

Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism

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**Report of the Royal Commission
on Bilingualism and Biculturalism
Volume 3A**

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^A of our Final Report

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Ottawa, September 19, 1969

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

QUEEN'S PRINTER FOR CANADA
Ottawa, 1969

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

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Introduction to Part 3

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Part 4 Conclusions

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1. The Commission's terms of reference charged us "to recommend what steps should be taken to develop the Canadian Confederation on the basis of an equal partnership between the two founding races."¹ We believe that this partnership—which is essentially one between Francophone and Anglophone Canadians, whatever their ethnic origin—involves the underlying social and economic aspects of equality, as well as formal rights for the two languages.

Equal
partnership

2. Official equality of language has very limited significance if it is not accompanied by equality of economic opportunity. Unless a language can flourish in the world of work, legal guarantees of its use by government services, courts, and schools will not be able to ensure its long-term development. Formal linguistic equality is of little importance to those living under a system that always places them in inferior social and economic conditions. Such a partnership is not only unequal, but may in the long run imperil Confederation; the fate of the two cultures and the two dominant languages of Canada, within two distinct societies, ultimately depends on their positions in the work world and in the economy at large.

3. Statements made at our regional meetings, formal briefs, surveys we commissioned, and our own observations impressed on us the importance of the socio-economic aspects of equality. The dissatisfaction of Francophone Canadians derives in large part from what they perceive to be their inferior position vis-à-vis Anglophones in the work world. Again and again we came across such phrases as: "I have to hang up my language with my coat when I go to work"; "The bosses all talk English"; "The English-speaking always get the best jobs." As

The source of
Francophone
dissatisfaction

¹ The text of the terms of reference appears in Appendix I.

well, many Francophones in Quebec expressed resentment at having little influence and control over many of the economic decisions that affect both their material well-being and the capacity of their institutions (schools and the mass media, for example) to provide for their special needs. Detailed and systematic research confirmed many of the opinions we heard expressed.

Equal
partnership in
the work world

4. In the General Introduction to our *Report*, we said:

... equality between the two dominant languages and cultures cannot mean absolute equality of the members of both groups. The point at issue is essentially equality of opportunity, but a *real equality of opportunity*—an equality ensuring that the fact of speaking English or French would be neither a help nor a handicap to a person seeking entry into the institutions affecting our individual and collective life.¹

Thus, when we speak of equality of opportunity or of the participation of Francophone Canadians, we mean an equality and a participation that do not interfere with the maintenance of their language and culture. It would be a travesty of the concept of equal partnership to say, as some people do, that Francophones have the same advantages as Anglophones because they can rise as fast and as far if they have the ability to work in both languages. As we said in the General Introduction to our *Report*:

The equality to which we refer requires that a person who engages in some activity or associates with some institution need not renounce his own culture, but can offer his services, act, show his presence, develop, and be accepted with all his cultural traits.²

The importance
of language use

5. The question of language use is central. Working in a second language is a handicap to almost everyone. Few Anglophone Canadians would like to have their competence judged by their performance in work they were required to carry out in French. Yet, in both government and private enterprise, the higher the post, the more important is the precise, effective use of language. There is often a psychological effect on the person trying to function in a language not his own: realizing that his writing is laboured and his speech marred by faulty constructions, he becomes self-conscious, which in turn leads him to withdraw from events in which he might otherwise have taken an active part. Although effective written and oral presentation of ideas is not required of the majority of the labour force, a language barrier hindering easy oral communications with superiors and colleagues would represent a handicap for almost everyone.

¹ *Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism*, General Introduction (Ottawa, 1967), § 72.

² *Ibid.*, § 68.

6. One of the specific instructions in our terms of reference was “to report upon the situation and practice of bilingualism within all branches and agencies of the federal administration” and “to make recommendations designed to ensure the bilingual and basically bicultural character of the federal administration.” We were also instructed “to report on the role of public and private organizations . . . in promoting bilingualism, better cultural relations and a more widespread appreciation of the basically bicultural character of our country. . . .” In dealing with these subjects, we discovered many elements common to the federal Public Service and the private sector. Problems of language and factors relating to the presence and participation of Francophones are similar.

Parallel situations
in the public and
private sectors

7. Because so little pertinent data were available, we had to carry out extensive research studies, the findings of which form the body of this Book.¹ Our efforts to comprehend and assess the basic problems led to substantial investigations into the realms of income, occupation, and educational levels, and a study of the ways they are related to Francophone participation in federal agencies and large private business corporations. Because all these questions are closely interrelated, we decided to treat them in this one Book.

The research
findings

8. The results of these studies show that, socially and economically, Francophones are in a far weaker position than Anglophones in the work world. They are decidedly and consistently lower in average income levels, in schooling levels, in occupational scales, and in the ownership of industry. Reflecting these findings were those showing the meagre participation of Francophones in the upper levels of the federal Public Service and private industry and the restricted use of the French language in these institutions. The existence of disparity between Francophones and Anglophones is not new, but the depth and the extent of the differences revealed by our data emphasize the fact that the development of the Canadian Confederation on the basis of an equal partnership calls for a determined attack on the sources of the disparities.

9. Because the costs of being Francophone tend to be greater and the benefits less, our purpose in this Book is to propose measures that will give Francophones a comparable status with Anglophones. This emphasis on the situation of Francophones does not mean that the present Anglophone position is in all respects ideal; there is room for improvement on both sides. However, if an equal partnership is to develop, Francophones must first acquire the same advantages that Anglophones now have.

¹ These studies are described briefly in Appendix VII.

The relation
between
participation and
language use

10. Language use and participation in the institutions of the work world are closely linked. The lack of Francophones in key posts in many public and private organizations is usually not the result of conscious discrimination. Rather, the very atmosphere, culture, and language arrangements are such that Francophones are handicapped in developing their capacities and in performing their work. Without the opportunity for self-expression in their own language, few Francophones are attracted to these organizations; so the use of the French language in the organizations atrophies and the presence of French culture is weakened. Some Francophones do become highly proficient in the use of English in their careers and still maintain their culture and the use of French in their family and social lives, but they are the exceptions.

11. Thus, while we have concentrated on language practices in the work world, we have been continually conscious of the related question of effective participation. Our recommendations are framed with the purpose of securing an active Francophone and Anglophone presence at all levels of the work organizations.

The historical
context

12. It is one thing to assess and analyze present disparities between Francophones and Anglophones; it is another thing to attempt to lay bare the deepest causes of these disparities. Several explanations are given for the relatively small participation of Francophones in the higher reaches of business and the federal administration. Some people tend to put the responsibility mainly on the Francophone population itself—on its alleged lack of interest in such careers, its preference for agriculture, and its concern for religion and the non-materialistic aspects of life. Another explanation puts the blame on the other side—on the effects of the Conquest, on the early and continued domination of business and government by the Anglophones, and on active discrimination against Francophones and the use of French. Some say that the Francophones in Quebec did not prepare themselves through their educational system for leading places in an industrial world; others retort that Francophones did not think it worthwhile to do so, because they were convinced that fair opportunities would not be open to them.

13. In every generation, some Anglophones have justified the dominance of the English language and the lack of high-level Francophones in their organizations by the "backwardness" of Francophones, and some Francophones in each generation have complained of the few opportunities open to them. In fact, of course, in every period of Canadian history some Francophones have held important positions in business and government, although they have not been numerous.

14. There is so much conflicting evidence and there are so many differing opinions about the historical causes of the socio-economic position of Francophones that we, as a Commission, did not find it possible, desirable, or necessary to come to conclusions ourselves. The chief aim of our research was to examine and analyze the present situation.

15. Furthermore, a new climate has developed in French-speaking Canada in recent years. Whatever may have been true of earlier periods is no longer true in the same way. Francophone Canadians are now showing a desire to take their place in every field of contemporary life. Great emphasis is being placed on science, technology, new initiatives, and new approaches. The Quebec educational system is in the midst of fundamental reform. To understand and evaluate such developments as these—which are changing the terms of Canada's bicultural existence—they must be seen in the context of present and likely future trends in the country's society and economy.

A new climate

16. The problems confronting Canadians must be seen in the context of an advanced industrial society, with all the characteristics that apply to such a society. Large organizations, public and private, have come to dominate the scene. Governments have a broader role than formerly, with their actions continually affecting many aspects of life and moulding developments in society.

An advanced industrial society

17. Advanced techniques of many kinds are becoming increasingly important in industry, and opportunities are becoming more and more scarce for the unskilled and the poorly trained. At the current rate of innovation, Canada seems to be moving into a post-industrial stage of development in which a large portion of the work force will not be engaged in the actual production of goods but in the provision of services of various kinds, many of them requiring skills of a high order. Society appears to be transforming itself on a scale that is novel in human experience.

18. Along with these changes, new problems have developed and old, familiar ones have grown more acute. Industrialization favours some regions of the country more than others, with the result that the question of regional disparities—a question as old as Canada itself—is as serious today as ever. Studies have shown that a considerable proportion of Francophones live in economically backward areas.

19. Urbanization, a concomitant of industrialization, also raises a host of problems. More and more Canadians, both Francophone and Anglophone, are living in large cities. Future relations between Francophones and Anglophones will have to be worked out in the urban context and particularly in the great conurbation of Montreal, home of the second largest concentration of Francophones in the world.

The influence of
the United States

20. A further element in the setting of Canada's problems of bilingualism and biculturalism is the fact that our country shares a continent with the United States. American initiatives in business, science and technology, and the communications media are a challenging influence throughout most of the world, but have a particularly marked effect on Canada. These initiatives are transmitted through the medium of the English language and thus have a different impact on Francophone and Anglophone society. Efforts to balance this massive Anglophone influence should take into account all the existing and potential resources of the world-wide French-speaking community.

Organization
of Book III

21. The organization of this Book reflects the complex interrelations among the factors affecting bilingualism and biculturalism in the work world. Part 1 contains a comprehensive survey of relative Francophone-Anglophone status. The chief socio-economic measurements used are income, occupation, education, and ownership of industry. The data provide a framework in which to view the public and private sectors of the work world.

22. In Part 2 we examine the federal Public Service. After summarizing our extensive studies of language use and participation, we make recommendations respecting these areas. One chapter is devoted to the Canadian Forces.

23. Part 3 deals with the private sector of the work world. Our major observations relate to large corporations in Quebec, because of their critical role in providing work opportunities and in affecting large portions of the economy.

24. We recognize that the problems we are dealing with throughout this Book require solutions that are outside the scope of the Public Service and private industry. Therefore, at the end of the Book, in Part 4, where we try to bring together the main threads of analysis, we also put forth some general proposals for action that seem to us to embody essential requirements in the areas covered by our terms of reference.

Significance of
socio-economic
status.

25. Three basic and interrelated conditions are required for the development of equal partnership in Canada on a socio-economic level. First, the centres of power must be open to both Francophones and Anglophones. As we said in the General Introduction to our *Report*, both groups must "share in the direction of economic life, in making those decisions which so largely determine everyone's future living conditions. The presence or absence of a strong representation from each language group in the strategic posts of command . . . will do much to determine whether a sense of partnership exists."²

26. Second, "The individual must . . . be able to find, at all levels of human activity, a setting which will permit him to develop, to express himself, and to create in accordance with his own culture."³ Such a setting is not possible without the necessary educational and financial means. Obviously, the cultural flowering of a linguistic group is impeded if, for economic reasons, many of its young members have to enter the labour force without completing their education, and if the struggle to provide food, shelter, and clothing for themselves and their families consumes an undue part of their time and energies.

27. In the General Introduction we also stated that "Every stratum of Canadian society has redefined its notion of the good life in terms

¹Data for Part 1 are taken primarily from the Census of Canada and other material collected by the Dominion Bureau of Statistics. The material was specially analyzed for the Commission in two studies: "La répartition des revenus selon les groupes ethniques au Canada," by André Raynauld, Gérald Marion, and Richard Béland, and "La propriété des entreprises au Québec," by André Raynauld. Unless otherwise stated, they have served as our sources in the whole of Part 1. These studies, which we will publish, represent an original and large-scale research effort.

²*Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism*, General Introduction, § 79.

³*Ibid.*, § 71.

of easy access to the fruits of modern technology."¹ This brings us to the third condition: these fruits of progress must be equally accessible to all Canadians, both Anglophones and Francophones.

28. It is clear that these three conditions of equal partnership are related. A wealthy man, for instance, will probably hold a position of influence and have the education to pursue his cultural development.

Income 29. We have measured socio-economic status according to the following variables: income, education, occupation, and individual participation in the ownership of industry. Income is an index of material wealth. When the incomes of French- and English-speaking Canadians are compared, the present state of the partnership in terms of the fruits of economic and social progress will be described and illustrated. To develop his cultural expression, an individual must have an income large enough to enable him, among other things, to buy books, records, and art objects, to undertake studies in his own language, and to support either through taxes or directly the institutions which sustain his culture. Finally, a high income is almost invariably the reward for occupying a responsible and influential position.

Education 30. Education is important for its effect on cultural opportunities and for its role in enabling an individual to progress to his full potential. In the context of this Book, however, its main importance stems from its close relation to occupation and income.

Occupation 31. By examining the occupational distribution of Canadians, we can establish in a general way which people are filling the key positions. In addition, because high salaries are usually attached to such positions, the occupational variable can also tell us a good deal about the distribution of material wealth in Canada.

Participation in industrial ownership 32. Traditional economic thought has not taken the cultural-linguistic affiliations of industry owners into account. However, we have chosen to do so for a number of reasons. First, we are seeking to identify the economic élite of the country. Second, the language of work in a given firm, particularly at the management level, is likely to be the language of the owners. Finally, because the names of firms and their proprietors are such visible features of social life, ownership of industry is for most people a much more immediate sign of the relative status of Francophones and Anglophones than are income, education, and occupation.

Interaction of variables 33. The four variables by which we shall measure socio-economic status are interrelated. For example, a meagre education will likely result in a low-level occupation, which in turn will probably produce a poor income. An examination of the interaction of these variables

¹ *Ibid.*, § 98.

should lead to some understanding of the social processes that affect socio-economic status. Thus, our four variables are dynamic forces which work together to determine status and to impede or promote the development of equal partnership.

34. While we are primarily interested in the position of the two major language groups, the use of ethnic origin—rather than mother tongue or official language—as the main variable in Part 1 marks it off from Parts 2 and 3. The complex network of influences determining the relative statuses of individuals and groups can be adequately described only by considering the various ethnic origins—not just British and French—that are represented in the Canadian population. However, it is obvious that the linguistic variables follow the ethnic variable closely.

35. Because of the complexities attendant on such an extensive socio-economic analysis, we have tried to simplify matters somewhat by concentrating on the positions of the French and British¹ only. Although Canadians of other origins are frequently brought into the discussion, it is largely to enable the reader to see the positions of those of French and British origins in the wider Canadian context. The next Book of our *Report* will be devoted to Canadians of other origins.

¹ In Part 1, the terms "French," "British," "Germans," "Others," etc. refer to the ethnic origin of Canadians, and *not* to nationality.

36. The material advantages stemming from a high income are as obvious as they are sought after. Few indeed are those to whom money is a matter of indifference. It follows that, if there is a substantial disparity between the incomes of two groups, the less fortunate will generally have strong feelings of resentment and grievance. In most modern societies, serious income disparities figure among the prime causes of social unrest; with this in mind, we compare the positions of Canadians of French and British origin on the income scale.

37. Let us first consider the relative participation by Canadians of various origins in the country's total male labour force in 1961.¹ Those of British origin formed the largest proportion—44 per cent² of the total; Canadians of French origin were in second place with 28 per cent; those of German origin made up a further 6 per cent, those of Italian and Ukrainian origin approximately 3 per cent each, and those of Jewish origin about 1 per cent.³ These proportions should be borne in mind in order to keep in proper perspective the relative importance of Canadians of various origins in any income, educational, or occupational category. For instance, while 23 per cent of those of Ukrainian origin were farmers, only 5 per cent of all farmers across Canada were Ukrainian.

Labour force and
ethnic origin

38. We discovered a very noticeable disparity in income between Canadians of French and British origin. If the average income of the

Income and ethnic
origin

¹ We generally consider only the male labour force because of difficulties in interpreting the income statistics for the female labour force.

² Throughout the text, percentages have been rounded to the nearest whole number.

³ Those of German, Ukrainian, and Italian origin were selected for individual study because they formed the next three largest segments of the Canadian population after those of British and French origin. Canadians of Jewish origin were included because they constituted one of the larger groups in Quebec, and particularly in the Montreal metropolitan area.

total male labour force in Canada is expressed as 100 (Table 1), those of British origin stood 10 points (110) above the national average in 1961, while those of French origin fell 14 points (86) below it. All in all, then, 24 points divided the two groups.

39. Comparing only the non-agricultural workers (Table 1),¹ the disparity between the income indices for those of British and French origin remained much the same as that in the total labour force, falling only slightly, from 24 to 22 points. Canadian men of British origin earned on average nearly \$1,000 more in 1961 than those of French origin—\$4,852 compared with \$3,872.² Thus, in 1961, those of French origin were effectively earning about 80 per cent as much as those of British origin. But the British and the French did not quite form the extremes of the income scale, despite the disparity between their average incomes; the French stood higher than those of Italian origin and the income of the British was substantially lower than that of Jewish men. Nevertheless, the gap separating those of French and British origin was much wider than that separating the French from the Italians.

Table 1. Average Total Income

Average total income of the male non-agricultural labour force and of the total male labour force, by ethnic origin—Canada, 1961

	Non-agricultural male labour force		Total male labour force
	Dollars	Index	Index
All origins	4,414	100.0	100.0
British	4,852	109.9	109.8
French	3,872	87.7	85.8
German	4,207	95.3	103.1
Italian	3,621	82.0	81.0
Jewish	7,426	168.2	166.9
Ukrainian	4,128	93.5	86.8
Others	4,153	94.1	98.2

Source: André Raynauld, Gérald Marion, and Richard Béland, "La répartition des revenus selon les groupes ethniques au Canada."

¹ The average income of the total male labour force naturally includes those incomes derived from agricultural occupations. However, because of the techniques employed by the Census of Canada, the data on agricultural incomes are not strictly comparable with those for incomes received by the non-agricultural labour force. Consequently, unless otherwise stated, we have not considered the agricultural labour force.

² There is limited data available on median, as opposed to average, incomes. (The median is the value in the exact centre of a scale of values ranked according to size.) The median incomes of the two groups are \$4,300 and \$3,600 respectively. The disparity is now only \$700, or 16 per cent, while the disparity in their average incomes is \$980, or 20 per cent.

40. Regional disparities are a commonplace of Canadian economic life, and we must consider the effect of regional influences on income. For example, is the low income of a group in a given province due more to the economic underdevelopment of the province than to the inherent characteristics of the group?

41. It seems clear that both ethnicity and regional development are active determinants of income. To take the ethnic factor first, Canadians of British origin, while earning 10 per cent more than the national average, also stood in roughly the same proportion above each provincial average in all but two provinces, Newfoundland and Quebec (Table 2). In Newfoundland the average income of workers of British origin was virtually the same as the provincial average, which is scarcely surprising as British workers made up 94 per cent of Newfoundland's non-agricultural male labour force; in Quebec the British, with an income 40 per cent above the Quebec average, constituted an anomaly which we shall discuss more fully. The position of those of French origin was quite different: in every province they earned less than the provincial average.

42. If the income for those of British origin in each province tended always to exceed the average for that province, and the income for those of French origin to fall beneath it, both must have had some particular attributes or qualities which influenced their earning capacity. When we look at some Canadians of other origins, the influence of ethnicity on income is borne out again. Canadians of Jewish origin in Quebec, Ontario, and Manitoba—the three provinces where they are a significant proportion of the population—had a substantially higher average income than the British in each of these provinces, just as they did for Canada as a whole. Those of Italian origin—who were at the bottom of the scale when the national averages were considered—earned less than the provincial average in every province for which we have data. Finally, the Germans, Ukrainians, and Others—all of whom had an average income slightly below the national average—received incomes higher than the provincial average in Quebec, but lower in virtually all the other provinces.

43. Ethnic origin is clearly linked with income level, but the impact of regional development on income is also apparent. Although the income for those of French origin was 13 per cent below the provincial average in both Prince Edward Island and Ontario, they did not earn the same income in both provinces, because the provincial averages themselves varied (Table 3). If we express the average income for all Canadians of French origin as 100, the index in Prince Edward Island would be 66 and that in Ontario would be 106.

Income, ethnic
origin, and region

Table 2. Average Total Income and Province

Average total income index of the male non-agricultural labour force, by province and ethnic origin—Canada, 1961

	All origins		British	French	German	Italian	Jewish	Ukrainian	Other
	Dollars	Index							
Canada	4,414	100	109.9	87.7	95.3	82.0	168.2	93.5	94.0
Newfoundland	2,972	100	99.5	93.4	*	*	—	—	*
Prince Edward Island	2,933	100	105.4	87.1	*	—	—	—	*
Nova Scotia	3,634	100	102.6	87.7	83.6	*	*	*	101.4
New Brunswick	3,499	100	106.1	85.8	118.4	*	*	*	101.8
Quebec	4,227	100	140.0	91.7	111.6	82.6	178.0	102.1	104.4
Ontario	4,706	100	106.9	87.0	94.7	77.4	136.8	91.3	91.5
Manitoba	4,434	100	108.4	82.4	94.1	*	174.6	84.1	87.9
Saskatchewan	4,086	100	109.3	84.9	90.8	*	*	93.4	89.2
Alberta	4,595	100	112.6	93.1	89.4	80.9	*	94.3	84.3
British Columbia, Yukon, and N.W.T.	4,772	100	106.9	95.2	87.8	76.6	*	88.6	87.6

Source: Raynauld, Marion, and Bédard, "La répartition des revenus."

* Statistically insignificant.

Table 3. Average Total Income and Ethnic Origin

Average total income index of the male non-agricultural labour force, by province and ethnic origin—Canada, 1961

	All origins	Income index by ethnic origin							
		British	French	German	Italian	Jewish	Ukrainian	Other	
Canada	(\$4,414) 100.0	(\$4,852) 100.0	(\$3,872) 100.0	(\$4,207) 100.0	(\$3,621) 100.0	(\$7,426) 100.0	(\$4,128) 100.0	(\$4,153) 100.0	
Newfoundland	67.3	61.0	71.7	*	*	—	—	*	
Prince Edward Island	66.4	63.7	66.0	*	—	—	—	*	
Nova Scotia	82.3	76.8	82.3	72.2	*	*	*	88.7	
New Brunswick	79.2	76.5	77.5	98.4	*	*	*	85.7	
Quebec	95.7	121.9	100.2	112.1	96.4	101.3	104.6	106.3	
Ontario	106.6	103.7	105.7	105.9	100.7	86.7	104.1	113.7	
Manitoba	100.4	99.1	94.4	99.2	*	104.2	90.4	93.9	
Saskatchewan	92.5	92.0	89.6	88.2	*	*	92.5	87.7	
Alberta	104.1	106.6	110.4	97.6	102.6	*	105.0	92.3	
British Columbia, Yukon, and N.W.T.	108.1	105.1	117.3	99.6	101.0	*	102.4	100.7	

Source: Raynauld, Marion, and Béland, "La répartition des revenus."

* Statistically insignificant.

44. The same pattern may be observed for men of British origin. If their average income across Canada is taken as 100, the index would be 64 in Prince Edward Island and 104 in Ontario. In other words, people of the same origin will be richer in a rich province than in a poor province.

45. When the correlation between the average incomes by origin and province was established statistically, it appeared that the incomes of some groups followed the regional fluctuations more closely than others. The Canadians whose income followed the provincial averages most closely were those of French origin. Next came the British and then the Germans. The remainder of the population (considered as a unit to permit the calculation of correlations) would seem to be the least affected by regional variations.

46. Yet, although all Canadians were affected to a greater or lesser degree by their location in Canada, the fact remains that the relative position of the French and the British was more or less constant throughout the country.

Income and
language groups

47. Disparities of income can also be analyzed according to language groups. Two language criteria are employed by the Census of Canada, one based on mother tongue and the other on official language. We shall look at both.

Mother tongue

48. In the male labour force, the distribution of incomes between the groups of French and English mother tongue was very much the same as the distribution according to ethnic origin. This is scarcely surprising, as 96 per cent of those of French mother tongue were of French origin; the same applies to a somewhat lesser extent to those of English mother tongue, 79 per cent of whom were of British origin. On the other hand, only 8 per cent of those of French origin in the male labour force did not have French as their mother tongue, while only 1 per cent of those of British origin did not have English as mother tongue.

