Importance of language of work

301. When an individual is making a decision about the career he will pursue, the opportunity to work in his own language is an important consideration. A Canadian Anglophone might overlook this factor in making a career choice—he would assume that English would be the language of work in any occupation he might select. A Francophone could make no such assumption; for him, the opportunity to work in his own language cannot be taken for granted.

302. This language factor similarly affects an individual's decision to enter and make a career in the federal Public Service. It determines his capacity to contribute to the work of the organization, because cultural qualities carried by one language may be very difficult to put across in another. It also defines his career prospects: language problems may, in personnel assessment, obscure an individual's true ability and prevent him from feeling accepted and at ease in the work community.[1]

Two perspectives

303. In this chapter, devoted to an examination of language use in the Public Service, we consider the languages themselves—both as the languages of service to the public and as the languages of work—and the individuals and groups who speak them.

Individual and institutional bilingualism

304. It is important to understand the difference between individual and institutional bilingualism. A bilingual institution is not necessarily an institution made up of bilingual individuals; it may also be one that contains groups of unilingual persons working in their own language, as well as a number of bilingual individuals. An institution is bilingual not solely because individuals speaking the two languages are involved in it, but also because members of both language groups and cultures are able

[1] E. Jacques Brazeau, "Language Differences and Occupational Experience," *Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science*, XXIV, No. 4 (Toronto, 1958), 532-40.

to work and participate in their own language at all levels of the institution. This presupposes units with only one language of work. English-language units already exist in Canada's Public Service, in the sense that in the great majority of them English is the sole language of work. But an efficiently bilingual institution is characterized by the coexistence of two languages of work in a rational organization of administrative units; bilingual individuals are key elements only at the points of direction and liaison.

Plan of this chapter

305. Our examination of language use in the Public Service begins with a discussion of recent government policy in this area, followed by a survey of the language capacity of public servants. Language practices in the Service as a whole are examined; three departments were selected for more detailed treatment because they illustrate particular aspects of the question. Finally, there is a description and evaluation of the government's translation services and language-training programmes.

The principle of equal partnership

306. In assessing and co-ordinating our findings we have been guided by the fundamental principles set out in the General Introduction to our *Report*. In particular, we have based our judgements on the principle of equal rights for the two official languages, both for government employees and for the members of the public they serve.

A. Government Policy on Language

1. General policy

Government policy statements

307. Until April 1966, no Canadian government had enunciated a general policy on bilingualism in the Public Service, although fairly specific objectives had been stated several years previously. From the time it took office, the Pearson government was concerned with developing a policy of national unity. For example, in June 1963, the Hon. Maurice Lamontagne, then president of the Privy Council, said in a speech that the government intended to "achieve as soon as possible perfect equality for the two official languages, not only with regard to verbal or written communication with the public but within every department."[1]

308. Several weeks later, in reply to a letter from the president of the Civil Service Association of Canada about the government's intentions, Prime Minister Pearson said, "The general policy of the government is that it is necessary, in the interest of national unity, to extend the usage of both national languages in the federal service. . . ."[2] He later enlarged

[1] Canada, House of Commons, *Debates*, 1963, 1st session, II, 1548.

[2] Letter from Prime Minister Pearson to J. C. Best, September 23, 1963, published in the *C.S.A.C. Journal*, Vol. VI, No. 9 (Ottawa, 1963), 1.

on the government's official position on language use in the Public Service: "... it is reasonable that French-speaking people should be able to use their own language, especially in dealing with the government of their country, or in participating in the work of the government of their country..."[1] Statements of this kind have become more numerous during the last few years. What is said varies from one person to another or from one occasion to another, but the objectives remain the same.

Cabinet committee—1963

309. In May 1963, the government established a special cabinet committee on administrative reform and bilingualism, under the chairmanship of Mr. Lamontagne. Given the immediate task of defining in detail the objectives for bilingualism in the federal administration, the committee enunciated the following minimum goals:

1. To put, in theory and practice, French and English on an equal footing for all public relations of the federal authorities. In practice, for external written or oral communications, the preference of the citizen would determine the language to be used;
2. To establish a similar policy concerning internal communications within the civil service. Thus, correspondence and other written communications could be in English or in French, according to the writer's choice. A similar system should finally be set up for oral communications. Handbooks, general instructions and circulars would be published in both languages.[2]

310. The committee further noted that, even under the best of conditions, these aims could not be realized immediately; therefore, it recommended that the government promulgate its objectives as soon as possible and in such a manner that all departments and agencies would understand clearly what was expected of them by 1975—the target date for full implementation.

Committee of senior officials—1963

311. On the recommendation of an interdepartmental committee of senior officials, the government in November 1963 requested the Civil Service Commission to establish a language-training programme and to examine its recruiting policies with particular attention to language requirements. On June 15, 1965, the Commission issued a policy directive requiring that linguistic qualifications be mentioned in advertisements for all competitive posts. At the beginning of 1966, the commission chairman indicated that a good knowledge of the two official languages was "an additional asset" in applying for appointments and promotions to some posts in Ottawa and in centres where the public included substantial proportions of Anglophones and Francophones.[3]

312. Departments were also asked to review their own operations in the light of government objectives and to consider practical changes. As

[1] *Professional Public Service*, Vol. 44, No .5 (Ottawa, 1965), 4.
[2] Canada, House of Commons, *Debates*, 1963, 1st session, VI, 5710.
[3] J. J. Carson, "The New Role of the Civil Service Commission," outline of remarks to the Federal Institute of Management, Ottawa, February 1, 1966.

an initial step, the interdepartmental committee suggested that all departments appoint a senior officer whose duty it would be to oversee measures encouraging bilingualism, under the direction of his deputy minister.

Declaration of Prime Minister Pearson, April 1966

313. The most important policy declaration was made by Prime Minister Pearson on April 6, 1966:

> The government hopes and expects that, within a reasonable period of years, a state of affairs in the public service will be reached whereby
>
> (a) it will be normal practice for oral or written communications within the service to be made in either official language at the option of the person making them, in the knowledge that they will be understood by those directly concerned;
>
> (b) communications with the public will normally be in either official language having regard to the person being served;
>
> (c) the linguistic and cultural values of both English speaking and French speaking Canadians will be reflected through civil service recruitment and training; and
>
> (d) a climate will be created in which public servants from both language groups will work together toward common goals, using their own language and applying their respective cultural values, but each fully understanding and appreciating those of the other.[1]

314. As enunciated by Mr. Pearson, this policy contained certain new elements. "Climate" could have been interpreted as describing a whole environment in which each could work in his own language while applying his "respective cultural values." For the first time, governmental language policy also took account of the two cultures. Elements of this declaration could have been interpreted as an invitation to support bilingualism and biculturalism as goals for the Public Service through adapting the working arrangements of the Service to create French-speaking milieux. But this was not the interpretation that prevailed. Perhaps this was partly because the reference to "climate" was not expanded in detail; certainly it was partly because the thinking at the time was more concerned with individuals than with the environment in which those individuals worked. Further policy specification on this particular aspect was not forthcoming, and the reforms enunciated in this speech have been oriented towards the production of bilingual individuals, without planning for the use of the resultant language skills within the organizational structure.

2. *Policy on language of service*

Service to the public

315. Until very recently, federal policy on language use was concerned only with providing service to the public. The problems of

[1] Canada, House of Commons, *Debates*, 1966, 1st session, IV, 3915; quoted in full in Appendix II.

providing services for a clientele with two official languages led governments to develop some limited, specific policies on language. Development of this language policy has had two aspects, political and administrative. Since the establishment of the Translation Bureau in 1934, legislation dealing with language of service has been adopted in periods of significant political ferment in Quebec—during the nationalist movements of the 1930's and 1940's and the "quiet revolution" of the present decade. Policy on language of service has also evolved with the growth of the Civil Service Commission, which has played an increasingly important role since the Civil Service Act of 1918 was passed.

Language legislation

316. Before the Lacroix amendment of 1938, language was considered peripheral to other themes of legislation.[1] However, this amendment to the Civil Service Act required that appointments to local (but not headquarters) positions should be given only to those public servants who had "qualified, by examination, in the knowledge and use of the language of the majority of the persons with whom [they are] required to do business. . . ." In 1942 a regulation of the Civil Service Commission elaborated the principle by providing that deputy ministers were responsible for notifying the Commission which posts required competence in both French and English. The regulation was interpreted by the commission as applying only to branch or field offices, and not to headquarters posts in the federal capital.

317. In 1961, a new Civil Service Act transferred this responsibility to the Civil Service Commission. Section 47 of the Act says:

> The number of employees appointed to serve in any department or in any local office of a department who are qualified in the knowledge and use of the English or French language or both shall, in the opinion of the Commission, be sufficient to enable the department or local office to perform its functions adequately and to give effective service to the public.[2]

318. The chairman of the commission, S. H. S. Hughes, stated that:

> Clause 47 of the bill lays upon the commission the responsibility of seeing that this consideration [serving the public in both English and French] is borne in mind not only in local positions but in head office positions of departments and not only in the language of the majority but in terms of the use of both languages where it is considered that their use is necessary to give effective service to the public.[3]

Departmental initiatives

319. In 1962, 1964, 1965, and 1967 the Commission laid down explicit rules for recruiting staff to give adequate service in English and

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1 *See* §§ 255-7 and 270-1.

2 Civil Service Act, S.C. 1961, 9-10 Eliz. II, c.57, s.47.

3 Cited by R. S. MacLellan in Canada, House of Commons, *Debates*, 1960-1, 4th session, VII, 7714.

French to minorities within defined regions.[1] These rules and regulations are reasonably clear, but their scope is always narrow.[2] Only a few departments have developed any general policies and these all evolved separately. "Efficiency," "bonne entente," and "practical necessity" have been cited as isolated, *ad hoc* reasons for language policy in dealing with the public.

320. As late as February 1, 1967, our staff could discover only a few examples of precise and comprehensive directives on this matter: three departments—National Defence, Energy, Mines and Resources, and the Post Office—and three Crown corporations—Canadian National, the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, and the Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation—had prepared such directives. CN had acted most vigorously and comprehensively, but we quote here a large part of CMHC's policy directive because of its specific directions for language of service and for its comprehensiveness in covering language of work as well.

3. The main purposes of the Corporation's policy on bilingualism are to assist in strengthening national unity by contributing to a better mutual understanding and appreciation of the two main elements of the Canadian population; to meet the needs of the Canadian public throughout Canada for the best services possible in both the English and French languages and to provide balanced and equitable representation in terms of both numbers and quality of the two founding races.

. . . . . .

5. The specific and immediate objectives should therefore be:

. . . . . .

(4) The rapid development at Head Office of a significantly bilingual and bicultural organization which will reflect the geographical and social realities of Canada as they relate to the French- or English-speaking elements of the country. This also means that the composition of Head Office staff should ultimately reflect these realities.

(5) The active participation by all officers of the Corporation at Head Office and across the country in the development and implementation of realistic and appropriate steps to ensure the effective development of a truly bilingual Corporation.

(6) The determination of linguistic requirements for all positions particularly in those areas serving a public made up of a French-speaking and English-speaking population and the provision of an appropriate number of qualified bilingual staff to serve such public.

(7) The systematic evaluation of the degree of bilingualism of employees based on recognized criteria.

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1 The 1967 regulations are quoted in § 352.

2 Before the passage of the Official Languages Act in 1969, there was no fully developed general policy on language of service to the public emanating from one central agency and uniformly applied by various departments, Crown corporations, and other agencies.

(8) The recruitment policy of the Corporation will include the intensification of efforts to attract competent bilingual employees without adversely affecting the career opportunities of present employees of both groups.

(9) The simultaneous issue of all internal directives in both official languages.

(10) The rapid introduction of bilingual internal forms and reports.

(11) The use of internal correspondence of either official language at the discretion of the addressor.

(12) That every effort be made so that the preparation of information and communications to the various publics is conceived in the language of the recipients.

(13) The use of oral communication of both languages so as to improve familiarity with both languages and thereby assist in creating a situation, as soon as possible, where an employee may transact business with his colleagues in his maternal tongue.[1]

321. Although most departments and agencies have not developed any systematic language policies, most have adopted certain routine practices of language use—for example, most departments reply to a letter in the language in which it is written. But these practices are not part of an overall plan and are not uniform within and between departments. Some, but not all, departments have forms and publications printed in both languages. Many federal offices in Ottawa and Quebec pay special attention to the language used in various publications, signs, and notices—but the same concern by the federal government for French-speaking citizens is not in evidence in the rest of Canada.

Bilingual positions

322. The Civil Service Commission's policy on bilingual positions demonstrates its concentration on service to the public rather than on language of work. The formal expression of this policy, in section 47 of the Civil Service Act and in the Civil Service Commission's administrative practices is of considerable significance. It is thus not surprising that the majority of bilingual positions are in branch or field offices where officials meet the public face to face: most of these positions are in Quebec and some are in Ottawa. If the number of bilingual positions is the measurement of the implementation of policy on language of service, that implementation is weak indeed: in 1965 less than 9 per cent of the positions covered by the Civil Service Act were designated as requiring bilingual personnel, and an eighth of these positions were occupied by individuals who were not bilingual.[2]

323. In January 1966, about 5 per cent of the positions under the Civil Service Act required bilingual managers and professionals. Since so few Anglophone university graduates are bilingual, filling these posts is in practice a matter of appointing bilingual Francophones.

CMHC, 'Bilingualism in the Corporation," General Memorandum, B-339, File 100-1-41, January 30, 1967.

[2] Hillel Steiner and Herbert Taylor, "Bilingual Posts and their Incumbents," a study prepared for the R.C.B.&B.

324. This situation reflects the psychological climate of the Public Service. First, the number, level, and location of these bilingual positions, and the responsibilities attached to them, form the simplest index of the status accorded to Francophones in the Public Service itself.[1] This attitude has deep roots in the history of "bilinguals" in the Public Service. Second, although individual positions are designated as bilingual, it is taken for granted that English is the usual working language in virtually all work units. Third, an emphasis on individual language skills tends to diminish the importance of professional qualifications and proven competence in the case of the Francophones.

325. Before March 17, 1967, there were no general criteria for language requirements in headquarters positions. This is not surprising, since service to the public was the basis of language practice and policy, and the incumbents of many headquarters positions rarely if ever come into contact with the public. Except in cultural agencies and the Translation Bureau, we could find no consistent approach to the obvious need for correspondence and conversation in French between Ottawa headquarters and field offices in French-speaking Canada. However, under the regulations issued pursuant to the Public Service Employment Act of 1967, the criteria for determining bilingual positions were broadened by providing that preferential treatment be given to candidates with bilingual abilities applying for all posts in the federal capital region.[2]

3. *Policy on language of work*

326. Historically, the question of language of work in Canadian government policy was first recognized in Prime Minister Pearson's statement in April 1966 on bilingualism in the Public Service. Our researchers found that only two of more than 60 government departments, other agencies, and Crown corporations—CN[3] and CMHC—had a precisely articulated policy on language of work.[4]

B. Language Capacity in the Public Service

327. An investigation of language use in the Public Service must include an examination of the existing degree of capacity in the two

1 Appendix III, Tables A-1, A-2, and A-3.

2 Public Service Employment Regulations, 1967. *See* § 352.

3 CN's linguistic policies, including those on language of work, are treated in Chapter XIV.

4 The general organizational policy of the CBC (and, in many ways, the National Film Board) provides automatically for a complete French-language system as well as an English-language one.

official languages among individual public servants of both mother tongues,[1] and of the changes in their language skills over a period of years. These factors are relevant because, although a bilingual institution does not—indeed, should not—require that all its employees be able to speak both languages, some employees must be bilingual to ensure effective communication between and supervision of unilingual employees.

328. We conducted two large surveys in 1965, one of the departmental Public Service and seven agencies,[2] and the other of middle-level public servants in Ottawa.[3] Respondents were asked to rate their own skill in the other official language: French for those of English mother tongue, English for those of French mother tongue; those of other mother tongues were asked to specify their preferred official language and then rate themselves in the other.[4] Language skills were classified as reading, speaking, writing, and understanding oral communication.[5]

1. *Individual Bilingualism*

In the Public Service as a whole

329. Public servants of French mother tongue were more often bilingual than those of English mother tongue. Only one in 10 of the employees of other mother tongues reported fair or considerable competence in spoken French.

