to encourage geographic mobility under the appropriate circumstances while at the same time making provisions for the problems it entails.

1340. For married employees with young families, the problems of moving to a linguistically and culturally strange community are especially complex; a major concern is the availability of schooling in the French language. When Francophone employees are transferred to communities in which adequate French-language educational facilities are not available through the public school system, the employing company should pay an allowance to defray the costs of elementary and secondary education in the French language.

1341. In Books I and II we made recommendations concerning the language rights of Canadian Francophones in the courts, schools, and the federal government services throughout the country. These recommendations, if implemented, will improve the lot of the families of Francophones whose jobs take them to English-speaking areas. Another useful approach to their problems would be the formation of French-language cultural centres in the large cities.¹ Private companies could make a substantial contribution to the welfare of their Francophone employees and their families by supporting the establishment and maintenance of such centres. There are many other aspects of this process which enlightened employers should seek to understand and to plan for. **We recommend that the firms seek to equalize the opportunities for job transfers for their Francophone employees, while at the same time taking steps to minimize the difficulties that these transfers entail.**

Recommendation
52

4. Promotion

1342. The subject of promotion cannot be divorced from the discussion and recommendations that have gone before, since promotion is influenced by such factors as training and development programmes, job transfers, and, indeed, the whole area of corporate practices regarding the language of work. Unless a Francophone employee has equal access to all these means of developing his experience and ability, unless he has an equal chance to work in his own language and with people of similar cultural background, he does not have real equality of opportunity for promotion. The effectiveness of these recommendations, therefore, is heavily dependent on the implementation of those

¹ Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, I, § 403.

made earlier respecting French-language units, bilingual senior officers, French-language training, and mobility.

Recommendation
53

1343. First, certain minimum standards must be established for promotion proceedings, standards that have not fully obtained in the past. **We recommend that all material relevant to the promotion process and the preparation for it be made fully available in French.** Such material would include notices of job vacancies and descriptions of the jobs in question and the desired qualifications of candidates.

Recommendation
54

1344. Minimum standards for promotion interviews and examinations can also be specified. **We recommend that all Francophone candidates have the option of expressing themselves in their own language in all oral and written examinations and interviews, and that the examiners take into account the difficulties that the candidate may have had to face during his previous work experience as a result of the obligation to work in a second language.** It goes without saying that superiors of his own mother tongue should be called on to evaluate a candidate's merit.

Recommendation
55

1345. The issue of language ability as a criterion for promotion deserves forthright consideration. Although, as we have stated, it should be possible for Francophones to pursue a career up to and including the middle level while continuing to work in French, there are many positions in the various firms that absolutely require bilingual ability. These include jobs in marketing, public relations, and employee relations. Furthermore, we are firmly convinced that, contrary to current practice, there should be a bilingual requirement on all senior executive and management positions and in supervisory positions. Because it is an essential element in these positions, the knowledge of both languages should become a criterion in the promotion competitions for these jobs. This will undoubtedly serve as an incentive for unilingual employees to acquire real bilingual competence. Here, as in the federal Public Service and the Canadian Forces, a systematic approach should be used: levels of linguistic competence should be defined; examinations should be held to determine the level of competence of personnel; and promotion procedures should co-ordinate data on the linguistic competence of personnel and the level required by the job vacancy at issue. **We recommend that where firms designate positions as bilingual posts they take steps to ensure that the required level of competence in French and English is clearly defined and that they use this factor as a criterion in promotions to these positions.**

1346. However, bilingual ability should not be a factor in promotion to positions not designated as bilingual posts. Our recommendations envision the establishment of French- and English-language units

in which most of the staff will not require bilingual ability. Should these personnel wish promotion to a position designated as a bilingual post, however, competence in the other language must be a major criterion of their suitability.

5. *Language training and translation*

1347. The foregoing recommendations underline the urgent need for more effective language-training programmes and translation services. This problem has become acute not only in the private sector but in the public sector as well. Many bodies are now engaged in planning, experimentation, and development of programmes designed to satisfy the ever-increasing need.

Need for better programmes

1348. In our view, the only satisfactory long-term solution to the language-training question is for Canada's educational institutions to become capable of producing graduates with an adequate knowledge of both official languages. It is perhaps Utopian to hope that eventually all Canadians will have an intimate knowledge of both languages. But it is not unreasonable to expect that in the near future all Canadians who aspire to work in the professional, administrative, and executive ranks of governmental and private organizations will, as a matter of course, be bilingual. Until that time, however, it will be necessary for the employing organizations themselves to conduct or subsidize language training in order to obtain the requisite bilingual capacity.

The corporate contribution

1349. Many large corporations now devote considerable amounts of effort and money to language training, both for Francophones and Anglophones. It is essential that efforts of this kind be greatly expanded on a selective basis. Under our plan for institutional bilingualism, the main need for fluency in both languages is in the senior positions and in the supervisory positions of the French- and English-language units. Our research indicated that the majority of the present incumbents of senior positions are unilingual Anglophones. They thus have a heavy obligation to undergo language training as soon as possible, and high priority in language-training programmes must go to them.

Who should receive language training

1350. High priority must also be attached to language training in English for unilingual Francophones who already occupy or are slated for such positions. However, because the underlying rationale of the programme is that French will become the principal language of work in the organization, it will not be enough—as it has been in the past—to teach English to unilingual Francophones who work in the professional, technical, and administrative functions. Indeed, as we noted earlier,¹ it may be necessary to lay some stress on language training

¹ See § 813 in Volume 3A.

- in French for bilingual Francophones who have been long conditioned to working in English and whose French has accordingly suffered.
- Acquired language skills must be used to be effective
1351. The ultimate viability of language training will depend on extensive usage of the acquired language skills in the work setting after the courses have been completed. One of the chief reasons why language training for unilingual Anglophones has been so ineffective in the past is that little use was made of the new skills once the trainees were back on the job. Thus the goals of the plan for institutional bilingualism and of language-training programmes are closely interdependent.
- Need for co-operation among firms and governments
1352. Effective language-training programmes are costly. At the moment many separate organizations operate their own programmes, but there is much to be gained by a sharing of information and facilities in such ventures. We believe that the federal government and the governments of the officially bilingual provinces should provide leadership and assistance in the organization of effective language-training programmes. The same applies to translation services. The inadequacy of existing facilities is widely recognized and deplored.

E. The Role of the Federal Government

1353. The federal government is in a position to set an example by lending its authority to the purpose of securing a national commitment to institutional bilingualism. It can also play a practical role in helping to implement change in the private sector. Through its broad economic policies and through the specific services it provides, the federal government exercises a great influence on the activities of business and industrial firms in Canada. By taking the objectives of bilingualism and biculturalism into account, these policies and programmes can play a key role in aiding and assessing progress in the implementation of our recommendations.
- The federal government as purchaser
1354. For instance, a considerable number of federal agencies buy and sell goods and services to business and industry. The main government purchasers are the department of Supply and Services and the various Crown corporations. Those that dispense information and other services include the departments of Industry, Trade and Commerce, Finance, Labour, Manpower and Immigration, Regional Economic Development, Consumer and Corporate Affairs, and Agriculture. Whether they are aware of it or not, these agencies have a far-reaching influence on the language patterns of industry. In the past, they frequently have not made the necessary effort to ensure an equal place for the French language in the routine services they provide. Many

of these services are now offered in French, but there are still some notable exceptions.

1355. There are many relations between federal agencies and business, however, in which the type of communication goes much deeper than the exchange of printed documents. A case in point is government contracts. Often, although calls for tender are printed in both languages, the technical specifications are written only in English. This exerts a pressure on the firm receiving the contract to use English terminology throughout the manufacturing process. This pressure is buttressed by the fact that quite frequently the government personnel who must maintain a continuing liaison with the firm in question are unilingual Anglophones. An analogous situation has frequently prevailed in the field of labour relations. These and similar situations must be rectified. With this end in view, **we recommend that all information relevant to federal government contracts and other services to private enterprise, including technical specifications and documents, be made available simultaneously in French and English, and that in all official relations among federal government personnel, business firms, and unions, appropriate action be taken to ensure that the French language is fully used in the appropriate circumstances.**

Recommendation

56

1356. Our recommendations for the federal Public Service and the Canadian Forces suggest new measures to improve translation services, to develop French-language lexicons for English technical terms, and to develop more effective methods of language training. The government of Quebec is also taking action in several of these fields and many private organizations have initiated pertinent programmes. In order to maximize innovation and minimize duplication, there should be close co-operation among these agencies. Therefore, **we recommend that, as a matter of policy, the federal agencies concerned make available to private firms all the data arising from developments in translation services, bilingual lexicons, and language training that may be of assistance to the firms in their transformation process.** In some situations it may be appropriate for facilities and personnel to be shared between the government and the firms.