49. Just as the income of members of the male labour force of French origin was 20 per cent less than the income of those of British origin, the income of those of French mother tongue was less than the income of those of English mother tongue by the same proportion. The same parallelism was also found at the provincial level. In Quebec, those of French mother tongue earned 37 per cent less than those of English mother tongue, and those of French origin 35 per cent less than those of British origin. In Ontario and New Brunswick, the difference between those of French and English mother tongue and those of French and British origin was 19 per cent for both comparisons. These figures indicate that Canadians of French origin who are assimilated into

the English-speaking community do not experience any appreciable rise in income. British Columbia was an exception in that the difference between the two mother-tongue groups stood at 4 per cent, but rose to 11 per cent when the two were compared by ethnic origin. This was because those of French origin whose mother tongue was English earned less (\$4,594) than those who had retained French as their mother tongue (\$4,821).

50. The Census of Canada distinguishes four official-language categories: those speaking English only, those speaking French only, those speaking both official languages, and those speaking neither.¹ Generally speaking, bilingual Canadians of all origins received higher average incomes than unilingual Canadians of all origins; they had the highest average income (\$4,745), followed by the unilingual Anglophones (\$4,541), and then the unilingual Francophones (\$3,088). This same ranking by official language also applied to the populations of French and British origin when they were analyzed separately (Table 4).

Income and
bilingualism

Table 4. Average Total Income and Official Languages

Percentage distribution and average total income of the male non-agricultural labour force, by ethnic origin and knowledge of official languages—Canada and Quebec, 1961

Ethnic origin	Canada			Quebec	
	Knowledge of official languages	Distribution %	Average income	Distribution %	Average income
British	Overall average	100.0	\$4,852	100.0	\$5,918
	English only	93.2	4,758	53.7	6,049
	French only	0.3	2,535	2.2	2,783
	Both	6.5	6,284	44.0	5,929
French	Overall average	100.0	3,872	100.0	3,880
	English only	6.4	4,017	0.4	5,775
	French only	36.5	3,097	45.8	3,107
	Both	57.1	4,350	53.8	4,523
All origins	Overall average	100.0	4,414	100.0	4,227
	English only	67.6	4,541	11.1	5,502
	French only	10.7	3,088	36.7	3,099
	Both	21.6	4,745	52.2	4,772

Source: Raynauld, Marion, and B eland, "La r epartition des revenus."

¹ This last category is not considered here, as it represented less than half of 1 per cent of the male labour force in 1961.

51. However, the difference *between* Canadians of French and British origin remained, since the latter had the higher average income in both the English-only and bilingual categories. As a result of this disparity, the unilingual Anglophone men of British origin actually earned more than the bilingual men of French origin. It appears that ethnic origin has a greater impact on incomes than does linguistic knowledge.

52. The same applied in Quebec. Whether unilingual Anglophones or all bilingual Quebecers were considered, those of British origin always earned the higher incomes. But bilingual Quebecers of both origins had lower average incomes than unilingual Anglophones of British origin. In the province as a whole, those speaking only English had an average income of \$5,502, those who were bilingual earned \$4,772, and those who spoke only French earned \$3,099. Statistical tests applied to Montrealers of all origins indicated that these differences were considerably reduced when the other factors which characterize bilingual people were taken into account (for instance, a higher level of schooling). However, for those of French and other origins, bilingualism did show a positive contribution to average income, while for Canadians of British origin, bilingualism had only an insignificant effect on income.¹

Types of income

53. The total income we have been considering has three distinguishable constituents: labour income (salaries, wages, commissions, net income of businessmen and professionals working independently); investment income (interest, dividends, rents, annuities, etc.); and transfer payments (family allowances, old age pensions, and money received under other government social security measures). We shall confine our comments to labour income, the largest and most important component of the total income.

Labour income

54. Labour income is naturally somewhat lower than total income, but the principal conclusions reached above still apply. The income disparities between Canadians of different origins remain roughly the same, except that, with the exclusion of investment income and transfer payments, the proportion by which those of Jewish origin exceeded the national average falls from 68 to 60 per cent. However, regional disparities in income become stronger. Between the richest and the poorest provinces, the disparity in total incomes was 63 per cent, but it rose to 75 per cent when labour income alone was analyzed. The regional disparities in labour income for Canadians of the same ethnic origin were more marked when transfer payments were excluded. Clearly, transfer payments have an equalizing influence on average provincial incomes.

¹ See §§ 178 ff. for a more detailed examination of bilingualism.

55. Among those earning labour income, a distinction may be drawn between salary- and wage-earners and the self-employed. With the exception of Canadians of Jewish origin, the proportion in the self-employed category does not vary much according to ethnic origin. In Quebec, for instance, 43 per cent of Jewish men were self-employed, compared with 11 per cent of those of French origin, 7 per cent of the British, and 8 per cent of the Italians. Nationally, the disparity between all the groups was less pronounced than in Quebec, except for those of Jewish origin.

56. Table 5 gives the average labour income of Quebec male salary- and wage-earners classified by 14 ethnic origins instead of the usual six (those italicized in the table) in order to indicate the latter's relative position in the non-agricultural labour force as a whole. In Quebec, the average labour income for salary- and wage-earners only was 12 per cent lower than the average for total labour income. The income ranking according to origin scarcely changed between the two types of income—except for those of Jewish origin. Because of their large proportion of higher-income, self-employed workers, the average income of Jewish salary- and wage-earners was much less (\$4,851) than the total group's labour income (\$6,534). Canadians of British origin had the highest labour income among the salary- and wage-earners, followed by those of Jewish, German, and Ukrainian origin,

Table 5. Labour Income

Average labour income of male salary- and wage-earners, by ethnic origin—Quebec, 1961

	Labour income	
	Dollars	Index
All origins	\$3,469	100.0
<i>British</i>	4,940	142.4
Scandinavian	4,939	142.4
Dutch	4,891	140.9
<i>Jewish</i>	4,851	139.8
Russian	4,828	139.1
<i>German</i>	4,254	122.6
Polish	3,984	114.8
Asiatic	3,734	107.6
<i>Ukrainian</i>	3,733	107.6
Other European	3,547	102.4
Hungarian	3,537	101.9
<i>French</i>	3,185	91.8
<i>Italian</i>	2,938	84.6
Indian	2,112	60.8

Source: Raynauld, Marion, and Béland, "La répartition des revenus."

in that order. All of these were above the provincial average. Those of French origin were below the provincial average, as were the Italians. The average labour income of the salary- and wage-earners of British origin was \$4,940—55 per cent higher than that of French salary- and wage-earners, whose average income was \$3,185, and 68 per cent higher than that of Italian salary- and wage-earners, whose average income was \$2,928.

Summary

57. In summary, Canadians of French origin earned about 80 per cent of the average income of those of British origin. Those of Jewish origin earned more than the British, those of Italian origin less than the French. The Germans, Ukrainians, and Others fell between the British and French levels.

58. Regional factors played some part in determining incomes for the population as a whole and for Canadians of each ethnic origin. This was particularly true for those of French and British origin, although in Quebec the average income of the British exceeded the provincial average by much more than its usual advantage.

59. Relative income according to mother tongue was very similar to that according to ethnic origin, except in British Columbia. Bilingual Canadians tended to have higher incomes than unilingual Canadians, but in Quebec unilingual Anglophones had the highest incomes. In either case, compared with those of French origin, those of British ancestry achieved the highest average incomes, unless they happened to speak only French.

60. Education plays a key role in economic development. In an economy as advanced as Canada's, simple literacy is no longer enough. Rather, the minimum requirement for any person in the labour force is a good, all-round education; he must have the general knowledge and flexibility of mind to cope with the increasingly rapid changes produced by modern technology in both types and methods of work. For this reason, more and more stress is being placed on keeping students in school for a longer period of time. This trend is manifested by the recent recommendation of the United States National Commission on Technology, Automation, and Economic Progress that 14 years of free public schooling be the minimum standard henceforth.¹

Education for a
technological
society

61. Modern industry also requires a ready supply of workers with a specialized technical education and the necessary skills to employ the latest advances in scientific method. Indeed, the writing is on the wall for the unskilled labourers. Forming 13 per cent of the male labour force in Canada in 1931, this proportion had fallen to 7 per cent by 1961.

62. Modern industry also needs a properly trained managerial and administrative staff. The upper ranks of today's corporations include not only lawyers, engineers, and accountants, but also physical and social scientists, as well as increasing numbers of graduates in business administration. There is little room for the untrained at these levels.

63. If the economy of a country is dependent for its continued development on the existence of such academic qualifications as these among the labour force, then any group which is cut off from attain-

¹*Technology and the American Economy: Report of the National Commission on Technology, Automation, and Economic Progress, I* (Washington, D.C., 1966), 110.

ing these qualifications will share only marginally in the social advantages stemming from industrial progress. The key positions will not be open to them; the possibilities of developing their own cultural potential will be lessened; and material affluence will most definitely not be theirs. In other words, the socio-economic conditions for equal partnership depend in large part for their fulfilment on equality of schooling. Thus, when we compare Canadian Francophones and Anglophones on the scholastic scale, we are dealing with a matter that profoundly affects their relative positions in the Canadian society and economy, both now and in the future.

Schooling and ethnic origin

64. Table 6 summarizes the level of schooling for the male labour force of various ethnic origins in 1961. It shows that 54 per cent of those of French origin had not passed beyond the elementary level, but for those of British origin the proportion was 31 per cent, while the national average for all origins was 42 per cent.

Table 6. Schooling

Percentage distribution of the male non-agricultural labour force, by ethnic origin and level of schooling—Canada, 1961

Ethnic origin	Level of schooling					Total
	None	Secondary		University		
		Elementary	1-2 years			
British	0.3	30.6	25.2	31.4	12.5	100
French	0.7	53.5	21.4	18.1	6.3	100
German	*	40.1	21.8	28.5	9.2	100
Italian	*	71.0	12.8	11.9	3.0	100
Jewish	*	26.8	15.2	31.5	25.5	100
Ukrainian	*	46.7	21.3	23.0	7.9	100
Others	1.5	42.6	19.3	25.7	10.9	100
All origins	0.6	41.0	22.5	25.8	10.1	100

Source: Raynauld, Marion, and Béliand, "La répartition des revenus."

* Statistically insignificant.

65. If Canadian men of other origins are ranked according to the proportion of those having only elementary education, their relative positions exactly mirror the ranking by average income. The men with the highest average income, those of Jewish origin, had the lowest proportion of those with no more than elementary schooling. Next were those of British origin, followed by the Canadians of German, Other, and Ukrainian origins. Those of French origin were second from bottom, outranking only those of Italian origin.

66. Substantially the same order is apparent if the labour force is ranked by the proportion having a university education. A very high percentage of Jewish people had a university education. In effect, one person of Jewish origin in four had been to university, while for those of British origin the ratio was one in eight, for those of French origin it was one in 16, and for those of Italian origin it was one in 32.

67. In the United States, the level of education is higher than in Canada. For example, at the beginning of 1965, 52 per cent of the U.S. population 18 years and over had completed high school education. For the Canadian population aged 17 years and over, the proportion was only 26 per cent.¹

68. If an appropriate weighting system is adopted to account for the differing educational structure in Quebec, an average expressing the number of school years completed by the labour force in each province can be calculated (Table 7). Regional variations are again in evidence, with British Columbia and Ontario standing well above the national average, and Quebec and New Brunswick well below it. The indices suggest, in fact, that the British Columbian student had on average over two years more schooling to his credit than the Quebec student. Of the three metropolitan areas given in the table, Ottawa and Toronto were far above the national average, but Montreal fell slightly below.

Schooling, ethnic
origin, and region

69. Across Canada, the average number of years of schooling for those of various origins remained much the same as the pattern noted above, with the Canadians of Jewish and British origin heading the list and those of French and Italian origin bringing up the rear. In Quebec there was some variation from this pattern. Those of German origin had more years of schooling in this province than elsewhere in the country; they were at the top of the list, followed by those of British origin and then those of Jewish origin.

70. Canadians of British origin had the most years of schooling in British Columbia among the provinces, and in Ottawa among the three metropolitan areas given in Table 7. They most exceeded the provincial average in Quebec, by more than two and a half years. Those of French origin had most years of instruction in British Columbia among the provinces, and in Toronto among the metropolitan

¹ Canada, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, *Educational Attainment of the Canadian Population and Labour Force: 1960-1965*, by Frank J. Whittingham (Special Labour Force Studies, No. 1, Cat. 71-505, Ottawa, 1966). On page 18 the study cautions that "Because of data limitations it was necessary to compare the educational attainment of the United States population 18 years and over as of March, 1965 with the Canadian population 17 years and over as of February, 1965. . . . This comparison should also be treated with caution because of differences in the educational systems between the two countries and differences in the questions used to ascertain level of education in the two countries."

Table 7. Educational Level

Educational level attained¹ (last grade attended) by the male non-agricultural labour force, in selected provinces and metropolitan census areas, by ethnic origin—Canada, 1961

	All origins	British	French	German	Italian	Jewish	Ukrainian	Other
Canada	8.45	9.43	7.08	8.69	6.15	10.08	8.07	8.46
<i>Provinces</i>								
New Brunswick	7.50	8.19	5.88	8.00	*	*	*	8.81
Quebec ²	7.04	9.60	7.00	10.17	5.52	9.54	8.61	8.60
Ontario	8.81	9.42	7.44	8.71	6.17	10.09	7.85	8.44
British Columbia, Yukon, and N.W.T.	9.35	10.13	8.79	9.04	7.32	*	7.82	8.61
<i>Metropolitan Areas</i>								
Montreal ²	8.12	9.98	7.54	10.09	5.95	9.53	7.53	8.95
Ottawa	9.71	10.94	8.28	10.10	6.70	11.75	10.07	10.32
Toronto	9.23	9.83	8.38	9.61	5.74	9.92	8.08	9.06

Source: Raynauld, Marion, and Béland, "La répartition des revenus."

* Statistically insignificant.

¹ Weighted to account for the different educational structure in Quebec. See Raynauld *et al.*, "La répartition des revenus."

² The figures for Quebec and Montreal in this table are not strictly comparable to the figures in Table 6.

areas. They never exceeded a provincial average and were furthest below it in New Brunswick, where their level of schooling was an average of just under six years.

71. Up to this point we have examined the educational level of the members of the male labour force who have entered the employment market at various times over the past 40 years. Clearly then, the past weighs heavily on the present situation. To discern more clearly the developing patterns that will shape the future, we must single out for attention the younger population, the labour force of tomorrow.

72. Table 8 presents the proportions of two age groups who were still attending school in 1961. More than 60 per cent of Canadian males aged 15 to 19 years were students. This proportion drops to 11 per cent for those aged 20 to 24. Quebec had the second lowest proportions in the younger age group still at school (if girls had been included, it would have had the lowest). British Columbia had the highest proportion. For the group aged 20 to 24 years, Quebec had a higher percentage still attending school than any of the Atlantic provinces, but a lower percentage than any province to its west. As we know that those of British origin in Quebec had a level of schooling considerably higher than the average for the province,¹ it is probable that the school attendance of those of French origin in Quebec was lower than the figures in the table would suggest. Still, it must be remembered that our data

School attendance

Table 8. School Attendance

Percentage of males in two age groups attending school, by province—Canada, 1961

	15-19 years of age	20-24 years of age
Canada	61.2	11.3
Newfoundland	54.3	5.3
Prince Edward Island	50.8	8.4
Nova Scotia	57.4	7.6
New Brunswick	56.5	9.0
Quebec	54.1	10.9
Ontario	65.8	12.6
Manitoba	64.5	11.7
Saskatchewan	65.4	11.6
Alberta	67.8	11.0
British Columbia	70.3	13.3

Source: Census of Canada, 1961, Cat. 92-557.

¹ "In Quebec the proportion of students who go from Protestant high schools to the university is certainly one of the highest in the world, almost double that in other Canadian provinces." *Report of the Royal Commission of Inquiry on Education in the Province of Quebec* (Montreal, 1965), II, § 323.

refer to 1961, and thus cannot take into account the recent changes in the Quebec educational system.

73. The sizable disparity between Francophone and Anglophone students in Quebec is confirmed by the figures for school attendance calculated by the Parent Commission. In the age group 13 to 16 years, school attendance among the Roman Catholics stood at two-thirds the level maintained by the Protestants.¹ The projections made by the Parent Commission suggest, however, that this gap will have been closed by 1971-2.²

74. Among 17- and 18-year-old boys, the Roman Catholic level was half that of the Protestants. A disparity of the same order also appeared for university education among those aged 20 to 24 years: the Francophone level was about half that of the Anglophone level.³

Retention rate

75. Another revealing index of educational achievement is the retention rate of the various provincial systems. This measures the proportion of those starting their schooling together in a given year who survive at each succeeding grade. As Table 9 shows, between 1951-2 and 1961-2, the Quebec Roman Catholic system had the lowest retention rates. Although Quebec ranked above New Brunswick in the educational level of its labour force, New Brunswick displayed a higher retention rate. The Quebec Protestant system had a higher retention rate than the Quebec Roman Catholic system.

Table 9. School Retention Rates

Retention rates for male students who started school in 1951-2 in New Brunswick, Quebec, and Ontario

	Grade VII 1957-8	Grade IX 1959-60	Grade XI 1961-2
New Brunswick	98	84	50
Quebec Roman Catholic ¹	88	67	38
Quebec Protestant	87	74	54
Ontario	100	92	52

Source: Canada, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, *Student Progress through the Schools, by Age and Grade, 1965* (Ottawa, 1966), Cat. 81-530.

¹ D.B.S. notes in this publication, "Every effort has been made to ensure that enrolments in the private sector of the Quebec Roman Catholic system have been fully covered. Total enrolments include data from the following types of institutions: schools under control, independent schools, classical colleges, religious institutes, modern secondary colleges, specialized institutes, institutes of technology, craft schools, intermediate schools, household agricultural schools, and family institutes."

² *Ibid.*, II, Appendix, 395; IV, § 155.

³ *Ibid.*, II, Appendix, 394.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 396-9.

76. At Grade VII there was a disparity of 12 points between the retention rates of the Ontario and the Quebec Roman Catholic systems, but it reached 25 points at the Grade IX level.¹ On the other hand, a high drop-out rate occurred later in Ontario between Grade IX and Grade XI and, as a result, the difference between the Quebec Roman Catholic and Ontario systems was reduced to 14 points at the Grade XI level.

77. In comparison with standards in the United States, even the most effective Canadian system leaves much to be desired. By 1964, 77 per cent of all pupils were completing Grade XI in the United States. The highest Canadian completion rate—that of Quebec Protestants matriculating at Grade XI—was 54 per cent. However, the Canadian systems showed marked progress between 1960 and 1964: the proportion retained at Grade XI rose by 29 per cent in the Quebec Roman Catholic system and by 14 per cent in the Ontario system. But there is still much room for improvement.

78. The tables used so far in this chapter cannot fully take into account the profound changes that have taken place in the Quebec educational system since 1960. The changes are too recent for their full effects to be measured; they are sometimes even too recent for the data on the new situation to have been put on a comparable basis with the data on the old system. However, we have been able to calculate the enrolment increase in institutions of higher and post-secondary learning across the country up to 1966-7 (Table 10).

Enrolments

79. From 1955 to 1960 the average annual increase in the number of post-secondary students was 12 per cent in Quebec, 8 per cent in Ontario, and 11 per cent in the country as a whole. By contrast, the rates in the period from 1960 to 1964 had evened out to 14 per cent in all three areas. But in the two most recent years for which we have data (1965-6 and 1966-7), the increase in enrolment was lower in Quebec than in Ontario and the country as a whole. Nevertheless, it can be said that educational expansion at the university and college level has been general throughout Canada since 1960.

80. The quality of schooling is at least as important as its quantity. Unfortunately, the quality of education is a difficult thing to assess. One factor that can be measured and expressed statistically is the qualifications of the teachers in the different systems. Table 11 lists

Qualifications of
teachers

¹ Absolute disparities can be expressed in percentage points. Percentages are relative measures. Thus, at the Grade IX level, the retention rate was 92 per cent in Ontario, but only 67 per cent in the Quebec Roman Catholic system. The absolute disparity was therefore 25 points. To express this disparity as a percentage of the Ontario rate, it must be divided by the retention rate in Ontario—that is, 92—multiplied by 100: $\frac{25}{92} \times 100$. The disparity is therefore 27 per cent. In other words, the disparity of 25 points represents a retention rate 27 per cent lower than that of Ontario.

Table 10. School Enrolments

Increase of enrolments in institutions of post-secondary and higher education, from 1955-6 to 1966-7—Quebec, Ontario, and Canada

	Quebec	Ontario	Canada
Full-time students			
1955-6	23,997	22,642	72,737
1960-1	37,843	32,100	113,857
1964-5	59,400	50,793	178,238
1965-6	67,316	58,983	205,888
1966-7	75,070	68,589	232,672
Average annual increase (%)			
1955-6 to 1960-1	11.5	8.4	11.3
1960-1 to 1964-5	14.2	14.6	14.1
1964-5 to 1965-6	13.3	16.1	15.5
1965-6 to 1966-7	11.5	16.3	13.0

Source: Canada, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, *Survey of Higher Education, Pt. II: Degrees, Staff, and Summary*, 1964-5 and 1965-6 to 1966-7, Cat. 81-211.

the percentage of elementary and secondary school teachers in each province who, in the academic years 1961-2 and 1962-3, were fully qualified (see note 1 to Table 11).

81. The statistics show a striking discrepancy between eastern and western Canada. In 1962-3 in all the provinces east of Ontario, except Nova Scotia, fewer than half the teachers were fully qualified; from Ontario westward the proportion varied from 77 to 87 per cent. The Quebec Protestant system, with 62 per cent of its teachers qualified, fell between the norm for most of eastern Canada and the standard of the rest of the country. In the Quebec Roman Catholic system, however, only 44 per cent of the lay teachers were classed as fully qualified.¹ The Quebec Roman Catholic system was 14 points ahead of the average for the three less developed eastern provinces on the one hand, and more than 40 points behind the average for the provinces to the west on the other.

82. A comparison with the figures for the previous year (1961-2) reveals that the Roman Catholic system in Quebec has enjoyed the greatest increase in the number of teachers—4,400, or 13 per cent, in one year. As a consequence of this rapid expansion, the proportion in the Roman Catholic system with full qualifications has slightly declined, even though there was a rise in the *number* of fully qualified teachers.

¹ Data are available for lay teachers only.

Table 11. Teacher Qualifications

Numbers of elementary and secondary school teachers and percentages who are fully qualified, by province—Canada, 1961-2 and 1962-3

	1961-2		1962-3	
	Number	Percentage fully qualified ¹	Number	Percentage fully qualified
Newfoundland	4,502	19.8	4,789	21.2
Prince Edward Island	1,013	16.2	1,072	21.2
Nova Scotia	6,591	70.5	7,176	68.0
New Brunswick	6,039	33.5	6,268	37.9
Quebec Roman Catholic ²	33,821	47.5	38,222	44.2
Quebec Protestant	5,099	54.5	5,384	62.2
Ontario	50,912	84.6	54,176	85.3
Manitoba	7,666	71.2	8,253	77.3
Saskatchewan	8,997	87.3	9,246	86.6
Alberta	12,414	77.7	13,136	78.9
British Columbia	12,514	85.7	13,311	86.1

Source: Canada, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Cat. 81-210, 1961-2 and 1962-3. The school year 1962-3 is the last year for which data are available on a comparable basis.

¹ The Dominion Bureau of Statistics defines this as follows: "Fully qualified elementary teachers are those with junior matriculation and two or more years, or senior matriculation and one or more years of professional training. At the secondary level they are teachers with four or more years of education beyond junior matriculation including professional training." Differences in the various provincial systems require that the data on teacher qualifications be treated with caution.

² Lay teachers only. Taking all teachers in schools "under control" in Quebec would bring the total to 49,586 in 1961-2 and to 53,885 in 1962-3. These figures compare with those given for the other provinces. By 1965-6 the total number of teachers in elementary and secondary schools would seem to have been 62,200 in Quebec and 66,164 in Ontario. (Dominion Bureau of Statistics.)