330. Figure 4 shows that 83 to 91 per cent of all public servants of French mother tongue rated their competence in English as fair or considerable. Only 8 to 18 per cent of all public servants of English mother tongue assessed their competence in French as fair or considerable. Indeed, in three of the four skills, more than half of those of English mother tongue admitted to no command of French whatsoever and claimed facility only in the fourth skill—reading. Clearly, about three-quarters of all bilingual public servants are of French mother tongue.

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[1] The linguistic composition of the Public Service by department is given in Chapter IX, Table 49.

[2] John C. Johnstone, William Klein, and Denis Ledoux, "Public Service Survey," a study prepared for the R.C.B.&B. The seven non-departmental agencies are Air Canada, Bank of Canada, Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation, National Film Board, National Research Council, and the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (uniformed personnel).

[3] Christopher Beattie, Jacques Désy, and S. A. Longstaff, "Bureaucratic Careers: Anglophones and Francophones in the Canadian Public Service" (the "Career Study"), a study prepared for the R.C.B.&B.

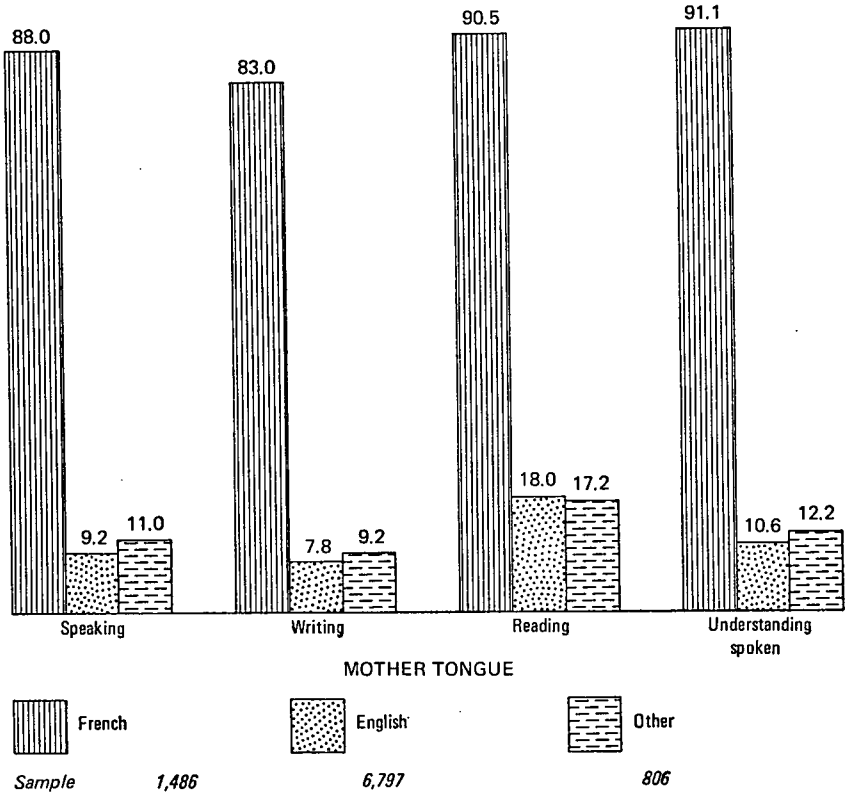
[4] Self-ratings are probably valid for indicating significant differences between groups but not for individuals; they are used here only for the former purpose.

[5] The Johnstone, Klein, and Ledoux survey questionnaire was distributed in both French and English, but 21 per cent of those of French mother tongue completed questionnaires in English, rating their own proficiency in French. The results presented here have been statistically adjusted to allow for this.

At the middle level

331. At the middle level (Figure 5) the gap between language groups was still large, but both groups displayed greater bilingual capacity than their fellows in the rest of the Public Service. Here, all of the Francophones claimed they could read English and almost all (97 per cent) said they could understand the spoken language. More than half the middle-level Anglophones said they could read French ade-

Figure 4. Linguistic Skill[1] of Departmental Public Servants—Canada, 1965 (Percentages)



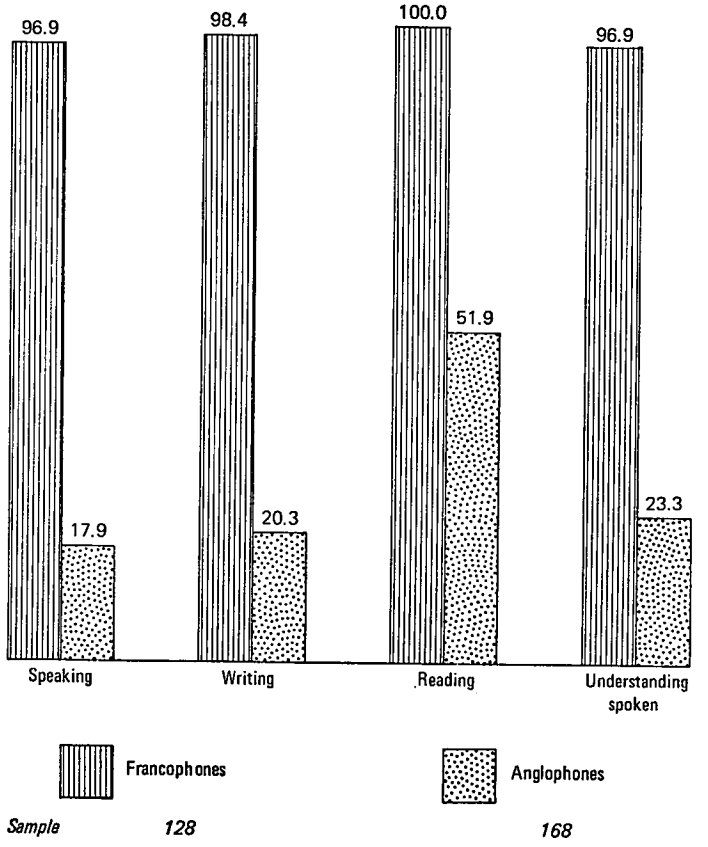
Source: Johnstone, Klein, and Ledoux, "Public Service Survey."

[1] Percentage of public servants of French mother tongue claiming fair or considerable skill in English and of public servants of English or other mother tongue claiming fair or considerable skill in French.

quately and just under a quarter claimed they could understand spoken French. Bilingual capacity appears to be almost a necessity for Francophones at the middle levels of the federal administration.

332. Thus, work areas where bilingual staff were concentrated were in fact those where Francophone public servants were concentrated.

Figure 5. Linguistic Skill[1] of Middle-level Public Servants in Five Federal Departments—Canada, 1965 (Percentages)



Source: Beattie, Désy, and Longstaff, "Bureaucratic Careers."

[1] Percentage of Francophone public servants claiming fair or considerable skill in English and of Anglophone public servants claiming fair or considerable skill in French.

These men and women were mostly under 40 years of age;[1] had fewer years of schooling than their Anglophone co-workers;[2] and were working in non-professional and non-managerial positions, except for lawyers and social scientists.[3]

333. Knowledge of the two languages varied according to an individual's type of work, but the variation was much less among Anglophones than among Francophones. In general, proportionately more Francophone managerial and professional personnel than Francophone clerical workers were bilingual. The latter were more often bilingual than were manual workers. In particular, a high proportion of managers as well as physical and biological scientists reported competence in English. This may reflect higher educational attainment or it may indicate that higher-level positions place heavier demands on their incumbents to work in English; both influences are probably at work. Among Anglophone employees, capacity in French was generally meagre but was most often found among managers and engineers.

Bilingualism in non-departmental agencies

334. For the seven agencies studied, bilingual ability was above the average for the whole Public Service except in the RCMP, and the level of receptive bilingualism was higher than facility in writing or speaking the other language. Among the seven agencies there was little variation in Francophones' command of English, but there was considerable difference in Anglophones' ability in French between, for example, the National Film Board and Air Canada.[4] Among other reasons, this is probably because there are proportionately only half as many Francophones in Air Canada as in the NFB, and because the NFB is a "cultural" organization and produces many films in French.

2. *Changes in language ability*

Effect of work environment

335. An individual's ability to speak both official languages may be increased or diminished by his work; the environment in the Public Service can reinforce or weaken language skills. In general it appears that Francophones increase their ability in English in the Public Service while Anglophones remain uniformly unilingual regardless of their length of service.[5] Our research showed that the greater the length of service for the Francophones, the higher they rated their proficiency in English; but in no group of Anglophone employees, of whatever length of service, did as many as 4 per cent describe their ability in French—even their reading knowledge—as considerable. The generation of

1 Appendix III, Table A-40.
2 Chapter IX, Table 51.
3 *Ibid.*, Table 50.
4 Appendix III, Table A-4.
5 Our research was carried out in 1965 and therefore does not take account of the public servants who have learned French in the Public Service language schools.

Anglophone public servants now at the middle level has the same low rate of bilingualism as their superiors, men who have been in the Service perhaps 20 years longer. Among the Francophones, ability in English and movement up the ladder of promotion are correlated.

336. Anglophone personnel have felt no necessity to change their language preference and hardly any to increase their knowledge of French. When the Francophones and Anglophones were compared as to preferred language of work on entering the Service and language now preferred (Table 31), it was clear that change has been confined to the Francophones. Almost none of the Anglophones said they could work best in any language but English while, on entry, 10 per cent of the Francophones said they worked best in English and 33 per cent said they could work in both languages. Furthermore, 57 per cent of the Francophones stated that on entry they could do their best work only in French, but only 32 per cent maintained that French was still their best language of work. This represents a decline of 25 points of the group as a whole. There was an increase of 22 points in those who said they were professionally bilingual in all respects, and an increase of over 4 points in those who said they worked best in English. In contrast, there was no significant change in the reported linguistic competence of public servants of English or other mother tongues.

Table 31. Optimum Working Language

Percentage distribution of federal departmental public servants within mother-tongue groups, by optimum working language[1] on entry into the Public Service and in 1965

Optimum language of work	Mother tongue					
	French		English		Other	
	On entry	In 1965	On entry	In 1965	On entry	In 1965
French	57.4	31.9	0.1	0.1	1.7	0.5
English	9.8	13.3	98.3	98.0	95.4	96.7
English and French	32.8	54.8	1.6	1.9	2.9	2.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Sample	*1,487*	*1,487*	*6,852*	*6,852*	*819*	*819*

Source: Johnstone, Klein, and Ledoux, "Public Service Survey."

[1] Established by the answers to the following questions: "In what language(s) could you have best performed your work initially? In what language could you best perform your work now?

Survival and acquisition of language ability

337. Of those whose initial exclusive choice of working language was English, 98 per cent were currently using it, but only 53 per cent of those who claimed on entry that their best language of work was French still did so.[1] Several other facts relating to retention of the mother tongue and acquisition of the other language in the departmental Public Service as a whole came to light as results of our research:[2] a) English invariably survived as an optimum language of work; b) among persons who said that they had worked best in French or equally well in French and English when they joined the Service, 8 per cent said that they now worked best in English; c) 14 per cent of those who said that on entry they could work equally well in both languages now worked best in only one—English in the great majority of cases; d) about 50 per cent of those who had declared French as their best language of work on entry were now able to work best in English or equally well in both languages; e) it was extremely unlikely that an Anglophone unable to work in French or in both languages at the time of recruitment would acquire this ability within the Public Service.

Length of service

338. It was mainly in the first six years of employment that the designation of French as a respondent's optimum working language fell sharply. After six years, the likelihood of change was significantly less.

Geographic location

339. Tendencies for the optimum working language to change also varied geographically,[3] as one might expect. Those who said that, on entry into the Public Service, English was their best working language were unlikely to reverse their choice in any region of Canada except Quebec. In Quebec, 20 per cent now worked equally well in both languages or had changed to French as their best language for work, while in the federal capital and everywhere else in Canada, less than 3 per cent reported developing similar competence in French. In Quebec and the Atlantic provinces, we found the highest proportion of public servants for whom French was still the best language of work—more than 60 per cent. The greatest trend away from French occurred in the Ottawa-Hull region, where 73 per cent of those who said that initially they worked best in French reported that they now were more competent in English or equally competent in both English and French.

340. In the West it is understandably more difficult to preserve bilingual capacity than it is in other regions: 54 per cent of those who on entry were capable of working in both French and English felt at the time of the survey that they could do their best work only in English. In contrast, in the Ottawa-Hull area and throughout Quebec, 88 and 89 per cent respectively reported that they had remained bilingual.

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[1] *Ibid.*, Table A-5.
[2] *See ibid.*, Table A-9
[3] *Ibid.*, Table A-6.

Departmental location

341. Government departments varied in the likelihood that persons entering with a desire to work in French would be able to do so. Some of the rates of survival of French as best working language are given in Table 32. The figures indicate a virtual certainty that public servants will be able to continue doing their best work in French or in both languages in the departments of the Secretary of State and National Health and Welfare, and the Dominion Bureau of Statistics; they also suggest that there is much less certainty in the departments of Citizenship and Immigration, Industry, Defence Production, and even External Affairs.[1]

Table 32. Survival of French as the Optimum Working Language

Index of the survival of French as the optimum working language in selected federal departments—Canada, 1965

	Index[1] %	*Sample*
Secretary of State	99.7	*39*
Dominion Bureau of Statistics	99.1	*30*
National Health and Welfare	98.7	*74*
Post Office	97.1	*294*
Finance	82.1	*68*
Citizenship and Immigration	76.4	*34*
External Affairs	72.8	*52*
Industry; and Defence Production	67.8	*48*
All departments	91.5	*1,445*

Source: Johnstone, Klein, and Ledoux, "Public Service Survey."

[1] Percentage includes those who said that on entry into the Public Service, and still in 1965, they could best perform their work in French or that they could work equally well in both languages.

Occupation

342. Pressures to use English at work, and particularly as the main working language, were felt more keenly in more senior posts.[2] Fewer than 40 per cent of the managerial and professional staff who initially stated that French was their best language of work still retained this preference. By comparison, more than half of the clerical staff still performed their work best in French, as did 60 per cent of all those in other non-professional and non-managerial occupations. One in eight managers and professionals had changed to English as their best language of work.

[1] These results are explained by the concentration of Francophones in the Translation Bureau of the department of the Secretary of State, in the regional offices of the department of National Health and Welfare, and in the field staff of DBS. But the situation is not the same in the department of External Affairs, where the Francophones are scattered throughout the department. The preceding paragraphs also show that these variations can be affected by length of service, educational level, and occupation.

[2] Appendix III, Table A-7.

Acquisition of English: a condition of advancement

343. Ability and willingness to work in English appear to be conditions of advancement in the Public Service for those of French mother tongue. We compared salaries of men with up to 10 years' service who had, on entry, felt they did their work best in French; we found that only 50 per cent of those who had remained unilingual had had salary increases of $2,000 or more, while 65 per cent of those who had acquired bilingual ability or who now felt that they worked best in English had won similar increases. Among those with more than 10 years' service, almost 11 per cent of those who remained unilingual in French, but less than 5 per cent of those who had improved their English, had received salary increases of less than $2,000.[1] Thus, it appears to be advantageous for public servants of French mother tongue to acquire proficiency in English, regardless of length of service.[2]

Non-departmental agencies

344. The situation in the seven non-departmental agencies surveyed was similar to that in the departmental Public Service, but there were some interesting exceptions. For instance, while Anglophones usually reported little if any loss of capacity in English or little increase of capacity in French, 11 per cent of the National Film Board employees who said that on entry to the Public Service English was their optimum language of work now declared that they could do their best work in French or that they could work equally well in both languages.[3]

345. The situation of French and of the two languages as preferred languages of work was much more complex; it varied significantly from one agency to another. The bare survival of French is probably not in doubt, but it is quite clear that, in the seven agencies, between 1 and 17 per cent of those who claimed that on entry they could work best in French or equally well in both languages now consider English to be their best language of work. Those who had felt they could work equally well in both languages tended to become—so far as language of work was concerned—unilingual Anglophones, especially in Air Canada and the National Research Council. There were two exceptions: the CBC and the NFB. At the CBC, French and the two languages generally survived as preferred languages of work; among those who had originally worked equally well in both languages, 9 per cent now preferred to work in French. At the NFB there was no change among Francophones who had originally favoured French or the two languages as languages of work.