Recommendation

57

F. Conclusion

1357. The opportunity to use one's own language and to work within one's own cultural style is essential to the achievement of equal partnership. We have recommended as a goal the establishment of French as the principal language of work in the private sector in Quebec; we have focussed on the large corporations because equal partnership in the work world is hardly conceivable if equal oppor-

tunity does not first exist within them. If Canadian Francophones are to reshape their economic role, they must have the co-operation of the major employers who affect huge portions of the economy or control its growth.

Commitment to
institutional
bilingualism

1358. At the same time, this co-operation must take a more comprehensive, rational, and coherent form than the present piecemeal approach of increasing the number of bilingual individuals. For both governments and the private sector, we are recommending a commitment to the concept of institutional bilingualism and to the necessarily ensuing structural changes involved in establishing French-language units at the management as well as the blue-collar levels. These units will offer to Francophones what Anglophones now take for granted: the opportunity to pursue a rewarding career in major areas of the economy in their own language. We are not recommending that all Canadians become bilingual but rather that major companies operating in Quebec (and, where feasible, in bilingual districts outside Quebec) rationalize their use of employees so that these employees may contribute to their full potential in the official language of their choice. The burdens, and the rewards, of bilingual capability must be shifted so that they fall equally on Anglophones and Francophones.

Role of
government

1359. Changes of this magnitude, even though they could be initiated, probably cannot be fully realized by individual companies acting on their own. The support of public policy and co-ordination will be needed, as well as the co-operation and advice of industry, educational institutions, and employees. For this reason we have recommended provincial government task forces, particularly in Quebec, to bring together representatives of all these groups to advise, plan, and aid in the process. We have also suggested the kind of direct aid that can be given by the provincial and federal governments.

Quebec the
focus but not
the whole

1360. Our focus has been mainly on Quebec; for in terms of the achievement of real equality of opportunity for Francophones in the private sector it is in Quebec that the problem is most acute—and it is in Quebec that the solutions must first be found. But Quebec is not an isolated unit, and Canadian Francophones are part of the wider Canadian community. If real equality of opportunity is to be achieved in Canada, Francophones must be able to work and live outside the borders of Quebec without threat to their linguistic and cultural identity.

1361. However, both this goal and the development of the province of Quebec and the people who live there are subject to a complex range of socio-economic factors outside but crucial to the work institutions we have so far discussed. To these factors we now turn in Part 4.

.

.

.

.

.

.

.

1362. Our terms of reference did not ask us to make specific recommendations concerning the economic institutions of the country or the general conditions required for social progress. However, the status of the two official-language groups in Canada and the use of the two languages in the work world are inextricably linked to the broader factors affecting socio-economic development. The implementation of our recommendations may not be enough to reduce substantially the marked socio-economic discrepancies that we have documented in this Book. Indeed, the disadvantages faced by Francophones are so extensive, and their participation at the upper levels of the public and private sectors of the economy is so limited, that there is clearly a need for changes that go beyond the status and use of the two official languages. We do not wish to present recommendations dealing with these changes, but we do think it appropriate to indicate how these matters appear to us.

1363. In every area affecting the work world that we have examined, Francophones are at a disadvantage vis-à-vis their Anglophone colleagues. Their incomes are conspicuously lower in Canada as a whole, in the individual provinces, in specific cities, and in specific industries and occupations. There are comparable disparities in educational attainment. In Canada's work institutions—including industrial and commercial concerns, the federal Public Service, and the military—Francophones are much less likely than Anglophones to hold top-level positions. Moreover, the Francophones who do hold high positions are very often required to use English as their language of work. Finally, the Francophone share of ownership in industry is disproportionately small, even when the high incidence of non-Canadian ownership of the country's industry is taken into account.

Extent of
Francophone
disadvantage

1364. Although we have not been able to determine all the interrelations among them, we believe that these discrepancies are linked. (For instance, in Chapter V we described the interdependence of income, education, and occupation.) Therefore, we are convinced that the steps required to reduce the discrepancies will necessarily include wide-ranging complementary measures along with the implementation of the specific recommendations set forth in this Book.

The basic
change

1365. Our recommendations in Parts 2 and 3 were largely concerned with the creation of equal opportunities for Francophones in the major work institutions of Canada. We called upon government and industry to implement internal structural changes which we believe to be essential to the achievement of greater participation by Francophones in their own linguistic and cultural milieu. Although our proposals for the public and private sectors are very different in detail and application, one concept is essential to both of them—the French-language unit. In our view, it is only with adoption of the French-language unit plan as a fundamental element that any real progress can be made towards the goal of equal partnership within Canada's major work institutions. This of course implies the acceptance of a new emphasis on institutional bilingualism as opposed to individual bilingualism.

1366. If someday, as we hope, the survival of the French language is assured, it may then be opportune to place a renewed emphasis on individual bilingualism among Canadians of both language groups in all parts of the country. However, the indispensable first step is institutional bilingualism, which we recommend as the only answer to the needs of the present and the near future.

Related measures
and their effects

1367. Our recommendations regarding language training, translation, recruitment of personnel, career planning, and other matters are closely related to the language-unit proposal. Taken together, these measures constitute a plan for partnership in the federal Public Service and in the large private corporations. The implementation of our recommendations should result in greater Francophone participation in the major work institutions, particularly at the higher levels; an improvement in the socio-economic status of Francophones; and a greater and more real reflection of the culture and values of French-speaking Canada in the development of public and corporate policy. It should also result in the increasing development of French as a language of administration, science, and commerce, able to express fully the realities of the Canadian situation and at the same time to meet the standards of the language used in France and other French-speaking areas of the world. Francophones will have greater opportunities to participate, both individually and collectively, in modern management and policy-making; Francophone educational institutions

will be stimulated through increased support of their research, training, and social development activities.

1368. These will be substantial results. Complete success in the implementation of internal reforms of the large work institutions would be a great step towards the goal of equal opportunity, but it would only indirectly and partially remedy the existing inequalities in income, education, occupation, and economic control. The broadening of their participation in large corporations will have little effect on the position of Francophones outside these institutions—it is no substitute for better education, nor can it give Francophones a renewed spirit of self-confidence or encourage them to prepare themselves for and to take advantage of openings in the work world. Furthermore, these structural changes will not affect the ownership patterns of the Quebec economy. Therefore, the adaptations which we suggest must be reinforced by a variety of efforts from within the French-speaking community—efforts whose aim is to provide Francophones with effective, dynamic, and strong economic and social institutions of their own, so that they can respond to opportunities on an equal footing with Anglophones.

Limitations
of policies

A. The Broader Economic and Social Context

1369. The goals we have proposed can best be achieved by policies which take into account the existing patterns and probable future trends in society. Changes must be made in a dynamic context; the chances of developing by adapting to an innovating and self-transforming economy are great, whereas an attempt to transform a static environment would be extremely difficult and frustrating, if not impossible. At the individual level, the advantages of a context of change are also imposing. Career patterns can most easily be changed in a labour market where new skills are continually being demanded of everyone, and continuous adjustments are being made by all participants in the economic life of the country. This type of economic change is a fact of life in Canada, and it provides a highly desirable environment for the achievement of a better balance between Anglophones and Francophones. There is strong evidence that Francophones are eager to create a thoroughly modern, technologically oriented society, in line with the major developments of the 20th century, while retaining their language and strengthening their culture.

1370. We believe that Canadians, and especially Francophone Canadians, must take advantage of the climate of change and attempt, through a coherent policy of development, to shape these changes

towards the achievement of a more nearly equal economic partnership. There are many development programmes in effect or being discussed throughout the country; but often their possible effects on Francophone-Anglophone relations are not fully realized, and their aims and content have not been co-ordinated. Therefore, some existing programmes are very much open to criticism, and in some problem areas no policies have yet been formulated.

Variety
of programmes
required

1371. To be effective, most policies must be adapted to the needs of particular regions, and programmes involving areas of substantial Francophone concentration must take into account the language and culture of that population. At present, country-wide programmes may effectively discriminate against Francophones who, having more ground to make up, are less well prepared to take advantage of them. For example, many government contracts which involve great development potential have often in the past been awarded to the stronger Anglophone firms, and research funds and professional services have been more easily available to Anglophone organizations.