83. Four main points stand out in this chapter. First, while the educational level of Canadians as a whole compared unfavourably with that achieved in the United States, levels of schooling also differed markedly among Canadians of different ethnic origins. The ranking strongly resembled the findings on levels of income. Those of British origin had an average of two more years of schooling than those of French origin.

84. Second, educational levels varied from one part of the country to another. British Columbia and Ontario stood well above the national average; Quebec and New Brunswick, for example, were below it. The ranking by ethnic origin did not change substantially in the different regions: those of French origin invariably had a level of schooling below the provincial average.

Summary

85. Third, until 1961 the prospects of the labour force of French origin reducing the gap in its level of education did not seem very bright. In Quebec, the proportion of students aged 15 to 19 years and 20 to 24 years still in school was one of the lowest in the country, and school attendance among the Roman Catholics was considerably lower than among the Protestants in the province. Further, Quebec Roman Catholic schools were retaining only 38 per cent of their students in Grade XI, in comparison with 50, 52, and 54 per cent for the New Brunswick, Ontario, and Quebec Protestant schools respectively. More recent data on enrolments in post-secondary institutions indicated a striking expansion at this level in Quebec, but this phenomenon was by no means unique to the province, so the original disparity remains.

86. Finally, the proportion of lay teachers in the Quebec Roman Catholic system considered fully qualified was 40 points lower than that of the provinces west of Quebec.

87. In the opening paragraphs of this chapter we stressed the important role played by level of schooling in determining an individual's socio-economic position in a technological society. Canadians of French origin were consistently below other Canadians in each of the measures employed to establish educational levels. This disparity affects the relative distribution of the two groups among the various occupations, with damaging results to their mutual relations. Yet in the perspective of the future, the consequences are graver still: in the years to come the progress of the country and of its constituent population groups will depend to a great extent on the development of a highly skilled labour force.

88. The kind of work a man does to earn his living provides a good measurement of his socio-economic status. It determines in large measure the monetary rewards he receives, and it indicates whether or not he is in a position to influence the lives of others. A comparable distribution of Francophone and Anglophone Canadians along the occupational scale would reflect the existence of an equal partnership; a greater concentration of one group in the low-paying, less influential occupations would be a symptom of inequality.

89. However, the existence of equal partnership does not demand that the two groups be identically distributed in the occupational structure, nor does it require that there be no differences between them. In fact, at each level of the social structure there can be differences which simply reflect the preferences and cultural characteristics of each group. The absence of distinctive occupational patterns does not necessarily signify the existence of an equal partnership, just as the existence of differences is not necessarily a proof or a cause of inequality. Differences at comparable levels of the social scale do not seem to us to be very significant, but the concentration of one group in the occupations at the top of the scale, and the concentration of the other group in those at the bottom, is an indication of a real socio-economic inequality.

Difference and
inequality

90. The rapidly changing occupational structure of the country is an important factor in this analysis. The relative importance of the various occupations in an economy centred on agriculture is obviously very different from that in a largely industrial economy. As Canada moves through the stages of economic development, some occupations are declining in significance while others are rising. If one section of the

Changing
occupational
structure

population is disproportionately clustered in the declining occupations, while another group is well to the fore in the expanding occupations, then any present inequality in the sharing of wealth and influence will become much more acute, unless some remedial action is taken. The distribution of occupations between Canadians of French origin and those of British origin is, therefore, a measurement of both the existing and the likely future state of the partnership.

Occupational
status and
ethnic origin

91. A broad picture of the occupational distribution can be obtained by means of an index expressing the distribution of the labour force among various occupational categories ranked according to the average income they command. Table 12 gives the indices for Canadians of different ethnic origins in the male labour force.

Table 12. Occupational Status

Indices of occupational status¹ for the male labour force, by ethnic origin—Canada¹ 1961

British	1.000
French	0.925
German	0.913
Italian	0.892
Jewish	1.312
Ukrainian	0.892
Others	0.933

Source: Raynauld, Marion, and Béland, "La répartition des revenus."

¹ For the purposes of calculating this index, 13 occupational categories were identified.

92. The table shows that the labour force of British origin is more strongly concentrated in the high-income occupations than that of French origin: if the index for the British is taken as 1.000, that of the French is 0.925. The position of the French is above the levels for the Canadians of German and Ukrainian origin, although the French rank lower on the income scale than these two groups.¹ The labour force of French origin, in other words, ranks higher on an occupational scale than it does on the income scale. The occupational index for those of Jewish origin, like their income index, is exceptionally high—about one-third again as high as the index for those of British origin.²

¹ See § 39 and Table 1 in Chapter I.

² B. R. Blishen, using 1951 census figures, ranked the various occupations according to income and level of schooling and obtained results similar to ours. In the upper-level occupations, those of Jewish origin had an index decisively above the levels for the rest of the labour force. They were followed in order by those of British, French, German, Italian, and Ukrainian origin. See B. R. Blishen, "The Construction and Use of an Occupational Class Scale," *Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science*, XXIV, No. 4 (Toronto, 1958), 519-25.

93. As Table 13 shows, the Canadian male labour force was essentially an urban one in 1961. Farming occupations accounted for only 12 per cent of the labour force, having shrunk from 34 per cent in 1931 and 20 per cent in 1951. Another diminishing category was that of unskilled labour; it accounted for 13 per cent of the labour force in 1931, but only 6 per cent in 1961. The proportion in the craftsman category rose from 17 to 29 per cent between 1931 and 1951, but this increase slowed down to less than 1 per cent between 1951 and 1961. Two categories which are clearly expanding are the managerial, and the professional and technical. Between 1931 and 1961, the former rose from 6 to 10 per cent and the latter from 4 to 8 per cent. In order to show more clearly the part played by Canadians of various origins in the country's transition to an advanced industrial society, we shall omit farming from the following discussion and concentrate on the four trend-setting occupational categories: managers, professionals and technicians, craftsmen and production workers, and labourers.¹

Occupations over time

94. In occupational distribution, the differences between those of British and French origin are quite substantial. In 1961, 21 per cent of the British, compared with 14 per cent of the French, were in the top occupational brackets (professionals and managers); in the two blue-collar categories (craftsmen and unskilled labourers), those of French origin had the larger proportion: 39 per cent, compared with 30 per cent for those of British origin.

Occupation and ethnic origin

95. In Figure 1 we have presented the proportions which Canadians of six different origins formed in these four occupational categories. The most noticeable item is the consistency of the order formed by the six with respect to their concentrations in each category. In both of the high-paying, expanding categories,² those of Jewish origin had the highest concentration, followed serially by the British, Germans, French, Ukrainians, and Italians. The concentrations were reversed in

¹ The service occupations—whose rapid expansion is considered a prime characteristic of the post-industrial society—include in this context all people not directly engaged in producing goods. For example, medical and legal occupations would fall into this broad definition of services. The census occupational category of services is far narrower, covering only such people as policemen, firemen, waiters, entertainers, barbers, and funeral directors. Because of the restricted and unrepresentative nature of the census category, we have limited our analysis to four census categories: managerial occupations, including managers in specific functions such as advertising, credit, and purchasing, and owners and managers classified by industry; professional and technical occupations, including engineers, teachers, health professionals (physicians, nurses, etc.), artists, clergy, social welfare workers, photographers, librarians, etc.; craftsmen and production workers, including blue-collar workers identifiable by function, such as bakers, shoemakers, bookbinders, welders, painters, etc.; and labourers.

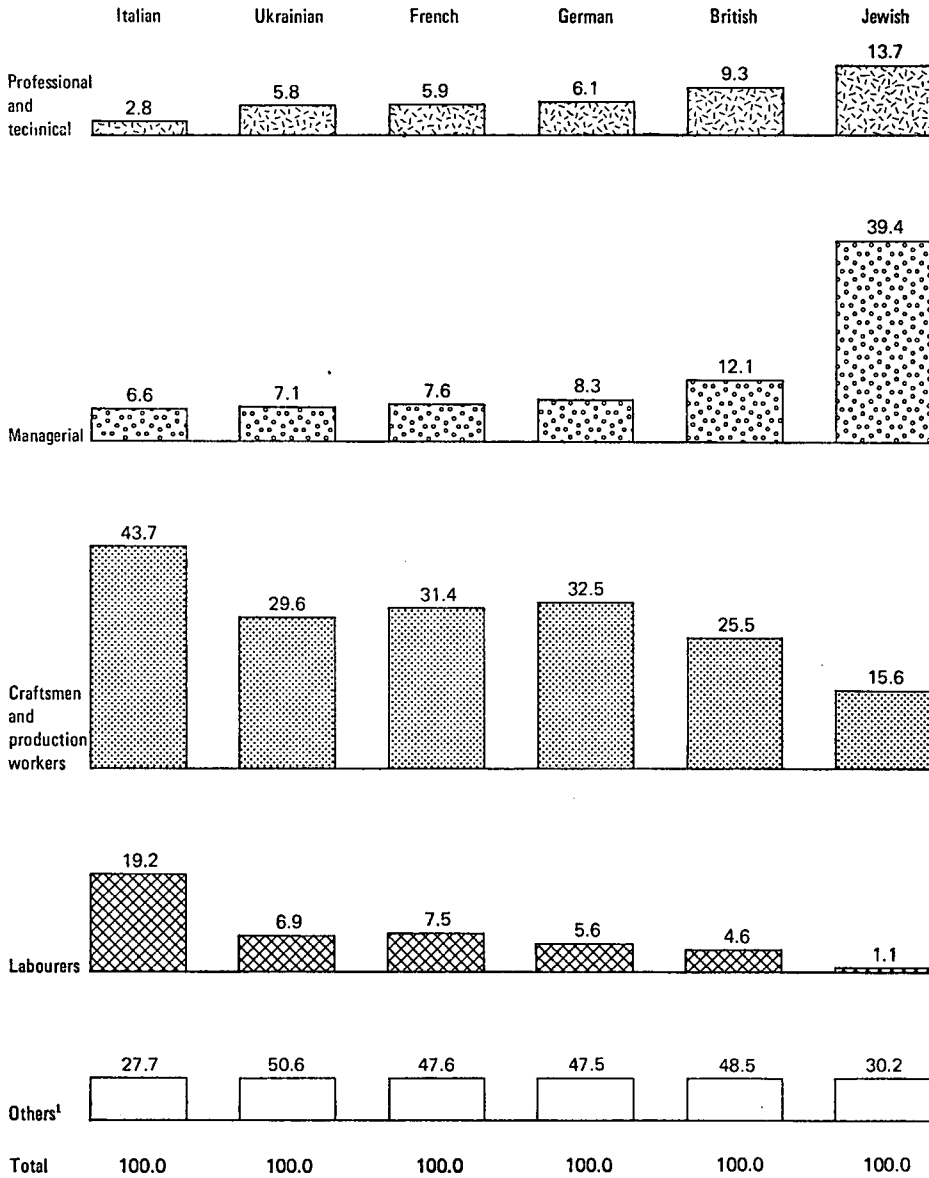
² In 1961 the average incomes of managers and professionals were \$6,833 and \$6,578 respectively. At the other end of the scale, the craftsmen were earning \$3,723 and the unskilled labourers \$2,257.

Table 13. Occupational Structure
 Percentage distribution of the male labour force, by ethnic origin and occupation—Canada, 1961

	All origins	British	French	German	Italian	Jewish	Ukrainian	Other
	Number	%						
Professional and technical	356,578	9.3	5.9	6.1	2.8	13.7	5.8	6.9
Managerial	481,379	12.1	7.6	8.3	6.6	39.4	7.1	9.5
Clerical	324,811	8.2	6.7	5.0	3.7	6.8	5.7	5.1
Sales	263,229	6.6	5.2	4.4	3.2	14.1	3.5	4.2
Service	400,399	9.2	7.7	6.4	8.5	2.6	7.3	9.6
Transport and communications	354,736	8.0	8.9	6.2	4.7	2.8	6.4	5.5
Craftsmen and production workers	1,354,594	25.5	31.4	32.5	43.7	15.6	29.6	29.8
Labourers	294,059	4.6	7.5	5.6	19.2	1.1	6.9	6.8
Farmers	573,098	10.8	10.8	21.0	2.7	0.5	23.0	15.8
Other primary	179,593	3.1	5.3	2.3	2.3	0.0	2.5	4.6
Not stated	123,042	2.6	3.0	3.0	2.6	3.4	2.2	2.2
All occupations	Number 4,705,518	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
		2,071,417	1,303,280	297,003	137,071	49,820	135,987	710,940

Source: Census of Canada, 1961, Cat. 94-515.

Figure 1. Occupation and Ethnic Origin—Canada, 1961 (Percentages)



Source: Census of Canada, 1961, Cat. 94-515.

¹ Other occupations included in Table 13.

Occupation and
ethnic origin
over time

the blue-collar categories, with the Italians considerably the highest, followed by those of Ukrainian, French, German, British, and Jewish origin.

96. Thus, in the expanding professional and managerial categories it was those of British and Jewish origin who enjoyed the greatest advantage. In comparison, the French and Italians did poorly in these occupations; indeed, these groups had been losing ground over the past three decades.

97. John Porter¹ has shown that, between 1931 and 1961, the positions of Canadians of French and Italian origin decreased respectively from 0.8 to 1.9 points and 3.3 to 5.2 points below the national average in the professional and financial category.² Men of British and Jewish origin also moved further away from the average, but in the opposite direction. Thus, Canadians of British origin progressed slightly from 1.6 to 2.0 points above the national average, while those of Jewish origin advanced more strongly, moving from 2.2 to 7.4 points above the national average.

98. Much the same pattern can be observed in Quebec, but in a more striking form.³ Quebec residents of British ancestry were only 3 points above the provincial average in the professional and managerial categories in 1931; by 1961 they exceeded it by almost 9 points. Those of French origin were 1 point below average in participation in 1931 and 2 points below average in 1961. At the other end of the occupational scale the positions were reversed. In the same 30-year period, the British moved from 6 to 9 points below the average in the skilled and unskilled labour categories. Those of French origin, on the other hand, remained at less than 1 point above the provincial average.

Occupation,
ethnic origin,
and region

99. In each of the provinces, the 1961 distribution according to ethnic origin among the occupations was much the same as at the national level. For instance, in Ontario—the most highly developed province—those of French and British origin in each of the occupational categories had approximately the same positions as they had in Canada as a whole. The only large discrepancy appeared among those of Ukrainian origin; because of their heavy concentration in the Prairies and on the farms, their positions in Ontario and in the country as a whole were quite different.

100. In each province and in Canada generally, those of French origin had a smaller than average proportion in the managerial, profes-

¹ *The Vertical Mosaic: An Analysis of Social Class and Power in Canada* (Toronto, 1965), 87.

² The figures in this and the next paragraph should be treated with caution since occupational categories vary slightly from one census to another.

³ Yvon Lussier, "La Division du travail selon l'origine au Québec, 1931-1961" (unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Montreal, 1967). The author does not explain how he overcame the difficulties of comparing data from different censuses.

sional, clerical, and sales occupations (Table 14).¹ At the other end of the occupational scale they had a larger than average proportion in all but one province as craftsmen, labourers, and non-farming workers in the primary sector. Those of British origin provided almost a perfect mirror image of this pattern. As managers they were above the average in all but one province; and as professionals, clerks, and salesmen, their participation was universally above average. In the three blue-collar occupations they were below average in all but one province.

Table 14. Comparative Occupational Distribution

Number of instances where the proportion of the labour force of French and British origin in selected occupational categories is above or below the average proportion in Canada and each province—1961¹

	French		British	
	Above	Below	Above	Below
Professional and technical	0	11	11 ²	0
Managerial	0	11	10	1
Clerical	0	11	11 ²	0
Sales	0	11	11 ²	0
Service	8	3	7	4
Transport and communications	7	4	10 ²	1
Craftsmen and production workers	10	1	1	10
Labourers	10	1	1	10
Farmers	4	7	3	8 ³
Other primary	10	1	1	10

Source: Raynauld, Marion, and Béland, "La répartition des revenus."

¹ The table can be read as follows: in the professional and technical category, for example, those of French origin are underrepresented in 11 instances—that is, in Canada as a whole and in all 10 provinces—and those of British origin are overrepresented 11 times.

² Figure includes one case where proportion was equal to the provincial average.

³ Figure includes two cases where proportion was equal to the provincial average.

101. This clear-cut distribution carries two important implications. First, the industrial structure of a province apparently has little effect on the occupational distribution within a population of a given origin since, despite variations in industrial structure among the provinces, the above- and below-average occupational characteristics persisted.

¹ In each province and in the country as a whole, the occupational distribution of the French and the British is remarkably constant. The British are above all the provincial and national averages in the four highest categories, while the French are consistently below the averages in these categories. In the lower categories, particularly among the labourers, the French are almost always above the average. Table 14 shows the respective positions of the two groups in 10 occupational categories, in relation to the averages for Canada and the 10 provinces.

Second, the impact of language on occupational choice would also seem to be of less importance than ethnic origin. Of those of French origin in Newfoundland, 85 per cent had English as mother tongue, in British Columbia 65 per cent, in Nova Scotia 57 per cent, in Prince Edward Island 55 per cent, and in Alberta 50 per cent.¹

102. If, despite these variations, the relative positions of those of French origin in the various occupations remains the same from province to province, the conclusion must be that one remains "French Canadian" in occupation long after one has lost the French language. Two explanations suggest themselves, and they are probably inter-related. First, Canadians of French origin may have certain occupational preferences which persist even after they have become Anglophones. Second, they may be denied the opportunities to enter certain advanced occupations either because of inadequate education or because of discriminatory practices.

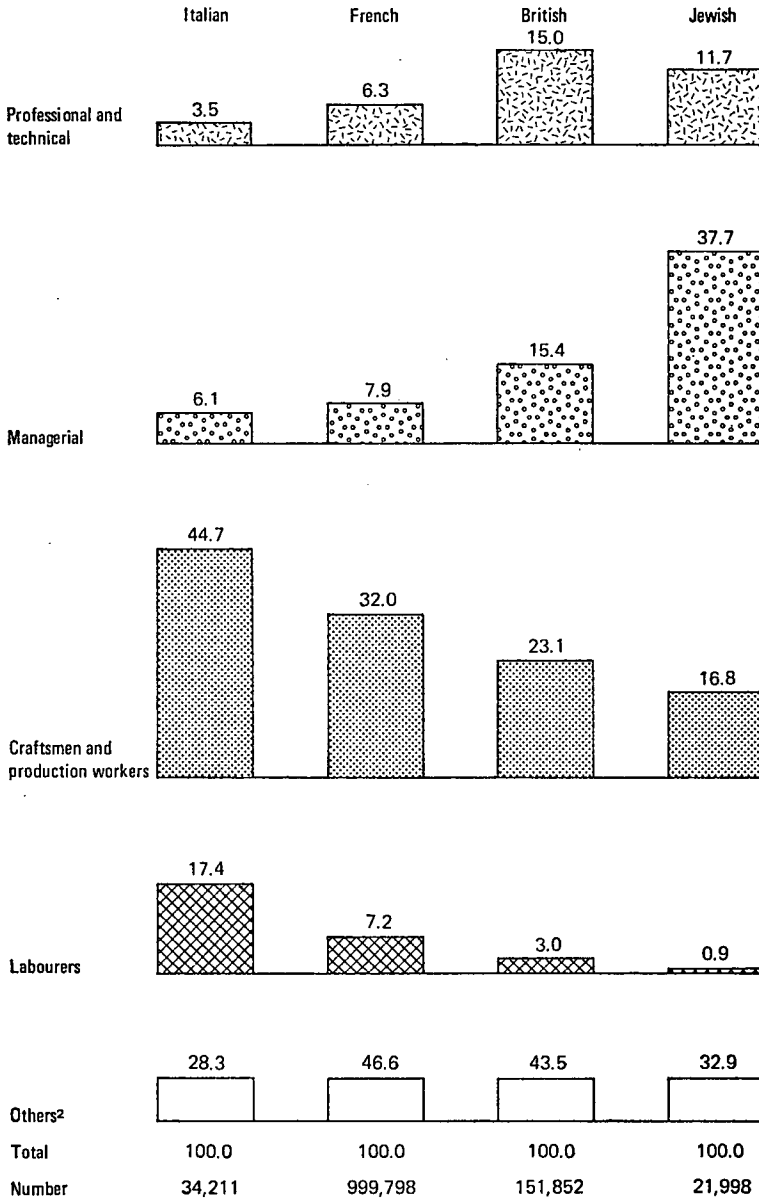
Quebec and
Montreal

103. Figures 2 and 3 show the occupational distributions for the province of Quebec and the Montreal metropolitan census area. A curious phenomenon comes to light when the occupational distribution of those of French and British origin in the two areas is compared with their position in Canada as a whole. The proportion of men of British origin in the combined managerial and professional categories was 21 per cent for Canada as a whole, but 30 per cent in Quebec and 35 per cent in Montreal. For men of French origin the proportion also rose as the comparison moved from Canada to Quebec to Montreal, but in a far more modest fashion. Thus, the difference separating those of British and French origin increased. In the country as a whole there was an 8-point difference, in the province a 16-point difference, and in Montreal an 18-point difference. At the other end of the occupational scale, there was a declining proportion of those of British origin in the craftsman and labourer categories as the comparison moved from Canada (30 per cent) to Quebec (26 per cent) to Montreal (25 per cent). The movement was in the opposite direction for those of French origin. In the country as a whole, 39 per cent (9 points more than the British group) were craftsmen or labourers; in Quebec 39 per cent (13 points more than the British); and in Montreal 43 per cent (18 points more than the British) worked in these occupational categories.

104. Thus we have a rather remarkable—indeed a paradoxical—situation. In relation to those of British origin, those of French origin fare better on the occupational scale in Canada as a whole than they do in the one province where they form a majority of the population; and they fare better on the occupational scale in Quebec as a whole than they do in the industrial centre of the province, Montreal. For those of

¹ See *Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism*, I, Table 7.

Figure 2. Occupation and Ethnic Origin¹—Quebec, 1961 (Percentages)

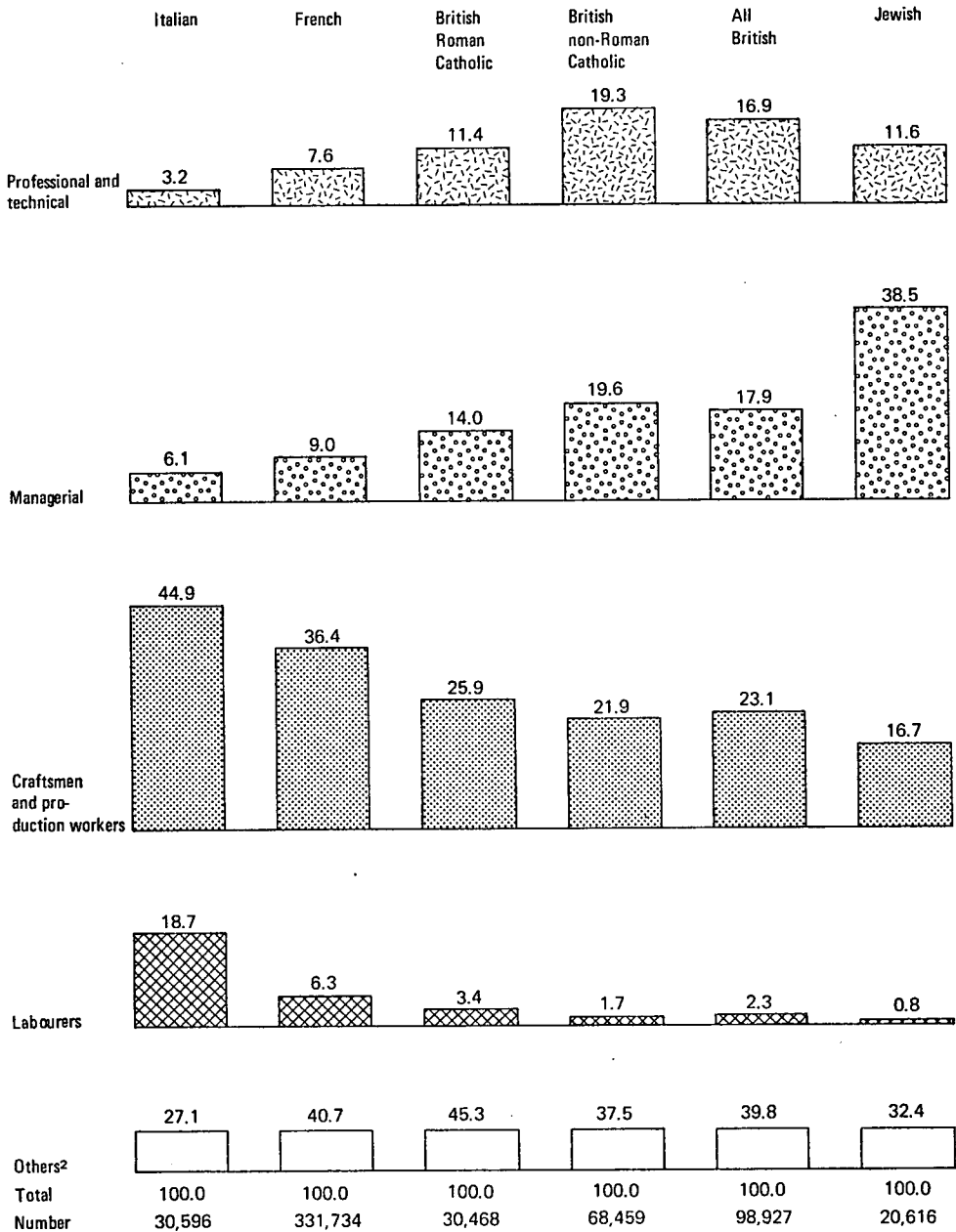


Source: Census of Canada, 1961, Cat. 94-515.