346. Most of those who said that French was their best language of work at the beginning of their careers claimed that they could now work best in English or equally well in both languages. They had learned English together with the routines of their jobs.

1 Appendix III, Table A-8.
2 However, we cannot be sure that these differences are statistically significant.
3 *Ibid.*, Table A-9.

347. This change varied according to individuals' ranks and occupations. In Air Canada, the NRC, and the CMHC, the highest rate of conversion to working in English was found in the senior posts, suggesting that these organizations "think in English" even more than our figures have indicated. In the NFB, the lower-level employees who had declared that French was their optimum language of work on entry to the Public Service were more likely than the middle-level and senior staff to say that they could now work best in English or equally well in both languages. In the CBC, the division was between production staff—most of them in television—and the clerical or service personnel; the former did not acquire English or both languages as working languages nearly so often as the latter. In the CMHC, the survival of French varied inversely with salary and seniority; it was assured in Quebec, in doubt in the federal capital, and in danger elsewhere.

348. Our data on language of work illuminate the foregoing observations, for there are significant differences among the agencies.[1] Also, except in the NFB, the non-French language groups did not account for the variation; staff of French mother tongue accounted almost exclusively for the degree to which French was used as a language of work. At the extreme ends of the scale are the CBC, where Francophones used French much more than English as a language of work, and the NRC and Air Canada, where Francophones worked mostly in English. Between these extremes were the NFB, where French was used slightly more than English by the Francophone staff, and the CMHC, Bank of Canada, and RCMP, where English was the dominant but not the sole language of work for the Francophones.

349. We searched for regional variations in two agencies, the CBC and the CMHC. Only when working in Quebec among an overwhelming majority of Francophones did the Anglophones use French as much as half the time. In Ottawa, practices were no different from those in any other English-speaking part of the country: English was used not just mainly but nearly exclusively as the language of work. Only in Quebec were Francophones able to work in French as often as in English.

350. Most employees of English mother tongue, along with a few whose mother tongue was French and nearly all those of other mother tongues, were most comfortable working in English; those who could work effectively either in both languages or in French alone were almost all of French mother tongue. However, except for a relatively insignificant number of individuals in the NFB, Anglophones who worked best in English could work *only* in English, while Francophones who worked best in French often had to work in English much of the time, particularly in Air Canada and the NRC. Some agencies, because of their

[1] Appendix III, Table A-10.

functions, often used both languages, but there was still much less freedom for Francophones to work in their best language. Those who regarded themselves as bilingual worked far more often in English.[1]

C. Language Use in Practice

1. Language of service

351. In a bilingual country, the use that governments make of the two languages in dealing with the public is an important indication of quality of service. Service is bound to be better when a citizen can do business with the government in the official language with which he is most familiar.

a) Meeting the public in person or by telephone

Standards of language of service

352. Recognizing that improved service must involve a higher degree of bilingualism, the Civil Service Commission began in April 1962 to exercise its new powers by setting out language standards for offices in regions where both English and French were spoken.[2] Three rules were published as a guide for making staff appointments and as a goal to be approached by field offices. They were revised and formally established on March 17, 1967 in the Public Service Employment Regulations:

> 4. (1) (*a*) where forty per cent or more but less than sixty per cent of the public served by the unit have the English language or the French language, as the case may be, as their mother tongue, every employee in the unit shall be sufficiently proficient in both those languages to permit the functions of the unit to be performed adequately and effective service to be provided to the public so served;
>
> (*b*) where ten per cent or more but less than forty per cent of the public served by the unit have the English language or the French language, as the case may be, as their mother tongue, the minimum number of employees in the unit who are sufficiently proficient in both those languages to permit the functions of the unit to be performed adequately and effective service to be provided to the public shall be such that in the aggregate the number is in the same proportion to the total number of persons on the staff of the unit as the said percentage is of the total number of persons comprising the public so served; and
>
> (*c*) every employee who is in a position that requires the performance of duties of a supervisory nature shall be sufficiently proficient in the English language or in the French language or in both languages, as the case may be, as will permit effective direction to be given to the persons supervised.

1 *Ibid.*, Tables A-11 and A-19.

2 Civil Service Commission, "Language in Civil Service Appointments," Memorandum to Operations Branch (MOB 8-1962), File 334, Ottawa, April 2, 1962.

(2) Where in accordance with any directive of a specific or of a general nature of the Commission, but subject to subsection (3), ten per cent or more of the public served by a unit have the English language or the French language, as the case may be, as their mother tongue, proficiency in both those languages shall, notwithstanding anything in these Regulations, be regarded in every case in which such proficiency it not an essential qualification for a position as a desirable qualification for the position.
(3) For the purposes of subsection (2), where the unit is the headquarters office, or a part thereof, that is located in the National Capital Region, as that expression is defined in the *National Capital Act,* the public served by the unit shall be deemed to be all the people in Canada.[1]

353. These regulations deal explicitly for the first time with the federal capital. Taken as a whole, the provisions for the capital mean that bilingual candidates for headquarters positions (other than those for which bilingualism is essential) should receive preferential consideration. But the regulations do not clearly specify a rule of proportionality of bilingual headquarters staff to the size of the minority group in the client population. The regulations dealing with the capital are not subject to such precise interpretation as those dealing with all other parts of Canada. Bilingualism is "desirable" for those positions for which it is not essential, and these positions are presumably designated in accordance with the criterion of "effective service . . . to the public."

Achievement of standards

354. The Public Service is apparently still a long way from meeting the standards of bilingualism which it set in 1962. Table 33 lists several regions with language minorities and the linguistic skills of local federal employees. Clearly, Anglophone clients are better off. The proportion of employees who can deal with them in English is considerably greater than the relative size of the English-speaking community in any locality. In Montreal, Granby, Chicoutimi, and Edmundston, for example, at least 95 per cent of the public servants can deal with the public in English. Only rarely does an Anglophone meet a local federal official who cannot speak his language. In contrast, Francophone minorities are very much "underserved," and the occasional proportional excess of Francophone public servants over Francophone residents in English-speaking districts is nothing like that of Anglophone officials in French-speaking regions. In Cornwall, for example, the Francophone minority is more than 40 per cent of the population; according to the regulations of both 1962 and 1967, all employees ought to be bilingual. Instead, nearly half know only English. Among those cities with a Francophone minority of less than 40 per cent, St. Boniface seems especially poorly served. In the federal capital—whether considered as the city of Ottawa or both Ottawa and Hull and their surrounding districts—there is less than adequate service in French.

[1] Public Service Employment Regulations, 1967.

Table 33. Official-language Minorities and Linguistic Aptitude of Public Servants

Percentage formed by official-language minorities in selected cities and metropolitan census areas and the percentage distribution, according to linguistic aptitude, of federal public servants in contact with the public

	Population (1961)		Public servants in contact with the public (1965)					
	Total population	A Official-language minority	Number	B Speaking English only[1]	C Speaking French only[1]	D Speaking English and French	Total	Difference[2] C + D − A
		%		%	%	%		
Francophone minority								
All Canada[3]	18,238,247	28.1	9,692	74.5	0.0	25.5	100	− 2.6
Ottawa-Hull[3]	429,750	37.7	9,692	74.5	0.0	25.5	100	−12.2
Saint John	95,563	6.3	816	90.5	0.2	9.3	100	+ 3.2
Moncton	55,768	32.5	895	74.1	0.4	25.5	100	− 6.6
Cornwall	43,639	42.4	223	48.9	0.0	51.1	100	+ 8.7
Hamilton	395,189	1.5	794	96.0	0.0	4.0	100	+ 2.5
North Bay	23,781	18.6	459	76.0	0.0	24.0	100	+ 5.4
Welland	36,079	16.6	93	93.5	0.0	6.5	100	−10.1
Timmins	40,121	34.3	98	67.3	0.0	32.7	100	− 1.6
Sudbury	110,694	30.7	318	63.5	0.0	36.5	100	+ 5.8
St. Boniface	37,600	35.6	462	91.8	0.0	8.2	100	−27.4
Prince Albert	24,168	8.5	436	95.4	0.0	4.6	100	− 3.9
Edmonton	337,568	3.3	2,372	94.6	0.0	5.4	100	− 2.1

Anglophone minority								
Edmundston	12,791	10.5	93	19.4	0.0	80.6	100	+89.5
Quebec City	357,568	3.7	2,074	2.5	26.0	71.5	100	+70.3
Chicoutimi	105,009	2.8	113	0.0	5.3	94.7	100	+91.9
Rimouski	17,739	0.9	76	0.0	32.9	67.1	100	+66.2
Trois-Rivières	53,477	4.0	212	0.9	19.8	79.3	100	+76.2
Granby	31,463	7.4	71	0.0	2.8	97.2	100	+89.8
Montreal	2,109,509	23.4	11,690	13.0	3.8	83.2	100	+72.8

Sources: For the population, Census of Canada, 1961; for the public servants, Jacques LaRivière, "La traduction dans la fonction publique," a study prepared for the R.C.B.&B. in 1965.

[1] Languages other than the official languages spoken by public servants were not considered.

[2] A + sign indicates that the proportion of Francophone and bilingual public servants is greater than that of the Francophone minority. A − sign indicates that the proportion of Francophone and bilingual public servants is less than that of the minority.

[3] The population served by public servants in the capital is the whole population of Canada, not merely residents of Ottawa and Hull. *See* Public Service Employment Regulations, 1967. Cited in §352.

[4] A + sign indicates that the proportion of Anglophone and bilingual public servants is greater than that of the Anglophone minority.

355. In most parts of Canada, including the federal capital region, the Francophone minorities have much more difficulty finding someone who can speak their language than do Anglophones in those parts of the country where English is in the minority position.

356. Our survey of the whole Public Service confirmed this. We asked respondents whether they dealt largely with Anglophone or Francophone members of the public. Ideally, the answers should have reflected the distribution in the male labour force, 26 per cent of which is of French mother tongue. However, only 9 per cent of all federal employees reported considerable contact with the Francophone public. This suggests either that Francophones are less likely to approach federal officials than are Anglophones or—more probably—that when they do they often use English.

357. The survey permitted us to identify those who served the English- and French-speaking public. Table 34 shows that 87 per cent of public servants of English mother tongue have considerable contact with the Anglophone public and 66 per cent simply never met a Francophone. Significantly, on the other hand, 37 per cent of the French mother-tongue group have considerable contact with the Anglophone public, although these public servants are more likely to be in positions dealing primarily with the Francophone public; 82 per cent of the public servants reporting considerable contact with Francophones are themselves of French mother tongue.

Table 34. Mother Tongue of Public Servants and Contact with the Public

Percentage distribution of federal departmental public servants of French and English mother tongue, by amount of contact with the Francophone or Anglophone public—Canada, 1965

Amount of contact with public	Contact with Francophone public			Contact with Anglophone public		
	Mother tongue		All public servants[1]	Mother tongue		All public servants[1]
	French	English		French	English	
None	6.1	66.1	53.6	8.2	4.4	5.2
Limited	24.4	27.6	26.5	26.4	5.3	9.8
Fair	34.1	4.1	10.5	28.5	3.4	8.9
Considerable	35.4	2.2	9.4	36.9	86.9	76.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Sample	*1,487*	*6,852*	*9,158*	*1,487*	*6,852*	*9,158*

Source: Johnstone, Klein, and Ledoux, "Public Service Survey."

[1] This category includes those of mother tongues other than French or English.

358. There is an obvious corollary finding. Non-Francophone public servants who deal with Francophones have higher abilities in French than do their colleagues who deal only with Anglophones: 34 per cent of the former rated themselves as bilingual, in contrast with less than 1 per cent of the latter.[1] But two-thirds of the non-Francophones who deal extensively with Francophones do not consider themselves competent in French. By contrast, four out of five public servants of French mother tongue who need English at work say they can use the language effectively. Comparing Francophone public servants who never use English at work and non-Francophones who often need French, about the same proportion are bilingual. Such figures confirm the general impression that, for the whole population, citizens dealing with the government in French are much more likely to have difficulty.

b) Written communication[2]

1) *Correspondence*

Departmental statistics

359. In 1965, federal departments and agencies received just under 14 million letters; more than a million and a half, or 12 per cent, were in French. There was a great variation among departments: the department of National Health and Welfare and the Unemployment Insurance Commission received 35 per cent of their letters in French; the Civil Service Commission, 23 per cent; the department of National Revenue—Taxation division and the National Gallery, 20 per cent; the department of Agriculture, 19 per cent; and the House of Commons, 25 per cent. In contrast, the departments of National Defence, National Revenue—Customs and Excise division, and Citizenship and Immigration received only 3 per cent of their letters in French; the National Research Council and the Treasury Board, 1 per cent, and the Comptroller of the Treasury, Export Credits Insurance Corporation, and the Fisheries Research Board of Canada, less than 1 per cent.

Translation

360. For many years, in most departments, all letters received in a language other than English were immediately sent for translation. For French, this practice is now growing less common. Generally, letters written in French are passed to the division or agency concerned and only when no official in that unit understands French is a letter sent for translation. In the departments of National Defence and National Health and Welfare, precise directives have been issued to limit translation, reducing the volume of work for their translation divisions. However, in 15 departments and agencies, letters received in French are still sent directly for translation before being filed.[3]

[1] Appendix III, Table A-12.

[2] Based on Jacques LaRivière, "La traduction dans la fonction publique," a study prepared for the R.C.B.&B.

[3] See Appendix III, Table A-13.

Language of reply

361. Most departments said that they replied in the language of the correspondent when it was French or English, but some indicated that they occasionally replied in English to avoid delay. When the language was other than French or English, the practice of the departments varied. In the department of National Defence, for example, if the correspondent lived in Canada, letters were answered in English when a foreign language was used; a letter from outside Canada was answered in the language of the correspondent. In the Immigration division of the department of Citizenship and Immigration, letters received in languages other than French or English were always answered in English. In nearly all departments, replies to correspondence in French were drafted in English and then translated. Even if the information needed for the reply was gathered by a Francophone, English was used either because the person signing the letter was an Anglophone or because an English version was required in the file for use by unilingual Anglophone officials. In Quebec regional offices of federal departments, French correspondence was usually but not always dealt with in French.

2) *External forms*[1]

Definition

362. External forms, as distinguished from internal forms, are those originating in a government department or agency and filled in by private organizations or individual citizens for return to the government.

Findings

363. The majority (57 per cent) of external forms were in both languages, either in a bilingual presentation or in two separate versions (Table 35). There was variation between departments. All 300 forms of the Secretary of State were bilingual, as were those of the Queen's Printer, the International Joint Commission, and the Royal Canadian Mint; others had all their forms available in both languages, either separately or bilingually: the department of Veterans Affairs, the Air Transport Board, the Canadian Pension Commission, the Office of the Chief Electoral Officer, and the House of Commons are examples. In the department of External Affairs, the Civil Service Commission, the Post Office, and the Taxation division of the department of National Revenue, more than 90 per cent of the forms were in both languages. In the departments of Agriculture, National Health and Welfare, Mines and Technical Surveys, and Northern Affairs and National Resources,[2] and Air Canada, the National Gallery, the Dominion Bureau of Statistics, and the Board of Transport Commissioners, between 60 per cent and 90 per cent were in English only. The department of Defence Production, Atomic Energy of Canada Ltd., the National Energy

[1] The complete tabulation of data on language use in external forms by individual departments and agencies is given in Appendix III, Table A-14.

[2] Since our research was completed some departments have been reorganized and renamed.

Board, the Export Credits Insurance Corporation, the Atlantic Development Board, and the office of the Auditor General had more than 90 per cent of their external forms in English only.

Table 35. Language of External Forms

Distribution (in numbers and percentages) of external forms of federal departments and agencies, including Crown corporations, by language—Canada, 1964

	Number	%
English only	2,984	42.4
French only	68	1.0
English and French (two separate forms)	2,108	29.9
Bilingual (one form only)	1,820	25.8
English and bilingual[1]	61	0.9
Total	7,041	100.0

Source: LaRivière, "La traduction dans la fonction publique."

[1] In these cases there was a bilingual form for Quebec and an English form for the rest of Canada.