Three main
types of
policies

1372. Considerations such as these raise delicate questions of priorities, but they must be borne in mind in any review of development policies from the point of view of equal partnership. We shall discuss three main types of policies: those concerned with raising the level of qualifications in the labour force; those more directly aimed at the stimulation of economic growth; and those designed to combat the socio-economic disparities between individuals, particularly in the large urban areas. All these of course have interrelated effects; for instance, a more highly trained labour force is usually considered as a prerequisite to economic growth, and more widespread schooling should substantially reduce regional economic disparities and thus affect the poverty cycle. Together, these policies can form the basis of a comprehensive attack on the existing social and economic inequality between Anglophones and Francophones.

1373. Policies such as these are vital to the implementation of our recommendations in Parts 2 and 3. The more positions in which French is the language of work, the greater the demand for qualified Francophones; the Francophone labour force must be able to respond to this demand. To act on our proposals, it will be necessary for Francophones to develop a sense of confidence, a willingness to participate more fully in the country's administrative and economic institutions, and an ability to assume top positions in the public and private sectors. The language reforms we have recommended are essential first steps in this direction; however, it is equally important that Francophone Canadians as a group are—and feel themselves to be—on a social and economic par with Anglophones.

1. *The supply of qualified Francophones*

1374. Within the Canadian economy, as in the economies of all developed countries, there is a growing emphasis on the provision of services, with education, communications, and research and development taking on particular importance. Also, the shape of the occupational pyramid is changing: a reduced proportion of the labour force is engaged in manual work, and the proportion working in occupations requiring technical and professional training is expanding rapidly. Finally, Canada's economic growth is more and more dependent on such factors as the education of the labour force and technological innovation, and less and less dependent on the growth of material capital and the numerical expansion of the labour force.¹ Because of these trends, we have concentrated our attention throughout this Book on the highly trained segment of the labour force. This group, already very important, is likely to become much more important as the economy becomes more advanced.²

Economic trends

1375. However, we are concerned with the whole Francophone labour force. Unless Francophone Canadians are in general as skilled and well-trained as the Anglophone labour force, they are doomed to a position of social and economic inferiority. Whatever the historical reasons, 1961 census figures showed that proportionately more Anglophones than Francophones had the training and educational background suited to the demands of modern industry and government. There are several possible ways to reduce this disparity.

1376. Educational preparation of the labour force is now generally recognized as a major factor underlying long-term growth in productivity and real income.³ Further investment in education is urgently needed throughout Canada, and nowhere is the need more urgent than in the French-language schools of Quebec. Much is already being done; the findings and recommendations of the Royal Commission of Inquiry on Education in the Province of Quebec (the Parent Commission) have stressed the need to expand the province's school system through the creation of Collèges d'enseignement général et professionnel

Education

¹ See § 93 in Volume 3A. For further evidence of these trends, see Sylvia Ostry, *The Occupational Composition of the Canadian Labour Force*, D.B.S. (Ottawa, 1967); and Department of Labour, *Occupational Trends in Canada, 1931 to 1961* (Ottawa, 1963).

² Indeed, decision-making power in the modern corporation has shifted in favour of the group of specialists—the "technostructure"—whose knowledge and experience is essential to the formulation of rational decisions in industry. See John Kenneth Galbraith, *The New Industrial State* (Boston, 1967), 60–71.

³ According to the Economic Council of Canada, "Very considerable scope would appear to exist in Canada to promote the growth of average per capita income by improving the educational stock of the labour force. The accumulating evidence and analysis suggest that the benefits from such improvements can be substantial for both the individuals and the economy as a whole." *Second Annual Review: Towards Sustained and Balanced Economic Growth* (Ottawa, 1965), 91.

(CEGEPS). These institutions have been established with the avowed aim of providing technical and vocational training and general education programmes giving ready access to the universities. The Parent Commission also emphasized the need to increase the number and proportion of Francophone students continuing their studies to the university level; it acknowledged the importance of expanded facilities for advanced studies—particularly in the French-language institutions—and the need for greater attention to research in the universities. In 1968 the Quebec Legislative Assembly passed a law creating a new university and providing for new research institutes in the province;¹ this university commenced its operations in September 1969.

1377. The creation of the CEGEPS and the new university are important steps in the reform of the Quebec educational system; these institutions should help the Francophone labour force of the future to meet the challenges presented by the changing work world. Given the importance of meeting these challenges, there is a strong case for according high priority in the allocation of resources to the educational system of Quebec, as well as to other educational systems throughout Canada.

1378. It is also apparent that formal and informal relations between governments, the universities, and the work world must be encouraged and strengthened. In this rapidly changing world, the universities are constantly in danger of falling out of step with the demands of the economy. This risk particularly affects the French-language universities, because the industrial, financial, and commercial circles—dominated as they are by Anglophones—are naturally more closely linked to the English-language universities than to the French-language institutions. The French-language educational system in Quebec has historically suffered from its lack of rapport with the needs of contemporary society; a greater awareness of current and future economic trends would help to allay the feelings of apprehension and insecurity surrounding the entry into the work world of the present generation of students. This is not to suggest that the universities should ignore their other responsibilities to society, but a more realistic balance is needed.

1379. The need for closer connections between universities and the work world is perhaps greatest in the area of the development of managerial and entrepreneurial skills among Francophones. We have already recommended that government and universities work together to establish advanced study programmes in the area of public administration.² The scope of this recommendation might well be expanded to apply to advanced programmes in business administration.

Increasing the number of Francophone managers and entrepreneurs

¹ University of Quebec Act, S.Q. 1968, 17 Eliz. II, c.66.

² See § 821 in Volume 3A.

1380. Even without this type of specific training in administration, Anglophones are more likely than Francophones to hold administrative positions and thus to receive on-the-job training and experience. On the other hand, Francophones must rely to a greater extent on university training, because of their reduced opportunities for contact with the business world, their lack of experience and traditions in the field, and also perhaps because of their different system of values. The recent creation of a school of administration under the auspices of the Université du Québec is an encouraging development; it should be given considerable resources from the outset so that it can take advantage of the long experience of other universities and can obtain the services of a highly qualified teaching staff. It should be possible to draw on the resources of the business community, as well as those of the English-language universities, without compromising the Francophone character of the school.

1381. But formal schooling is not enough; the process by which Francophones acquire administrative experience must be accelerated. In one sense, this acceleration occurs automatically in an open and mobile society such as ours; if there is a need for managers, promotions are made more rapidly and the average age of those in such positions drops. This type of accelerated demand for Francophones has been apparent over the past few years in a variety of industries, as well as in the federal Public Service. The implementation of our recommendations should help to facilitate Francophones' access to upper management levels. But to meet the internal needs of business firms, specific training and technical assistance programmes will be required.

1382. In addition, the federal government can itself act as a training ground for Francophones. Many departments—such as Industry, Trade and Commerce, Finance, Labour, and Energy, Mines and Resources—have close relations with the world of industry and services. If these departments have appropriate personnel and career development policies, they will contribute to the achievement of equal partnership in the Public Service and also in the private sector. There is continual movement of personnel between these departments and industry, and the experience and training received in the federal Public Service and in the Canadian Forces can strongly influence an individual's subsequent contribution to industry. The same applies, perhaps even more strongly, to federal Crown corporations like CN, Polymer, and Air Canada. Provincial governments—particularly those of the officially bilingual provinces—can play a similar role.

1383. Certain other federal and provincial institutions are in daily contact with small and medium-sized Francophone-owned firms. CMHC,

the Industrial Development Bank, the Insurance department, and the Quebec department of Industry and Commerce, among others, could play a central role in giving Francophone entrepreneurs information, encouragement, and training through specific technical and administrative assistance programmes.

**Manpower
retraining**

1384. In the field of manpower policies—which lie in the grey area between federal and provincial jurisdictions—there are unresolved difficulties in the allocation of responsibilities. At present, the federal department of Manpower and Immigration plays a considerable role in the technical development and deployment of the labour force. Canada Manpower Centres have been established to assist workers in obtaining positions through placement and referral services and training and mobility programmes. They also aid employers in their recruitment by collecting and interpreting information about local labour markets and by providing consulting services on manpower use and development. In Quebec, the department of Labour and the Direction générale for adult education in the department of Education are involved in manpower programmes. In addition, many of the larger private firms have substantial training programmes at most occupational levels; these should all be made available in the French language.¹ In this way the private sector could help Francophones to take a more equal part in the social and economic activities of the country.