¹ Those of German and Ukrainian origin have been omitted because of their small number.

² Other occupations included in Table 13.

Figure 3. Occupation, Ethnic Origin,¹ and Religion—Montreal Metropolitan Census Area, 1961 (Percentages)



Source: Raynauld, Marion, and Béland, "La répartition des revenus."

¹ Those of German and Ukrainian origin have been omitted because of their small number.

² Other occupations included in Table 13, with the exception of farmers.

British origin, the converse is the case. The increasing disparity, however, is not due to a lower position for those of French origin, since in these terms they fare a little better in Montreal. Rather, it is the result of the fact that those of British origin fare far better in Montreal than anywhere else in the country.

105. Figure 3 includes religion as a variable, as well as ethnic origin, but the two categories are closely related for those of Jewish, French, and Italian origin.¹ Those of British extraction are religiously heterogeneous, but even among them there is a large degree of religious homogeneity: most British Roman Catholics are Irish, and most British non-Roman Catholics are English and Scottish. When these groups are compared according to religion, the full significance of this variable as an indicator of occupational level becomes apparent. The Italians, French, and British Roman Catholics were characterized by low percentages in the professional and managerial categories and by high percentages in the blue-collar occupations. For the British non-Roman Catholics and the Jews, the opposite was the case. Indeed, the occupational distribution of the British Roman Catholics and the British non-Roman Catholics was quite different. The proportion of British Roman Catholics employed as professionals was closer to the proportion of French in this occupational category than it was to the proportion of British non-Roman Catholics. Similarly, although to a lesser degree, in the managerial category the British Roman Catholics resembled the French more than the British non-Roman Catholics.²

Occupation
and religion

106. Clearly, there is a close relation between occupation and education. As we have seen, Canadians of French origin have spent on average two years less at school than have those of British origin. They have also tended to fill the lower positions on the occupational scale. The question arises as to whether they would have an occupational distribution similar to those of British origin if they had a comparable level of education.

Occupation
and education

107. To determine whether this would be so, we can examine the occupational distribution of university-educated men of French and British origin. Table 15 shows that, among the university-educated of both groups, the same proportion—70 per cent—are in the managerial and professional categories. From this fact the following hypothesis can

¹ Because Canadians of most origins are identified more or less with a religion, it is not possible statistically to separate the effects of ethnic origin and religion on occupations and income.

² This finding is supplemented by statistics on income differences in 1961; the average labour income earned by British Roman Catholics (\$4,855) was far closer to that of those of French origin (\$3,998) than to that earned by the non-Roman Catholic British (\$6,362). Moreover, there was a very small difference between the average labour income of British non-Roman Catholics and that for the Jewish population (\$6,462).

Table 15. Occupation and Schooling Level
 Percentage distribution of the male non-agricultural labour force, by schooling level, ethnic origin, and occupation—Canada, 1961

Level of schooling	Ethnic origin	Occupation							Total
		Professionals and technicians	Managers	Craftsmen	Labourers	Others			
Elementary	British	1.1	7.5	38.7	8.3	44.4	100		
	French	0.8	5.9	44.4	11.0	37.9	100		
Secondary 1-2 years	British	2.9	10.8	34.5	5.0	46.8	100		
	French	2.9	8.7	37.3	6.5	44.6	100		
Secondary 3-5 years	British	9.8	20.4	22.7	2.4	44.7	100		
	French	9.9	14.7	24.4	3.9	47.1	100		
University	British	50.0	19.8	4.6	1.6	24.0	100		
	French	51.5	18.3	5.7	1.0	23.5	100		
Average	British	10.4	13.9	28.4	4.8	42.5	100		
	French	6.1	8.9	36.7	8.2	40.1	100		

Source: Raynauld, Marion, and Béland, "La répartition des revenus."

be formulated: if the Canadians of French and British origin had received equivalent education, the occupational distribution of both groups would be very similar. We have calculated an index of participation for the labour force of French origin, giving them a theoretical level of education equal to the British (Table 16). As expected, the difference between the corrected index for the French and the actual index for the British is considerably less significant than that separating the actual indices of the two groups—11.3 points compared with 28.7 points. In other words, if the labour force of French origin had a level of education equivalent to the British, the observed differences in the occupational distribution of the two groups would be reduced by about 60 per cent.

Table 16. Influence of Schooling Level on Occupation

Percentage distribution of the male non-agricultural labour force of French and British origin, and of a theoretical labour force of French origin having a level of schooling equivalent to those of British origin, by occupation—Canada, 1961

	Actual labour force of French origin	Theoretical labour force of French origin	Actual labour force of British origin
Professional and technical	6.1	10.5	10.4
Managerial	8.9	10.9	13.9
Clerical	7.7	10.3	9.5
Sales	6.1	7.2	7.7
Service	7.7	7.5	8.8
Transport and communications	10.3	9.1	9.2
Craftsmen and production workers	36.7	31.4	28.4
Labourers	8.2	6.4	4.8
Farmers	0.4	0.3	0.9
Other primary	6.2	4.4	4.6
Not stated	1.8	1.9	1.8
All occupations	100.0	100.0	100.0
Sum of differences ¹ between the British and the French	28.7	11.3	—

Source: Raynauld, Marion, and Béland, "La répartition des revenus."

¹Irrespective of signs.

108. Differences in educational achievement largely explain the differences in occupational patterns. However, a disparity still exists, and there is a further question as to whether the status attached to the various occupations contributes to the explanation of the differences.

Perceived social standing of occupations

109. Francophones and Anglophones evaluate the status of occupations in a broadly similar fashion, but they do attach a different status or prestige to many individual occupations. On the whole, "it is unlikely that it is a difference in the perceived social standing of occupations which leads to differences in the distribution of the two ethnic groups in the occupational structure."¹ Therefore, the occupational structures of the two groups cannot be explained by their differing perceptions of these categories in terms of status or prestige or cultural preferences.²

Occupation and immigration

110. Another factor affecting the Canadian occupational structure is immigration. By 1961 immigrants accounted for more than one-fifth of the male labour force. This substantial group was distributed among the various occupations differently than the native-born labour force. The occupational distribution of the overall male labour force is affected by this fact.

111. Fewer immigrants than native-born men are employed in clerical, transportation, and commercial positions, or in agricultural and other primary occupations (Table 17). The occupations that immigrants have tended to enter are in the service, craftsman, and labouring categories. However, to talk of the occupational structure of the immigrant labour force as a single entity is misleading; the immigrants fall into two distinct groups—those who came to Canada before 1946 and the somewhat larger number who have arrived since then. The pre-1946 immigrants, who formed just under 10 per cent of the total male labour force in 1961, accounted for 14 per cent of the managerial and farming categories. The post-war immigrants, who made up 12 per cent of the total male labour force in 1961, were relatively well represented among the professionals (16 per cent), craftsmen (16 per cent), and labourers (18 per cent).

112. In the 20 years following 1946, there were 14 times as many immigrants of British origin as of French origin. Thus, the labour force of British origin was more affected by the occupational preferences of the newcomers.³

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 It appears reasonable to observe that this overall similarity in occupational preferences runs counter to well-known historic differences in the occupational distribution of Francophones and Anglophones.

³ According to figures of the department of Citizenship and Immigration, although 78 per cent of the immigrants of French origin in 1966 gave Quebec as their destination, they were still outnumbered by the 9 per cent of British immigrants intending to settle in that province. In 1966, 55 per cent of all immigrants went to Ontario and only 20 per cent went to Quebec.

Table 17. Influence of Immigration on Occupation

Occupational distribution of the Canadian-born and immigrant male labour force 15 years of age and above—Canada, 1961

	Total	Canadian-born	Immigrants		
			Total	Pre-1946	1946-61
Professional and technical	7.6	7.4	8.2	5.9	10.1
Managerial	10.2	10.0	10.9	14.7	7.8
Clerical	6.9	7.3	5.7	5.9	5.5
Sales	5.6	6.0	4.1	4.2	4.0
Service	8.5	8.0	10.2	10.5	10.0
Transport and communications	7.5	8.5	4.1	4.8	3.6
Craftsmen and production workers	28.8	27.3	34.2	28.0	39.2
Labourers	6.2	6.0	7.2	4.4	9.4
Farmers	12.2	12.6	10.7	17.2	5.6
Other primary	3.9	4.2	2.4	2.3	2.5
Not stated	2.6	2.7	2.3	2.2	2.3
All occupations	100	100	100	100	100
Number	4,705,518	3,685,694	1,019,824	450,673	569,151

Source: Census of Canada, 1961, Cat. 94-515.

113. According to one study¹ on the occupational distribution of immigrants according to ethnic origin between 1946 and 1963, 17 per cent of the immigrants of British origin and 12 per cent of those of French origin intended to enter professional and technical careers (Table 18). Both proportions are higher than the 10 per cent for all immigrants. But numbers give a clearer picture than percentages of the disparity between the two groups of immigrants: more than 59,000 persons of British origin, compared to less than 3,000 immigrants of French origin, were intending to work as professionals and technicians. Professional occupations have been attracting to their ranks ever increasing proportions of immigrants, but the increase has been much sharper among those of British origin: in the 1958-63 period, roughly

¹ Louis Parai, *Immigration and Emigration of Professional and Skilled Manpower during the Post-War Period*, Economic Council of Canada, Staff Study No. 1 (Ottawa, 1965), 148-51. The figures in this study refer to both male and female immigrants; the only occupational classification used by Parai that is comparable to our own is that of professionals and technicians. For comparative purposes, the figures for both men and women in the overall labour force are useful: 12 per cent of those of British origin and 9 per cent of those of French origin were engaged in professional and technical occupations in 1961.

Table 18. Occupational Preference of Immigrants

Labour force who immigrated to Canada between 1946 and 1963 and who intended to enter professional and technical occupations, by period of immigration and ethnic origin

Period of immigration	All origins		British origin		French origin	
	Total number	Professional and technical occupations %	Total number	Professional and technical occupations %	Total number	Professional and technical occupations %
1946-51	335,793	4.1	96,605	5.7	5,891	7.3
1952-57	561,075	10.1	182,755	17.9	11,389	11.2
1958-63	287,625	16.2	70,144	29.9	7,242	16.9
1946-63	1,184,493	9.9	349,504	16.9	24,522	12.0

Source: Louis Parai, *Immigration and Emigration*, 148-51.

five times the proportion of 1946-51 were intending to enter professional occupations. The increase among immigrants of French origin has been more modest: the proportions between the two-time periods have hardly more than doubled.

114. Taken together, these observations point to one of the factors underlying the above-average participation of Canadians of British origin and the below-average participation of the French in the professional occupations: more British than French immigrants were professionally or technically trained.

115. On the scale of occupational status, Canadians of British origin clearly outranked those of French origin. However, the French fared better on this occupational scale than they did on the income scale presented in Chapter I.

Summary

116. As the Canadian economy develops, certain occupations are becoming more important and others are declining. In the first category are the managers and professionals and in the second, the unskilled labourers. Craftsmen formed an expanding occupation up to 1951 but have remained at the same level since then. Incomes were between two and three times higher in the managerial and professional categories than in the two blue-collar categories. The fact that 20 per cent of those of British origin and only 15 per cent of those of French origin were in the high-paying, high-prestige, and expanding occupations indicates a serious imbalance in socio-economic status between the two groups. This disparity applied not only to Canada as a whole, but to each of the provinces as well, and it is likely to grow ever more acute with every step forward by the Canadian economy.

117. Education accounted for a substantial part of the disparity, but neither education nor differing evaluations of occupational prestige could account for all of it. Immigration offered another explanatory factor. Since the number and proportion of immigrants intending to enter professional occupations was considerably higher among the British than among the French, the Canadian labour force of British origin has benefitted much more from immigration than the labour force of French origin.

118. The ethnic differences in occupational structures can also be viewed as religious ones. In the Montreal census area, the Jewish population and the non-Roman Catholics of British origin are at the top of the occupational scale. Then, at a substantially lower level, come the British Roman Catholics and the French and Italians, who are predominantly Roman Catholic in faith.

119. In the relative position of Canadians of French and British origin in Canada as a whole, in Quebec, and in Montreal, a curious phenomenon comes to light. Canadians of British origin occupied a

more favourable position in Montreal than in the province of Quebec, and a more favourable position in both these areas than in Canada as a whole. Because of this, Canadians of French origin appear more disadvantaged in Montreal than in the rest of Canada.

120. It is clear that, in socio-economic status, Quebec represents something of a special case in Canada. In terms of income, education, or occupation, the ethnic distribution is to some extent distorted, for the disparity between those of British and French origin is more marked in Quebec than in the other provinces. This is largely because the British generally are in a much more favourable position in Quebec than anywhere else in Canada.

121. The individuals and groups who own or control industrial enterprises play a vital role in the economy. Generally, these are people of high income and a fair degree of economic power. Owners of business constitute an élite group, in which Canadians of both official languages should be represented if equality in the economic field is to be achieved. We have singled out for consideration the industries of Quebec because—given the composition of this province's population—it is here, more than in any other part of Canada, that French-speaking Canadians should be most in evidence as participants in this economic élite.

122. The business establishments in Quebec were classified according to whether the owners were Francophone Canadians, Anglophone Canadians, or foreigners.² The main body of the analysis will focus on the manufacturing sector, but we will begin by considering the whole of Quebec industry. One measure of the relative status of the three ownership groups is a comparison of the numbers of workers employed by each group.

123. Taking all the nine industrial sectors listed in Table 19 together, establishments owned by Francophone Canadians employed nearly half (47 per cent) of the provincial labour force in 1961. However, if the individual sectors are examined, it will be seen that the distribution was very uneven, with a heavy concentration in two areas. Roughly half the labour force working for Francophone Canadian

Classification
of business
establishments

Distribution of
labour force

¹This chapter is based on André Raynauld, "La propriété des entreprises au Québec," a study prepared for the R.C.B.&B.

²For definitions of enterprises and establishments, and an explanation of the method used to place them in these three categories, see notes on the Raynauld study in Appendix VII.

interests (24 per cent of the total Quebec labour force) was concentrated in agriculture and service industries, the other half (23 per cent of the total labour force) being divided among the remaining seven industrial sectors.

124. This concentration in two sectors becomes even clearer when it is seen that 91 per cent of the total agricultural labour force and 71 per cent of that in the service industries were employed in Francophone Canadian establishments. The other seven industrial sectors had much lower proportions. In the mining industry, less than 7 per cent of the labour force worked for Francophone Canadians. A fifth of those engaged in manufacturing were employed in Francophone establishments, a quarter in financial institutions, a little more than a third in transportation and communications and in wholesale trade, and about a half in retail trade and construction.

Manufacturing

125. Only the establishments in the manufacturing sector will be studied in terms of output, number of employees, productivity, size of payroll, and value of sales outside Quebec. This sector accounted for 27 per cent of the total Quebec labour force and is thus the largest of the industrial sectors.

Table 19. Ownership of Establishments

Size of establishments owned by Francophone Canadians, Anglophone Canadians, and foreign interests in selected industrial sectors, measured by numbers employed—Quebec, 1961

	Employees Number (thousands)	Percentage of labour force in establishments owned by			Total
		Franco- phone Canadians	Anglo- phone Canadians	Foreign interests	
Agriculture	131.2	91.3	8.7	0.0	100
Mining	25.9	6.5	53.1	40.4	100
Manufacturing	468.3	21.8	46.9	31.3	100
Construction	126.4	50.7	35.2	14.1	100
Transportation and commu- nications	102.4	37.5	49.4	13.1	100
Wholesale trade	69.3	34.1	47.2	18.7	100
Retail trade	178.7	56.7	35.8	7.5	100
Finance	62.2	25.8	53.1	21.1	100
Services	350.9	71.4	28.6	0.0	100
All industries ¹	1,515.3	47.3	37.7	15.0	100

Source: Raynauld, "La propriété des entreprises au Québec."

¹Excludes forestry, fishing and trapping, the public sector, and unspecified industries.

126. Industrial output is measured by the statistical concept of "value added." This is the value of the produced goods less the cost of energy and raw materials: it represents the transformation wrought by an establishment upon the products or materials it purchases. Table 20 presents the value added in each manufacturing sector, distributed according to the categories of ownership that we have established. Value added

127. Table 19 showed the weak position of Francophone Canadian manufacturers: they employed only 22 per cent of those working in manufacturing industries. Table 20 shows that these same establishments accounted for a still smaller proportion—only 15 per cent—of total value added in the manufacturing industry in Quebec. In the establishments owned by Anglophone Canadians, 47 per cent of the labour force produced only 43 per cent of the value added. In contrast, establishments under foreign ownership employed only 31 per cent of the manufacturing labour force but produced 42 per cent of the value added. Francophone Canadians predominated in only one sector—the wood industry; they also accounted for nearly half the value added of the Quebec leather industry.¹

128. In contrast, there were nine sectors—including the clothing, textile, printing and publishing, and beverage industries—in which Anglophone Canadian interests accounted for 50 per cent or more of the industrial output. In another nine—including the industries manufacturing petroleum products, non-ferrous metals, transportation equipment, and chemical products—the foreign interests had a comparable representation.

129. Francophone Canadian establishments produced an average value added of \$790,000 a year, those owned by Anglophone Canadians \$3,310,000, and foreign-owned establishments \$5,640,000. The value added by a Francophone Canadian establishment was thus on average a quarter the size of that added by an Anglophone Canadian establishment, and one-seventh of that for a foreign establishment. In all manufacturing sectors, the value added by a Francophone Canadian establishment was smaller than that for a foreign-owned establishment and, with the exception of the leather industry, than that for an Anglophone Canadian establishment as well.

130. When the number of employees, rather than value added, was used as a measurement of size, the typical Francophone Canadian manufacturing enterprise was again smaller than its Anglophone Canadian or foreign-owned equivalent. In fact, the average number of Number of employees

¹ The wood industry is largely made up of sawmills and "sash and door" factories; the leather industry includes tanneries and factories producing shoes, handbags, and the like.

employees was 94 in Francophone Canadian, 145 in Anglophone Canadian, and 332 in foreign-owned establishments. In average number of employees, Francophone Canadian establishments were below foreign-owned establishments in all sectors, and above Anglophone Canadian establishments in only four of the 22 sectors for which information was available.

Table 20. Ownership of Establishments in the Manufacturing Industry

Size of manufacturing establishments owned by Francophone Canadians, Anglophone Canadians, and foreign interests, measured by value added—Quebec, 1961

	Percentage of total value added in establishments owned by			Total
	Francophone Canadians	Anglophone Canadians	Foreign interests	
Food	30.9	32.0	38.1	100
Beverage	4.7	64.9	30.4	100
Tobacco products	0.9	31.2	67.9	100
Rubber	8.0	37.5	54.5	100
Leather	49.4	46.3	4.3	100
Textile	2.1	68.3	29.6	100
Knitting mills	24.7	53.2	22.1	100
Clothing	8.2	88.6	3.2	100
Wood	84.0	13.2	2.8	100
Furniture and fixtures	39.4	53.6	7.0	100
Paper	4.8	53.3	41.9	100
Paper products	22.0	41.2	33.8	100
Printing and publishing	28.2	65.7	6.1	100
Iron and steel	11.7	28.9	59.4	100
Non-ferrous metals	3.7	11.6	84.7	100
Metal fabricating	23.7	35.9	40.4	100
Machinery	18.3	17.0	64.7	100
Transportation equipment	6.4	14.4	79.2	100
Electrical products	6.6	58.0	35.4	100
Non-metallic mineral products	14.8	51.2	34.0	100
Petroleum and coal products	0.0	0.0	100.0	100
Chemical and medical products	6.5	16.4	77.1	100
Precision instruments	4.6	23.5	71.9	100
Miscellaneous	24.5	41.3	34.2	100
All industries	15.4	42.8	41.8	100

Source: Raynauld, "La propriété des entreprises au Québec."

131. In terms of labour productivity,¹ the Quebec worker produced an average of \$6,500 value added a year in a Francophone Canadian establishment, \$8,400 in an Anglophone Canadian one, and \$12,200 for a foreign proprietor. Within 19 of the 21 sectors for which we have data, the average worker was more productive in a foreign-owned than in a Francophone Canadian establishment. Workers in Anglophone Canadian establishments led their counterparts in Francophone Canadian establishments in productivity in 12 sectors, were equal in two, but were lower in seven. With some exceptions, then, productivity in Francophone Canadian establishments was lower than in Anglophone Canadian establishments; the productivity of both was lower than that of foreign-owned establishments.

Productivity

132. The differences in average annual wages paid in the establishments of the three groups were generally less than the differences in productivity, but they were also more consistent. The average wages paid in Francophone Canadian establishments were respectively 30 and 12 per cent lower than those paid in foreign-controlled and Anglophone Canadian establishments. In all but two of the individual sectors—knitted goods and wood—lower average wages were paid by Francophone Canadian employers than by foreign employers; they were also lower than those paid by Anglophone Canadian establishments in every sector except the leather industry. However, it must not be concluded that Francophone Canadian establishments were concentrated in the industries which paid the lowest wages. For example, the clothing sector, which paid lower average wages than any other sector, was dominated by Anglophone Canadian establishments. In contrast, foreign interests tended to be concentrated in the high-paying sectors and, within these sectors, to pay the highest wages.

Average wages

133. In an examination of markets in which Quebec goods are sold (Table 21), it becomes apparent that Francophone Canadian firms sold only 22 per cent of their output outside Quebec, four-fifths of this amount going to other parts of Canada. Anglophone Canadian establishments, on the other hand, sold 49 per cent and foreign-owned firms 60 per cent of their production outside Quebec. In both Anglophone Canadian and foreign-owned establishments, two-thirds of these amounts went to the other provinces. Of the total sales outside Quebec in 1961, valued at \$3,400,000,000, Francophone Canadian establishments were responsible for \$150,000,000, or less than 5 per cent of the total, while Anglophone Canadian and foreign establishments provided 44 and 52 per cent respectively.

Sales outside
Quebec

¹ To obtain a crude measure of labour productivity, the value added was divided by the number of employees. This index depends among other things on the importance of machinery and the type of technology used by an establishment.

Table 21. Sales outside Quebec

Sales of the manufacturing industry outside the province—Quebec, 1961

	Establishments owned by		
	Francophone Canadians	Anglophone Canadians	Foreign interests
Percentage of the establishments' total production sold outside Quebec	22.0	48.6	59.6
Percentage of the total sales outside Quebec	4.5	44.0	51.5

Source: Raynauld, "La propriété des entreprises au Québec."

134. Quebec manufacturing establishments owned by Francophone Canadians produce mainly for local markets, and this fact becomes even more apparent when the whole of Quebec industry is considered. In Table 19 we noted the predominance of Francophone Canadians in agriculture, services, and, to a lesser extent, retail trade and construction—industries primarily serving the local market, which in Quebec is predominantly French-speaking. It is obvious that the language of the customers influences the language use of a firm; we shall examine the consequences of this fact more fully in Chapter XIII. At this point we will only observe that the fewer Francophones there are among the customers of a given firm, the less likely it is that the firm is owned by Francophones, and that, if the majority of a firm's customers are Anglophones, it is unlikely that French will be the main working language within the firm.