364. More than half of the French forms were published separately rather than in a bilingual version, thus complicating distribution and increasing the cost of printing. Sometimes a bilingual form needs to be larger, but most departmental forms have very little text and could easily be printed bilingually. A Glassco Commission study of 4,000 external forms (65 per cent in English only, 23 per cent in two versions, and 12 per cent bilingual) concluded that 84 per cent of the total could have been bilingual with little increase in costs.

365. Although the departments said forms published in two separate versions were distributed in all departmental offices, it was generally difficult for Francophones to obtain forms in French if they lived outside Quebec, even where there was a large Francophone minority. For example, in Moncton, the forms of the departments of National Health and Welfare and Agriculture and the office of the Chief Electoral Officer were not available in French. French forms were not available in the offices of the department of Agriculture in Cornwall, North Bay, Sudbury, and St. Boniface. In contrast, English forms were available in all towns in Quebec where the federal government maintained offices.

3) Publications[1]

366. The availability of publications in both English and French depends on the topic and the size of the readership. In 1964, all publications of the departments of National Revenue—Taxation division,

[1] The complete tabulations of data on language use in publications by individual departments and agencies appear in Appendix III, Table A-15.

Industry, External Affairs, Public Works, Finance, Justice, and the Post Office, the Civil Service Commission, and the National Film Board were published in both languages. In most other departments and agencies, the number of publications issued in French was relatively small. The most notable was the Dominion Bureau of Statistics where only 94 out of 572 publications in 1964 were bilingual, excluding census material, which is always published in both languages (about 75 bulletins). Overall, 45 per cent (18 million words) of government output was available in French. Publications appearing only in French amounted to only 386,000 words, 1 per cent of the total.

367. In many departments, little more than a third of the publications were translated into French. This was the case in the department of Mines and Technical Surveys (9 out of 25), Labour (19 out of 55), Northern Affairs and National Resources (12 out of 34), RCMP (10 out of 26), Transport (13 out of 49), Fisheries (7 out of 22), and Agriculture (18 out of 68). They were always publications of general interest.

Delay in translation

368. Virtually all federal government publications in French were translations and they were often issued late. In the department of Mines and Technical Surveys, for example, the delay was three to six months; in Agriculture it was a year. The Quebec farmer, who rarely speaks English, thus finds himself at a disadvantage vis-à-vis his Anglophone competitors. In the department of Fisheries, one of the bilingual publications, *Cost and Earnings of the Quebec Fishing Fleet,* was issued in French each year three months after its publication in English. In the department of Labour, the French edition of the periodical *Labour Gazette* was issued with a delay of one to three months. In the Dominion Bureau of Statistics we found for example that the extremely important publications *Public and Private Investment in Canada* was issued in French about five or six weeks late, forcing Francophone economists or others interested in public affairs to use the English version. Another publication addressed particularly to Quebec, *Road Transport of Merchandise—Province of Quebec,* was issued in French two months after the English version. In the department of External Affairs, the French version of the monthly review *External Affairs* was issued with a delay of up to three weeks. In the department of Defence Production, delays of 20 months were observed.

369. The rights of Francophone readers of these publications are affected in two ways. First there is the obvious disadvantage of delay. Second—and more important—is the fact that the translations are always from English to French so that, even if the difficulty of delay were solved, the Francophone always gets a version which, though in his language, is Anglophone in its outlook.

4) Signs

370. Signs on federal buildings were generally bilingual in Ottawa and Quebec, but in the offices of a certain number of departments in Ottawa—and also in Montreal—signs were often in English only. Overseas offices of the departments of External Affairs and Citizenship and Immigration very often had signs only in English or in English and the local language.

2. *Language of work*

a) Formal communications

371. Formal communications within the Public Service include forms, manuals, directives, and other documents for the use of staff members.

1) Internal forms[1]

Findings

372. Only 15 per cent of the internal forms were available in both languages (Table 36). English was used almost exclusively by several large users of internal forms, such as the departments of External Affairs (1,205 forms) and Agriculture (1,750), the Dominion Bureau of Statistics (1,625), Canadian National (2,092), and the department of National Defence (6,063).

Table 36. Language of Internal Forms

Distribution (in numbers and percentages) of internal forms used in federal departments and agencies, including Crown corporations, by language—Canada, 1964

	Number	%
English only	30,582	83.8
French only	323	0.9
English and French (two separate forms)	2,232	6.1
Bilingual (one form only)	3,289	9.0
English and bilingual[1]	67	0.2
Total	36,493	100.0

Source: LaRivière, "La traduction dans la fonction publique."

[1] In these cases there was a bilingual form for Quebec offices and an English form for offices in the rest of Canada.

[1] Complete data on language use in internal forms by individual departments and agencies are given in Appendix III, Table A-16.

373. Some organizations offered to justify the predominant unilingualism of their forms. The Canadian Pension Commission said it had no need for French forms since all its staff members were bilingual or spoke English only. This attitude is of particular importance when examining the Anglophone public servants' motivation for acquiring a working knowledge of French. The Immigration division of the department of Citizenship and Immigration appealed to tradition: "Historically, internal forms have only been available in the English text." Finally, CMHC explained that its forms were for use in the head office where the overwhelming majority of its employees spoke only English.

2) Manuals and circulars[1]

Manuals

374. The number of manuals reported was 25,172, of which 99 per cent were in English only. The department of National Defence produced 24,497 of these, of which only one-fifth of .1 per cent were in French. Of the 675 manuals produced in the other departments and agencies, 160 or 24 per cent were available in a French version. In many important departments and agencies, all manuals were in English only: the departments of Trade and Commerce, Northern Affairs and National Resources, Mines and Technical Surveys, and Labour, the National Library, and Air Canada (200 manuals). In the RCMP, only 2 of 22 manuals were available in French. The only department with no unilingual manuals was that of the Secretary of State.

375. Manuals as working instruments for officials are vitally important. They are the rule books and chief sources of information about many government activities. Intimate acquaintance with these manuals is often a prerequisite for promotion; clearly, a person who has trouble with English would be handicapped in acquiring this knowledge. Also, if a Francophone official is pressured to use English manuals constantly, he is in danger of gradually losing his ability to work in French; French cannot be a language of work without French-language manuals.

Circulars

376. The administrative circular is an essential instrument for communication within departments since it is the vehicle for promulgating many directives. In 25 departments and agencies, circulars were published in both languages. In all the others they were always or almost always published only in English.

377. Circulars distributed in the local offices of departments in Quebec are generally bilingual, but this was not the case for all federal agencies with head offices in that province: Air Canada published all its directives in English.

[1] Complete data on language use in manuals by individual departments and agencies are given in Appendix III, Table A-17.

378. Divisions within one department sometimes had different policies. In the department of National Revenue, the Taxation division published its circulars in both languages, while the Customs and Excise division used English only.

3) Files[1]

379. In many departments, a document written in French was never filed or classified without being first translated into English, since these documents might be used in the future by unilingual Anglophones. Only 11 departments or agencies never translated their documents before filing: External Affairs, the Secretary of State, the Auditor General, the National Library, Canadian National, the Canadian Pension Commission, the Tax Appeal Board, the Queen's Printer, the Office of the Chief Electoral Officer, the Atlantic Development Board, and the Farm Credit Corporation. By contrast, 30 of 71 departments and agencies translated every French document into English as a matter of routine before filing.

380. Most file systems need an index and, in Ottawa, indices were almost without exception in English only. In Quebec branch offices, there were proportionately far more indices in French or in both languages but, even here, half the offices maintaining an index kept it only in English.

b) Informal communications

381. Much of the communication within any office is oral and informal. The informal language of work determines the real level of active participation of individuals in the organization, because employees learn essential information and try to put across their ideas in casual conversation or in team work. Language handicaps here will limit any person's contribution to the work in hand because a "foreign" cultural climate will make the individual's creative contribution to the organization difficult if not impossible.

Findings

382. The narrow limits of policy on language of work indicate little official concern with the problem that faces a Francophone in the Public Service. Table 37 indicates clearly that the use of French in the federal government is disproportionately restricted: 97 per cent of the Anglophones reported either exclusive or dominant use of English on the job, and almost 86 per cent said that they *never* used French. By contrast, only two-fifths of the Francophones reported their main working language to be French, while two-fifths said they worked predominantly in English and one-fifth said they used English and French more or less equally.

[1] Complete data on language use in the files of individual departments and agencies are given in Appendix III, Table A-18.

Table 37. Use of French and English at Work

Percentage distribution of federal departmental public servants of French or English mother tongue, by frequency of use of French and English at work—Canada, 1965

	Mother tongue			
	French		English	
Sample	Use of French *1,487*	Use of English *1,487*	Use of French *6,852*	Use of English *6,852*
Always	11.4	7.5	0.4	87.8
Most of the time	27.4	32.0	0.4	9.0
About half the time	22.2	20.0	1.2	1.1
Fairly frequently but less than half the time	16.2	17.4	1.2	0.2
Occasionally	17.6	16.5	11.2	0.5
Never	5.2	6.6	85.6	1.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Johnstone, Klein, and Ledoux, "Public Service Survey."

383. Comparison of the coincidence of optimum and actual language of work indicates decisively that Anglophone employees enjoy a significant advantage over their Francophone colleagues in this respect.[1] Among those who said that they could work best in English, 86 per cent worked exclusively in English, 97 per cent were able to use it most of the time, 3 per cent had to use French often, and 84 per cent said they never had to use it. Among those who said that French was their best language of work, 29 per cent were able to work exclusively in French, 74 per cent could use it most of the time, 47 per cent had to use English frequently. Among those who claimed that they could work equally well in both languages, 48 per cent worked mostly in English and 26 percent worked mostly in French.

Regional factors

384. Language use in general followed regional linguistic characteristics. The ability to work in English was virtually a requirement for employment in the Public Service except in Quebec. In the western provinces, 99 per cent said that they were required to use only English in their first job in the federal service.[2] In the rest of Canada the proportions were similar: New Brunswick, 93 per cent; Nova Scotia, over 99 per cent; Prince Edward Island, 97 per cent; Newfoundland, 99 per cent; and Ontario (except for Ottawa), 98 per cent. Only in Quebec

[1] Appendix III, Table A-19.
[2] *Ibid.*, Table A-20.

and the federal capital were sizable proportions of public servants required to use French on their first job. In all Quebec except Hull, 84 per cent said they needed French—27 per cent exclusively and 57 per cent together with English. In the federal capital, 81 per cent needed only English, less than 1 per cent needed only French, and 18 per cent needed both on their first jobs.

385. Clearly, a Francophone recruit to the Public Service is at a disadvantage unless he seeks out a post in Quebec. Those of non-French mother tongue who wanted a first job where only English was required were given one 98 per cent of the time. Those of French mother tongue who wanted to work in French got the desired type of post only 31 per cent of the time.[1]

386. Our surveys found no significant changes in patterns of language use over the last 20 years.[2] In the Public Service as a whole, about 18 per cent of all staff recruited in that time were required to use French in their first job. In Quebec and the federal capital alone, there was a small increase in the percentage of first posts requiring French: from 83 per cent in Quebec before 1950 to 88 per cent in 1961; and in the capital region, from 18 per cent before 1950 to 22 per cent in 1961. The latter change is statistically large—an increase of a quarter over the original figure—but remains low considering the fact that Ottawa as the capital of a bilingual country has a particular responsibility to reflect the equality of the two linguistic communities.

D. Language Use in Three Selected Departments

Departments selected

387. The language practices of the department of External Affairs, the Taxation division of the department of National Revenue, and the Treasury Board were selected for close examination because they comprise a fair cross-section of the Public Service as a whole, and because each is involved in one or more of the federal government's main activities. External Affairs is one of the highly professionalized sectors of the Public Service, where a lifetime career is strongly emphasized. The Taxation division of the department of National Revenue epitomizes government departments with decades of experience in dealing directly with the public through a chain of regional offices. The Treasury Board, one of the most important central agencies of government, has a pervasive effect on staffing and on the allocation of funds throughout the Public Service, with far-reaching implications for the language practices of the Service.

[1] *Ibid.*, Table A-21.
[2] *Ibid.*, Table A-22.

1. The department of External Affairs[1]

388. This department provides official channels of communication between Canada and other countries, informs the Canadian government about developments abroad, and safeguards the interests of Canada and Canadians in foreign countries. To do so, it maintains about 78 embassies, 20 high commissions, 16 consulates and consulates general, and a number of missions and supervisory commissions. The department participates in international organizations on behalf of the Canadian government; its officials regularly attend meetings of international bodies and can be said to present the "image" of Canada to foreign governments.

Composition in 1965

389. We focussed our attention on the department's central administration in Ottawa. In 1965 the Ottawa staff was concentrated in 25 divisions and several smaller units.[2] There were three types of divisions: political, technical, and administrative. The six political divisions were organized on geographic lines: United States, Latin American, Commonwealth, European, African and Middle Eastern, and far Eastern divisions. The 10 technical divisions included the Disarmament, Defence Liaison (1), Defence Liaison (2), Economic, Protocol, and Information divisions. The remaining divisions were broadly defined as administrative: Communications, Finance, Administrative Services, Personnel Operations, and Personnel Services are examples.

a) Language use

390. In 1965 the central administration reported that French was used for less than 5 per cent of its written material. Even this low rate of use was not representative: nine divisions reported that they never used French, oral or written, and the range in the use of written French was from one one-hundredth of 1 per cent in the Commonwealth division to about 20 per cent in the European and Press and Liaison divisions.

391. The political divisions averaged 4 per cent of their written work in French, but the European division accounted for a much higher percentage than the others—it had a bilingual head and has traditionally been one to which many Francophones are assigned. Administrative divisions averaged 3 per cent of their written production in French and functional divisions 6 per cent. The latter was attributable largely to

1 Based on Gilles Lalande, *The Department of External Affairs and Biculturalism: Diplomatic Personnel and Language Use*, a study prepared for the R.C.B.&B. (Ottawa, 1969).

2 The Lalande study surveyed a total of 27 units. Most of its statistics were drawn from questionnaires completed either by these units in the central administration or by missions abroad.

departmental relations with the Canadian public, particularly in the Press and Liaison, Passport, and Information divisions. In all, 18 divisions reported that they sometimes used written French; in the other nine, French was never used.

b) Linguistic composition of the staff

Bilingual capacity

392. Although written French was so seldom used as a working language in External Affairs, many of the Ottawa-based staff said they could perform part of their duties in either French or English. Returns from heads of divisions revealed that 45 per cent of the Foreign Service Officers, 30 per cent of the External Affairs Officers, and 33 per cent of the clerical and administrative staff were bilingual. Most respondents cited lack of bilingual staff as the main reason for the limited use of French. Other factors mentioned were the need for efficient and prompt work, the practical need to use English, the long tradition of using English, and the influence of an industrial and technical vocabulary drawn from the United States.

393. There were some positive indications that French could become a working language: the concentration in some foreign missions or Ottawa divisions of Francophone officials, and a comparatively high proportion of Anglophone officials claiming to speak adequate French. The department thus has good resources for making French a language of work. But these resources need the support of policy and appropriate working arrangements. With this in mind, we made a special survey of the Foreign Service Officers.

c) Survey of Foreign Service Officers (FSOs)

Composition at upper levels

394. In September 1965, there was only one Francophone—the under-secretary—among the six senior officials in the central administration of the department. Only 17 per cent of the staff at the upper level were Francophones.[1] Among the Foreign Service Officers (all fully qualified diplomatic officials), about 21 per cent were of French mother tongue.

Division heads

395. We observed a similar tendency in the appointment of FSOs to heads of divisions in the central administration. Only two of the 20 FSOs in these positions in September 1965 were Francophones, and both had charge of units generally regarded as of secondary importance. Between 1945 and 1965, only 7 of the 61 FSOs appointed heads of divisions were Francophones.

[1] See Appendix III, Table A-23.

"Parachuting"

396. The "parachuting"[1] of heads of missions may have helped to correct this imbalance. Most Anglophones appointed heads of posts between 1945 and 1965 were career officers who had worked their way up the ladder, but a significant proportion of Francophones receiving such appointments were brought into the department from outside by Orders-in-Council or were recruited as political nominees. Such "parachuting" may have been intended to balance the department's linguistic composition at the senior level, but it did not alter the fact that Francophones suffer a distinct disadvantage in seeking promotion to the senior headquarters positions.