Immigration

1385. Education and retraining programmes are essential means of increasing the number of qualified Francophones, but the existing population is not the only potential source of manpower. The skills and energies of the immigrants who flow into Canada every year have been, and will continue to be, an important spur to economic development. Programmes seeking to equalize opportunities between Francophones and Anglophones must thus be concerned with the official-language choice of immigrants. In the past, even in Quebec, most immigrants have identified themselves with the Anglophone community.²

1386. In 1968 the Quebec government established an immigration service;³ this marked a departure from earlier policies which tended—with some justification—to regard immigrants as a threat to the French fact rather than as a potential reinforcement for it. But if larger numbers of immigrants are to be attracted to the Francophone community, there must be further changes in attitudes towards them and in the apparatus for receiving them into Quebec. There is still considerable

¹ See §§ 1333 and 1336.

² In Chapter III we noted how the professional and technically trained immigrants in particular had a far more substantial impact on the Anglophone than on the Francophone labour force.

³ Immigration Department Act, S.Q. 1968, 17 Eliz. II, c.68.

hostility towards immigrants in certain areas of the work world, based on the belief that they are depriving local employees of job openings. Positive gestures are required to ease the process of integration: welcoming services, special orientation classes, and language classes can all be helpful.

1387. We also urge that the federal department of Manpower and Immigration and the government of Quebec continue and intensify efforts to attract immigrants from France and other French-speaking areas. In the past, Francophone immigrants have always been a very small proportion of the total coming to Canada. This is largely because the French tend to emigrate less than other groups but also because the federal government has traditionally turned to the Commonwealth countries for immigrants and has failed to encourage Francophone immigration. However, closer relations are now being established with the Francophone world and greater efforts are being directed towards Francophone immigrants.

1388. If the number of immigrants of French mother tongue and the proportion of other immigrants who choose association with French-speaking Canada can be increased, an important new source of qualified Francophones can be created. At the same time, a better balance will have been achieved between Canada's two official-language groups.

1389. In the final analysis, the integration of immigrants into the French-speaking community will depend on the attraction exercised by the French language in Canada. This attraction is largely determined by the need to speak the language, and the economic and other advantages attached to doing so. The surest guarantee of bringing immigrants into the Francophone community is thus a strong demand for Francophone employees and an increase in the number of firms working in French. It is thus important that the linguistic and cultural barriers faced by Francophones in the work world would be eased, for only when there is a real possibility of working in French at all levels are substantial numbers of immigrants likely to bring their skills and knowledge into the Francophone labour force.

2. Economic development

1390. The implementation of the educational, manpower retraining, and immigration policies we have urged should increase the number of highly qualified Francophones in the Canadian labour force, but it is also necessary to ensure that the qualifications they have received have relevance within the work world. Since most Canadian Francophones live in Quebec, that province's economy must be sufficiently dynamic to create a demand for Francophones to upgrade their skills. Such an

upgrading should in itself lend impetus to Quebec's economic development, but other policy areas must also be considered. Although there is no easy formula for building a dynamic, forward-looking economy in Quebec, there are three factors which must clearly be involved in any attempt to achieve the objective of equal partnership: the expansion of research and knowledge, regional development programmes, and investment. Of course, these factors apply equally well to all areas of Canada.

Research

1391. The rate and quality of development are closely linked to the availability of pure and applied research; in this area Canada lags behind the United States and several other industrially developed countries. It spends less than 1 per cent of its gross national product on pure research,¹ compared with about 2 per cent in Sweden and 3 per cent in the United States. In industrial research, the situation is even worse.

1392. Federal funds are allotted to pure and applied research in federal departments and laboratories and in the universities. In applied research, funds are allocated according to merit—that is, according to the number and quality of the applications received. On the face of it, this would seem to be an equitable basis for distribution but, when it is applied to unequally developed regions, institutions, or groups, it results in a paradoxical situation whereby the poorest taxpayers are subsidizing the richest. Because the research facilities of the French-language institutions are not as well developed as those of the English-language institutions, they have not been able to compete on an equal basis for federal funds. We urge the official bodies concerned with scientific policy and research to bear in mind this inequality of opportunity when allocating subsidies.²

1393. The closer relations we have encouraged among governments, universities, and private industry should extend to the field of research. The Hydro-Québec Research Institute, the Pulp and Paper Institute of Canada, and the Institut de microbiologie et d'hygiène de l'Université de Montréal provide examples of such collaboration. It is to be hoped that the French-language universities of Quebec can play a larger role in future developments of this kind.

Regional
development
programmes

1394. Most of the present federal government programmes designed to equalize prosperity among the different regions of Canada come under the authority of the department of Regional Expansion. The

¹ See Science Council of Canada, *Towards a National Science Policy for Canada*, Report No. 4 (Ottawa, 1968).

² See Philippe Garigue, "La recherche au Québec et le problème constitutionnel," *Science Forum*, I, No. 2 (April 1968); "La politique scientifique au Canada," brief submitted to the Special Senate Committee by l'Université Laval, l'Université de Montréal and l'Université de Sherbrooke, May 1969; and Cyrius Ouellet, *The Sciences in French Canada* (Quebec, 1967).

Quebec Economic Advisory Council has been working on a regional approach to planning for economic growth in that province since 1960. Further reinforcement of the regional approach has come from the activities of the federal programme under the Agricultural Rehabilitation and Development Act (ARDA) and the Bureau d'aménagement de l'Est du Québec (BAEQ). The report of the BAEQ, published in 1966, has had a considerable impact on Quebec's approach to depressed regions.

1395. Because areas of low income are also frequently areas of high Francophone concentration, we believe it important for both the federal and the provincial governments to regard regional development in such areas as part of a general scheme for achieving equal partnership between Anglophones and Francophones. The administrative units used for regional development programmes should be reviewed, taking into account the bilingual districts recommended in Book I of our *Report*; they could frequently be more effective instruments for achieving Francophone-Anglophone equality if special attention were paid to the composition of the staffs and to the language used in operations. The cultural needs of the two groups should be included in the aims of the agencies in question. We also urge that the central departmental structures responsible for the planning and administration of such programmes should be re-examined to make sure that linguistic and cultural factors have been effectively recognized in the choice of personnel, the definition of overall goals, and the language of work. In general, our proposals for institutional bilingualism in government are equally vital in programmes for regional development.

1396. The number of modern business enterprises operating under a régime of institutional bilingualism must be expanded if Francophones are to have equal opportunity with Anglophones to work in their own language within the most sophisticated work areas. The enterprises currently offering Francophones the greatest opportunities are those owned by Francophones but, as we have seen, there are few large industrial enterprises in Francophone hands. However, every society seeks to share in the economic power which is reflected in the ownership of capital and the means of production; the government of Quebec has already acted on several occasions towards this end. The nationalization of the electric power firms integrated into Hydro-Québec and the creation of SOQUEM (Société québécoise pour l'exploration minière), SIDBEC (Sidérurgie du Québec), and the GIC (General Investment Corporation), all in the 1960's, illustrate the desire to extend the areas in which Francophone-owned firms operate. Here again, we urge the

Investment

federal government and other bodies to consider the principle of equal opportunity as it applies to Francophone enterprise.

1397. The federal government already devotes considerable means to regional development and equalization payments in order to assure a more equal distribution of resources. Through such programmes as ARDA, ADB (Atlantic Development Board), and ADA (Area Development Agency), it encourages local initiatives and helps to sustain the economy of the various regions. The federal government could and should, we believe, use analogous programmes to attack the problem of Francophone business development directly. For example, an industrial fund could be established, similar to the monies provided for the ADB and administered, upon agreement of terms, by the government of Quebec. Ideally, the provincial government would then entrust these resources to the GIC, whose object is precisely that of consolidating, merging, and creating firms. Considerable federal resources are already being expended on the Gaspé region; the fund we envision should be large enough to have a real impact on the future of the Quebec economy as a whole.

A social
accounting
system

1398. To ensure that planning and programmes are equally effective for Francophones and Anglophones, Canada should adopt a system of continuous accounting for its public policies, not merely in economic terms, but in terms of the concept of Franco-Anglophone status. In this kind of social accounting process, policies would be planned and evaluated on the basis of concern for and measurement of a whole range of development and status indicators for Francophones and Anglophones.