Types of
products sold
outside Quebec

135. There are also notable differences in the types of products sold outside Quebec by the manufacturing establishments of the three ownership groups. For all three groups, food and beverages and paper products were important. Apart from these products, the extra-provincial sales of the three kinds of establishments were distributed as follows:

Francophone Canadian	Anglophone Canadian	Foreign
Leather goods	Primary metal products	Primary metal products
Clothing	Clothing	Transportation equipment
Wood	Textiles	Chemical products
Furniture	Electrical products	Petroleum and coal products

The products sold outside the province by Francophone Canadian establishments belong to the traditional industries—those which have been in existence for well over a century. In contrast, the extra-provincial sales of foreign establishments were mostly produced in industries that have developed relatively recently and in which modern technology plays a key role. Here again, Anglophone Canadian establishments occupy a middle position.

136. It is perfectly normal to find within a given province establishments and enterprises with highly different characteristics. It is to be expected that they will be different in size and importance, in productivity and wages paid, and that some will be international in their operations while others are purely local. These differences are due to the kind of product involved, the technology used, transportation costs, the type of clientele being served, and a host of other factors. What is more significant is that, faced with the same economic, technological, and market conditions as other enterprises, the Francophone Canadian establishment consistently followed a distinctive pattern.

The wider implications of ownership

137. On the other hand, just as many kinds of enterprises will be found in an economy as diversified as Quebec's, so the existence of local, national, foreign, and international enterprises is to be expected. In principle there is no requirement that Montreal businesses be under the exclusive ownership of Montrealers, that Quebec businesses be the exclusive property of Quebecers, or that Ontario firms be owned by Ontarians. Not only would this be unnecessary, it would also be undesirable; if both enterprises and markets were fragmented, Canadian business would be deprived of many advantages, such as access to advanced technology and the economies of scale.

138. It is the uneven pattern of ownership and control of Quebec industry that creates uneasiness. While the Anglophone Canadian firms number national and international, as well as local, enterprises among their group, the Francophone Canadian firms in general are much more limited. The contrast with the foreign enterprises is still more pronounced. The existing situation of Francophone Canadian enterprise is, then, an unnatural one.

139. It is obvious that Francophone Canadian industry is on a different scale from the rest of Quebec industry. Canadian industry as a whole is in the same situation with regard to foreign capital and control, although the problem is more acute for Francophone industry in Quebec. The absence of a sufficient number of Canadian entrepreneurs has not resulted in stagnation and underdevelopment. On the contrary, due to the massive importation of capital, Canada and Quebec have undergone a period of intense economic activity.

140. The way Francophone Canadians see their situation is much the same as that in which Anglophone Canadians view their lot with respect to foreign capital in Canada.¹ Many groups in Canada—particularly the Francophones—attach a high degree of importance, both political and economic, to questions of ownership and control.² The issues of economic control and ownership are clearly of prime importance. However, the other ideals of modern society must not be forgotten. Policies designed to “Canadianize” business—whether put forward by Francophones or Anglophones—would do more harm than good if they imperiled the maintenance of full employment, reduced productivity or economic growth, or worked against an equitable distribution of resources. Here, as elsewhere, each ideal has its price.

Summary

141. We have seen that Francophone Canadian industry in Quebec is concentrated in the agricultural and service fields. In the manufacturing sector, Francophone Canadian establishments accounted for a low proportion of the provincial value added; tended to be less productive; had fewer employees and paid them less; produced essentially for the Quebec market; and were based in the traditional industries. The foreign-owned establishments generally stood in complete contrast to this pattern, while those owned by Anglophone Canadian interests tended to share characteristics with both Francophone Canadian and foreign establishments, and thus to occupy a middle position. Industries in a diversified economy may be expected to show many different characteristics, but this does not explain the fact that Francophone Canadian establishments have consistently placed at the lower end of the various scales we have employed.

¹ See *Foreign Ownership and the Structure of Canadian Industry*, a report prepared for the Privy Council Office by the Task Force on the Structure of Canadian Industry (Ottawa, 1968).

² See *A Preliminary Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism* (Ottawa, 1965), § 71.

142. Our examination of the social and economic aspects of Canadian life (based on 1961 census figures) shows that there is inequality in the partnership between Canadians of French origin and those of British origin. By every statistical measurement which we used, Canadians of French origin are considerably lower on the socio-economic scale. They are not as well represented in the decision-making positions and in the ownership of industrial enterprises, and they do not have the same access to the fruits of modern technology. The positions they occupy are less prestigious and do not command as high incomes; across Canada, their average annual earnings are \$980 less than those of the British. Furthermore, they have two years less formal education. Quebec manufacturing firms owned by Francophones produce only 15 per cent of the provincial output. In this chapter we try to determine the relative importance of the factors lying behind this inequality.

A. Analysis of Income Disparities

143. There are many reasons for income differences between individuals and groups of individuals; attempts to come to grips with this issue are always confronted with an almost inextricable tangle of cause and effect. Let us look first of all at the main factors which we have retained in our analysis.

1. Factors affecting income

144. First, the age of the labour force is an important factor. Obviously, an experienced person at the prime of his career—probably

Age

between 40 and 50 years of age—will earn more than someone just starting out. Thus, if a particular group of Canadians has a larger proportion of its labour force in the younger age categories than another group, the former will probably have the lower average income.

Male: female ratio

145. Wages paid to women are almost always lower than those paid to men. If, in a particular group, women form a higher percentage of the labour force, that group will again probably have a lower average income. However, as we are considering only the income disparities in the male labour force, this factor—while of considerable importance in any treatment of the total labour force—is not relevant.

Differences
between
industries

146. The industries among which a labour force is distributed can also influence income. The same sort of job carries different salaries in different industries; the labourer in an oil refinery, for instance, will earn more than the labourer in a shoe factory. Depending on its distribution between high- and low-paying industries, or on the degree of concentration in regions where industries pay high salaries, one group will have a better average income than another. The determination of high- and low-paying industries depends in large measure on the industries' levels of productivity, market conditions, and employee bargaining strength.

Education and
occupation

147. There is a substantial difference in average years of schooling among Canadians of different origins; clearly, education ranks as one of the most important factors in an explanation of income disparities. Occupation is closely associated with schooling. A group that is concentrated at the bottom of a scale of occupations will obviously have a low average income.

Mobility

148. Although we have little statistical information about mobility, its influence is reasonably clear. Mobility means the capacity and willingness to move between jobs and communities in order to seek out economic advantages, such as a higher salary. Mobility may be impeded by individual preferences (such as the desire to work in the country rather than the town) or by other less subjective considerations. The main barrier to mobility in Canada is the existence of two languages and two cultures. For example, a Francophone is immobile when, with the object of preserving his language and culture, he turns down an attractive job opportunity in an English-language environment. Similarly, an Anglophone may refuse a lucrative offer from a Francophone Canadian firm because he speaks no French or because he prefers to work with people of his own language and culture.

Discrimination

149. Discrimination may also contribute to income disparities. Discrimination occurs when two people with identical qualifications are treated differently; it may be reflected in wages and salaries paid, and in such matters as hiring, promotions, and job assignments. Although

quite distinct from immobility, discrimination may lead to immobility. If a worker is discriminated against in certain places or within certain businesses, he may well take himself elsewhere. Even the fear of discrimination, whether well-founded or not, may lead him to decline certain employment offers. The worker can then be considered immobile, since he has presumably turned his back on opportunities which he otherwise would have accepted.

150. The labour force includes all workers, both employed and unemployed, so any differences in the unemployment level of two groups will be reflected in their average incomes. As well, the rate of participation in the labour force—that is, the proportion of the total group in the labour force—will be reflected in their average incomes. Thus, the group with the higher proportion of its population in the labour force will have the higher average income, other factors being equal.

Underemployment

2. *Relative weight of factors*

151. To the factors most often considered in any study of income disparities—age, industry, region, schooling, occupation, and underemployment—we have added bilingualism, employment status (salaried or self-employed), period of immigration, and ethnicity. Mobility and discrimination cannot be evaluated separately, and we have treated them as components of ethnicity—the only factor on our list which is difficult to interpret. Ethnicity, as we use it in this analysis, is the effect of ethnic origin when all the other factors are held constant; it is the expression of a complex phenomenon composed of many elements which are impossible to separate: among these are the quality of schooling; work attitudes; occupational choice; motivations and values; the quality, orientation, and effectiveness of institutions; obstacles to mobility; discrimination; and the weight of the past. These factors undoubtedly influence behaviour: they may affect aspirations and educational and occupational choices; they may determine where people work and what they do; and they may affect spending and saving patterns. It is only natural that income will be directly affected by them.

Factors to be considered

152. The various factors in the list were analyzed in a number of different ways. In the following pages we shall report the findings of the three main approaches employed in our research.

a) *A first approach*

153. Our first approach was to limit the comparisons to people having the same characteristics; among those, we selected engineers,

architects, and doctors for analysis. As level of schooling and kind of occupation are similar within each of these professions,¹ two important sources of income disparity were thus removed. We restricted the analysis to the Montreal metropolitan area, thus neutralizing a large part of the regional factor. Finally, we considered the labour incomes for men only and classified them by the age and employment status (salaried or self-employed) of the recipients, so that the groups compared were as homogeneous as possible.

Engineers

154. Table 22 shows the average incomes of engineers in the Montreal metropolitan census area. Whether the total or the individual age groups are considered, the small minority of engineers of French origin who were self-employed earned far more than their counterparts of British and other origins. However, most engineers were salaried employees; among them, the French earned an average of \$1,504 less than the British and \$406 less than those of other origins. The income of the French was thus almost 18 per cent less than that for the British. Yet, when the age groups were taken individually, the French fell behind the British by only 8 per cent: in other words, roughly half the total income disparity for salaried engineers was due to the younger age of those of French origin. When all engineers are considered—both salaried and self-employed—the French earned 7 per cent less than the British and 5 per cent more than those of other origins. These differences are not very large, despite the considerable disparities in some of the individual categories.

155. Using this same body of data, we applied a statistical regression analysis in an effort to explain the average income of male salaried engineers.² We retained as explanatory variables age, level of schooling (since a fair number of engineers were not university graduates), the industry in which the engineers worked, and ethnicity. If the influence of ethnicity is negligible, this would suggest that, within this framework, the other factors were sufficient to explain income disparities. On the other hand, if ethnicity is found to play an important role, then the forces related to ethnicity have a significant effect on income disparities. Since the occupation is relatively well defined and the range of specializations small, it is possible that discrimination is among these forces.

156. As it turned out, ethnicity exercised only a secondary influence on the incomes of all engineers. The factors of age, schooling, and

¹ Even within well-defined professions, characteristics of individuals may vary. For example, according to the 1961 census, 21 per cent of the salaried engineers in Montreal did not have a university degree. Nor did all engineers have identical occupations, since within the field of engineering there are numerous specializations for which the salaries paid differ considerably.

² See §§ 170 ff. for a more detailed description of this operation.

industry were sufficient to account for the lower income level of those of French origin. For those of British origin, however, ethnicity added about \$825 or a little less than 10 per cent to their average income. The typical specializations of the French and British engineers—as well as the total combination of factors that ethnicity represents—may account for this result.

Table 22. Income of Engineers

Labour income of male engineers, by ethnic origin, employment status, and age group—Montreal metropolitan census area, 1961

Employment status and age	Average	Ethnic origin		
		British	French	Other
Number	1,731	824	420	487
Overall average labour income	\$8,084	\$8,508	\$7,919	\$7,150
Salaried				
Number	1,667	805	395	467
Average labour income	\$7,801	\$8,465	\$6,961	\$7,367
Age group				
15-24	3,246	3,372	3,113	3,257
25-34	6,715	7,168	6,540	6,233
35-44	8,719	9,054	8,262	8,375
45-54	9,394	10,319	8,216	8,483
55-64	10,049	10,688	9,244	9,182
65 and over	7,083	7,288	7,055	4,300
Self-employed				
Number	64	19	25	20
Average labour income	\$15,471	\$10,336	\$23,060	\$10,865
Age group				
15-24	4,000	—	—	4,000
25-34	11,500	8,500	15,500	9,000
35-44	14,765	6,616	25,416	12,887
45-54	13,316	12,500	15,211	10,560
55-64	23,042	15,640	41,000	9,850
65 and over	11,850	6,666	17,033	—

Source: Raynauld, Marion, and Bédard, "La répartition des revenus."

157. Table 23 presents the data for the architects. Those of French origin earned on average considerably less than those of British origin, but somewhat more than those of other origins. A study of the employment status of the architects of French origin did not reveal any special characteristics, as it did among the engineers, but age retained all its importance. In the group aged 35 to 44 years, the salaried architects of French origin had the highest incomes.

Architects

Among those aged 25 to 34 years, the French did almost as well, but they were clearly behind in the older age groups. A statistical regression analysis performed on the salaried architects failed to show any significant result. It follows that the differences in income between groups are not significant.

Table 23. Income of Architects

Labour income of male architects, by ethnic origin, employment status, and age group—Montreal metropolitan census area, 1961

Employment status and age	Average	Ethnic origin			
		British	French	Other	
	Number	106	23	44	39
Overall average labour income	\$9,157	\$12,339	\$8,500	\$8,023	
Salaried					
	Number	72	16	25	31
Average labour income	\$7,036	\$8,675	\$7,456	\$5,851	
Age	15-24	2,666	3,550	—	900
Group	25-34	5,385	6,066	5,910	4,900
	35-44	8,777	8,966	10,312	6,942
	45-54	8,723	10,660	7,600	7,483
	55-64	6,850	11,000	5,533	6,750
	65 and over	8,825	11,500	6,500	—
Self-employed ¹					
	Number	34	7	19	8
Average labour income	\$13,650	\$20,714	\$9,873	\$16,437	

Source: Raynauld, Marion, and Béland, "La répartition des revenus."

¹ The income of self-employed architects is not given by age group because their numbers are too small to be statistically significant.

Physicians and surgeons

158. We also examined the labour incomes of physicians and surgeons (Table 24). Because they form a rather less homogeneous occupational category than the preceding ones, our conclusions are more uncertain. Some 45 per cent of all doctors were salaried in 1961 (the proportion for those of French origin was 40 per cent). Those of French origin generally earned less than those of British origin, but about the same as those of other origins. This was particularly true for those aged 35 to 54. The young doctors of French origin (25 to 34 years of age) earned higher salaries on average. Perhaps this was because, in this age group, a large proportion of doctors of French origin were already in practice, while a greater proportion of those of British origin were doing postgraduate work in hospitals.

159. Among the doctors in private practice, those in the group aged 45 to 54 had incomes more or less the same; of those aged 35 to 44 years, the French doctors earned \$3,781 less than the British, but \$1,866 more than those of other origins. In the two oldest groups, the British had much higher incomes than those of all other origins. Once again the problem arises as to whether, within these age groups, the individual characteristics of the doctors are truly comparable.

Table 24. Income of Physicians and Surgeons

Labour income of male physicians and surgeons, by ethnic origin, employment status, and age group—Montreal metropolitan census area, 1961

Employment status and age	Average	Ethnic origin		
		British	French	Other
Number	650	147	348	155
Overall average labour income	\$12,728	\$15,206	\$12,770	\$10,283
Salaried				
Number	293	74	135	84
Average labour income	\$7,527	\$10,232	\$6,985	\$6,017
Age group				
15-24	1,666	1,180	2,000	1,700
25-34	4,302	4,593	4,767	3,362
35-44	10,878	13,136	9,922	10,004
45-54	15,765	23,000	9,966	10,550
55-64	13,189	16,100	13,271	8,250
65 and over	11,342	3,700	13,933	15,100
Self-employed				
Number	357	73	213	71
Average labour income	\$16,996	\$20,247	\$16,437	\$15,329
Age group				
15-24	—	—	—	—
25-34	12,012	12,000	11,310	15,320
35-44	18,334	21,860	18,079	16,213
45-54	20,734	20,800	20,720	20,681
55-64	16,153	22,420	16,067	8,583
65 and over	11,185	15,175	8,900	7,775

Source: Raynauld, Marion, and B eland, "La r epartition des revenus."

160. In spite of the fact that doctors of British origin had higher incomes than other doctors, the regression analysis showed that, as far as we can ascertain, ethnicity had no influence on the incomes of either salaried doctors or those in private practice.

161. The study of the incomes of a large number of other occupational groups showed that ethnicity generally had no significant effect on the incomes of lawyers and notaries (whether salaried or

in private practice), pharmacists, policemen and firemen, and workers in the communications field. For other occupations (a total of 23 categories) a reasonably clear pattern emerges: the factors of age, schooling, and industry explain the greatest part of the income disparities. The only exception is those of British origin, whose ethnicity adds substantially and significantly to their income. However, most of these last occupational categories are far from homogeneous, embracing a large number of different occupations.

Conclusion

162. Our first method of analysis permitted us to evaluate factors affecting income within reasonably homogeneous classes of occupations in the Montreal area. It seems apparent that ethnicity is not an important cause of income differences among clearly defined professions. However, this approach scarcely gives an overall view of the subject. Besides its geographic restriction, it ignores a major part of the problem: by examining the situation only for certain occupations, it does not take into account the unequal distribution of Canadians of French and British origin among the various occupations. For instance, it leaves aside the fact that less than 8 per cent of the former held professional and technical jobs in Montreal, in comparison with 17 per cent of the latter. In an attempt to broaden the analysis we turn now to a second approach.

b) A second approach

163. In Chapter III we calculated the occupational structure of a theoretical labour force of French origin with the same level of schooling as the actual labour force of British origin. Essentially the same method is applied here¹ as we seek to narrow the statistical income disparity between the two. By isolating the factors affecting income disparities—age, occupation, industry distribution, schooling, and unemployment—we can measure the contribution of each.

Montreal

164. In order to secure as homogeneous bodies as possible, we shall compare only the labour income in the three metropolitan census areas of Montreal, Toronto, and Ottawa. Table 25, which gives the results of the analysis for Montreal, shows that in 1961 6 per cent of the income disparity between those of British and French origin was due to the greater youth of the latter (almost three years for salary- and wage-earners). Hence, a larger proportion of the French were earning beginners' salaries. Those of French origin also tended to work for the low-wage industries: this accounted for a further 4 per cent of the disparity. The greater unemployment among the French labour force accounted for another 6 per cent of the income disparity.

¹ The interaction between the explanatory variables is taken into consideration in the present method.

Table 25. Factors Contributing to Income Disparity (Montreal)

Percentage contribution of selected factors to the labour income disparity (\$1,898) between Canadians of French and British origin—Montreal metropolitan census area, 1961

	Contribution (%)
1. Age	5.9
2. Industry	4.2
3. Occupation	31.6
4. Schooling	33.0
5. Schooling-occupation	45.1
6. Unemployment	6.3
Total of items 1, 2, 5, and 6	61.5

Source: Raynauld, Marion, and Béland, "La répartition des revenus."

165. The two most important variables were clearly level of schooling and occupational distribution, which accounted for 33 and 32 per cent of the income disparity respectively. But we cannot assume that the two together covered 65 per cent of that disparity, because we know that education has a substantial influence on occupations. Thus, part of the 32 per cent attributed here to the occupational distribution must be due to differences in the educational structure of the two groups. When this overlapping effect was eliminated, the two together were responsible for 45 per cent of the income disparity.¹

166. The results of the analyses for Toronto and Ottawa are given in Table 26. The main difference between Montreal and Ottawa was the greater impact of the schooling-occupation variable in Ottawa—but this difference is subject to interpretation. The schooling, occupation, and income of the population of French origin in the two areas were comparable, but their position was being compared against two different bases, the income of those of British origin being higher in Montreal than in Ottawa. In that respect, Toronto more closely resembled Montreal than Ottawa. The age structure and unemployment rate of the French labour force in Toronto were more important in relation to the income disparity than they were in Montreal.

Ottawa and
Toronto

¹ The measures given for the Montreal metropolitan census area in Table 25 were chosen in order to make them consistent with the figures for Toronto and Ottawa given in Table 26. However, more accurate figures are available for Montreal. When the number of industry classes is increased from 9 to 35, the effect of the industry variable on the total income disparity reached 12 per cent. A direct estimate of underemployment (*see* footnote to § 172) for Canadians of French and British origin earning wages and salaries increased the contribution of unemployment to the total income disparity from 6 to 13 per cent. Adding to these two figures the contribution of age and schooling-occupation as given in Table 25 (5.9 and 45.1 per cent respectively), the total of 76 per cent is obtained. This figure represents a new estimate of the contribution of all factors together to the total income disparity in Montreal.

Table 26. Factors Contributing to Income Disparity (Toronto and Ottawa)

Percentage contribution of selected factors to the labour income disparity between Canadians of French and British origin—Toronto (\$1,093) and Ottawa (\$1,496) metropolitan census areas, 1961

	Contribution (%)	
	Toronto	Ottawa
Age	16.1	10.7
Industry	4.4	7.6
Schooling-occupation	44.1	62.4
Unemployment	13.0	9.2
Total	77.6	89.9

Source: Raynauld, Marion, and Béland, "La répartition des revenus."

Conclusion

167. The selected factors explained the income disparity most fully in Ottawa (90 per cent), next in Toronto (78 per cent), and least in Montreal (62 per cent). This leaves 10 per cent in Ottawa, 22 per cent in Toronto, and 38 per cent in Montreal which could not be accounted for by the variables we employed. However, the interdependence of the variables could affect the overall result. Some interesting observations on this type of interdependence have been made in the United States.¹ One handicap is enough to impoverish a man, while one favourable factor cannot by itself improve his position. It takes several favourable factors working together to allow a man to earn a higher income, but a single unfavourable factor can have the opposite result, and cancel out the effects of other factors. The chain is only as strong as its weakest link. The impact of the explanatory factors varies according to whether a high or low income is being considered and thus will not necessarily be the same for people of all origins.

168. For these reasons, an absolute value should not be attached to the actual proportion of the income disparities accounted for by our calculations. Indeed, a combination of circumstances that would explain more than 100 per cent of the income disparity in one or another of the metropolitan areas is conceivable. The results become significant only when they are compared; then, a clear pattern emerges: factors such as age, industry, schooling, occupation, and unemployment are substantially responsible for the lower average income of those of French origin. On the other hand, these factors explain less of the

¹James N. Morgan *et al.*, *Income and Welfare in the United States* (New York, 1962), 182.

income disparity in Montreal than in either of the other two metropolitan areas studied here; it seems that the ethnicity factor may have a stronger effect in Montreal than in the other two areas.

169. This recalls the situation noted earlier in relation to occupational distribution: in the second largest French-speaking city in the world, those of British origin have higher average incomes than anywhere else in the country. It is remarkable that in Montreal, of all places, the fact that one's ancestors came from Great Britain has the strongest influence on the distribution of income.

c) A third approach

170. To explain the income disparities between Canadians of French and British origin,¹ we made a statistical regression analysis of a sample of more than 100,000 people in the Montreal metropolitan census area. We attempted to discover whether the differences in income between the populations of French and British origin were entirely due to the differences in age, schooling, occupation, and so on, or whether the complex forces behind ethnicity must also be considered.

171. The analysis covered only the male salary- and wage-earners of Montreal in order to eliminate the influence of sex, employment status, and region on incomes. To avoid distorting the averages and to simplify the statistical analysis, the extreme cases on the income scale (incomes over \$30,000 or under \$500) were excluded. The explanatory factors retained were age, occupation, industry, schooling, bilingualism, period of immigration, and, finally, ethnicity—which, as we have said, includes work attitudes, occupational choice, motivations and values, quality of training, mobility, and discrimination.

172. For the regression analysis, the earnings recorded by the census were adjusted for the number of recorded weeks worked: if a person had worked only one week in the year, for example, his income for that week was multiplied by 50 to make it comparable with that of a fully employed man. Thus the effects of underemployment² in the labour force were excluded from the regression analysis. This adjustment enabled us to estimate the importance of underemployment for each group. In the second column of Table 27 we calculated the theoretical earnings of each group listed if the wage- and salary-earners had worked the same number of weeks as the Canadians of English-Scottish origin. In fact, 85 per cent of the English-Scottish worked 49

Underemployment

¹ In this analysis, Canadians of British origin were divided into English-Scottish and Irish. The other groups included were the French, Italians, Jews, Germans (including Austrians), Northern Europeans (Swedes, Finns, Dutch, and Norwegians), Eastern Europeans (Hungarians, Poles, Russians, and Ukrainians), and Others.