Missions abroad

397. By contrast, proportionately more Francophone than Anglophone FSOs became heads of missions abroad between 1945 and 1965. Nevertheless, no Francophone has ever been head of mission in Washington or in any Asian country and very few have been heads of missions in Commonwealth countries. Francophones hold a disproportionately high percentage of such senior posts in Latin America and Western Europe.

398. The embassy and the consulates in France were the only missions where French was used to a significant extent. In other countries which have French as an official language, the department's missions used French essentially for local convenience rather than for official purposes. Similarly, the department seemed to take little or no account of the fact that in other countries French, though not an official language, was preferred by the host government as a language of diplomatic communication or was commonly used by the population.

d) Evaluation

Recent changes

399. There seems to have been some increase in the use of French in External Affairs in the three years since our survey was concluded in 1965,[2] but there has been little tendency for language use to change significantly. Nevertheless, the department of External Affairs as a whole constitutes an impressive example of unused linguistic resources; these resources represent a considerable potential, especially when compared with those of other departments. The situation in this department demonstrates that individual bilingualism, when faced with the enormous weight of well-established traditions, cannot by itself make an organization bilingual unless the minority language is defined and supported as the official language of work in specified parts of the organization.

[1] This term has had some pejorative connotations, but its usage is now sufficiently widespread to preclude any misunderstanding in this respect.

[2] *See* Paul Martin, "Bilingualism in the Department of External Affairs," *External Affairs*, XIX, No. 8 (Ottawa, 1967), 320.

2. *The department of National Revenue—Taxation division*[1]

400. The department of National Revenue is the third largest employer in government, after the departments of National Defence and the Post Office. It has two main divisions: Customs and Excise, and Taxation. We studied intensively only the latter.

401. The Taxation division is responsible for assessment and collection of income taxes, estate taxes, gift taxes, part of the old age security tax, and federal pension plan contributions. In addition, under the terms of a 1962 agreement between the federal government and the provinces, the division is charged with the collection and accounting of certain provincial taxes for all provinces except Quebec. Its goal, then, is to obtain public compliance with taxation legislation, both federal and provincial. To do so, it deals directly with many citizens through its regional offices.

a) Linguistic composition

Head office

402. About 30 per cent of the employees in the head office of the Taxation division in Ottawa were Francophones, but most were at the lower levels of the organization: they made up 45 per cent of the employees earning less than $6,200 a year but only 16 per cent of all employees above that level. Not one of the top echelon of head office—branch directors and assistant directors—was a Francophone. Only 7 of the 53 section supervisors or group heads were Francophones. At all levels, Francophones were not evenly distributed throughout head office. The highest concentration of Francophones earning more than $6,200 was in the Legal branch (25 per cent of the staff); under the $6,200 level, the proportion was highest in the Planning and Development branch (61 per cent).

Montreal office

403. In the Montreal office, approximately 83 per cent of all employees were Francophones in January 1966. Of the 107 staff members at the level of unit head and above, 94 were reportedly bilingual but, even here, two of the three most senior supervisory positions were held by unilingual Anglophones.

404. The linguistic composition of the senior staff in Montreal corresponded in general to the distribution of the population it served, but in Ottawa it was radically different. As long as there is only a handful of Francophone senior officials in head office, the department's hierarchy will tend to be out of touch with French-speaking Canada, and not many Francophones of talent will feel induced to join it.

[1] Based on Peter Pitsiladis, "Bilingualism and Biculturalism in the Department of National Revenue (Taxation Division)," a study prepared for the R.C.B.&B.

405. The strong regional orientation of this division clearly provides opportunities for increased participation of Francophones, together with a structural framework for the use of French as a working language. However, the trend to recentralization in the department—particularly with the establishment of a computer data centre in Ottawa—may very well adversely affect the possibilities for the growth of institutional bilingualism in the department, in view of the absence of individual bilingualism in the head office.

b) Language use

406. Except for dealings within Quebec and with some French-speaking countries, English was the only language of communication between the head office of the division and other departments of government and the public. Since the head office has limited bilingual capacity, English was the predominant language of oral communication even with branch offices in Quebec.

407. At the district level, however, offices were equipped to give service to the local clientele in the appropriate official languages. French and English were used in the Quebec offices and by offices outside Quebec fully or partly staffed by bilingual employees. As a matter of policy, all correspondence received from taxpayers in French was answered in French. Inquiries from Francophone taxpayers to head office were either redirected to the appropriate district office or answered in French directly, through the use of translation facilities. But personal meetings with taxpayers and their representatives in head office were usually held in English, regardless of the language of the taxpayer.

408. English was used throughout the head office organization, except for informal communication among Francophone employees. English was also the dominant language in all district offices, except for the four in Quebec. All the Quebec offices except the one in Montreal were for most purposes French-language offices. French was the dominant language of work in Montreal but, because of the larger number of Anglophone residents in Montreal and on staff in the Montreal office, English was used extensively. Formal communications among members of the Montreal staff were written in the language of the sender. Simple communications from a supervisor to a subordinate were usually written in the language of the recipient unless the supervisor was himself a unilingual Anglophone. Formal general instructions and circulars were written in both languages. In group meetings where unilingual Anglophones were present, English was usually used to accommodate them. Written communications from head office to Montreal were usually in

English but those from Montreal to head office could be sent in either language. At the higher level, English was usually used because of limited bilingualism in the head office. At lower levels in the Montreal organization, technical assessing reports to the head office could be prepared in French at the discretion of the assessor.

409. Formal policy statements and procedural instructions were usually made available in both languages, although the English versions preceded the French by some four to six months.

410. Over the years French has become the basic language of work in the Montreal office, as more Francophones have joined the staff and been promoted to supervisory positions. In all the Quebec offices, French can now be used more extensively on the job and slightly more frequently in communications with head office.

Francophones and the use of French at head office

411. In head office, changes in the participation of Francophones at the senior levels and in the use of French were not nearly as pronounced. There was widespread acceptance of the need to deal with taxpayers in the official language of their choice, but this did not extend to interoffice oral communication. The extremely limited bilingual capacity among Anglophones in the higher echelons accounted for the meagre use of French, and for the prevailing attitudes towards language use and the participation of Francophones.

412. Interoffice reports and other memoranda in French were possible within some branches and at certain levels of head office. Some officers expressed a desire to learn French, but few seemed sufficiently motivated actually to do so. Their attitude could be explained by the fact that Francophone staff could look after Francophone clients and, since those in responsible posts were able to deal with Ottawa in English, there was little need for change. While acknowledging the need for more Francophones in district offices, most officers indicated that they did not think similar participation at head office was necessary or desirable in itself. Many senior officials implied that more use of French might interfere with present standards and the administration of the division. No significant change from the present situation was seriously contemplated.

c) Evaluation

413. We have already discovered that individual bilingualism is insufficient by itself to permit both French and English to become languages of work. Nevertheless, it is indispensable for liaison between unilingual units and above a certain directive level. Thus, if individual

bilingualism existed at the points of liaison and direction, the Taxation division might even now be described as a bilingual institution since the regional organization of its offices permits the almost total use of French as a viable language of work at this level.

3. *The Treasury Board*[1]

414. Because of its function of controlling departmental budgets, finance, and establishments, the Treasury Board occupies the key position in the management structure of the Public Service. The Treasury Board is a committee of the Privy Council; it has six members: its president, the minister of Finance, and four other ministers.[2] Its unique composition puts it in a privileged position and should permit it to assume a leading role in the understanding and solution of the linguistic and cultural problems that confront the whole Public Service. The scope of its activities is indicated by the three branches of its administrative arm, the Treasury Board secretariat: the Personnel Policy branch, the Management Improvement branch, and the Program branch. The Treasury Board is a small agency in the upper levels of the Public Service, with only a few hundred employees, all of whom work in Ottawa and about half of whom are relatively senior men.

a) Linguistic composition

415. Usually one or two members of the Treasury Board are Francophones, and one of the three assistant secretaries is a Francophone. However, never since Confederation has the president of the Treasury Board—until recently the minister of Finance—been a Francophone. The Board has been an Anglophone organization presiding over an Anglophone Public Service.

416. Table 38 shows the distribution of the Francophone officers among the total officer staff of the secretariat in July 1965. Twelve per cent were Francophones, approximately the same percentage as held senior positions throughout the Public Service. There was a very low proportion of Francophones in the Program branch, and relatively high proportions in the other two, especially in the Personnel Policy branch. At the time of our study all the top management positions, including that of the secretary of the Treasury Board, were held by Anglophones.[3]

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1 Based on C. E. S. Franks, "Bilingualism and Biculturalism in the Federal Treasury Board," a study prepared for the R.C.B.&B.

2 The Treasury Board was declared a department under the Government Organization Act, 1966, S. C. 1966, 14-15 Eliz. II, c.25.

3 The clerical staff of the secretariat is not included in the following analysis.

Table 38. Francophones in the Treasury Board Secretariat

Distribution of officers in the Treasury Board Secretariat, by branch and level—Canada, 1965

	Level				
	Branch head	Division head	Other officers	Total	Percentage of Francophones
Personnel Policy branch					
All officers	1	3	29	33	
Francophones	0	2	5	7	21.2
Program branch					
All officers	1	5	26	32	
Francophones	0	0	1	1	3.1
Management Improvement branch					
All officers	1	4	12	17	
Francophones	0	0	3	3	17.6
Other branches					
All officers	5	0	5	10	
Francophones	0	0	0	0	0.0
All branches					
All officers	8	12	72	92	
Francophones	0	2	9	11	12.0

Source: Franks, "Bilingualism and Biculturalism in the Federal Treasury Board."

b) Language use

Inter-service communication

417. Most of the contacts of the Treasury Board and its secretariat are with the upper levels of the Public Service, which are almost exclusively Anglophone. Because the Board does not deal with the public and is only rarely in direct contact with non-governmental organizations, linguistic problems with an outside clientele do not exist. Consequently, practically all the outgoing communications of the Board were in English only.

Documents

418. Documents in French were received, of course: for example, letters from Quebec MPs and enclosures in files from elsewhere in the Public Service. Sometimes these were sent to the Translation Bureau when they were received; at other times they might never be translated in full, but an English summary would be prepared within the secretariat.

419. Some Treasury Board minutes and regulations affect government employees or agencies and are therefore publicly promulgated. A

step towards external bilingualism was taken in 1964 when the Board was authorized to issue such documents in both languages. They are normally drafted in English and then sent to the Translation Bureau. The French text is then closely edited by secretariat officers to ensure that shades of meaning are presented accurately.

420. Another recent introduction of French has been in the financial estimates submitted annually to Parliament by the minister of Finance. These used to be submitted to Parliament in English and made available in French weeks afterward. Now they are submitted simultaneously in French and English.

As collective bargaining agent

421. Now that collective bargaining is established in the Public Service, the Treasury Board secretariat represents the government at the bargaining table. Because some employee associations might prefer to negotiate in French, the Treasury Board has begun to develop resources to enable it to carry on negotiations in both languages.

Intra-service communication

422. Within the Board, virtually all written work was in English. On occasion, Francophones wrote informal memoranda in French to one another, but when these were to be used by an Anglophone they were written in English. French was also used for informal communication between Francophones, or with the few bilingual Anglophones in the secretariat. English was the language of business meetings.

423. After the Glassco Commission submitted its report, a group of Francophones within the secretariat set up (at the suggestion of their senior officers) an informal committee of bilingual employees of both language groups to study and propose solutions to the problems raised by bilingualism in the Public Service. This committee worked in French, and submitted a report to the interdepartmental committee on bilingualism established by the government. It was the first staff committee ever to use French as its language of work.

424. At the time of our study there was no expectation that the secretariat, or any unit of it, would in the foreseeable future adopt French as a language of work on an equal basis with English, except perhaps for a portion of the collective bargaining unit. Many Anglophone officers said that working in French would be impractical because so few senior officials of the Treasury Board itself and the government departments it deals with can understand French. However, most of the Francophone staff said emphatically that the present system was unfair and that bilingualism was urgently needed. Several Francophones remarked that they had suggested that French should be used more, perhaps in weekly staff meetings, or that some projects should be worked on in French, but that nothing had come of these suggestions.

425. Several officers of the secretariat were attending the hour-a-day French course in 1965. Employees were selected largely on the basis of

interest rather than with any expectation that they would subsequently use French regularly in their work.

426. The attitude of most Anglophones in the secretariat was that the secretariat used English because most of the senior people they dealt with in other departments preferred it that way. They said there was no pressure for change from within the Public Service. They did not consider it their place to encourage greater use of French at the top of the Service.[1]

Anglophone attitudes

c) Evaluation

427. The Francophone employees of the secretariat and some of the Anglophones expressed a keen interest in bilingualism in the Public Service. They anticipated change in language use within the secretariat but were not aware of any concrete programmes leading to such changes. For instance, there was widespread interest and active involvement in learning French among Anglophones, but this was not related to any expectation that French would become a working language of the secretariat.

428. This powerful agency could do much to alter language practices in the federal Public Service, but it has failed to show the initiative and leadership it might have in changing the status quo—the continued dominance of English in governmental affairs. Until very recently the Treasury Board had not shown any desire to serve as an instrument for encouraging the development of bilingualism in the Public Service. As in other central agencies of government, there was a display of immense goodwill towards bilingualism. However, the lack of concrete concern was evident from the general reluctance to assume leadership in this field or to experiment with the use of French within the secretariat. If it had been more eager to assert its central leadership role, it would probably have insisted that responsibility for this important function—important in the overall managerial sense as well as in respect of personnel policy—should be vested in the Board itself.

4. Prospects for institutional bilingualism in the three departments

429. Close examination of these three sectors of the federal administration convinced us of the limitation of any omnibus approach to the question of language use in the Public Service. Certainly, French is not used as much as it ought to be, but the reasons for the situation in each

[1] It should be recalled that our survey antedated Prime Minister Pearson's statement of April 1966 to the effect that by 1975 bilingualism should be a requirement for promotion to executive and administrative positions. *See* Appendix II.

department vary according to the different functions, occupations, and traditions of each, and any linguistic policy must take into account these particularities.

Department of National Revenue —Taxation division

430. Our studies of the departments called into question a number of strongly advocated solutions to the problem of bilingualism. One such "solution" is that the development of bilingualism in head office will result spontaneously from its "seepage" up from district offices, where it should first be implemented on the principle of language of service to the public. Unfortunately, because there has been no overall policy, this has not happened. The Taxation division of the department of National Revenue is one instance where the existing organizational structure constitutes a base upon which institutional bilingualism could have been developed. Thanks to the existence of regional French-language units, that language is already a language of work in Quebec. Such an organization could be systematized and made viable at the regional level, at the headquarters level, and at the points of direction and liaison; however, without a certain degree of individual bilingualism in the latter two places, French cannot be effectively used beyond certain lower echelons.

Department of External Affairs

431. Another proposal has been to increase the number of Francophone employees in a given department, in the expectation that this will make the department itself bilingual. But the increased presence of a minority-language group cannot itself change the structures, as the situation in the department of External Affairs illustrates. Largely because of its relatively high number of Francophone officers, this department possesses enough language skills, but not the organizational intent or structure for institutional bilingualism. Although a proportionately large number of its senior Anglophone staff claim to have some knowledge of French, and although that language is the mother tongue of over 20 per cent of its Foreign Service Officers, the amount of work done in French is still minimal. In other words, individual bilingualism plus a Francophone presence are not sufficient to make the organization a bilingual institution. These factors must be supported by an organization conceived and thought out on the basis of the coexistence of both languages at work.

Some elements of institutional bilingualism

432. None of the situations just described reflects institutional bilingualism. In each case, however, there are certain important elements that can serve as springboards to real changes. These elements were found in the structures of service (Taxation division), in the existing linguistic resources, albeit largely unused (department of External Affairs), and in prestige, power, and intellectual capacity (Treasury Board). Yet, essential though these capacities are, they cannot themselves make an institution bilingual. Furthermore, an institution composed entirely of

bilingual members would probably cease to be institutionally bilingual: one of the two languages would become redundant, at least as a method of communication. Thus, in a bilingual institution, it is neither necessary nor desirable to have bilingual individuals everywhere, but they are necessary in the liaison and directive functions. As far as possible, policies on language use should be uniform throughout the Public Service, but there must be room for flexible adaptation to particular departmental conditions.