1399. We believe, therefore, that there must be changes in the methods of assembling and publishing statistics on the economic and social life of Canada. The Dominion Bureau of Statistics should greatly increase the number of tables that it publishes using mother tongue and main language spoken as key variables.¹ In addition, the Bureau and other federal and provincial agencies should divide among themselves responsibility for replicating certain Commission studies on a regular basis, some annually, some every two to five years. Studies analyzing education, income, occupation, and industrial distributions between Francophones and Anglophones are obvious candidates for such replication. Similarly, studies on the role of Francophones and on the use of the French language in industrial corporations must be repeated. Every social and economic issue involving Canadians is likely to have a Francophone-Anglophone dimension; if Canada is to develop on the

¹ In *Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism*, I, § 52, we suggested that a question on the language mainly used at home and work be used in the census.

basis of an equal partnership between the two groups, this dimension must be recognized in social and economic planning.

3. *The urban situation*

1400. The industrial revolution produced large-scale and persistent inequalities within all great industrializing nations and between nations. As the revolution towards the post-industrial society proceeds, inequalities continue to be severe and, at the international level, are actually increasing in terms of income per head. The technological and economic system has produced unparalleled and seemingly limitless material wealth, but the disparities have not been reduced. In Canada, there is a further dimension to the problem: a greater proportion of Francophones fall into the economically disadvantaged category.

Persistence
of economic
disparities

1401. All of the elements of industrialized societies are strongly focussed in the large urban areas. Most people live in the cities, which have the greatest potential for growth; they contain the most modern sectors of the economy; and the highly skilled labour force is concentrated in the great urban areas. But the problems of industrialized societies are also focussed in the cities; for example, poverty in all its forms—educational, social, political, and economic—and the great social problems of housing, transportation, pollution, and land use. Although most development policies are now centred on the mainly rural regions, the issues that will grow ever more acute are the problems of the great metropolitan areas. Deep and serious difficulties are likely to remain in the rural areas, of course, and policies to deal with these problems must not be abandoned; but a shift in focus to the cities will attack the most important issues and at the same time help to provide solutions for the problems of the rural regions—for these areas are dependent on the continued growth of the urban centres.

Social policies
in the urban
context

1402. Francophone-Anglophone disparities are most acute in the large cities, and particularly in the Montreal area. Yet it is where they are most acute that they will probably receive their most effective solution. Montreal typifies the positive aspects of the metropolis in the fields of economic, technical, cultural, and educational development. Here, for instance, French-language higher education and research have their greatest potential, in terms of population size, existing institutions, and opportunities for close links between educational institutions and the application of knowledge. But because the negative aspects of the expanding metropolis are also at their greatest and the disparities are most marked between Francophones and Anglophones in Montreal, the solution of the problem requires, among other things, a comprehensive attack on urban poverty and all its economic, social, educa-

tional, and welfare components. Clearly, the Francophone-Anglophone dimension must be recognized in all economic and social development policies seeking either to ensure that Canadians are prepared to reap the benefits of a growing economy or to help those who have been left behind in the process.

B. The Agents of Change

Need for
co-operation

1403. One vital requirement in the overall programme for development in Quebec is the full participation of the province's Anglophone population in the elaboration and implementation of policies. This is a corollary of our earlier recommendations that large firms welcome Francophones at all levels of their organizations. A development programme such as we envision must take into account private decision-making centres and the considerations—many extending outside the province—affecting the decisions made at these centres. Planners must have adequate information on the investment intentions of corporations, and on changes in technology and markets. The Quebec government must ensure the integration of the Anglophone population into the general process of development, notably by adequate representation on planning boards. The best existing example of what we are proposing is the General Industry Council recently established by the Quebec department of Commerce and Industry.

1404. In order to avoid duplication of efforts, greater co-ordination is also needed between provincial departments and federal departments as well as such federal advisory bodies as the Economic Council of Canada. Working links between these institutions should include personnel exchanges, joint study of problems requiring federal and provincial action, functional division of tasks, and joint recommendations to the governments directly concerned. Such concerted effort would give Quebec planning bodies access to more powerful control levels, and would result in more effective overall planning.

The role of
governments

1405. A comprehensive attack at both federal and provincial levels will be needed if the fundamental problems of economic disparities throughout the country are to be resolved. In this Book we have called for specific action from one or other level, or from both. In these final paragraphs we should like to spell out more clearly the general roles we feel the federal and provincial authorities should assume in the context of the present constitutional division of legislative powers in Canada.

The role of
the Quebec
government

1406. Since the Francophone population is concentrated in Quebec, the government of this province can be regarded as the principal architect of the supporting institutional framework of the Francophone

community. Although it is in no sense the exclusive government of Canadian Francophones, it represents the majority of the French-speaking population and thus acts from within the Francophone community; therefore it is in a position to be an effective agent in the stimulation and encouragement of the profound social changes required by a fast-moving world.

1407. The contribution of the Quebec government is a key element in the extension of the use of French in industry in the province, and in the improvement of skill levels and professional qualifications of the labour force. The expansion of facilities for higher education and the encouragement of immigrants to adopt French as their principal language are properly the responsibilities of the government of Quebec. Furthermore, the provision of a dynamic social, economic, and cultural context for Francophones must be achieved first in Quebec. The stimulation of research and investment and the development of programmes to resolve the problems of large cities both call for a forward-looking and active provincial government.

1408. As constitutional powers are presently distributed, provincial legislation is often indispensable to policy implementation, even in the areas where the federal government takes the initiative. International conventions touching on provincial matters fall into this category. In other instances, a provincial government is in a position to block federal measures. Thus the federal government cannot by itself apply a comprehensive programme for the development of equality between Francophones and Anglophones in Canada.

1409. Conversely, however, the provincial government cannot deny the federal responsibilities in such a programme. The federal role is a major one—for example, the federal Public Service and the Armed Forces, which provide employment for large numbers of Canadians of both groups, are in the domain of the federal government. Moreover, although Francophones are concentrated in Quebec, many live in other provinces—and many of these face grave disadvantages. In their interests, the federal government can act effectively in collaboration with the provinces, especially Ontario and New Brunswick, which have sizable Francophone minorities. We have already mentioned the federal role in equalizing opportunities in these regions, and to this can be added the kind of assistance to Francophone education that we recommend in Book II of this *Report*.

The federal
responsibility

1410. Even within Quebec, the role of federal government policy is important. Manpower retraining schemes, immigration, and fiscal incentives of all sorts contain a large federal component. In addition, only the federal government is in a position to accept the major share of

responsibility for maintaining the high level of employment that is a prerequisite for the success of any economic policy and a major determinant of the well-being of all Canadians in all regions.

1411. It is obvious that Francophones, like other Canadians, wish to take part in an economy adjusted to the highest levels of technology. Again, the role of the federal government is important: much of the present economic development depends upon the aggregation of considerable resources in research and technical skills. Only through the marshalling of the resources of the whole country can a new phase of economic activity, with a strong emphasis on secondary and tertiary industries, be planned effectively. All states that desire to achieve the sort of spectacular development that has been possible in countries like the United States and Japan must face the problem of mobilizing such resources over a long period of time so that they can be harnessed for maximum productivity and the concomitant task of developing large markets, both domestic and foreign.

The goal

1412. Canadian development and ultimate success depend to a large extent on the active and equal participation of Francophone and Anglophone Canadians in the work world and in the economy as a whole. Canada is an economic unit of immense developmental potential, and Canadians have the human and natural resources to develop this potential. They also have the considerable advantage of using the two main languages of the western world. The building of a truly bilingual and bicultural Canada will be invaluable in providing the country with the stimulus to move ahead. The existence of two equal but distinct societies, each with its own contribution to make to the country as a whole, presents the formidable challenge of creating a strong, dynamic, and united country.