² To measure underemployment, we considered the number of persons who worked less than 50 weeks in the year, including the unemployed and those who had voluntarily withdrawn from the labour force during the year.

to 52 weeks in 1961, compared with only 74 per cent of Canadians of French origin. The difference of 11 percentage points separating the two groups was such that the earnings of the French would have been increased by \$240 if they had worked as steadily as the English-Scottish. In column 3 of Table 27, the sum of \$240 is divided by the total earnings differential between the two groups to give the contribution of underemployment to the differential—in the case of the French, 13 per cent. Those who suffer most from underemployment are Canadians of Italian origin; then come the Canadians of Other origins, those of Jewish origin, and those of Eastern European origin. The impact in dollars depends not only on the number of people involved but also on the average wage and salary of the group. Thus, the Canadians of Jewish origin lost most in income terms from underemployment—\$402, which represents 73 per cent of the income disparity that separates them from the English-Scottish group.

Table 27. Underemployment and Labour Income

Percentage of salaried men who worked between 49 and 52 weeks, as a measure (in dollars and percentage) of the labour income disparity attributable to underemployment, by ethnic origin—Montreal metropolitan census area, 1961

	Percent of total who worked 49-52 weeks	Contribution of underemployment	
		\$	%
English-Scottish	85.2	—	—
French	73.9	240 ¹	13.22
Irish	82.0	125	30.0
Northern European	83.1	90	38.0
Italian	65.2	283	11.6
Jewish	74.8	402	72.5
Eastern European	75.0	239	15.5
German	80.6	92	9.2
Other	72.8	291	16.0

Source: Raynauld, Marion, and Béland, "La répartition des revenus."

¹ If the same proportion of Canadians of French origin as of English-Scottish origin had been working 49 to 52 weeks in 1961, their average income would have been \$240 higher.

² The impact of underemployment given in column 2 was divided by the income disparity separating each of the groups from the income earned by Canadians of English-Scottish origin.

Age 173. Average age is an important reason for income differences between Canadians of various origins. The average age for salaried Montrealers of French origin is 37; for those of English-Scottish origin, 40; for those of Jewish origin, 41; for those of Italian origin, 36. The impact of these age differences on average incomes is difficult to estimate because it depends on which age level is being examined. Income does

not increase in a fixed proportion year by year; it rises until the maximum level is reached between 40 and 55 years of age, and then decreases. The net contribution of age to average wage and salary earnings is given in Table 28. Given the average salary of all male wage- and salary-earners in Montreal,¹ the table indicates that a man belonging to the 15 to 19 age group would earn \$1,610 less than the average, and a man belonging to the 40 to 44 age group would earn \$620 more than the average. It is in the latter age group that wages and salaries are highest. Because of this particular age-income pattern, the dollar value of a year of age depends upon the age group one chooses. Taking the 35 to 39 age group to which the average wage- or salary-earner belongs, a year of age is worth \$92 (\$460 in the table for five years). Since the average salaried Montrealer of French origin is younger by 2.8 years than one of English-Scottish origin, it can be calculated that a French Montrealer loses \$258 because of his relative youth, which represents about 5 per cent of the average wage and salary earnings and 15 per cent of the income disparity (\$1,650) between the two groups.

Table 28. Net Contribution of Age

Net contribution of age¹ to the labour income of salaried men, by age group—Montreal metropolitan census area, 1961

Age group	Dollars
15-19 years	-1,610
20-24	- 808
25-29	- 187
30-34	+ 227
35-39	+ 460
40-44	+ 620
45-49	+ 538
50-54	+ 494
55-59	+ 371
60-64	+ 242
65 and over	- 347

Source: Raynauld, Marion, and Béland, "La répartition des revenus."

¹ "Net contribution of age" means the increase (+) or decrease (-) in dollars to the average wage and salary which is attributable to age, all other factors being held constant.

174. The industries in which people worked in 1961 did not significantly affect the incomes of wage- and salary-earners as a whole. As our first approach showed, however, the industries made a net contribution to incomes in certain occupations such as engineering.

Industry

¹ Taking into account the adjustments described previously, this average is \$4,443.

Schooling and
occupation

175. The two most important factors were clearly schooling and occupation. In the first place, the incomes associated with the various levels of schooling were quite different. Among Montreal wage- and salary-earners, the average income for those with only elementary schooling was \$3,079, while for university graduates it was \$7,916—that is, \$4,207 more. This overall disparity is not entirely due to schooling; when other factors are taken into account simultaneously, it is reduced to \$2,543, as Table 29 indicates ($\$1,619 + \$924 = \$2,543$). This is the net contribution of schooling. Schooling also determines access to the highest paying occupations and thus influences the occupational structure of a particular population, and, therefore, its occupational status. Lastly, schooling represents the main and often the only means of durable social transformation because it lies behind the other factors that determine income. Our statistical studies confirm the importance of educational attainment.

Table 29. Net Contribution of Schooling

Net contribution of schooling¹ to the labour income of salaried men, by educational level attained—Montreal metropolitan census area, 1961

Educational level attained	Dollars
Primary	— 924
Secondary, 1–2 years	— 703
Secondary, 3–5 years	— 249
Some university	+ 257
University degree	+1,619

Source: Raynauld, Marion, and Béland, "La répartition des revenus."

¹ "Net contribution of schooling" means the increase (+) or decrease (–) in dollars to the average wage and salary which is attributable to schooling, all other factors being held constant.

176. In our statistical analysis, the occupations were divided into 23 classes. On the whole, the contribution of the occupational factor to the differences in income happened to be somewhat higher than that of schooling. More important still, schooling and occupation once again emerged in almost inextricable association.¹ This leads to the expectation that if the level of schooling in a population is raised, people will benefit not only from the higher income associated with schooling as such, but also from the incomes resulting from more profitable occupations.

¹ Age alone explained 8 per cent of the variations in individual incomes; age and occupation, 26 per cent; age and schooling, 22 per cent; and age, occupation, and schooling, 31 per cent.

177. Nevertheless, in our study, income is primarily associated with occupation and only secondarily with schooling. Access to occupations must therefore be considered as a question quite distinct from schooling. Our statistical results confirm the importance we have attached to a real equality in the access to the various occupations.

178. As we indicated earlier, individual bilingualism by itself does not at present necessarily result in any economic reward. If bilingualism, with or without ethnicity, is included with the other explanatory factors, it adds nothing to the total income explanation. When the bilingual people of British, French, and other origins are distinguished from the unilingual population, scarcely anything is added to the total explanation, although the income differences between these four linguistic categories are not negligible.

Bilingualism

179. When bilingual and unilingual persons are compared for each ethnic group separately, it is clear that Canadians of French origin have a definite advantage—albeit a small one—in knowing both English and French (all other factors being held constant). For Canadians of English or Scottish origin, and for those of Irish origin, bilingualism is not a statistically significant factor; the same is true for Northern Europeans and Germans. For Canadians of all other origins, bilingualism is an advantage—especially for those of Jewish origin, who benefit almost as much as the French.

180. These conclusions are not surprising. It is clear that Canadians of British origin have not hitherto learned French for economic reasons. For them, French has not been the language of work or the precondition of promotion, but rather the means of access to another culture. For Canadians of French origin, the premium for bilingualism revealed by the average income¹ is considerably reduced when the other factors characterizing bilingual people are taken into account. If the income of the bilingual French population is higher than that of the unilingual French population, it is above all because they have more education and are in the better-paying occupations. However, bilingualism as such does contribute to the incomes of Canadians of French origin. For those of other origins, bilingualism is a definite advantage, although it is less important for them than it is for those of French origin.

181. Only 20 per cent of male wage- and salary-earners in Montreal are immigrants, so it was not to be expected that period of immigration would play a major role in any explanation of the incomes of the whole population, and this was what our statistical analysis revealed. When the population was divided into native-born

Immigration

¹ See Table 4 in Chapter I.

persons, pre-1946 immigrants, and post-1946 immigrants, the results were analogous to those obtained for bilingualism: while immigration added almost nothing to the whole explanation, the differences between the three classes were significant. Wages and salaries of native-born Canadians were \$81 higher than the overall average, those of pre-1946 immigrants were \$204 higher, while those of post-1946 immigrants were \$285 less. Not unnaturally, the pre-1946 immigrants had a higher average income than the more recent immigrants; they also had a higher average income than the native-born population, the vast majority of whom were of French origin.

182. Length of residence in Canada is not a basic factor in the explanation of income for the whole population, but only for people of some ethnic origins—those of Jewish, Eastern European, German, Northern European, and Italian origin, in ascending order of importance. Period of immigration does not play a significant role in the incomes of those of either French or British origin. When the large number of recent immigrants of Italian origin has been taken into account, the difference in income between Canadians of French and Italian origin either disappears completely or is very considerably reduced; in 1961, Canadians of Italian origin who had lived in Canada for 20 years or more had incomes roughly equivalent to those of Canadians of French origin.

Ethnicity

183. Lastly, we consider ethnicity—ethnic origin after the other factors have been taken into account. In comparison with factors examined previously, it appears to be considerably less important than underemployment, age, schooling, and occupation. However, because this small proportion of the total income explanation was highly significant in determining income, ethnicity must be considered separately.

184. Ethnicity does not necessarily have the same importance for all groups. The first column of Table 30 gives the observed disparities in wage and salary earnings according to ethnic origin. The English-Scottish group is \$1,319 above the overall average and the French group is \$330 below it. The observed disparity is thus \$1,649 between these two groups. The net contribution of ethnicity to disparities in earnings is given in the second column. The average is increased by \$606 when the earner is of English-Scottish origin; it is reduced by \$267 when he is of French origin. Consequently, the initial disparity of \$1,649 is reduced to \$873. This figure is the contribution of ethnicity.

185. By the same token, the difference between \$1,649 and \$873 is the net contribution of the other factors to the income disparities. A comparison of the two columns shows that those other factors—

schooling, occupation, and so on—have the effect of substantially narrowing the income differences separating the French from those of Italian, Eastern European, and Other origins. These four groups now have more or less the same range of income. For Canadians of Jewish and German origin, ethnicity had no significant effect on their earnings—that is, the other factors were sufficient to explain the observed disparities which separated them from the other Canadians. We are left with two major income categories, one including Canadians of English-Scottish, Irish, and Northern European origin, where ethnicity increases average earnings, and the other including Canadians of French, Italian, Eastern European, and Other origins, where ethnicity reduces average earnings.

Table 30. Net Contribution of Ethnic Origin

Net contribution of ethnic origin¹ to labour income of salaried men, by ethnic origin—Montreal metropolitan census area, 1961

	Deviation from observed average of \$4,443	Net contribution of ethnic origin
English-Scottish	+\$1,319	+\$606
Irish	+ 1,012	+ 468
French	— 330	— 267
Northern European	+ 1,201	+ 303
Italian	— 961	— 370
Jewish	+ 878	+ 9*
Eastern European	— 100	— 480
German	+ 387	+ 65*
Other	— 311	— 334

Source: Raynauld, Marion, and Béland, "La répartition des revenus."

¹ "Net contribution of ethnic origin" means the increase (+) or decrease (–) in dollars to the average wage and salary which is attributable to ethnic origin, all other factors being held constant. We have used the term "ethnicity" to refer to this net influence of ethnic origin.

* Not statistically significant.

186. It is obvious that the identification and analysis of the causes of income disparities are subject to many difficulties. However, the various methods we have used lead us to conclude that schooling and occupation are the two most important factors explaining the income disparities between Canadians of British and French origin. The other factors which we considered—age, underemployment, industry, and region—all influence the disparities, but to a lesser degree. All these

Summary

factors, taken together, explain the greatest part of the income disparities which we have discovered. Bilingualism, period of immigration, and the factors related to ethnicity have a secondary although still significant influence. These are the results of a purely statistical analysis, which takes into account neither the cumulative effect of the factors nor their dynamism over a period of time. Therefore, we must extend our analysis to consider the deeper causes at the root of the socio-economic disparities.

B. Dynamic Considerations

187. Why do the forces that produce the income disparity between Canadians of French and British origin affect the two groups in a different manner? Why, for instance, do the French have a lower level of schooling than the British? To give satisfactory answers to these questions would require a complete explanation of the way in which a society operates. We aim only to indicate some of the more obvious processes whereby the existing state of inequality has been produced.

1. Interrelation of factors

Mutuality of
of influences

188. We have seen that various factors combine to account for a substantial part of the disparity between the average incomes of Canadians of French and British origin; many of these factors—particularly schooling and occupation—are interrelated. However, the influence of these factors, together or separately, is by no means a one-way process: some factors may affect income, but income in its turn can affect, among other factors, schooling and occupation.

Income and
schooling

189. No matter how free schooling may be—and in most provinces university education at least is far from being free—the cost of maintaining a student in school is still high. Many families, especially the larger ones, simply cannot afford to continue supporting their children after they are old enough to join the labour force. The children's level of schooling is thus curtailed and, with it, the range of occupations open to them. The level and quality of public education are also dependent upon the resources that a society can devote to it and ultimately upon the prosperity of that society. As the average income for those of French origin has always been well below the national average, their educational achievements suffer.

190. While income partially determines the level of schooling, this level is also affected by other more important factors, as shown in a study prepared in the United States. Among the main ones are the

parents' occupation and level of schooling, their ambitions and aspirations, the number of children in the family, and religion.¹

191. Many studies have shown the importance of the parents' occupation to their children's schooling. If schooling primarily affects occupation, occupation in its turn also influences schooling. A child of professional parents is more likely to prolong his schooling; his home background tends to impress on him the importance and value of education and to equip him better to benefit from schooling; he is provided with intellectual stimulation at an early age and with a wider base of knowledge and experience. Again, the occupational structure for those of French origin is a disadvantage to their children. This suggests that, if left to themselves, socio-economic disparities tend to be handed down from generation to generation.

Parents'
occupation

2. *Economic development*

192. The schooling-occupation-income distributions are the expression of a much wider phenomenon—the whole question of social and economic development. The figures we have been considering are based on the 1961 census and reflect an already outdated socio-economic situation, which is still in a state of constant evolution.

193. Any particular figure for schooling levels, for instance, bears the imprint of the whole history of school systems in Canada. This history is in turn closely related to the process of economic development. If the economy of a region is underdeveloped, the educational system will not be required to produce a highly qualified labour force. Conversely, in a fully industrialized province, the educational system will have greater demands placed on it. If the economy is to develop, education must meet the needs of the work world by adapting itself to the technological evolution in the society it serves.

Economic
development
and education

194. The state of the economy affects schooling in another way. In a time of severe economic disruption, money will not readily be available either for improved educational services and facilities or, at a family level, for enabling a child to continue his education. The 1961 labour force was largely made up of men who grew up before World War II in a less affluent and less education-conscious era than our own, and their educational level was thus unfavourably affected.

195. The occupational distributions in 1961 are also an expression of Canada's level of economic development at that time. Obviously, the occupational profile of a mainly agricultural economy will be quite

Economic
development
and occupation

¹ Morgan *et al.*, *Income and Welfare*, 362. This list of factors is taken from the statistical analysis found in this work. Apparently the education of the parents (the mother as well as the father) is the dominant factor in explaining the children's level of education. *Ibid.*, 373.

different from that of an economy in the process of industrialization or in the service-oriented, post-industrial era.

Economic
development
and productivity

196. The factors most closely associated with economic development are income and productivity. A rise in real income or productivity is occasioned by many factors, including once again the increased skill and mobility of the labour force. Another factor is the introduction of more technologically advanced equipment.

Economic
growth

197. The Canadian economy has been undergoing rapid development in this century. We have already noted the changing occupational patterns. As well, real per capita income increased by about 70 per cent between 1925 and 1955, while the average number of years of schooling of the male labour force went up by nearly two-fifths between 1911 and 1961.¹ However, not all Canadians have benefitted equally from this progress; on this fact turns much of the present socio-economic disparity between Francophones and Anglophones.

Industrialization
in Quebec and
Anglophone
dominance

198. The history of economic development in Quebec illustrates this point well, since the impact of industrialization in this province was quite different for its Francophone majority and its Anglophone minority. The present distribution of industry ownership in Quebec—with its Anglophone predominance, particularly in the technologically advanced and highly productive industries—reflects a long tradition in the province's economic affairs.

199. Many explanations of this have been put forward. For instance, at the onset of industrialization, Anglophones were already established in the cities as merchants; they had the necessary capital for expansion and trade contacts in the North American and British markets. Francophone and Anglophone communities in Quebec had different characteristics at the time, and the Anglophones were better prepared to participate in and reap the advantages of Quebec's industrial expansion.

200. John Porter has noted that "the British in Quebec have always been much more industrial and commercial in their occupations than the French."² The Francophones, in contrast, were more rural as industrialization got under way, while later "a combination of historical factors destined the French-Canadian habitant to the role of forming an industrial proletariat."³ The Francophone élite turned to the liberal professions rather than industrial careers: between 1939 and 1950,⁴ the priesthood, medicine, and law accounted for 69 per cent of the graduates of Quebec's classical colleges.

¹ Economic Council of Canada, *Second Annual Review: Towards Sustained and Balanced Economic Growth* (Ottawa, 1965), 63, 76.

² *The Vertical Mosaic*, 97.

³ *Ibid.*, 95.

⁴ See the figures quoted in Jean-Charles Falardeau, "The Changing Social Structure," in *Essais sur le Québec contemporain* (Québec, 1953), 109-10.

201. This social and occupational distribution of Quebec's two societies has its parallel in the history of the province's school systems. The Anglophones were generally ahead in the field of publicly supported schools. As the Parent Commission pointed out, the Anglophone Protestants "wanted to develop a broad public sector intended to prepare a middle-class bourgeoisie of considerable size, adapted to the requirements of modern society."¹ The principle of centralization and amalgamation was adopted by the Protestant schools in 1925 for financial reasons. On the other hand, "educational structures on the French side had led to preferential treatment for a small group of students, who were expected to attend the university, and neglected the great majority of young people in the same age group, who, after their public school studies, were confronted with a blind alley." The report concludes:

Quebec's school systems

The educational structure of the English-language school system—at once more unified, more simple, more flexible and more democratic than that which has hitherto characterized the French-language system—has for a long time encouraged a more rapid passage from the secondary course to the university and has certainly played its part in producing a relatively higher rate of school attendance by English-speaking students at this level.²

202. Because of their higher educational level, their position in the occupational structure, and their original position as leaders in Quebec's industrialization, the Anglophones have always been better prepared than the Francophones to enjoy the benefits of the province's economic development. Once socio-economic patterns have been established, they tend to be self-perpetuating; the momentum favouring the Anglophones was never matched in the Francophone community. The 1961 census figures show the extent to which the Anglophones' head start in Quebec is still working to their advantage.

Anglophone head start

3. The poverty cycle

203. Although economic development has benefitted Anglophones relatively more than Francophones, there are persons in both groups who have been left behind. The process of development requires a labour force of sufficient basic skills to be able to adapt to modern technology and to move on to new industries and jobs. Yet, in 1961, 42 per cent of the total male labour force in Canada had only an elementary level of schooling or less. Many of them must now be experiencing in-

¹ *Report of the Royal Commission of Inquiry on Education in the Province of Quebec* (Montreal, 1966), IV, § 158.

² *Ibid.*, § 159.

- creasing difficulty in their relations with the work world. They may be out of the labour market altogether, or unemployed, or underemployed.
- Situational factors** 204. If poverty is measured in terms of an income below \$3,000, then its incidence in 1961 was high among families in the following situations:¹
- when the male family head was a farm worker, a logger, or a worker in a related area; a fisherman, trapper, or hunter; or a labourer. These are low-income occupations; they are shrinking in terms of the proportion of the labour force they employ, and they provide little job security. More than seven out of 10 unemployed men had last been employed in manual occupations.
 - when the family head was unemployed. Clearly, this is related to the highly seasonal nature of many of the jobs held by poor people. Over a third of the heads of low-income families were out of work at the time of the 1961 census.
 - when the family head had at best an elementary education. This was the situation in over two-thirds of the low-income families. Because of this generally low level of schooling, the family heads cannot escape their patterns of unemployment and low-paying jobs. Among the unemployed, over nine out of 10 had not completed secondary school and four out of 10 had not finished their elementary schooling.
 - when the family head was disabled or 65 years or over. If they are in the labour force, such people have extreme difficulty in securing suitable full-time employment. Many are entirely dependent on government assistance.
 - when the family head was a woman. Especially if there are young children, a woman may find it impossible to go out to work in order to support her family. As well, wages paid to women are generally lower than those paid to men. Twice as many low-income families are headed by women as in the general population.
- Extent of poverty in Canada** 205. The extent of poverty in Canada is open to varying estimates according to where and how the poverty line is drawn, but its existence as a major problem is clear. According to the Economic Council of Canada, “the statement that at least one Canadian in every five suffers from poverty does not appear to be a wild exaggeration. It is almost certainly close enough to the truth to be taken as one of the most serious challenges facing economic and social policy over the next few years.”²

¹ These data are taken from the Privy Council, Special Planning Secretariat, *Profile of Poverty in Canada* (Ottawa, 1965), and Economic Council of Canada, *Fifth Annual Review: The Challenge of Growth and Change* (Ottawa, 1968), 110-21.

² *Fifth Annual Review*, 110.

206. Poverty exists right across the country, although it is most concentrated in the Atlantic provinces, where 45 per cent of all non-farm families in 1961 had low incomes. It is also a phenomenon of both the city and the countryside; although there appeared to be a higher incidence of poverty in the rural areas, there was actually a greater number of poor families living in urban surroundings.

Geographic concentrations

207. Poverty can be most easily defined in terms of income, but it has related social and psychological characteristics that make it a particularly complicated and difficult problem to solve. Poverty means substandard housing—overcrowded, dilapidated, and lacking such facilities as running water. It means health that has been undermined by a deficient diet, lack of money for medical care, and inadequate clothing. It means a lack of community facilities such as schools and playgrounds.

Social and psychological characteristics

208. Children brought up in this environment will have much against them.

Poor housing, ill health, distance to school, lack of money and shabby clothing, have an adverse effect on the student's ability to meet his commitments in school.

.....
Children from poor homes start school with disadvantages for they are unfamiliar with the environment, the disciplines, or even the culture which forms the basis of early school life.¹

If school seems alien to the child of poor parents, he will receive little if any encouragement from home to take his studies seriously. Indeed, he may even be encouraged to drop out and take a job to augment the family income, even though this means the probable perpetuation of poverty for another generation.

209. The successful majority of society—those who have benefitted from the economic development process—have had remarkably little understanding of the poverty situation. The poor have often been dismissed as stupid, shiftless, lazy, and immoral—guilty of a whole catalogue of sins against the middle-class ethic. But to preach thrift to a man who can scarcely provide food and clothing to his family, to commend hard work to another whose lack of schooling has condemned him to a round of ill-paid, short-term, and unpleasant jobs, and to maintain the sanctity and desirability of property to one who has few possessions simply reinforces the alienation of the victims of poverty.

210. The poor man has virtually no chance of improving his position, given his lack of training and past work history; furthermore,

¹ Canada, Privy Council, Special Planning Secretariat, *Profile of Poverty in Canada*, "Education—Its Relation to Poverty," 3, 5.

with the declining need for unskilled labour, his employment situation is likely to grow worse. He lives amidst squalor, continually fighting to make ends meet, and with no savings or reserves to face unexpected demands on his purse or to provide for a better future. Without sufficient education and organization, he can neither articulate his discontent nor seek remedies. Trapped and defeated by his environment, he has given up the search for a better future. Thus do the physical aspects of deprivation produce a state of mind that removes all possibility of escape from the grip of poverty. This is the poverty cycle.

Poverty and
ethnic origin

211. Data on poverty, even when this is simply defined on an income scale, are relatively scarce in Canada, and this is particularly true in the case of any breakdown by ethnic origin or mother tongue. But there are indications that poverty, while not limited to any section of the population, is more frequently found among Francophone than Anglophone Canadians. In 1961, relatively more Francophones than Anglophones had lower incomes¹ and thus were caught in the poverty cycle. Larger percentages among the Francophones showed such characteristics of poverty as unemployment, low schooling levels, and manual occupations. An examination of the census divisions containing high concentrations of "hard-core"² farm poverty shows that many of the areas of French-speaking concentration fall within this category.