E. Existing Programmes for Bilingualism in the Public Service

433. The Translation Bureau and language schools are the main means by which the government of Canada has attempted over the years to develop a particular pattern of language use in the Public Service. Neither was set up and neither is now being developed within an overall framework of comprehensive language policy. The service-wide language-training programme launched in 1964 was, in particular, a specific response to political demands; it was not integrated or systematically planned with a view to the general goal of creating a bilingual Public Service. Some of the Translation Bureau's difficulties and shortcomings have also stemmed from a similar lack of overall planning and evaluation.

1. Translation Bureau[1]

434. Since the creation of the Bureau for Translations in 1934, central translation facilities have been developed to meet the minimal requirements for communication with the Francophone and Anglophone public in the absence of widespread bilingual competence throughout the Public Service. The Bureau's main function is to facilitate communication between the government and its clients; it is used very little for internal communication, except for the minimum quantity of directives, forms, regulations, and so on. Two-thirds of its work is translating from English—the dominant language—into French.

a) Organization

435. The Translation Bureau is part of the department of the Secretary of State. It has three operations branches and two concerned with administration and training. Each operations branch supervises the

[1] Based on LaRivière, "La traduction dans la fonction publique."

translation units in several government departments, and the departments are grouped roughly according to their type of work: parliamentary, scientific, or administrative. A special unit of the Parliamentary and General branch was created in Montreal to increase recruitment of translators living in Quebec.

Independent facilities

436. Four important agencies of the Public Service provide their own independent translation facilities. These are the National Research Council, Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation, Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, and Canadian National. Although there is a case for maintaining these independent translation sections, there are evident disadvantages—such as lack of standards of workmanship for the whole Public Service, discrepancies in salaries, and difficulties in the transfer and promotion of staff.

Relations with departments

437. In 1965, government departments seemed to be poorly organized for working with the Translation Bureau. There were complaints about delays and occasional comments on the quality of translation, but the translators' clients had no organized way of formulating their needs or evaluating the Bureau's output. There may have been some improvement since the appointment of advisors and committees to deal with matters of bilingualism in a few departments.

438. In most departments and agencies, official responsibility for translation did not lie with any one unit or person. This was frustrating to the clients, most of whom described it as a failure of the Translation Bureau. But the departments were partly responsible themselves because they had not taken the initiative in organization. Some attempts at reform were blocked by the Treasury Board or the Public Service Commission on grounds of cost or personnel.[1] However, the Bureau's recent reorganization into specialized branches may help to end this sort of complaint.

Personnel

439. The career system of the Bureau of Translation seems far from adequate. Because many of the staff had not planned on translation as a lifetime career but had come to it after experience in other professions, almost 40 per cent of the 314 translators were over 50 years old, and less than 20 per cent were between 20 and 30.

440. Candidates for employment as translators have to take an examination; a bachelor's degree is supposed to be the minimum qualification for sitting the examination but, of the 314 translators, 140 had no university degree, 127 had bachelor's degrees, and only 47 had higher degrees (including 10 doctorates). Very few translators had had specific training in their work.[2]

1 Michel Chevalier, "The Dynamics of Adaptation in the Federal Public Service," a study prepared for the R.C.B.&B.

2 However, *see* § 449 for recent developments.

441. Since it paid its more experienced personnel less than other employers of translators, the Bureau had, in the years before our study was undertaken, suffered a very heavy turnover of staff and was not able to attract many recruits from Quebec. A salary increase of 10 to 45 per cent, awarded in July 1966, was designed to alleviate this situation.

b) Operation

Output

442. In 1965 the output of the Bureau reached 102,000,000 words. The division of Foreign Languages translated the largest amount—12,500,000 words—followed by the Montreal division with 7,900,000, General Translation in Ottawa (serving departments that did not have their own branches of the Bureau) with 7,500,000, and the National Revenue department's translation division with 5,600,000. Publications accounted for more than a third of the output; correspondence accounted for about a fifth.

Correspondence

443. Although some departments have succeeded in reducing the amount of translated correspondence, the total passing through the Bureau has grown steadily. Besides delaying the reply to each letter, translating correspondence takes up a disproportionate amount of translators' time, which could be better spent on publications. In 1965, 22,000,000 words of government publications went untranslated; this is almost exactly equal to the amount of correspondence translated by the Bureau in the same period.

Direction of translation

444. Only about 20 per cent of the translation was from French to English. Texts translated from English to French almost always originate with officials and are intended for the Francophone public or other officials. Texts translated from French to English almost always originate outside the Public Service and are intended for one or several unilingual Anglophone officials.

Extra workload

445. Much of the translators' time is spent on correcting proofs. In some departments, such as National Defence and Transport, correcting proofs takes up to 20 per cent of their time.

Quality

446. The quality of translation—a crucial matter—was not effectively supervised until very recently. Most of the heads of translation divisions were reasonably satisfied with the quality, but most deplored the fact that time limitations prevented the production of fine quality texts. We ourselves experienced great difficulty in obtaining translation of acceptable quality; many complaints have been made in the House of Commons, and many other Royal Commissions[1] engaged special per-

[1] For example, those on Canada's Economic Prospects (the Gordon Commission), Banking and Finance (the Porter Commission), and Taxation (the Carter Commission), as well as the Glassco Commission.

sonnel to revise or make initial translations of their reports. In 71 departments and agencies surveyed on the subject of quality of translation, opinion was divided: 35 per cent said they were "very satisfied," 51 per cent were "somewhat satisfied," 3 per cent were "dissatisfied," and 11 per cent either did not use the Bureau or did not answer. Many departments provided specific opinions. Some complained that translations were usually too literal and they commented on the subtler demands of truly satisfactory translations. Dissatisfaction was registered in the following way by an official in the National Film Board:

> One might say that translation goes from excellent to the worst. Excellence is very rare, medium quality dominates and mediocrity is not exceptional. It often happens that a translation is only useful to us as a basic text which must be revised if one wants to use language which is a little elegant and precise.... It is important to indicate that time pressures condition the quality of translation. When one submits a large report and one wants a rapid translation, the quality can suffer. One must take into account that in an agency like the National Film Board there is a specialized terminology that is not familiar to the translator.

Delays

447. Delays in translation were frequently mentioned. Only 11 of the 71 departments and agencies surveyed indicated that there was no delay in translation; 41 complained of slight delays and 9 of excessive delays. Apparently the service was satisfactory for correspondence and other short texts but, for long reports, delays were considerable. Some departments emphasized the slowness of translation of technical reports.[2] However, the Bureau and the departmental divisions did not appear to have the necessary staff to satisfy such specialized demands. For example, the department of National Health and Welfare noted that its translation needs had doubled between 1963 and 1965, but its translation division had not obtained the staff to meet the new demands.

c) Summary and evaluation

448. Translation has been an essential function of the Canadian Public Service for many years and is likely to remain so. An increased number of bilingual individuals in the Service will not automatically decrease the need for translation services. On the other hand, the widespread need for translation into French is a continuing indication of how few public servants in responsible posts can work effectively in French—whether as their first or second language.

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[2] An extreme example was cited by one department where a major source document used by scientists all across the country has been available in English since 1958. The French translation did not appear for eight years, during which time a total revision of the English version was all but completed.

Training

449. At the time our research was done, we judged that, although the Bureau was aware of its problems, it had not been given or had not used sufficient means to recruit and retain enough good translators. There was virtually no specialized training and the school for upgrading translators seemed inadequate for a fully competent service. Special linguistic and technical skills are needed for translation of much technical material, and translators with scientific as well as linguistic qualifications must be recruited. The Bureau has recently made efforts to recruit translators in Europe; it has also been instrumental in the establishment of schools for translators at the Universities of Ottawa and Montreal, and has instituted a system of scholarships for students studying translation in these universities.

Waste of translators' time

450. There are two sources of waste of translators' time: performing ordinary editorial work on documents drafted in French and making unnecessary translations. It is quite appropriate to translate any public document, from a form to a long government report, and any document that must be signed by a unilingual official. But, in 1965, 30 of 65 government departments still had every piece of paper with French on it translated as a matter of course. This situation creates a morale problem among translators presented with too many apparently trivial documents. For those of the Bureau's clients who automatically receive a formal translation of every memorandum drafted in French, there is little incentive to develop even rudimentary reading ability in the other official language. Since there is so much strain on the Bureau's capacity, complaints about the quality of its work are hardly surprising. No change can be expected until there is an agency in each department to decide what material is worth translation and what is not.

Suggestions for improvement

451. Better organization and administrative liaison are obviously the keys to improved speed and quality of translation. Especially needed are enough supervisors to review and improve the work of the primary translator. This function is at present either not done at all or inadequately done because of pressure of time. However, reorganization of the Bureau is unlikely to be successful until the function of translation in the Public Service is clearly and thoroughly defined as part of a systematic language policy integrating all demands for language abilities with all language resources and, above all, planned language practices. Once such a policy has been promulgated, individual departments can decide what should be translated and in what order of priority. This sort of planning would free the Bureau from extraneous duties. Translators' morale and the quality of their work would almost certainly improve. The unification of dispersed translation units around their technical specialties—something the Bureau has already undertaken on the administrative level—is obviously the best long-run solution.

2. *Language training*

452. The federal government's language-training programme is a significant step towards development of individual bilingualism in the federal administration; no single such measure has received so much attention in the last few years. However, any study of the programme is limited by its very newness and its rapid development.

a) Recent developments[1]

453. Although there have been language-training programmes in some departments and agencies for more than 15 years, a Service-wide programme is a recent innovation. Among the units that have had programmes in the past are the departments of National Defence, External Affairs, Northern Affairs and National Resources, the Post Office, and Trade and Commerce, the Dominion Bureau of Statistics, the Bank of Canada, Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation, the National Film Board, the Export Credits Insurance Corporation, Canadian National, and the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation. The department of National Defence, in particular, has had an extensive programme of language training for many years. With the institution of Service-wide training, there has been a gradual regrouping of departmental and agency programmes under one central agency. Despite their technical limitations, these programmes laid the base for the introduction of language training into the federal Public Service.

1) Civil Service Commission programme (1963-5)

Glassco Commission

454. In 1961, the Glassco Commission's committee on bilingualism suggested that the educational aim of the government should be to make public servants bilingual after entry, with French courses available to all. In the part of its report devoted to personnel management, the commission recommended that "the federal government adopt active measures to develop bilingual capacities among its employees on a selective basis."[2]

Interdepartmental committee

455. On August 3, 1963, the cabinet approved the establishment of an interdepartmental committee on bilingualism in the federal Public Service. This committee of senior officers was enjoined to give sustained attention to the various aspects of the problem of bilingualism within the federal administration. Its first task was to study and make recommendations on the "nature and organization of French and English

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1 We wish to acknowledge the use of many internal documents of the Language Training Directorate for our historical sketch.

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

classes within the public service, for government officials as well as for other employees."[1] The Committee submitted a report to the cabinet committee on government organization and bilingualism, and the government approved a preparatory programme, to be carried out by the Civil Service Commission on an experimental basis, which was to be used to determine the content of the comprehensive programme launched in 1964.

Objectives

456. The objectives of this comprehensive programme were considered to include the following:

(1) The ultimate objective of the comprehensive language training programme for the federal public service is the achievement over a period of time of sufficient fluency and facility in both languages by members of the Public Service to permit the day-to-day business to be conducted interchangeably in either or both languages without the necessity of translation services in routine matters.

. . . . . .

(3) Priority of attention can and should be given in the first instance to the Ottawa-Hull Headquarters Area and certain other major centres where bilingual qualifications are immediately necessary or desirable for intensely practical reasons.[2]

Method

457. After consultations with linguists and university specialists, the Civil Service Commission decided to adopt *Voix et images de France* (VIF), an audio-visual course developed from a long-range research programme sponsored by the government of France, based on "le français fondamental."

Success of the courses

458. The growth of the language-training service has been striking. Following on from the programme tried experimentally in 1963 by the department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, it began with a pilot school in 1964, which taught French to 32 civil servants and English to 10 civil servants, using four teachers and two types of courses. Table 39 shows its growth since then, with a cumulative total of 6,731 enrolments by 1967. This figure includes 4,848 public servants who completed courses—of whom 1,008 returned for second or third courses—and 875 "drop-outs." The demand is indicated by registration figures of September 1967, when government departments and agencies, using their own selection processes, submitted 8,811 applications for 5,800 places.[3]

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[1] Canada, House of Commons, *Debates*, 1963, 1st session, VI, 5711.

[2] G. G. E. Steele, "Bilingualism in the Canadian Public Service," an address to the National Conference, Civil Service Federation Convention, Windsor, Ontario, August 25, 1965, in *Civil Service Review*, XXXVIII, No. 3 (Ottawa, 1965), 68.

[3] By October 1967, there were 9,895 applications.

Table 39. Enrolment in Language Courses

Enrolment in the French and English courses of the Civil Service Commission, 1963–7

	Total	French courses	English courses
1963–4	42	32	10
1964–5	708	625	83
1965–6	2,793	2,425	368
1966–7	3,188	2,422	766
Total	6,731	5,504	1,227

Source: Public Service Commission.

2) The programme from 1966 to 1968

Criteria and priorities

459. After its early activity and Prime Minister Pearson's policy statement of April 6, 1966,[1] the Civil Service Commission proposed criteria to determine:

a) the language skills required, both long-term and short-term, to fulfil the government's primary objective of providing service to the public in the official language of choice; and

b) a system of priorities, based on the Prime Minister's speech, for selecting candidates for language classes. Those given preference since September 1966 include:

i) Senior department officials, since the Prime Minister said that by 1975 bilingualism should be a requirement for promotion to executive and administrative positions within the public service;

ii) personnel who need the other official language in their work—for example, those who deal with the public or who represent Canada in an official capacity at functions where both languages are necessary or where it is judged important to project a "bilingual image";

iii) those who already have some degree of competence in the second language or who have participated in a language course;

iv) staff members of unilingual branches, divisions, and sections, in order to develop language-of-choice service in regions with a language minority;

v) recent university graduates recruited for the Junior Executive Officer or Foreign Service Officer programmes; and

vi) employees due to be transferred to offices where the use of the other language is necessary.

Individual bilingualism

460. In this programme, there was no mention of the fact that liaison positions would be an important factor in the development of a system permitting members of each of the two language groups to work in their own language. Individual bilingualism is still seen principally in the role of service to the public rather than as a factor in the transformation of the Public Service itself. There is no reference to the necessity of

[1] *See* Appendix II.

creating working arrangements in which the new language can be used, although Prime Minister Pearson's policy statement, which inspired these criteria, was capable of being so interpreted.

Organization of courses

461. The announcement of government policy greatly increased the demand for language training. By October 1967, 13 schools had been approved by the Treasury Board: seven in the federal capital area, two in Montreal, one each in Quebec City, Toronto, Cornwall, and St. Catharines. The courses were organized at three levels of ability,[1] and presented on several schedules: full-time ("complete immersion"), full-time (regular), partial immersion, half-time, one hour a day, two hours three times a week, three hours twice a week, and evening.

462. Two major innovations for training senior officials were introduced. The first is the "complete immersion" course of eight hours of instruction daily for three weeks, alternating with instruction for one hour a day for five to six months, until the required proficiency is attained. The second and more profound is year-long immersion in not only a new language but a new cultural community. In 1967-8, 30 senior officials and their families spent a year in either Quebec City or Toronto; during their stay they received intensive language training as well as general exposure to the community.

463. Table 40 shows the demand for second-language training in 1967-8: there were 8,811 applicants for 5,800 places, but relatively few took immersion, full-time, or even half-time courses. This does not take into account those taking external immersion courses or university courses in their second language.

Cost

464. The total cost was estimated at $3,659,000 for the year 1966-7, when about 200 teachers and 100 other staff were at work. At least 250 teachers were needed for 1967-8. Cost per student was estimated at $2,014 in the immersion courses; half of this cost is the student's ordinary salary, drawn as usual during the course. Unit cost for successful completion of the hour-a-day courses was $3,093, including time lost from work (more than six weeks a year). Courses are nominally comparable regardless of their schedule but, since it takes over two years to complete a course at the rate of one hour a day, the comparison is invalid. The hour-a-day courses cost half as much again as immersion courses, largely owing to time lost from work.