- 42. We recommend that in the private sector in Quebec, governments and industry adopt the objective that French become the principal language of work at all levels, and that in pursuit of this objective the following principles be accepted: a) that French be the principal language of work in the major work institutions of the province; b) that, consequently, the majority of work units in such firms that until now have used English as the principal language of work in middle and upper levels become French-language units; and that such firms designate all management and senior positions as posts that require bilingual incumbents; c) that the majority of smaller or specialized firms should use French as their language of work, but that there should be a place for firms where the language of work is English, as there should be a place anywhere in Canada for such firms where the language of work is French; and d) that the main language of work in activities related to operations outside the province remain the choice of the enterprise. (§ 1306.)**
- 43. We recommend that in the private sector throughout Canada, the Canadian head offices of firms with extensive markets or facilities inside Quebec develop appropriate bilingual capacities, including French-language units and bilingual senior executives. (§ 1307.)**
- 44. We recommend that the government of Quebec establish a task force to consist of representatives of government, industry, the universities, and the major labour unions with the following general terms of reference: a) to launch discussions with the major companies in the province concerning the current state of bilingualism**


- and biculturalism in their organizations and the means of developing institutional bilingualism more fully; b) to design an overall plan for establishing French as the principal language of work in Quebec and to set a timetable for this process; c) to initiate discussions with the federal government and with the governments of New Brunswick and Ontario, to discover areas of potential co-operation in implementing the plan; and d) to make recommendations to the provincial government for the achievement of the goal and for the establishment of permanent machinery of co-ordination. (§ 1310.)
45. We recommend that the government of New Brunswick establish a task force charged with suggesting steps to be taken in education, in the provincial public service, and in the private sector so that French can become a language of work like English, bearing in mind the economic and social conditions in the province. (§ 1316.)
46. We recommend that the government of Ontario establish a task force charged with preparing a programme of action with the objective of ensuring the progressive introduction of French as a language of work in enterprises in bilingual districts, on the basis of a co-operative and concerted effort by government and industry. (§ 1322.)
47. We recommend that the firms at issue in Recommendations 42 and 43 make an explicit policy commitment to establish institutional bilingualism in their operations; and that they immediately designate certain units within their head offices and their operations in Quebec, and in bilingual districts, as future French-language units and designate those executive and senior positions that in the near future will require bilingual incumbents. (§ 1323.)
48. We recommend that, immediately after designating French-language units in their organizations, the firms also designate a substantial number of professional, technical, and managerial positions as French-language posts. (§ 1331.)
49. We recommend that the firms make every effort to interest Franco-phone students on business careers, by providing full information in career opportunities to the appropriate officials in French-language

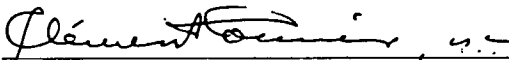
- educational institutions and by sending recruiting teams to these institutions both within and outside Quebec. (§ 1333.)
50. We recommend that the firms make their internal training programmes fully available in the French language for their Franco-phone employees. (§ 1336.)
51. We recommend that, where internal training programmes are presently unavailable in French, the firms consult with French-language institutions of higher education in Canada and elsewhere about the possibilities of providing the needed programmes. (§ 1337.)
52. We recommend that the firms seek to equalize the opportunities for job transfers for their Francophone employees, while at the same time taking steps to minimize the difficulties that these transfers entail. (§ 1341.)
53. We recommend that all material relevant to the promotion process and the preparation for it be made fully available in French. (§ 1343.)
54. We recommend that all Francophone candidates have the option of expressing themselves in their own language in all oral and written examinations and interviews, and that the examiners take into account the difficulties that the candidate may have had to face during his previous work experience as a result of the obligation to work in a second language. (§ 1344.)
55. We recommend that where firms designate positions as bilingual posts they take steps to ensure that the required level of competence in French and English is clearly defined and that they use this factor as a criterion in promotions to these positions. (§ 1345.)
56. We recommend that all information relevant to federal government contracts and other services to private enterprise, including technical specifications and documents, be made available simultaneously in French and English, and that in all official relations among federal government personnel, business firms, and unions, appropriate action be taken to ensure that the French language is fully used in the appropriate circumstances. (§ 1355.)

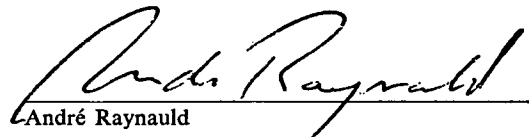
- 57. We recommend that, as a matter of policy, the federal agencies concerned make available to private firms all the data arising from developments in translation services, bilingual lexicons, and language training that may be of assistance to the firms in their transformation process. (§ 1356.)**


ALL OF WHICH WE RESPECTFULLY SUBMIT FOR YOUR EXCELLENCY'S CONSIDERATION


Jean-Louis Gagnon



A. Davidson Dunton


Clément Cormier, c.s.c.

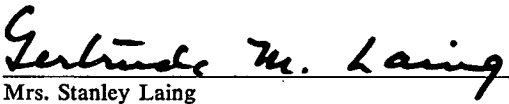

André Raynauld


Royce Frith


Jaroslav Bohdan Rudnycky

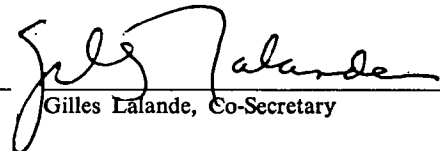

Paul Lacoste

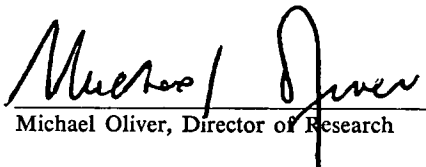

F. R. Scott*

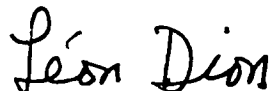

Mrs. Stanley Laing


Paul Wyczynski


Peter C. Findlay, Co-Secretary


Gilles Lalande, Co-Secretary


Michael Oliver, Director of Research


Léon Dion, Special Consultant on Research

September 19, 1969

*Commissioner Scott's partially dissenting opinion follows immediately.

bilingual districts all across Canada. Quebec was treated the same as other provinces. It should be the same for private business.

Obviously there is, and should be, much more French used in large businesses in Quebec than in other provinces at the present time. However, this is not because of their location, but because of the fact that these companies employ large numbers of Franco-phones and should make it possible for them to work their way up the business hierarchy using their own language as far as possible. The larger the firm, the more it should become bilingual if it employs or does business with Canadians of both official languages. This should be true for all Canada, and for Francophone-owned firms as well as Anglophone-owned firms, in my view.

Recommendation 42 is unacceptable for another reason. It is quite unrealistic—and indeed could be very harmful to the Quebec economy—to suggest that French become the principal language of work “at all levels” in the private sector, without distinguishing the various types of business in which the rule is to apply. How can a firm with a head office in Montreal, one production unit in Quebec with Francophone employees, and ten factories in other parts of Canada, make the top-level executives and planning groups use French predominantly? Their operations may be 80 per cent outside Quebec. The head office could easily move to another province. True, the Recommendation in clause d) recognizes this and allows free choice of language; but this flatly contradicts the opening statement. This Recommendation, though aiming at the proper objective of increasing the use of French as a language of business in Quebec, will strengthen the hands of those—and their numbers are increasing—who think there can be a unilingual Quebec in a bilingual Canada, or an independent Quebec that will not recognize linguistic minority rights.

Freedom of commerce, even in an economy increasingly in need of planning, still has an important role to fulfil and, combined with freedom of speech, means the right to do business anywhere in Canada in any language, be it Chinese in Vancouver, Ukrainian in Winnipeg, or Italian in Montreal. This is what makes for variety and colour in a pluralistic society. This human right is all too grudgingly admitted in clause c) of Recommendation 42. In bilingual districts, of which Montreal is the most important in Canada, such businesses can grow quite large before their internal use of the chosen language endangers the principle of equal partnership. Any profit-seeking enterprise that does not have enough sense to bilingualize most of its operations that reach a Francophone clientèle will suffer a deserved decline of income and eventual displacement by its competitors who are more culturally sensitive.

I have made several attempts to draft a Recommendation to put in place of Recommendation 42, but have come to the conclusion that our Commission should have contented itself to urge upon the government and private industry in Quebec exactly what it has urged for the two neighbouring provinces. There should be a task force instructed to work with the private sector and government in the formulation of a just and practical policy for Quebec. Obviously, because 80 per cent of the population of Quebec is French-speaking, the policy adopted will be far more favourable to “institutional

bilingualism” than in Ontario or New Brunswick. But I do not think our Commission is qualified, by composition or experience, to do more than point out the great need for a change of policy on the part of many employers of labour in Quebec. I believe this change is already taking place, and that nothing can stop it, but the problem in Quebec today is by no means only one of guaranteeing rights to Francophones; the right to the use of English by one million inhabitants is also called in question. About 4 per cent of the civil service in the Quebec government is Anglophone, and less than 3 per cent of the City of Montreal employees, though many more are bilingual. I hope Quebec will remain the “model” province which we so frequently considered it to be in our first Book.