212. Solutions to the poverty cycle as a social and cultural problem require a sensitivity towards the culture of its victims. Even though there are over-riding similarities in all poverty situations, the problems of low-income areas in which one ethnic group is concentrated will be different from those in a region where another group constitutes the majority. Relatively little attention has so far been paid in this country either to the socio-cultural aspects of poverty or to the probably differing needs of Francophone and Anglophone low-income families, so the lack of relevant data is not surprising.

Dynamics of
poverty

213. Poverty is related to the two previously mentioned dynamic processes: the cumulative effect of the factors we have considered and economic development. The associated schooling-occupation-income factors contribute to the perpetuation of poverty; on the other hand, economic development and the changes it involves are responsible for

¹ In Montreal, 29 per cent of those of French and 17 per cent of those of British origin earned less than \$3,000 in 1961; in Ottawa, 30 per cent and 16 per cent; and in Toronto, 27 per cent and 17 per cent. These figures are for the male labour force and thus do not take into consideration all those out of work and not looking for a job at the time of the census.

² As defined by ARDA. The appropriate list of census districts is to be found in Helen Buckley and Eva Tihanyi, *Canadian Policies for Rural Adjustment: A Study of the Economic Impact of ARDA, PFRA, and MMRA*, Economic Council of Canada, Special Study No. 7 (Ottawa, 1967), 173-7.

devaluing such schooling and occupational experience as the poor have. But because poverty develops a social and psychological momentum of its own, it calls for treatment as a problem in its own right.

4. *Institutional factors*

214. A fourth dynamic process associated with socio-economic status is to be found in the policies and practices of the institutions of the work world. Before he even joins the labour force, the individual's social and economic standing in life is certainly partially shaped by the various demographic, historical, cultural, and other factors we have discussed. Yet, once he enters the institutions of the work world, a whole new set of factors enters into operation to check or advance his progress. These factors are particularly relevant to an explanation of the disparities in status between Francophones and Anglophones, since it is within these institutions that linguistic and cultural differences become translated into social and economic ones. "Francophone" and "Anglophone" cease to be merely convenient labels for the two linguistic groups. They take on a new significance as we begin to discover the profound influence of language and culture on socio-economic disparities.

Policies and
practices

215. Language and culture influence the institutions of the work world in many ways. How does the individual entrant react to the work world? Does he have some cultural traits which make him restrict his search for employment to his own area or his own kind? Has his ambition been blunted by what he perceives to be his limited opportunities for success? Has the general orientation he has absorbed in his social milieu attuned him to the demands and ethos attached to senior posts in the Public Service and the business world? Will the institutions of the work world in fact place obstacles in the way of his advancement? Will he be discriminated against on the basis of his ethnic origin or language? Will he have to compete with other people while working in a language and culture that are not his own? Will he have to face recruitment, training, and promotion systems whose cultural content is alien to him?

216. In parts 2 and 3 of this Book, we will try to provide the answers to such questions. Since the conditions of work assuredly affect a man's career and income, if Francophones are in fact experiencing greater difficulty than Anglophones in the federal Public Service and in private industry because of their language and culture, this will accentuate the socio-economic disparities between the two groups. Thus, these disparities are to a great extent the result of the policies and practices of the work institutions.

Summary 217. Obviously, as well as the measurable factors such as education and occupation, there are deeper causes for the socio-economic disparities between Canadians. We have grouped these deeper causes into four categories: the cumulative effect of personal characteristics, economic development, poverty, and the policies and practices of the work world.

218. The federal government is involved in the life of every Canadian. Its vast financial bulk and the complexity of its interrelation with the economy have far-reaching effects, both national and regional, on industrial growth, employment, and stability. Both as an employer and as a purchaser of goods and services, the federal government is a direct source of income to many Canadians. As well, in recent years, governments generally have been obliged to develop new and closer relations with private investment and industry.

The role of
federal
government

219. It is more important than ever that the decisions and actions of the Canadian government should recognize and draw on the potential of the country's two linguistic communities. At the intergovernmental level this principle has become widely recognized, since the division of responsibilities and co-ordination of planning between federal and provincial governments are basic to the solving of contemporary problems. If the language and culture of French-speaking Canada are weakly expressed in the federal government or its Public Service, that government cannot even begin to execute its duties towards all Canadians—Francophones as well as Anglophones.

220. In 1966 this enormous institution, in all its departments and agencies, the Crown corporations, and the Canadian Armed Forces, employed 480,000 people, about 7 per cent of the whole Canadian labour force. It is by far the largest single employer in Canada, with a total number of employees "roughly equal to the work force in the twenty-five largest industrial corporations in Canada . . . roughly double the total number employed by the ten provincial governments."¹ The

Unique
character of the
Public Service

¹ *Report of the Royal Commission on Government Organization*, I (Ottawa, 1962), 308.

federal government's labour force is also extremely diversified, employing people in virtually every occupational category.

221. The Public Service has a larger proportion of semi-professional and technical personnel than the labour force as a whole; it also has slightly more managers and qualified professionals than most industries, and far fewer manual workers. In recent years its traditional white-collar character has been continually augmented by the need for more and more scientists and technologists. Correspondingly, the Public Service is better educated than the labour force as a whole. For example, 19 per cent of its staff in 1961 had attended university, compared with 10 per cent of the total labour force.

Individual and
institutional
bilingualism

222. Language rights must be respected by the Canadian Public Service. The Service is obliged to be bilingual; the Canadian citizen is not—nor is the Canadian public servant. The important distinction between individual and institutional bilingualism must be kept in mind.¹ The federal Public Service itself must be bilingual; it should be able to provide adequate services in both French and English and, therefore, some members of its staff will have to be bilingual. However, many will continue to need only one language.

223. An individual should be free to work in the tongue in which he is most comfortable. Because he speaks one and not the other official language, he should not be unjustly penalized. In most fields, a "career in French" should be as readily available as a "career in English." Thus, as a bilingual institution, the federal administration must contain organizational arrangements designed to ensure that individuals can work and develop professionally in their own language.

Receptive
bilingualism

224. For many public servants, of course, it will be wise to develop bilingual capacity, since it will increase their opportunities for advancement. These persons could work in either a Francophone or an Anglophone milieu, or serve as communication links between the two milieux. Such individual bilingualism may not necessarily require complete familiarity and ease with all facets of the other language. Receptive bilingualism—the ability to read the other language and understand it when it is spoken, an ability significantly easier to acquire than total bilingualism—would enable a person to review documents and understand oral presentations prepared in the other language.

Biculturalism

225. Another important distinction is that between biculturalism and bilingualism. This distinction is extremely difficult to make because, although in our view the main objective is a bicultural situation, the more easily definable factor is language. Structures adapted to the

¹ See *Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism*, General Introduction, § 29.

linguistic needs of cultural entities enable them to survive, develop, and play the role which is distinctively theirs. Yet, long before we make formal proposals for structural changes in the Public Service, we must determine whether and in what way the cultural qualities of Franco-phones and Anglophones are distinguishable and significant at work; whether such qualities, if they differ, have equal opportunities for expression; and, if they have not, what the consequences are. The most easily measurable of these cultural qualities—and the key factor—is, of course, language. However, culture consists of more than the language through which it is expressed: “culture is a way of being, thinking, and feeling.”¹ We must examine the expression of these other qualities in the work relations in the federal administration and evaluate their significance and opportunities.

226. Because the Royal Commission on Government Organization (the Glassco Commission) had examined the situation in detail only a few years ago, we did not need to make separate detailed studies of many of the units that make up the federal administration: the Glassco report, along with other public documents, provided much of the necessary background information. However, wide gaps in our knowledge about bilingualism and biculturalism in the Public Service remained. In his minority submission in the report of the Glassco Commission, Commissioner Eugène Therrien stated: “It is practically impossible to obtain precise statistics of the number of French Canadians employed in the civil service and the number of bilingual public servants; yet statistics on alcoholism in the public service are readily available.”² This indicates something of the problems we faced and of the need to conduct original research. Our research consisted of about 40 separate studies.

227. In most of the research studies we used the census classification of mother tongue—“the language first learned in childhood and still understood”—as our basic linguistic classification of public servants. Refinements of the mother-tongue classification were used in the studies on which the later chapters about career development and the Canadian Forces are based.

228. “Language of service” and “language of work” are differentiated throughout our text. The former applies to any means of communication between the federal government and its clients, whether they be individual taxpayers, business corporations, or other governments. Language of work means the language used between individuals or agencies within the government. In Book I we touched on language

Research

Linguistic
classificationLanguage
of service;
language
of work

¹ *Ibid.*, § 38.

² *Report of the Royal Commission on Government Organization*, I, 69.

of service in the federal government; it is treated in detail here. However, changes in the language of work in the Public Service present the most difficult problems and the greatest challenge.

**Middle- and
upper-level
public servants**

229. Although we provide a broad descriptive account of the whole Public Service, our chief attention is focussed on the language practices in its middle and upper levels. The employees here are generally university-educated and are performing professional, managerial, scientific, and technical tasks. In 1965, when our research was in progress, we defined the middle level as including those earning over \$6,200 annually, and the upper level as including those with annual salaries over \$10,000. These levels contain only about one public servant in five, but it is at these levels—where important policy decisions are made and research conducted—that the greatest need for staff and programmes for staff development exists.

230. Obviously, these levels of the Public Service include only a small segment of the total population, particularly of the Francophone population. Indeed, this segment contributed little to the statistical expression of the economic disparity between Francophones and Anglophones, but it does represent political, economic, and social power—a critical determinant of the future of the two groups both individually and in relation to one another. Furthermore, for this group and its potential members, conditions inside the federal administration can have a profound effect on status and participation.

231. Most of the personnel at the middle and upper levels of the Public Service are in departments or other units where recruiting, salary levels, and other personnel matters are under the jurisdiction of the Public Service Commission¹ and the Treasury Board. Hence, our comments and recommendations about staffing the Public Service generally refer to sectors influenced and controlled by these two agencies. However, certain types of federal bodies and personnel not directly under the jurisdiction of the two central agencies will be given special treatment in our discussion. These are the Crown corporations and other autonomous agencies, as well as the most senior officers of the Public Service. Deputy ministers, members of boards and commissions, ambassadors and other senior personnel in the department of External Affairs, and the directors of Crown corporations are appointed by Order-in-Council, rather than by the Public Service Commission under the provisions of the Public Service Employment Act. Thus, although we shall often speak in general terms about the upper level, in making our recommendations we shall distinguish

¹ At the time our research was conducted, this agency was still the Civil Service Commission. Its name was changed in 1967. Both names will be used in the text, depending on the period referred to.

between Public (or Civil) Service Commission appointments and government appointments by Order-in-Council. ✓

232. A guiding theme in Part 2 is the participation of Francophones and Anglophones in the organizations of the federal Public Service. Two facets of participation are examined. The first is participation in the sense of physical presence in various departments or agencies, at various salary levels, among persons with a certain type of university specialty, or in groups that have experienced slow or rapid advancement. We were interested in where Francophones and Anglophones were relatively concentrated or absent. Here we had a statistical guideline: in 1965 about 22 per cent of the total Public Service was of French mother tongue. A group containing a higher percentage of Francophones had a relative concentration; conversely, when less than 22 per cent of a particular group was French-speaking, there was a relative absence of Francophones.

Participation:
physical
presence

233. We do not endorse a "quota system" or "representation principle" in the selection of candidates. We do not imply that every sector of the Public Service ought to be 22 per cent Francophone—or 26 per cent, which was the proportion of those of French mother tongue in the Canadian labour force in 1961. Such figures are only gross guidelines for discovering those sectors or groups in the federal administration where Francophones were numerous or few. The proportion of Francophones in a work unit might turn out to be 22 per cent in a particular case, but likely would vary according to the particular circumstances and needs of the unit.

234. The second facet of participation by Francophones and Anglophones is their active involvement in and personal contribution to the work going on in their immediate environment. Are public servants from the two language groups equally interested and influential in their work? To what extent are Francophone and Anglophone cultural traditions expressed in the federal bureaucracies? As the history of the political issues arising from linguistic and cultural problems shows, the public administration has long considered itself devoid of cultural considerations. The claims of French-speaking Canada were usually labelled "political" and treated accordingly. Efforts are now being made to create an equal partnership in the federal administration, but so far these efforts consist almost exclusively of programmes to increase the number of bilingual individuals. Clearly, there is a need for organizational changes and structures to develop the viable use of both languages within specific work contexts.

Participation:
active
involvement

235. A breakdown of the government departments, agencies, and corporations our various investigations surveyed may be found at the beginning of Appendix VII. Some of our results are bound

to be out of date, since policies and practices relating to language matters are constantly changing. Nevertheless, we are reasonably confident that the fundamental character of different branches of government has been faithfully recorded and that significant changes have not been overlooked.

- Plan of Part 2:** 236. Chapter VI provides the historical background to linguistic and cultural matters in the Public Service from the middle of the 19th century to the present, including the reorganization of the Civil Service Commission under the name Public Service Commission, in 1967.
- History**
- Language use** 237. In Chapter VII we examine current policies, programmes, and practices with regard to language use. First, we describe and evaluate language policy on relations with the public (language of service) and with other public servants (language of work). These are prime indicators of the degree to which French is truly regarded as a living language in the federal administration. Then we investigate the language capacities of individual public servants and the relation between actual and potential use of language. The practices relating to serving a public divided in language, the problems of translation of documents, and the techniques for teaching French to Anglophone public servants are critically assessed.
237. In Chapter VII we examine current policies, programmes, and Chapter IX, the participation of Francophones and Anglophones in the Public Service.
- Recruiting** 239. One of our key findings was that there is a considerable difference in the numbers of graduates of French- and English-language universities. There are also marked differences in occupational distribution between the two groups of graduates. Finally, the proportion of graduates from the English-language universities applying to the Junior Executive Officers and Foreign Service Officers recruiting programme was twice that of graduates from the French-language universities. Certain questions arise from these disparities. For example, are there few Francophone scientists in the Public Service because there are few scientists graduating from French-language universities, or because not many newly qualified Francophone scientists want to work for the federal government? Our statistical research on university output and recruitment programmes was supplemented by an opinion survey, made in the universities, about views held of the Public Service and the advantages and disadvantages of working for it.
- Career development** 240. Chapter IX, on career development in the Public Service, explores the impact of a dominant culture on a minority culture. Our basic questions concerned the amount and kind of participation by Francophones and Anglophones in the various agencies, particularly

those in which creative activities (policy development or research) were paramount. Some of the characteristics of the language groups were examined—educational levels, experience in employment outside the Public Service, and geographic mobility. These factors explain, in part, the physical distribution of members of the two groups among the posts and salary groups in the federal Public Service. Comparisons between persons of different language backgrounds in managerial and professional occupations are especially significant. We also examined the relation of administrative structures to the problem of making full use of available talent by considering the social and psychological characteristics of small work groups as well as organizational structures and processes. The work group is the real world of the public servant. Changes take place not in some ideal and abstract realm but in the office, in relations with colleagues, seniors, and subordinates, and under the continuing pressure of work.

Canadian
Forces

241. In Chapter XI we look at the Canadian Forces, which are treated separately from the Public Service because of their relative compactness and their unique traditions. They employ more than one-fifth of all public servants and, through special services for serving troops' dependants and veterans, extend their influence still further.

A dynamic
perspective

242. In this large study we have necessarily concentrated on observing the present situation in an historical perspective; but always our thoughts have been on the future. The concept that the Public Service should reflect the aspirations of all Canadians has now been stated firmly by the federal government and more generally by Canada's political leaders at federal and provincial levels. Our task has been to advise on the transformation of broad concepts into comprehensive policy and operational reality (Chapter X).

243. The possibility of national disintegration has forced a re-examination of the linguistic policies of the Public Service. The debate is no longer about efficiency, merit, patronage, and representation, but rather between thorough-going reform and schism. Change is imminent and no institution requires reform more urgently than does the federal administration.

244. In an institution that is old, large, and internally complex, the main reaction to the contemporary resurgence of French-speaking Canada seems to be fear. But such a resurgence—while it exacts legitimate and difficult changes in preconceptions about language use and culture—holds an enormous potential for the Public Service and Canada. This prospect has helped us approach the Public Service with optimism.

245. The history of concern for participation by French-speaking Canadians in the federal Public Service—and also for the language of administrative services to the public—dates back to pre-Confederation days.¹ However, we shall limit our attempt to trace the development of this concern to the period after 1867, and we shall consider only the cultural and linguistic problems raised and dealt with at the institutional level of Parliament and the cabinet. We will not discuss the discontent with the Public Service which arose in Quebec but did not reach these policy-making bodies. Finally, in examining the successive crises that evinced a political response from Parliament and the cabinet, we shall not attempt to provide a general history of the Public Service or a day-by-day account of the development of language-use practices. Our aim is to provide an historical framework for our study of the Public Service and in so doing to underline the importance of political leadership and direction.

The limits of
our examination

246. Official concern for the participation of Francophones in the Public Service has never been sustained during the post-1867 period. It was given considerable importance when the Public Service was being reorganized immediately after Confederation but was thereafter relatively neglected, receiving only sporadic attention until the 1930's. Controversy reappeared then, but primarily in the form of concern over the status of French as a language of service in the federal bureaucracy, and there was a wave of protests from some quarters of French-speaking Canada that the French language had virtually no status at all.

Absence of
sustained concern

247. In the 1930's these two issues—language use and participation—were first connected by those protesting against the monolithic

¹ See, for example, the quotations cited by Lionel Groulx, *Histoire du Canada français depuis la découverte*, II (Montreal, 1960), 127-9.

“English” nature of the Public Service. Since the 1940’s, they have been seen as two sides of a single problem: the development of a bicultural federal administration. It is now apparent that the influence and status of Francophones in the federal sphere are at stake, and that improvement in one area will not be gained without concomitant improvement in the other.

248. Until very recently, these grievances generated only short-lived crises and little public debate. Neglect and inaction in this area are almost a national tradition. But in spite of the past record, the current public debate on the issues of participation and language use suggests some grounds for optimism that just reforms can be made.

A. From Patronage to Merit: Confederation to the 1930’s

249. Our interest in this period centres primarily on legislation, since it was partly as a result of legislation rationalizing Public Service appointments that Francophone participation in the Service declined. Furthermore, this legislation set out what little policy there was as to language use.

Civil Service
Act, 1868

250. The first Civil Service Act of Canada was passed in 1868.¹ It contained no provisions with regard to participation but, in the loosely organized, decentralized structures inherited from the earlier régime, French-speaking Canada was relatively well represented, at least numerically.² There were complaints, of course: histories of the period indicate that there was a good deal of resentment against what Francophones considered to be the English-speaking monopoly of the key administrative posts. Even then, Anglophones dominated the federal Public Service, and Francophones resented that domination. The pattern has continued to the present day.

251. Clearly, the architects of the new dominion’s Public Service failed to plan for administrative arrangements appropriate to a bilingual federal state. But in 19th-century Canada there were certain mitigating conditions. Government was relatively decentralized and the impact of the federal government on the economic and social life of the new country was largely indirect. The existing political conventions of recruitment to the Public Service—patronage and proportional repre-

¹ The Canada Civil Service Act, 1868, S.C. 1868, 31 Vic., c.34.

² Precise figures for 1868 are unavailable, but according to J. E. Hodgetts, an authority on Canadian public administration, an 1863 list of 450 officials at the administrative headquarters of the public service of the United Canadas showed that 161, about 36 per cent, were Francophones. Obviously, however, most of them held positions junior to the Anglophones, as they received less than 20 per cent of the payroll. *Pioneer Public Service: An Administrative History of The United Canadas, 1841-1867*, Canadian Government Series, No. 7 (Toronto, 1955), 57.

sensation—provided for some measure of participation by both cultural groups. After the Act of 1868, appointments were made from lists of minister's nominees who had successfully passed a basic examination set by a board of deputy ministers; sometimes two or three attempts at passing were allowed. This ensured that, by and large, those with political contacts or records of service to the successful party were chosen. It also guaranteed that Francophones got jobs. According to the political standards and imagery of the day, they were entitled to their "representation," and patronage practices facilitated its attainment. For most federal officials and politicians, Francophones and Anglophones alike, patronage and representation claims were solidly—and to a large extent legitimately—linked.

252. This situation changed gradually. In 1882 new legislation, reflecting the recommendations of the Royal Commission to Inquire into the Organization of the Civil Service Commission,¹ established a board of examiners to prepare lists of eligible candidates from which ministers might make appointments. Periodic examinations were to be held in the larger cities to provide names for the lists. These examinations were to be "as far as practicable" in writing, and were to be held "in the English or French language or both at the option of the candidate." Notice of recruiting and promotion examinations, and of new regulations pertaining to them, was to be published in the *Canada Gazette* in English and French.² Parliamentary interest in the Act concerned patronage, and hardly touched on language use in the Public Service. There was no provision in the Act for implementing the royal commission's recommendation that all public officials serving in Quebec be able to speak both French and English in order to conduct their business satisfactorily.

253. The legislation of 1882 was thus the first break with well-entrenched conventions of patronage. While its impact on the practices of the day was hardly perceptible, it did introduce the ideas of merit and efficiency into the federal administration. It was not until later years that increasing numbers of federal officials saw that staffing decisions would have to be made on a more rational basis if the government were to administer its growing responsibilities properly.

254. Amendments in 1884 and a consolidation in 1885 did not materially alter the effect of the Act in the areas in which we are concerned. However, revisions introduced in 1888 provided, among other things, that a bonus of \$50 be awarded for the ability to execute "composition in French by English candidates [and] composition in English by French candidates." The recruiting examinations were now

The merit system
is born—1882

Amendments to
the Civil Service
Act—1884 and
1888

¹ This commission was appointed in 1880 and presented its report in 1881.

² Canada Civil Service Act, 1882, S.C. 1882, 45 Vic., c.4, ss.6, 28, 29.

to be held only once a year, and graduates of any Canadian university and the Royal Military College were exempted. Furthermore, examinations were henceforth to be in either English or French but not in both languages.¹ The Hon. Wilfrid Laurier, leader of the Opposition, questioned the secretary of State on this point in the House of Commons, and was told that granting a bonus for bilingual abilities had obviated the need for allowing candidates at their option to write the examination in both languages. No further clarification was sought.²

Establishment
of the Civil
Service Commission—1908

255. In 1908, following the recommendations of a commission set up in 1907,³ there was a second systematic step away from patronage. Created to implement the principle of appointment according to merit, the Civil Service Commission was given powers to examine and appoint recruits.⁴ But it could do so only within a very limited sphere. The architects of the Act made certain that merit would not encroach too heavily on political patronage by limiting the jurisdiction of the new agency to certain parts of the Ottawa-based Public Service.⁵ Departmental chiefs and politicians still retained control over all field appointments and many in Ottawa as well.

Civil Service
Commission
takes over
recruiting—1918

256. After 1914 the demands of war convinced the federal government that the principles of merit and efficiency would have to be placed on a sounder basis. Extensive reorganization of the Public Service was implemented under the Civil Service Act of 1918⁶ and went a considerable distance towards establishing a universal merit system by making all recruitment the responsibility of a truly independent Civil Service Commission, responsible only to Parliament.⁷ The powers of the Civil Service Commission were significantly expanded, and it was now recognized as the key institution that would spearhead the rationalization of federal employment.

257. In the Act of 1918, provisions relating to language use were again simply carried over without change from previous legislation. Neither of the two significant items of legislation concerning the federal Public Service passed during the first half-century of Confederation—the Acts of 1908 and 1918—sought to alter materially the existing practices pertaining to language use in recruitment and government business, or to codify them in any explicit way.

¹ An Act to amend "The Civil Service Act . . ." S.C. 1888, 51 Vic., c.12, ss.4-6.

² Canada, House of Commons. *Debates*, 1888, 2nd session, II, 1436.

³ A Commission to inquire into and report on the operation of the existing Civil Service Act and relating legislation with view to proposing such changes as may be deemed advisable.

⁴ The Civil Service Amendment Act, 1908, S.C. 1908, 7-8 Ed. VII, c.15.