465. In 1967 it was estimated that five additional schools would be required each year until departmental needs are met. Thirty schools in 1971 would cost $10,000,000 a year.

[1] The third level of the French curriculum was not fully compiled until 1968. The Language Training Directorate has also been preparing a fourth level, and the Public Service Commission's *Annual Report, 1968* indicates that during that year a few students also received instruction in French at that level as well.

Table 40. Applications for Language Courses

Distribution of applications for the French and English courses of the Public Service Commission, by type of programme chosen, to September 22, 1967

Programme	French courses	English courses	Total	%
Total immersion	527	4	531	6.0
Partial immersion	363	16	379	4.3
Full-time	149	52	201	2.3
Half-time	281	224	505	5.7
One hour per day	1,998	177	2,175	24.7
Two hours, three times per week	753	226	979	11.1
Three hours, twice per week	701	263	964	10.9
Evening	2,220	857	3,077	35.0
Total	6,992	1,819	8,811	100.0

Source: Public Service Commission.

466. The output of the programme up to January 1967 is shown in Table 41. Few advanced graduates had been produced, and the English courses had—both relatively and absolutely—more advanced graduates than the French courses. There are undoubtedly two main reasons for this: first, the Francophone students of English usually have a greater knowledge of English before beginning their courses, and, second, in a milieu where the working language is overwhelmingly English, the Francophones studying English have ample opportunity to practice it when they return to work.

Table 41. Results of the Language Training Programme

Distribution (in numbers and percentages) of French and English diplomas granted by the Civil Service Commission, by level, to January 1967

	French courses		English courses		Total	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Basic	458	72.9	34	19.0	492	61.0
Intermediate	116	18.5	85	47.5	201	24.9
Advanced	54	8.6	60	33.5	114	14.1
Total	628	100.0	179	100.0	807	100.0

Source: Civil Service Commission.

467. Developments in language training took place very rapidly, although training capacities fell far short of the expressed demand. The Public Service has shown a genuine concern at both political and administrative levels, and the programme to date represents a remarkable effort by those responsible.

b) Evaluation of language training

468. Our researchers undertook comprehensive analysis and evaluation of language training in three areas: the individuals' motivation for taking the course, the training itself, and the subsequent use made of the training. At the same time, the 50 staff members of the Language Training Directorate were analyzing the programme and establishing standards.

469. Up to that time there had been little opportunity to assess the importance of the individual students' motivations or the use they might make of their newly acquired skills after completing a course. Obviously, these factors have a profound effect on the results achieved. It is not hard to understand why an Anglophone would have very little interest in learning the other language for the purpose of speaking French to colleagues who are either also Anglophones or accustomed to working in English. Because the language schools were set up so quickly, sweeping initial assumptions had to be made about the curriculum. These assumptions lacked the guidance of any general and systematic language policy for the whole government, and our evaluation of the language training programmes is made in this broad context.

470. Analysis was extremely difficult because everything about the language schools was new and still changing rapidly. Two special surveys were made of students' experiences: the first was a study of the 32 members of the first government language class;[1] the second surveyed 62 students who completed half-time and full-time courses before February 1966.[2] A third relevant survey, part of the "Career Study," involved 130 Anglophone officials in the departments of Finance, Agriculture, Public Works, and National Revenue—Taxation division.[3] Such small units of observation can yield only an impressionistic picture that must be treated with caution, and we therefore use them primarily for illustrations of responses to language training. Our researchers also interviewed language-school and departmental officials,[4] and conducted research at the technical level.[5]

[1] Hubert Benoit, Marcel Collin, Claude Desjardins, and Peter Lyman, "Language Training —Hull," a study prepared for the R.C.B.&B.

[2] Jacqueline Buchanan and Marcel Collin, "Analyse du questionnaire aux étudiants de l'École de langues de Hull," a study prepared for the R.C.B.&B.

[3] Beattie, Désy, and Longstaff, "Bureaucratic Careers."

[4] Chevalier, "The Dynamics of Adaptation in the Federal Public Service."

[5] L. G. Kelly, "Language Training in the Civil Service," and L.-P. Valiquet, "Language Training in the Federal Public Service," studies prepared for the R.C.B.&B.

1) Departmental responses to language training

471. Because of the pioneering and voluntary nature of the newly created programme, the informal and official attitudes of their superiors towards it had a significant influence on the individuals concerned. There was great variation in attitude between departments; those of the departments of Finance, Agriculture, Public Works, and National Revenue—Taxation division are summarized here.[1]

Department of Finance

472. The department of Finance emphasized the predominantly English character of both its employees and its clientele, and reiterated that the main language of business and economics in Canada is English. However, senior officials seemed receptive and quite ready to have all officers learn French, especially those involved in federal-provincial negotiations. These officials seemed aware of limitations in the courses, but efforts were being made to bring the courses to the attention of the staff, to emphasize their importance for the present and the future, and to pave the way for those who wished to take them. Clearly, one of the most important factors determining attitudes towards language courses is the immediate use the students foresee for the acquired linguistic capacity.

473. Of the groups studied, the Finance sample had the highest percentage (18) of bilingual Anglophones, as well as the highest percentage (25) of officers taking the course. No respondent felt that he was blocked by the administration in his wish to take the course. The overall attitude was a positive one of willingness to put up with understaffing and lost time, despite acknowledged inadequacies in the course itself.

Department of Agriculture

474. The policy-making level of the department of Agriculture was generally unsympathetic to bilingualism in the Public Service and to French classes. In this department, where the majority of the employees at headquarters are either in the Research branch or engaged elsewhere in research, it was repeated time and again that English was the language of science and that any attempt to make the department and its scientists bilingual would be futile.

475. Many of the people we contacted were not aware of the available language courses and only 11 per cent of the sample were actually taking a course. A few who felt that they could use a course in French complained of unanswered requests.

> I took an aptitude test in Hull about a year ago and nothing has happened since then. That was the last that I heard. Actually, there are several that I know who have had the same experience. I have asked and asked to be able to take the Civil Service Commission French course. I have only

[1] *See* also Appendix III, Table A–24.

gotten so far as to have the evaluation test over in Hull. I took that test, but things have not gone any farther than that at the present time. And I think that I need the course.

476. The general consensus was that French was unnecessary for research workers, and this was the line followed by the senior officials. Language courses were practically out of reach for the junior staff, whether they wanted them or not, since all they knew about them was that their chiefs did not think much of them.

Department of Public Works

477. In the department of Public Works, the problems of bilingualism were felt at the senior levels more than in other departments. Many of the lower-level employees are Francophones, and senior officials generally felt that more individual bilingualism in the higher levels would facilitate the inner workings of the department as well as satisfy public demands. But many problems had arisen in the application of this policy.

478. One of the men involved in the administration of the courses was in our sample. His remarks bear out the evidence found in the interviews with senior administrators:

> Last fall I was involved in organizing the French courses from our end of things. Actually we had about 200 apply, but our deputy said that we couldn't possibly spare that number; so we cut the number down to about 115. Ultimately we had 65 in the daytime training, of which only 55 stuck it out. The figure is low because our work in the branches began to suffer. To a certain extent there were squawks from the branch heads. There would have been far more if some of the senior people hadn't dropped out. Now all of our senior people have dropped out. . . . It just got so that they were missing so many classes because they had to attend meetings, or go on trips . . . things like that. It got to the point where they were missing more than 50 per cent of the classes. Anyway, for the next year I foresee the same thing happening again. The department just can't let too many off for daytime courses. Night courses would be far better.

479. Despite such strains, 19 per cent of the Public Works sample were taking courses and, although there were some complaints about the method of selection,[1] it appeared that the department was genuinely exerting itself to make full use of the French language-training facilities.

Department of National Revenue—Taxation division

480. The predominant feeling towards language courses expressed by senior personnel in the Taxation division of the department of National Revenue can be summed up—perhaps harshly—as indifference. The department recognized the usefulness of bilingualism and seemed to

[1] For example: "I don't like the way they go about selecting people in this department. They came around and pointed a finger and said you, you, and you, will take the course. You're it. There was no choice. I wasn't around when they were pointing the finger so I got left out. I took a test but that was after the course started."

make good use of the courses for its purpose—dealing with taxpayers. But the programme appeared to be given very little publicity and attention in the division.

481. Many of our respondents mentioned that they had not been given the opportunity to consider taking a course, and some felt that there were barriers in the way of their taking French. Only 9 per cent of the sample were taking the course, the lowest percentage of the four departments. The following response was typical:

> It should be made more available. I found it very difficult to even put my name down on the list. I had to search out the people concerned. Nobody came to me. As far as the C.S. [courses] are concerned, I have not had the opportunity or been approached or seen any advertisements or anything.

Summary of departmental responses

482. Most senior departmental staff felt that French courses were a necessary response to government policy directives, a useful gesture to Quebec, and, to a lesser extent, a benefit in terms of improved departmental services. But they felt that the courses were slow, inefficient, and inconveniently organized. Few senior staff members seemed to understand that a unilingual federal Public Service in a bilingual country is by its own terms an anomaly and that the situation places a particular responsibility upon them. Officials were aware of inadequacies and impracticalities, and there was a general air of discontent among senior management: pessimism about the ability of many to learn French; the feeling that pressure of work made the effort and energy required to learn French almost impossible; and scepticism about the value of language training, because there were few opportunities to use French at work and because "most French are bilingual anyway." These feelings of senior officials and their lack of agreement with junior staff members as to the place of French and French classes in departmental operations generated unnecessary worry throughout the federal administration. This was augmented, at the middle and lower levels of the staff, by a sense that the government had announced and done something about language training but that "this department" had not really put the staff in the picture. It may be that failure to endorse language training vigorously was the result of doubt in the senior officials' minds about exactly what it would do for their own departments; under the circumstances, such doubt is not surprising.

2) Personal responses to language training

Middle-level staff

483. In contrast to their immediate superiors, most middle-level staff were enthusiastic in their general response to the language training programme, feeling that it was of definite personal benefit. Few were indifferent or hostile. While there were variations among the four

departments surveyed, 53 per cent of our sample had recently taken, were then taking, or definitely intended to take some type of French course,[1] even though a third of the respondents said they would have no opportunity to use French at work.[2]

(a) Variations among departments

Department of Finance

484. English is considered the language of work of the department of Finance. Sixty-one per cent of our respondents stated that they used or could use little or no French. Many of those who said otherwise pointed out that French would be used only at international conferences, not in Canada.

485. Very few respondents in Finance cited their present work as a reason for taking a course. The most common reason was personal betterment, which matches the insistence that French was not needed much within the department.

Department of Agriculture

486. Scientists of the department of Agriculture did not follow their superiors' lead in openly objecting to the courses, but still seemed to be no more interested in learning French. This was largely explained by the assertion that English is the language of science. Thirty per cent of the respondents were very doubtful about taking a course and 19 per cent had no intention of taking one. Although 27 per cent were currently in French classes, 81 per cent reported that they used little or no French in their work.

> Probably in our work, a French course is the least beneficial of all the courses that I could take. It has nothing to do with our research field. Languages are just not the sort of training we can really use.

> I just don't use French in my work. Basically, the type of work that I do—it's just not relevant. I might just as well learn to knit as learn to speak French for my work—it would be just as useful. If I was going to take any course, I would take something like mineralogy, which would be relevant to the work I do.

Again, among those taking or wanting to take a course, the main reason given was that of personal interest.

Department of Public Works

487. The department of Public Works was very much concerned with bilingualism and the French courses, and its employees were quite aware of this. The courses were generally accepted simply in compliance with a government order, and sometimes grudgingly. Most of our respondents were engineers and architects, but the sample included a sizable proportion of less well-educated technical workers. This biased the general reaction, which ranged from panic to well-informed rationality.

[1] *See* Appendix III, Table A-25.
[2] *Ibid.*, Table A-26.

488. Despite the official statement that Public Works has a very high number of Francophones working for it, 72 per cent of our middle-level sample insisted that they had little or no occasion to use French. Confirming this, 59 per cent gave personal improvement as the reason for taking the course and only 14 per cent its usefulness on the job.

Department of National Revenue—Taxation division

489. The Taxation division of the department of National Revenue offered a striking contrast. As mentioned earlier, the administrative policy of the department seemed to be one of indifference; but the staff turned out to be anything but indifferent. Of the entire sample, these respondents were by far the least informed and the most worried. They expressed an unexpectedly great demand for language training. Almost 40 per cent, compared with the average of 28 per cent in the four departments surveyed, stated that they could use French in their work. However, the 45 per cent of this sample who had taken or were taking the course, or strongly intended to do so, was relatively smaller than the average rate of 52 per cent for all four departments. A relatively large number were rather uncertain about whether they would be able to take a course. This seemed to be the result of poor advertising of the courses as well as an unsympathetic administration—which in turn is related to the division's solution of its problems of language of service while retaining an overwhelmingly Anglophone character at head office.

490. The Taxation division had the lowest percentage of university graduates of the four departmental samples. Respondents without degrees seemed to be the ones most anxious to take French courses, perhaps because they felt their jobs were in jeopardy if they did not learn the language. There was a great scramble for lessons and a feeling of panic when they were found to be out of reach.

> You hear rumours that only the top men will have to be bilingual. I wonder if this will put a clamp on my promotion. I'd like to know where I stand. If this is so, I'd like to know about it so I can go out and learn French. People should be given a choice whether they want to learn or not and they should be given the chance to learn properly.

> I'm not as frightened as some . . . provided I'm given the chance to learn French.

491. This division was distinguished by the high percentage (52) of respondents who gave promotions and career benefits as the main reason for learning French. Rumours concerning the future effect of bilingualism and biculturalism were rife and nowhere was more concern expressed about the "French fact."

(b) Individuals' motivations to learn French

Personal improvement

492. Reasons for wishing to take instruction ranged from a desire to be able to "ask for bacon and eggs" in French to the idea that it is "an

ultimate necessity" to retain a Public Service job. However, 48 per cent of those interviewed cited personal improvement as a major reason for taking a French course.[1] Such reasons as these appeared:

I'd say that it was a matter of regret that I'm not fluent. I had made numerous efforts on my own years before all these problems of bilingualism and biculturalism, but it's damned hard to make any progress in a unilingual environment such as we have. I took courses, but nothing or little seemed to stick with me. So when the present B and B problems began to get acute I figured that I wanted to take advantage . . . for purely personal reasons. I don't need French in my job. But any educated person should know and be able to speak a second language. Especially for Canadians it should be a part of one's general education to be versed in both French and English. I think that our kids will generally grow up with a far greater appreciation and awareness of French than we did.

I think that an additional language would help in the broad sense. Not because it is related to the situation concerning bilingualism in the CS but because I think it would generally enhance my own outlook and capability and knowledge if I was able to learn it adequately.

Work benefits and security

493. Reasons connected with work were very frequently mentioned. The first group of reasons concerns work benefits and security: promotion, bonuses, and keeping the job.

It will be an asset in getting to administrative positions and will be an asset in these positions. This is the main reason that I am taking the course.

Because I feel there are certain positions in this department which would open up to me if I were bilingual. They require someone with bilingual status, and I would become eligible if I could speak French.

I feel that it would be of use to me as a government official and I'm also interested in learning the language. Besides that there is the obvious advantage to be gained with the incentives and the bonus. And then it's at no expense. It would be silly not to take advantage of it. It's a worthwhile effort and bound to be of use.

This category included 28 per cent of the respondents, coming second only to self-improvement.

Usefulness in job

494. Another 20 per cent said French would be directly useful in their job. The respondent usually implied either that he was in a position to use French or that he hoped to attain such a position.

It would help me in my work if I were completely bilingual. There might be a time that I would be asked to do a research project in Quebec and I would be severely handicapped. Maybe that's why I haven't been assigned a project in Quebec.

In the CS, a person would be crazy to stay without learning French. It is not necessary to write it because it is easy enough for the translator to do this. But to be conversant [sic] in French would be very helpful.

[1] Appendix III, Table A-27.

The first thing I'd say . . . well, four of our districts are in Quebec and occasionally I have to go down there to visit them. It's a little embarrassing when I go down there and they all have to speak in English in order for me to understand.

Patriotism

495. Patriotic reasons also appeared. Respondents answering in this way usually talked about bilingual and bicultural problems in terms that went beyond the Public Service milieu. About 5 per cent answered in such terms.