In addition to my dissent from the important Recommendation 42, I wish to add one further remark. Our Commission, like the Sirois Royal Commission before it, was unable to do any research into the wealth and investment in the hands of the religious institutions in the province of Quebec. Without this, all that is said about the economic position of French Canada, based solely on an analysis of the private sector of industry, is somewhat out of context. The French invested heavily in religion while the more “materialistic” English were developing the business sector. Both communities had their own form of wealth: our *Report* shows only one side of the picture. Strong emotions can be aroused by inadequate or misleading statistics. There is a deficiency here in the research of our Commission—not due to any fault of our research department—and this must be kept in mind in assessing the meaning of those statistics which we have so liberally supplied.

A handwritten signature in black ink, reading "F. R. Scott". The signature is written in a cursive, slightly slanted style with a prominent initial "F".

F. R. Scott.



P.C. 1963-1106

Certified to be a true copy of a Minute of a Meeting of the Committee of the Privy Council approved by His Excellency the Governor General on the 19th July, 1963.

The Committee of the Privy Council, on the recommendation of the Right Honourable L. B. Pearson, the Prime Minister, advise that

André Laurendeau,¹ Montreal, P.Q.
Davidson Dunton, Ottawa, Ont.
Rev. Clément Cormier, Moncton, N.B.
Royce Frith, Toronto, Ont.
Jean-Louis Gagnon, Montreal, P.Q.
Mrs. Stanley Laing, Calgary, Alta.
Jean Marchand,² Quebec City, P.Q.
Jaroslav Bodhan Rudnyckyj, Winnipeg, Man.
Frank Scott, Montreal, P.Q.
Paul Wyczynski, Ottawa, Ont.

be appointed Commissioners under Part I of the Inquiries Act to inquire into and report upon the existing state of bilingualism and biculturalism in Canada and to recommend what steps should be taken to develop the Canadian Confederation on the basis of an equal partnership between the two founding races, taking into account the contribution made by the other ethnic groups to the cultural enrichment of Canada and the measures that should be taken to safeguard that contribution; and in particular

¹ André Laurendeau died on June 1, 1968. On October 8, 1968, Jean-Louis Gagnon was appointed Co-Chairman and André Raynauld was appointed a member of the Commission.

² The resignation of Jean Marchand from the Commission was accepted on September 21, 1965. On November 22 of that year Paul Lacoste, formerly one of the Co-Secretaries of the Commission, was appointed to fill the vacancy created by M. Marchand's resignation. On May 1, 1966, Prof. Gilles Lalande of the University of Montreal was appointed Co-Secretary.

1. to report upon the situation and practice of bilingualism within all branches and agencies of the federal administration—including Crown corporations—and in their communications with the public and to make recommendations designed to ensure the bilingual and basically bicultural character of the federal administration;

2. to report on the role of public and private organizations, including the mass communications media, in promoting bilingualism, better cultural relations and a more widespread appreciation of the basically bicultural character of our country and of the subsequent contribution made by the other cultures; and to recommend what should be done to improve that role; and

3. having regard to the fact that constitutional jurisdiction over education is vested in the provinces, to discuss with the provincial governments the opportunities available to Canadians to learn the English and French languages and to recommend what could be done to enable Canadians to become bilingual.

The Committee further advise:

- (a) that the Commissioners be authorized to exercise all the powers conferred upon them by section 11 of the Inquiries Act and be assisted to the fullest extent by Government departments and agencies;
- (b) that the Commissioners adopt such procedures and methods as they may from time to time deem expedient for the proper conduct of the inquiry and sit at such times and at such places as they may decide from time to time;
- (c) that the Commissioners be authorized to engage the services of such counsel, staff and technical advisers as they may require at rates of remuneration and reimbursement to be approved by the Treasury Board;
- (d) that the Commissioners report to the Governor in Council with all reasonable despatch, and file with the Dominion Archivist the papers and records of the Commission as soon as reasonably may be after the conclusion of the inquiry.
- (e) that André Laurendeau and Davidson Dunton be co-Chairmen of the Commission and André Laurendeau be Chief Executive Officer thereof.

R. G. ROBERTSON
Clerk of the Privy Council

Auclair, G. A. and Read W. H., A CROSS-CULTURAL STUDY OF INDUSTRIAL LEADERSHIP, by arrangement with the Institut de psychologie de l'Université de Montréal and The Graduate School of Business of McGill University.

The main goal of this study, prepared in 1966, was to quantify, analyze, and interpret the dominant patterns of industrial leadership of French Canadians and English Canadians. Contrasts and comparisons were sought between French Canadian and English Canadian managers and supervisors in their attitudes towards several aspects or dimensions of leadership.

Seven large companies, with a total of approximately 250,000 employees, comprised the final sample used in the study; three were manufacturing and four were service organizations; five had management groups composed of both French Canadian and English Canadian members, one was entirely English Canadian, and one was entirely French Canadian in ownership and management. Three levels of management were defined: lower (salaries of less than \$9,000 a year), middle (\$9,000 to \$17,999), and higher (\$18,000 a year or more). A total of 3,105 male managers, from an expected 4,392, returned a questionnaire. English Canadians were defined as Canadian citizens whose cultural or ethnic origin was English, Irish, Scottish, or Welsh and French Canadians as Canadian citizens whose cultural or ethnic origin was French.

The study reports on the evaluation of organizational goals (defined as economic or social-

humanitarian), conflict between organizational goals and those of personal significance in private life, and attitudes towards employees, with particular reference to leadership styles, work motivation, the effects of human-relations training and religious affiliation on management attitudes, the effects of exposure to "the other" culture inside or outside the work setting on these attitudes, and job satisfaction. Differences and similarities between the two ethnic groups are shown by company and by level within these companies.

Two parallel but somewhat independent studies were included in the project. The first deals with attitudes of French and English Canadian management personnel in small businesses in Quebec. Only Canadian-owned companies with 25 to 1,500 employees were included; the sample numbered 737 companies, of which 350 were owned by French Canadians. Questionnaires were sent to 700 managers in companies of French Canadian ownership and 774 in companies of English Canadian ownership; return rates were 24 and 26 per cent respectively.

The second subordinate study examines attitudes of business and commerce students in French- and English-speaking Canada. Questionnaires were answered by more than 1,100 full-time students, more than 200 of them at the post-graduate level, in eight institutions throughout Canada. The schools were selected from the 22 accredited schools of business or commerce in Canada with either undergraduate or post-

graduate programmes and enrolments of more than 100 students.

Dofny, J., LES INGÉNIEURS CANADIENS-FRANÇAIS ET CANADIENS-ANGLAIS À MONTREAL. This study, prepared in 1965, attempts to describe and differentiate the social backgrounds of French Canadian and English Canadian engineers in terms of their careers, professional mobility, and attitudes towards social class, economic development, and ethnic relations. It also assesses the future role, in a single economic world, of an industrial élite formed of individuals from two cultures. Data was furnished by structured interviews with 277 Canadian engineers of French origin and 339 of British origin, all working in Montreal; these interviews represent response rates of 86 and 72 per cent respectively. The sample was taken from the mailing list of the Corporation des ingénieurs du Québec.

École des hautes études commerciales and The Graduate School of Business of McGill University, CORPORATE POLICIES AND PRACTICES WITH RESPECT TO BILINGUALISM AND BICULTURALISM—POLITIQUES ET PRATIQUES DU MONDE DES AFFAIRES RELATIVEMENT AU BILINGUISME ET BICULTURALISME. This is a large report based on research of various types. It is divided into the following sections.

1. "Facteurs explicatifs" is a series of articles prepared under the direction of R. Charbonneau. Of these, "Inventaire des Canadiens français aptes à occuper un poste de cadre administratif," an article written by B. Nadeau under the supervision of P. C. Lefrançois is largely used in Chapter XIII. It reports on the concentration, employment patterns, and work experience of Francophone and Anglophone engineers, scientists, commerce graduates, chartered accountants, and lawyers. For the engineers, besides 1961 census data, two surveys were used. One consisted of data from the department of Labour on one-third of the engineers practising in Quebec in 1963; the main criterion for designating Francophones was the language of the university of graduation. The other survey, undertaken in 1964, reported on 9,479 of the 10,877 members of the Corporation des ingénieurs du Québec, excluding the members practising outside Quebec and the Ottawa valley, those studying or retired, or for whom job

information was not available; the main criterion for designating an engineer as Francophone was his surname. For the scientists, 1961 census data and department of Labour surveys conducted in 1957 and 1963 were used. The latter surveys used the language of the university of graduation as the criterion of linguistic affiliation and reported on one-third of the scientists practising in Quebec in 1957 and in 1963. For the chartered accountants, an analysis was made of all the 3,232 members of the Institut des comptables agréés du Québec in 1964; the main criterion for designating linguistic affiliation was the surname. For the commerce graduates, a list of names and addresses by years of graduation was obtained from nearly all Canadian universities awarding degrees in commerce or business administration; an analysis was then made of the 7,989 commerce graduates working in Quebec in 1964. Francophones and Anglophones were identified by the language of the university of graduation.