⁵ Canada, Civil Service Commission, *Personnel Administration in the Public Service—A Review of Civil Service Legislation* (Ottawa, 1959), 4.

⁶ S.C. 1918, 8-9 Geo. V, c.12.

⁷ Canada, Civil Service Commission, *Personnel Administration in the Public Service*, 6.

258. In the dozen years following the 1918 Act, no further rules were formulated on language use or representation. Indeed, during this period these matters were touched upon on only one occasion. The principle that all examinations might be written in English or French and, further, that the choice of language was to be made at the time of application, was restated in 1923 as Regulation 19 of the Civil Service Regulations.¹

Regulation 19—
1923

259. After 1918, the departments continued to control many types of staffing decision, and amendments to Civil Service Commission regulations in the 1920's and 1930's placed even further restrictions on the Commission's powers. Yet, in spite of these limitations, the principles of merit and efficiency which it embodied steadily gained in influence, and the traditional idea of representation declined.

260. There was a precipitous decline of the French-speaking proportion of the total Public Service after the establishment of the Civil Service Commission. Although precise estimates are not available, it appears that Francophones made up about 22 per cent of all federal employees in 1918 but less than 13 per cent in 1946.² One possible explanation for this decline is the large number of Anglophones who came into the administration under the veterans' preference arrangements.

Decline of
Francophone
representation

261. This decline in representation resulted in a corresponding decline in participation. Part of the Anglophones' advantage lay in the greater technical and commercial orientation of education in the English-speaking provinces, especially at the secondary level. Whereas both Francophones and Anglophones had earlier been recruited largely on the basis of patronage, the former were now often shut out for lack of technical qualifications. This relative disadvantage was compounded by the Civil Service Commission's recruiting practices, which were fashioned to correspond with the English-language educational systems. Its examinations, even when translated into French, reflected the patterns of thought and cultural style of English-speaking Canada.

Decline of
Francophone
participation

262. The Civil Service Commission and the department chiefs did not relate language use and participation to the goal of bureaucratic efficiency; hence, opportunities for Francophones were further restricted. It was hardly contemplated that French might be entitled to status as a language of work in the federal administration's growing headquarters in Ottawa. The narrowness of the Commission's views was all the more evident in official policy on service to the public. In following the imperatives of the merit principle, educational credentials and technical

Efficiency and
unilingualism

¹ Canada, Civil Service Commission, *Civil Service Regulations* (Ottawa, 1923), 9.

² Canada, House of Commons, *Debates*, 1946, 2nd session, IV, 3520.

experience were all that mattered officially.¹ Even for positions which required dealing with both French- and English-speaking clients, ability in the two languages was seldom taken into account. It scarcely occurred to the senior officials of the day that providing unilingual service to a country with two major language groups was grossly inefficient, not to mention inequitable. Sensitivity to the facts of Canadian federalism did not begin to penetrate official thinking until long after 1918.

263. While not officially taken into account in staffing decisions, language often received unofficial "consideration." Bilingual personnel were indispensable for some types of positions, particularly in Quebec, but it was more difficult for "bilinguals" (as Francophones were called) to reach middle-level or senior positions. Nevertheless, any claims of abuse put forward by Francophones could be, and repeatedly were, attacked as encroaching on the merit system.

B. The Heightened Struggle: The 1930's On

264. The decline in the proportion of French-speaking personnel—which after 1918 occurred at all levels of the Public Service—was most pronounced among senior bureaucrats. The customary practice of placing Francophones in positions more honorific than effective was not eliminated, but it was somewhat less frequently observed. The federal hierarchy, administrative as well as political, remained oblivious to this trend until shocked awake by some such incident as that relating to the Imperial Economic Conference of 1932.

The Imperial
Economic Con-
ference incident

265. Various special studies were organized by Dr. O. D. Skelton, under-secretary of State for External Affairs, in preparation for the conference. Prime Minister R. B. Bennett, who was to head the Canadian delegation, and Skelton appointed all the civil servants who had drawn up the briefing materials as advisers to the official delegates. The list of names was presented to the cabinet by Bennett.

266. After examining the list, one cabinet minister announced that it included no French names. The cabinet was shocked and the situation had to be "rectified" by the addition of some Francophone advisers. This concession to political etiquette did not obviate a sharp discussion, severely shaking the earlier harmony between Francophones and Anglophones in the cabinet. The Prime Minister criticized his Francophone colleagues, charging them with viewing the Public Service as merely a vehicle for patronage.²

¹ Political connections and ethnic and religious factors had, in fact, considerable influence on decisions of this sort, despite the official rhetoric.

² The incident was described during an interview with Norman Robertson, March 1, 1966.

267. The incident impressed Skelton deeply too, and thereafter he made a particular effort to recruit graduates of French-language universities for the department of External Affairs which was then being organized. His success was modest but of long-lasting significance. Many Francophone officials still feel more at home in External Affairs than in most other branches of government, and the department has been the route of entry to the Public Service for many Francophones who later held senior posts in other departments.

268. The Prime Minister's view of Francophones' attitudes towards patronage was characteristic of the 1930's and 1940's. All that it left out was the willing sanction of the situation by Anglophones. Most Francophone cabinet ministers and MPs of the period showed little interest in the Civil Service Commission's new staffing policies; they were content to perpetuate the old practices rather than try to work out ways in which the Public Service might modify its interpretation of efficiency and rationalization to fit the talents and needs of their constituents.

269. A notable exception was Ernest Lapointe, the minister of Justice and Quebec leader in the government formed by W. L. Mackenzie King in 1935.¹ His reputation as a champion of Francophone rights in the Public Service was established soon after he assumed his central role in the government, and thereafter he was the spokesman for hundreds of grievances, large and small. In this respect, of course, he was fulfilling his role as Quebec leader, but the energy and patience he devoted to these political tasks in spite of repeated rebuffs and—more important—the way he was able to grasp the various dimensions of the problem were exceptional for the time. He was pressed with patronage demands from Quebec and grievances over representation and, like any effective political chief, he did his best to keep the party happy. After 1935, however, there was another set of grievances to contend with: a wave of protests and demands arose from Francophones all over Canada, chiefly denouncing the lack of facilities and services in French. Lapointe pursued these two concerns tirelessly but with little success. At that time, even the most trivial concessions to Francophones were considered by the Anglophone majority to be wasteful and misguided. The concept of "biculturalism" was not yet recognized as a goal.

Ernest Lapointe

270. One *cause célèbre* of the period added greatly to French-speaking Canada's sense of grievance. At the outbreak of a serious strike at Trois-Rivières in 1935, the federal department of Labour dispatched three officials from Ottawa to handle arbitration. All three could speak

The Trois-Rivières incident

¹ Material in §§ 269-79 was obtained from a study of the accessible papers of Ernest Lapointe.

only English and were, of course, quite useless. In addition, their alleged high-handedness enraged all parties to the dispute. The bitterness of the complaints that broke out in the House of Commons startled the minister of Labour. English had always been the language of industrial relations in Canada and demands for French in this area were unprecedented. There was no denying their justice, however, and the minister was forced to agree that, in future, efforts should be made to find bilingual officials.

The Lacroix
amendment—1938

271. Incidents such as this, as well as Lapointe's behind-the-scenes operations, led to one minor but significant success: the passage of the so-called Lacroix amendment of 1938. This was an amendment to the Civil Service Act which read:

Except where otherwise expressly provided, all appointments to the civil service shall be upon competitive examinations under and pursuant to the provisions of this Act, and shall be during pleasure: Provided that no appointment, whether permanent or temporary, shall be made to a local position within a province, and no employee shall be transferred from a position in a province to a local position in the same or another province, whether permanent or temporary, until and unless the candidate or employee has qualified, by examination, in the knowledge and use of the language of the majority of the persons with whom he is required to do business: provided that such language shall be the French or the English language.¹

272. Discussion provoked by the bill indicated a genuine awakening of interest in the entire problem within the House. Following second reading, the leader of the Opposition, R. B. Bennett, while agreeing with the principle of the bill, expressed fears that its provisions might endanger the merit system in some appointments. On final reading, Opposition members voiced concern lest the criterion of "the language of the locality" be applied to scientific and technical officers whose duties involved no contact with the public. Mr. Bennett raised a final objection to the bill because no provision had been made for serving a proportionately significant minority in its own language. The government spokesmen, Ernest Lapointe and Fernand Rinfret, felt that in such instances the Civil Service Commission could be relied upon to make a fair accommodation.²

Regulation
32A—1942

273. The effects of the Lacroix amendment on language practice and recruitment turned out to be negligible, probably because the real power was left in the hands of department chiefs, who tended to ignore its prescriptions. The Lacroix amendment was elaborated by Civil Service Regulation 32A, passed in 1942 shortly after Lapointe's death. It gave deputy heads of departments the power to determine language

¹ An Act to amend the Civil Service Act, S.C. 1938, 2 Geo. VI, c.7, s.1.

² Canada, House of Commons, *Debates*, 1938, 3rd session, II, 1485-7.

qualifications for positions in localities where both English and French were spoken.¹ Yet the 1938 amendment was significant because it was the first explicit recognition by Parliament of the need for both languages in the federal Public Service. Up to this time, provisions relating to language use in various pieces of legislation had been viewed as peripheral; in 1938, language use in the federal administration was finally given serious legislative attention.

274. Lapointe had had high hopes that the Lacroix amendment would bring about a substantial infusion of Francophones into the Public Service, and until his untimely death in 1941 he did everything in his power to make this so. His efforts came to little in a federal administration that became even more thoroughly Anglophone as a result of its enormous and rapid expansion during World War II. In the haste to recruit staff in an atmosphere of emergency, informal networks of personal and professional acquaintances became more than ever before the chief means of finding new recruits. The Francophones were even more left out in the cold, and the purposes of the amendment were forgotten.

The effects of
the war

275. Lapointe was aware of this situation and its repercussions on French-English relations in Quebec and elsewhere. He attempted to bring it to the attention of his English-speaking colleagues in the cabinet, but for the most part they ignored his entreaties. Typical in this respect is a letter, dated December 3, 1940, from Lapointe to C. D. Howe, minister of the key wartime department of Munitions and Supply:

Ernest Lapointe
and C. D. Howe

Following our conversation of yesterday, I investigated further as to the reason why there is such a preponderance—I might even say a complete exclusiveness of others—in the appointment of English-speaking officers and employees in the Department of Munitions and Supplies.

You were under the impression, as was Mr. Power, that the provisions of the so-called Lacroix Bill were responsible for that. This is a mistake, because the Civil Service Commission had made a ruling . . . as follows.

276. The letter went on to quote the Civil Service Commission regulations and explain them. Lapointe said he had found officials in Howe's department were systematically ignoring provisions for hiring bilingual personnel, and suggested how the regulations might be observed. He concluded:

I am grateful to you to have expressed a full understanding of the difficulty and the problem the present situation creates, and your willingness to take steps that it should be remedied. As I told you yesterday, you have done such tremendously splendid work in the carrying out of the war effort that

¹ Canada, Civil Service Commission, *Civil Service Regulations* (Ottawa, 1942), 13.

it is a tragedy that this virtual exclusion of French-speaking Canada from the activities of your Department may cause a dangerous disruption of the unity which is required, and I still believe that it is possible to effect some changes that will greatly improve the conditions I have described.¹

Howe's refusal
to act

277. Howe's reaction was flatly negative. His spokesman, the acting minister, Angus MacDonald, assured Lapointe that in the last six months it had been the policy of the department of Munitions and Supply to make every effort to increase the number of bilingual appointments, but he felt that implementing the requested changes would "needlessly restrict the field of selection."² The irony of this last statement must have touched Lapointe. On the basis of his own detailed investigations, he was well aware that the "field of selection" was already restricted in Howe's department: up to November 22, 1940, there was not one Francophone official in the department. This was so not only in Ottawa, but also in the department's field service in Quebec.

278. The few successes which Lapointe did achieve were victories over resistance that now seems incredible. In one instance it took over a year to get acceptance from the cabinet and higher reaches of the bureaucracy that Quebec offices of the Public Service be furnished with telephone directories in both languages rather than in English only. Another example involved the installation of a separate telephone for the one French-speaking commissioner of the Civil Service Commission. After a flood of complaints from Quebec MPs that their calls were being met by secretaries who could speak no French, Lapointe attempted to arrange for special telephones, so that incoming calls could be directed to the offices of the individual commissioners. The request was refused by the comptroller of the Treasury, on the grounds that there was no money available, and it took Lapointe weeks of importuning before the minister of Finance reversed this ruling.

279. A further example of Lapointe's efforts is the occasion on which he took up cudgels with C. D. Howe in respect to the appointment of a purchasing officer at Quebec for the department of Munitions and Supply. Replying to Lapointe on May 8, 1941, Howe wrote:

I think I have made my attitude clear with relation to this position. I have always been anxious to appoint a French Canadian, realizing how important it is that our Purchasing Agent at Quebec should speak French. However, I have been equally insistent that this officer should be experienced in the business of purchasing. . . . I am still prepared, and anxious, to appoint a French Canadian if the person with the right qualifications can be found.

¹ Public Archives of Canada (hereafter P.A.C.), MS Group 27, Series III, B10, Vol. XXXIII, File No. 148.

² *Ibid.*, letter of December 11, 1940, from Angus MacDonald to Ernest Lapointe.

Lapointe's indignation at the suggestion that the "right qualifications" were the exclusive preserve of English Canadians is easy to imagine. The following day he wrote back to Howe:

Of course, you as well as myself realize that out of over three million French Canadians it is possible to find one who is competent in the business of purchasing. The first essential requirement to meet the difficulty is good will.¹

280. Lapointe's record shows that he was not exclusively interested in more jobs for his constituents but wanted to expand the use of French in government by any means, whether legislation or simply changes in administrative rules or routine. He won a few, minor, laborious victories, such as passage of the Lacroix amendment, but on the whole his efforts failed; he was, in the long run, unable either to persuade his English-speaking colleagues or to affect the administration significantly.

Lapointe's
record

281. Lapointe never used the heaviest ammunition available. He would remind his English-speaking colleagues of "the situation in Quebec" when putting forward requests concerning language use or representation, but he never called up the full weight of the French-speaking MPs and sympathetic leaders of Quebec opinion. He apparently never threatened to rally the French-speaking caucus to back him in a dispute within the cabinet or, as a last resort, to resign if he could not get his minimum demands.

Reasons for
Lapointe's failure

282. Lapointe was fighting a strong historical tradition: the worlds of politics and administration were permeated by the conviction that the use of two languages would weaken efficiency. There was no new legislation on language use in the Public Service between the amendment of 1888 (which awarded a \$50 bonus to bilingual civil servants) and the Lacroix amendment of 1938, and the latter was allowed to become a dead letter due to the exigencies of war.

283. Lapointe accomplished more in areas where bilingualism was symbolic rather than functional. The word *postes* appeared on postage stamps issued in 1927 for the 60th anniversary of Confederation and was retained on all subsequent issues. This surreptitious recognition of bilingualism reflected the government's fear that a more forthright approach would provoke bitter opposition. The debate over bilingual currency in 1936 suggested that this fear had some justification.

Bilingual
postage stamps
and currency

284. Dominion of Canada currency had been issued only in English since 1867. French-speaking Canadians had occasionally proposed bilingual currency, but Laurier probably expressed the official reaction

¹ P.A.C., MS Group 27, Series III, B10, Vol. XXXIII, File No. 147.

when he agreed that this was possible but he saw no reason to challenge an established tradition.¹ However, in 1934, the Bank of Canada was created and it soon had a monopoly of note issues. The Bennett government authorized the Bank of Canada to print some notes in French and to supply them to chartered banks on request. Lapointe criticized this half-measure but his amendment for bilingual notes was defeated. In the first session after the election of 1935, the Liberal government amended the Bank of Canada Act to authorize bilingual notes.

285. This amendment provoked a one-day debate. The reaction of R. B. Bennett, leader of the Opposition, illustrates the acute political sensitivity then surrounding all issues relating to language:

Each one in his own conscience must answer whether or not in a community that is overwhelmingly British the circulation of notes of that kind is not fraught with the gravest danger to harmony between races. . . . I say, sir, that I would be derelict to myself and to my own self-respect if I did not say to my fellow members of this house: I cannot do this thing because it will militate against harmony; it will be a factor in destroying the friendly and peaceful relations that should exist in the development of this great country.²

A Francophone member speaking later in the debate had good reason to question the value of a harmony that would be shattered by the issue of bilingual currency.

Bilingual family
allowance cheques

286. The distribution of bilingual family allowance cheques offers an illustration of the apprehensions of federal authorities. The bilingual cheques were first sent out to mothers in Quebec in 1945; the objective was the gradual extension of the bilingual cheques to other parts of the country, but at that time they were not felt to be politically acceptable outside Quebec. When the matter of extending their use to New Brunswick was raised the following year, the minister of National Health and Welfare consulted the seven New Brunswick Liberal MPs, who decided against extension. A similar consultation and negative result followed a few years later. Finally, in the late 1950's, it was proposed that a month's issue of New Brunswick cheques be sent out in the two languages with the understanding that if a hue and cry were raised a bureaucratic slip-up would be pleaded. Even this must have been considered too dangerous politically as the idea was quashed and no further action was taken.³ In the face of this kind of reluctance to innovate, Lapointe's attempts at reform in the 1930's and 1940's begin to take on the colour of heroism.

¹ Canada, House of Commons, *Debates*, 1906-7, 3rd session, II, 3655-6.

² Canada, House of Commons, *Debates*, 1936, 1st session, IV, 3781-2.

³ The use of bilingual family allowance cheques was finally extended to all of Canada in November 1962.

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

1. The Jean Committee

287. Public debate about bilingualism in the federal administration was stimulated in 1946 by the publication of the *Report of the Royal Commission on Administrative Classification in the Public Service* (the Gordon Commission). The commission had received a lengthy and well-publicized brief from the Montreal Chamber of Commerce, documenting the low proportion of Francophones in the Public Service and charging that discrimination was keeping them from top positions. But the commission ignored this problem; apparently it did not feel that Francophone participation was in any way associated with efficient administration.

The Gordon
Commission—
1946

288. After the report's publication there was an outburst among nationalists in Quebec and protests by some French-speaking members of Parliament. A group of five MPs began meeting on an unofficial basis to continue discussion, fact-finding, and pressure on the cabinet.

289. Faced with such unprecedented agitation, Prime Minister Mackenzie King was forced to recognize the informal group of five and give them official status as a committee in the summer of 1947. The committee, led by Solicitor General Joseph Jean, was charged to investigate Francophone participation in all federal departments and agencies.

290. The Jean Committee issued a series of recommendations to the cabinet: it wanted three Francophone deputy ministers appointed immediately, and a system of dual Francophone and Anglophone deputies in four departments—Agriculture, Mines and Resources, Justice, and Trade and Commerce. These recommendations provoked hostile comment in the English-language press and among Anglophone members of the House. Once again it was argued that attempts to provide greater Francophone participation would harm the system of appointment on merit and endanger morale in the Public Service.

Recommendations
ill received

291. The Jean Committee continued to meet with senior departmental officers. Eventually a report was written but it was never tabled in the House or published. Our efforts to obtain a copy of the report were unsuccessful, and full minutes of the committee's meetings were not available.¹ In 1948, Jean was appointed to the bench and his committee dissolved.

¹ Our attempts to trace the work of the Jean Committee met with one difficulty after another. The people involved in almost every case refused to let the memoranda they had written be used in any way, or, in some instances, even seen. One man who was known to be thoroughly involved in the meetings of the committee denied any knowledge at all of the investigation.

292. During the next 10 years, discussion of these issues was muted, except for one anticipation of future developments. On August 21, 1950, Civil Service Commissioner Alexandre Boudreau circulated a memorandum declaring his opposition to the exclusive determination of language requirements by departments. He argued that, since the measurement of linguistic ability was difficult at best, the Civil Service Commission, unlike individual departments, was at least in a position to ensure uniform and adequate standards throughout the Service.

Civil Service
Commission
report, 1958

293. In 1958 the Civil Service Commission presented to the government a report containing recommendations for the reform of the Civil Service Act. Three of the recommendations dealt with language use.¹ First the Commission proposed that public servants in contact with the public and working in linguistically mixed localities should not simply have a knowledge of the majority language, as the Lacroix amendment had stipulated, but should be bilingual. It further proposed that Regulation 32A of the Civil Service Regulations be amended so as to transfer the determination of language qualifications from deputy ministers to the Civil Service Commission. Finally, it recommended the insertion of a new provision into the Act: a public servant in charge of a unit composed of a significant number of both Francophone and Anglophone employees should be sufficiently bilingual to supervise the unit's work. All three recommendations were accepted and suitable amendments made.

2. *The Glassco Commission*

294. The appointment in 1960 of the Royal Commission on Government Organization (the Glassco Commission) revived debate on bilingualism. At issue was whether or not the commission's terms of reference included cultural and linguistic matters. The commission decided that the question of bilingualism was relevant, and in July 1961 it organized a special committee on bilingualism.

295. This body was charged with examining the participation of the two cultural groups and the use of the two languages in many parts of the federal administration, from the recruitment of Francophone Junior Executive Officers to the costs of bilingual forms and manuals. Traditional Anglophone concepts of unilingual efficiency were challenged. Lack of Francophone public servants was, in the eyes of the committee, a serious deficiency, since it denied effective service to the Francophone public.

¹ Canada, Civil Service Commission, *Personnel Administration in the Public Service* (Ottawa, 1958), 21, 71-2.

296. After almost a year's study, the committee's findings, conclusions, and many detailed recommendations were presented to the commissioners. The commission in its report recommended that:

1. The federal government adopt active measures to develop bilingual capacities among its employees on a selective basis.
2. The government intensify its efforts to attract and retain more of the highly qualified young people of French Canada capable of advancement to senior ranks.¹

One commissioner, Eugène Therrien, went much further than his colleagues in a separate statement:

1. In the federal administration of Canada, bilingualism is not treated as it should be, that is, as an efficient instrument of administration.²

D. Conclusions

297. The history of language use and participation in the federal Public Service, especially for the 30 years up to 1962, has been strongly influenced by a particular interpretation of the concept of efficiency.

The past record

298. Both Francophone and Anglophone federal politicians and public servants accepted the prevailing orthodoxies linking unilingualism with rationality and efficiency. For Anglophones, the concept of efficiency was an article of faith in a movement that, after 1918, reformed the federal administration on progressive principles. But the idea that language ability in French alone—or even in both French and English—might be a component of merit and efficiency rarely made an impression. Perceptive Anglophones could see that capable Francophone public servants were being held back by gross inequities, but this understanding in no way affected the dominant interpretation of merit and efficiency. They still assumed that English would be the main and, practically, the only working language of the federal administration. As late as the time of the Jean Committee, lack of French-language services in Quebec and discrimination against Francophones in the Public Service—especially at the top of the hierarchy—were viewed as unfortunate grievances which in no way challenged the guiding principles of the Service.

299. The failure of such pioneers as Lapointe might be attributed to the prevailing climate during World War II, bad tactics, or poor propaganda. French-speaking Canada's complaints could always be

Why attempts
at reform failed

¹ Canada, *Report of the Royal Commission on Government Organization*, I (Ottawa, 1962), 267.

² *Ibid.*, 72.

interpreted as a "political" appeal to return to the bad old days of patronage and, therefore, to inefficiency if not corruption, and the French-language partisans were put in the position of appearing to be opposed to efficiency as an administrative aim. At the time, it was not argued that use of the French language and increased participation by Francophones would make the Public Service more efficient. Partisans of reform probably did not press this vital point in the 1930's because of the Depression, in the 1940's because of the War, and at other times because they feared the intensity of the Anglophones' spontaneous resistance would prevent any gains from being secured. In any event, most Francophone politicians and officials probably accepted the dominant Anglophone definition of the situation.

300. Anglophones enjoyed the benefits of a unilingual Public Service, but generally did so unconsciously, for consciousness implies some element of choice, and no alternatives were seriously debated. What we can consider today as effective discrimination against the French language and Francophones, earlier generations took to be the natural order of things. The situation was accepted, for the most part unquestioningly, by Francophones and Anglophones alike, although for different reasons. The Anglophones did not see that such one-sidedness corroded Anglo-French harmony and the continued existence of Canada; the Francophones were lulled into quiescence by patronage and honorific positions. All in all, the history of the Public Service from the two standpoints of language use and Francophone participation represents a tragic failure of Canadian political imagination.