2. "Patterns and Trends in Business," by W. H. Pugsley.

3. "Education and Achievement," by D. E. Armstrong.

4. "Corporate Policies and Practices of Large Manufacturing Firms," by R. N. Morrison. The data of this study were provided by questionnaires sent out in 1964 to a sample of large firms having their head offices in Quebec or Ontario. The following criteria were used for sampling the firms: they had to be engaged primarily in the manufacturing sector, each had to be dominant in its industry, and the total sample was to include representative firms of every major industry group; each had to have operations of significant size in Quebec and employment of at least 500; about one-third of all firms selected were to have all their operations (exclusive of branch sales offices) in Quebec and adjacent bilingual-bicultural regions—these were designated the "regional firms as against the "national" firms. At least three firms were to be represented in each of the following seven ownership-location categories: (1) owned by French Canadians, with head office in Quebec; (2) owned by English Canadians, with head office in Quebec; (3) owned by English Canadians, with head office elsewhere in Canada; (4) owned by citizens of foreign, French-speaking countries, with head office in Quebec; (5) owned by citizens of the United

Kingdom, with head office in Quebec; (6) owned by citizens of the United States, with head office in Quebec; (7) owned by citizens of the United States, with head office elsewhere in Canada. Of the 70 large manufacturing firms invited to participate in the study, 41 reported on total employment, both wage-roll and salaried. They employed on the average just over 4,000 people each. Although these firms do not constitute a random sample, they account for 21 per cent of the total employment in manufacturing in Quebec, for 8 per cent in Ontario, and for 12 per cent in Canada.

For purpose of analysis, five geographic regions of employment were designated: the Montreal metropolitan census area, Quebec excluding Montreal, the four Atlantic provinces, Ontario, and the four western provinces. The breakdown by function was as follows: manufacturing; marketing—including sales and advertising; personnel; engineering and research and development; finance and accounting; public relations; purchasing; and other—including general management. The concept of "work area," or "work unit," was used to refer to a department or a division within a firm defined both on a regional *and* a functional basis. The distinction between Francophone and Anglophone employees was made on the basis of mother tongue, or language of greatest fluency if the mother tongue was neither French nor English.

One section of the study reports on the total employment in the 41 sample firms. Results are broken down, by ownership-location group, by type of firm—"regional" or "national"—by region of employment, and by percentage of Francophones employed.

The major part of the study is concerned with the salaried staff earning \$5,000 or more. The data on 19,888 employees were made available by 36 firms, representing all ownership-location categories. For various groups of firms defined by ownership-location, region of employment, or function, the following characteristics are shown: the language of business in work areas; the percentage of Francophones and Anglophones in each salary group; the percentage of Francophones or Anglophones in each salary group whose job requires bilingual ability. The same characteristics are given for recently hired personnel (during a 12-month period). Francophone

and Anglophone mobility is studied with respect to function, region, age, and family.

Another section examines the directorship practices and the distribution of executive officers by mother tongue and ownership-location category. Employee relations are also examined, particularly hiring practices with regard to recent university graduates in engineering and commerce, the training and further education of employees, employee evaluation and job analysis, and communications within the firm. In conclusion, the study reports on purchasing—in particular, the language ability required of personnel and the language used in written forms; marketing—including the pattern of sales, advertising, and language ability of sales personnel; and shareholder relations—that is, language used in annual reports, at the annual shareholders' meeting, and on the share certificates.

5. "Corporate Policies and Management Attitudes," by R. N. Morrison.

6. "Small Firms Employing between 50 and 1,500 people in Quebec and Ontario," by R. N. Morrison. This study examines patterns of employment of Francophones and Anglophones, patterns of business activity, and the relative use of French and English in manufacturing businesses. It also tries to relate observed differences to differences in type of ownership and geographic location. Three criteria were used for sampling: sample firms had to be engaged primarily in manufacturing, the head office of each sample firm had to be in either Quebec or Ontario, and each firm had to employ between 50 and 1,500 people. Data was collected from questionnaires mailed to 2,597 firms in 1964, operating some 2,770 establishments. Questionnaires were returned by 605 firms (23 per cent), and the relevant sample was made of 566 firms; since not all the 566 firms completed every section of the questionnaire, a smaller sample of 358 firms was retained for more complete information on all matters central to the study; total employment in this sample was 71,681.

The report shows the structural patterns of these 358 small firms, that is, the differences in size, as measured by employment or sales value, for the various ownership types and locations of head office. A major part of the report analyzes the patterns of employment in various regions, industry groups, and ownership groups, with par-

ticular emphasis on the percentage of Francophones employed in each group; a distinction is made between wage-roll and salaried employees. Another section studies the differences between firms with respect to patterns of language of business in external contacts (marketing and purchasing) and in internal communication. The study also reports on the bilingual ability of salaried employees and evaluates the relative importance of the ability to speak French or English at various levels of the organization; measures used were based on estimates and opinions given by officers of the sample firms. Finally, it reports on management opinion regarding changes and anticipated further change regarding bilingualism in business.

Porter, J. and Pineo, P.C., FRENCH-ENGLISH DIFFERENCES IN THE EVALUATION OF OCCUPATIONS, INDUSTRIES, ETHNICITIES, AND RELIGIONS IN THE MONTREAL METROPOLITAN AREA. The main aim of this study was to discover the differences in how Francophones and Anglophones in Montreal view the occupational world and how they rate the prestige of a large number of different jobs and professions. Francophones and Anglophones in a sample of Montrealers were compared with each other and with a national sample of the Canadian adult population. The study draws on a large opinion survey made in 1965 by Canadian Facts Ltd.

In the national sample, there were 793 respondents, of which 89 were Montreal cases; to this number was added a special Montreal over-sample of 107 to make up a Montreal sub-sample of 196. That corresponded to a completion rate of 64 per cent of the cases originally contacted.

The ranking of occupations followed rules already tested at the University of Chicago's National Opinion Research Center. Respondents were asked to sort 204 occupational titles or job

descriptions, 72 industries and corporations, 36 ethnic groups, and 21 religious affiliations in order of social standing. This was done by sorting cards, one for each name or description, onto a scale of nine classifications, from highest to lowest.

No classification of respondents as Francophone or Anglophone was made in advance of the interviews; instead, all respondents were allowed to classify themselves by choosing the language in which they preferred to be interviewed. All interviewers in Montreal and all interview materials (including, for example, the cards sorted by respondents) were bilingual; 142 interviews were conducted in French and 54 in English. Questions within the survey elicited other information, such as mother tongue, language used at home, language of best friends, preferred television channel, and so on. The study's classification of respondents as Francophone or Anglophone was quite consistent with these other alternative classifications.

Taylor, H., THE OUTPUT OF CANADIAN UNIVERSITIES AND COLLEGES, 1962-65. This study enumerates all degrees and diplomas earned between 1962 and 1965 at 37 Canadian universities (and their affiliated colleges)—31 teaching only in English, four only in French, and two in both English and French—and eight types of small non-affiliated colleges. The data came from unpublished documents and tables prepared by the Higher Education Section of the Dominion Bureau of Statistics and provided no information about the number of Francophone students enrolled in English-language universities, and vice versa. Attainments were classified in four categories—diploma, bachelor's or first degree, master's degree or licence, and doctorate—and in 10 academic specializations—arts, social sciences, commerce, natural sciences, political sciences, history, economics, mathematics, languages, and others.

PRIVY COUNCIL LIBRARY
BIBLIOTHEQUE DU CONSEIL PRIVÉ



005240



DUE DATE

FC145/.B55/C3/v.3B
Dunton, Arnold Davidson, 1
Report of the Royal
Commission on Bilingualis
ADNR c. 3 aa PCO



1875