The only thing is that I think it's time the rest of Canada thought of the other side of the nation. A good way to solve all this is to talk to them in their own language. It's easier to understand them if you know their language and can converse with them in it.

My philosophy is that it's good for anyone to speak another language. My personal opinion is that this country and the U.S. have been very slow to learn another language. In Europe, the people speak at least two. We should learn to start our children young at another language.

Summary

496. The great variety of individual and departmental opinions made it difficult to determine how the existing language-training programme was working and exactly what it was doing for different categories of public servants. Few respondents felt any pressing need to use French at work and yet many were ready to attend classes. Clearly, the language-training programme needs analysis in the light of what the Public Service, rather than the individual employee, is getting for its investment. In particular, course content and opportunities to use the language in the work situation require continual and detailed evaluation.[1]

497. At the time of our survey, students seemed to feel themselves caught in a course not oriented to their work situations. Furthermore, they appeared to be sure that their work situations were not likely to change in ways that would enable them to use what they learned even if the courses were so oriented.

3) The training courses

498. Our criticism of the language training programme must be tempered by an awareness of the acute influences bearing on its inception, including strong political pressure and the demand for speed. Of course, the Language Training Directorate had no control over these outside influences, but serious internal difficulties also arose. Most of these are well recognized by the directorate, and some corrective action has already been taken.

[1] A step in this direction was taken in 1968. The Public Service Commission undertook a survey of the second-language training needs anticipated over the next five years. In the occupational categories then included in the government's order of priorities for such training, the survey identified nearly 17,000 officials and employees, of which almost 14,000 would require training in French. Public Service Commission, *Annual Report, 1968.*

(a) Course content

499. From the beginning, the Language Training Directorate developed its own courses in English. By December 1967 its courses had been largely completed at four different levels, and they were being further refined and developed.

VIF and LFI

500. We concentrate on the content of the French courses, however, because they account for the vast majority of students. The basic French course is *Voix et images de France* (VIF). It was the sole course available until September 1966, when a pilot course was begun with the University of Montreal's experimental *Le français international* (LFI).

501. The first degree of VIF is a course of 32 lessons designed to acclimatize immigrants arriving in France and to teach them the language at the same time. In France it is given at a rate of five hours to a lesson, but the Language Training Directorate has doubled the number of hours per lesson. Both VIF and LFI select syntax and vocabulary material on the basis of frequency of general usage and organize it around "centres of interest"—the house, the street, the farm, and so on. However, the vocabulary is more oriented towards the customs of metropolitan France than towards the needs of daily life in French-speaking Canada. It draws very little on the terms and expressions commonly used in government offices. To this extent the courses may actually encourage students in the belief that they are studying French for personal betterment rather than for use in their work.

(b) Training procedure

Curricula

502. VIF was designed to be taught at a rate of 20 hours a week, with four lessons covered in that time. The Language Training Directorate allotted 10 hours to each lesson so that the majority (86 per cent) of Public Service students, enrolled in courses scheduled for one hour a day or the equivalent, proceeded at only an eighth of the speed the developers of VIF had planned.

503. The Directorate envisaged a complete programme of four courses, each of 400 hours: two VIF courses and two devised by the Directorate. The complete immersion system, available in 1966-7 to only 3 per cent of the trainees, could cover one course in six weeks. For the vast majority of students, however, it took 80 weeks to cover the same ground at an hour a day. On the basis of slow-paced courses (up to 6 hours per week) the programme—including the two levels of VIF as modified by the Commission plus a third level, designed in 1966—would take about seven years. Obviously, only complete immersion, full-time, or half-time courses meet the requirements of VIF as its originators planned, and the last only marginally.

(c) Flaws in the system

Rate of teaching

504. The question of speed was clearly the major weakness in the Language Training Directorate's system. Apart from the problem of maintaining motivation in the slow-paced course, the memory of each individual student has far less on which to build, so he is more likely to forget the reduced content of each week's work for lack of momentum. Besides this, he takes away almost nothing to practise at the office. The slow speed of VIF at an hour a day, half a lesson a week, is probably a significant discouragement from continuing. Absentee rates from such courses were about 25 per cent, much higher than in more intensive courses.

505. The hour-a-day or slow-paced schedule was created so that classes could be held during the work day without disrupting the students' own offices, and, consequently, so that more individuals could be induced to register. This was discovered to be a false economy. Research has shown that the most efficient method is that which covers a given programme in the shortest overall time.

506. It was undoubtedly because of these defects in the slow-paced schedules that the Language Training Directorate made an important change in 1968:

> Beginning in September 1968, the slow-paced courses (up to 6 hours per week) at Levels 1, 2 and 3 will be replaced by intensive courses (half- and full-time and immersion courses). Those now in slow-paced courses will, subject to departmental concurrence, be transferred to intensive courses. Those who cannot be transferred will be allowed to remain in slow-paced courses as long as homogeneous groups can be formed.[1]

Opportunity to practise

507. It is quite obvious that the success of any second-language instruction rests heavily on opportunities for the student to practise outside the classroom. If the vocabulary taught in the courses were more directly relevant to work situations in Canada, the courses would do more to equip the student to use his newly acquired French when he returned to his office. The courses should begin with material related to office situations; the vocabulary taught should relate to the people, things, and procedures ordinarily found in government offices. From this beginning the student should be encouraged to pick up the technical vocabulary appropriate to the special concerns of his own department or occupation.

Range of skills

508. The VIF programme teaches all four language skills—aural comprehension, speaking, reading, and writing—in an order that may strike students as haphazard, since it is unrelated to their own study and language habits. It moves from oral to written skills in the standard

1 Public Service Commission, Language Bureau Memorandum, July 25, 1968, s.3(e).

progression recommended by conventional linguistic doctrine, which is largely based on children's experience. Adult students need a different sequence, with passive skills—reading and understanding conversation —coming first. Such a change should allow an early and discernible degree of achievement, which would encourage students to continue studying.

509. This proposal raises a pedagogical problem: should a language student be equipped with a basic mental kit to allow him to translate the other language he hears, or should the ultimate aim be to inculcate fluency so that he can "think on his feet" in French? Receptive bilingualism—the ability to read documents and understand a conversation adequately—is a substantial but far less imposing level of competence to be aimed at than that which the present courses imply. It is also more appropriate to a public servant's education and habits of work, based on the written rather than the spoken word. Since he learns the second language for work rather than for home life, he should proceed from the written language to the spoken, rather than the reverse. In the vast majority of cases it would be quite enough for a senior public servant to be able to read and understand conversation in the other language, thereby permitting his subordinates to work in their own language.

Translation

510. The VIF and LFI methods do not make use of translation. It is true that quantities of translation to or from the target language do not encourage the student to immerse himself completely in the new language but, to demonstrate meaning, translation can save time, avoid false impressions, and confirm the conjectures pupils will make when words are also demonstrated in some other way. A pupil often translates a word to himself in any event; thus, in order to forestall mistakes, it is sensible to reinforce other methods of transmitting meaning by allowing for translation; indeed, many words and concepts are taught more efficiently by translation than by other means.

511. Nor should the grammatical approach be entirely rejected in second-language teaching. Simplified explanations in the student's mother tongue would be useful to short-circuit much of the fruitless bafflement and dissatisfaction with the relative lack of grammar in the present courses. VIF teaches grammar systematically only at later stages of familiarity with French. The Public Service classes, from the introductory level, should include enough grammar for a student to see the logical structure of language; he should not have to rely on powers of simple mimicry and spontaneous memory, which have diminished since his childhood.

Goal

512. The goal should be the acquisition of relatively easily attainable skills, considered in a Canadian context and adapted to the work

situation. The individual's motivation is crucial, and every opportunity must be seized to build it up. This can best be done by revising the order in which language skills are taught, giving the course at such a rate that a student is convinced of his progress every week, using a vocabulary he can try out at the office, and presenting the lessons in a style appropriate to life in urban Canada.

Starting capacity

513. Greater use should be made of the knowledge a pupil already has. At present it is largely ignored, unless a pupil scores high enough on the selection tests to be admitted to the second stage of the course. The tests do not discriminate clearly enough between those who have some knowledge of the written language and those who have none at all. The main concession made is to class the so-called *faux-débutants* together and try to set them an accelerated pace. In English-language training the situation is much healthier, probably because there are very few absolute beginners in the courses.

Criticisms

514. Criticisms of the programme for teaching French concern three aspects: its theoretical foundation, its purpose, and the technique of the courses. These aspects are interrelated in that the basic theory chosen by the system's administrators was determined in part by its choice of VIF as the basis for the programme and in part by the way problems of technique were handled.

Linguistics and methodology

515. Because it lacked experience in teaching languages to adults, and because courses had to be established immediately, the Civil Service Commission prudently went to the readiest well-authenticated source of general linguistic doctrine. However, problems arose because, for example, determining the order in which language skills are to be taught "is not purely a linguistic problem, for all the time the nature and circumstances of teaching are to be imagined. The task cannot be carried out except by those with suitable teaching experience."[1] "Suitable teaching experience" for the Public Service's language schools meant experience in teaching fairly well educated adults. But VIF was designed originally to teach less well-educated people who would at the same time be working in a French-speaking community; in fact, its teaching techniques (as distinct from course content) seem more suitable for teaching children than for teaching adults.

516. The classroom system of VIF was probably by far the best for the original Civil Service Commission language schools to follow because it promised to meet the demand for immediate mass training. But, in committing themselves to it, the school authorities side-stepped the question of the purpose of bilingualism. This is the topic of a

1 W. R. Lee, "Grading," English Language Teaching, No. 18 (London, 1964), 88.

UNESCO publication planned for release in 1969, in which at least two authors emphasize that bilingualism is a meaningful expression only in relation to some specific context.

It is doubtful whether bilingualism *per se* can be measured apart from the situation in which it is to *function* in the social context in which the person operates linguistically. The only practical line of approach to this complicated problem which I can suggest is to assess bilingualism *in terms of certain social and occupational demands of a practical nature* in a particular society. Here again the criterion is to be "bilingualism for what?" *Purpose and function* are the main determinants.[1]

For what reason does such and such a government or group of people fight in favour of bilingualism? Why does a particular person wish to improve his bilingualism or, on the contrary, why is he completely indifferent to the way in which he speaks the two languages? Become bilingual, of course, but to do what?[2]

(d) Summary

517. Until changes such as we have proposed in Book II take place in the Canadian school system, government language classes are going to be the only—not just the main—guarantee that enough Anglophone public servants will know some French. Language training must be accepted as an important, permanent responsibility of the federal government. But we repeat that not all public servants will need to be bilingual if the use of the two languages is rationally organized.

518. We are aware of the political pressure to set up the system quickly, of the enthusiastic response of thousands of prospective students, and of the technical problems of catering to such a large enrolment without disrupting the normal operations of government services. Above all, we are aware that this programme was expected to attain almost by itself the unrealistic—and unnecessary—objective of making the majority of federal public servants bilingual.

519. The language-training system was launched on the best basis then available, but, while essential changes in language training may well take place before this Book of our *Report* appears, it remains part of our terms of reference to consider the theory of the system as well as its execution. The individual flaws we have criticized are all directly related to its basic orientation, which ought to make the most of the distinctive common characteristics of language students in the Public Service. The language-training programme ought to be evaluated rigorously in the light of its achievements and the usefulness of those achievements in attaining the goals of the Public Service's policy on language use.

[1] E. G. Malherbe, comment on R. M. Jones, "How and When Do Persons Become Bilingual?" in International Seminar on the Description and Measurement of Bilingualism, *The Description and Measurement of Bilingualism* (UNESCO, in press).

[2] A. Tabouret-Keller, comment on J. Macnamara's "How Can One Measure the Extent of a Person's Bilingual Proficiency," in *ibid.*

520. Criticism in this section has been largely negative, but its positive side lies in the emphasis on planning language classes with a constant watch on the students' motivation and above all on the use they will be called upon to make of what they have learned. It still leaves completely open the question of accommodating the methods we advocate to the practical exigencies of the Public Service.

521. Changing the content of the French courses to correspond to the work situation of Canadian public servants and setting realistic goals of receptive skill at work will vastly increase the unit returns of this investment of time, providing that the language schools are not the only instrument used to make the Public Service a bilingual institution. Without structural reform of the Service, students will only participate in a waste of time, energy, and money. Acquiring a second language always represents a personal enrichment, but such enrichment cannot alone justify the undertaking. These courses must enrich the Public Service itself, and as such they must be part of a system of two languages of work.

F. Conclusion

Policy and practice

522. This chapter has related policy on language use in the Public Service to actual practice, official and unofficial, and to the forces tending to alter that practice. The first general conclusion is that no general policy had ever been announced before April 1966, and no system of implementation has yet been worked out. Instead, the practice in the Public Service has been to answer correspondence in the official language of the client; in all other aspects of language of service (such as publications and face-to-face dealings with the public), individual departments and local units of the administration have worked out their own widely varying routine practices. The public is thus well served in some respects and regions and poorly in others; particularly poorly served are Francophones outside Quebec. There has been no attempt to implement a policy on language of work, and nearly all the linguistic traditions and characteristics of the Public Service have put pressure on the Francophone employees to become assimilated into an Anglophone environment.

523. The present situation retains the flaws produced by the influences that shaped it. Policies on language use were applied mainly in response to political crises rather than with any general goal in mind, and their results have thus been narrow and haphazard. Even remedies proposed for past failures tend to perpetuate old flaws: for example, in 1967, when bilingual proficiency was first presented in Public Service

Employment Regulations as desirable for all staff in the national capital region, it was subordinated to the long-established principle that only in some specifically defined posts is it actually "essential." Prime Minister Pearson's speech of April 6, 1966, had enunciated general policy aims for both language of work and language of service, which had hitherto gone undefined. But there was no plan to integrate new mechanisms, such as the language schools, into a comprehensive programme of bilingualism affecting the structures of the Public Service. The proposals themselves exempted one of the most important elements of the Public Service—the middle-level and senior staff with professional and technical qualifications. This was in a way understandable at the time, because no structural agencies existed for organizing, for example, scientific work that might be done in French.

Language use

524. Language use reflects the lack of overall policy. A Francophone public servant cannot rely on an integrated structure of Service-wide policies and mechanisms applicable to all departments. The Anglophone tradition of the Public Service tends to be self-perpetuating. The current predicament leads to misuse of existing language agencies, such as the Translation Bureau, and of many other language resources which might otherwise contribute to a bilingual Public Service.

525. Change must take place on two levels: a comprehensive policy for the systematic creation of a bilingual Public Service is needed, as is a central organization for its supervision; in addition, each unit of government must set its own house in order so far as language use is concerned. These two ends of the structure of government can and should support each other.

Equal partnership

526. The overall purpose of the policy we envision for the Public Service of Canada is equal partnership as defined in the General Introduction of this *Report*. From this principle and the Public Service's general goal of a bilingual institution, two specific aims can be derived. First, equal services for the public in both official languages must be country-wide. This aim would be effected mainly by increasing the bilingual capacities of the appropriate regional offices outside Quebec (for instance, in Cornwall and St. Boniface). Second, linguistic and cultural discrimination between employees in the Public Service must be terminated, through reorganization to ensure the use of French at work. For the first time, the language rights of employees, as well as of clients would be protected by the Public Service. It is also a huge task, since it involves changing the formal structure and intangible character and traditions of the Service as a whole. However, when broken down into sub-policies and mechanisms for their implementation, the task seems far less difficult and the results less remote.

Rationale

527. Our formal recommendations on the Public Service are presented systematically in Chapter X. Most of them are desirable on grounds of efficiency alone, but to this reason must be added the concept of the right to work in either of Canada's official languages. The main administrative need is to enlarge the range of situations in which French can be used for government work, particularly at the middle and higher levels, giving Francophone public servants a real possibility to work in their own language and to make their own positive cultural contribution to the work in hand. This would obviously require reorganization far more sweeping than drawing up a list of criteria for selecting candidates for language classes.

528. Institutional as well as individual bilingualism is essential, for the aim is not merely to increase the number of bilingual individuals in the Service, but also to make it possible for Francophones to participate as Francophones at all levels of the administration and to the full range of their potential.

Chapter VIII — The Public Service and the Universities: Recruitment and Orientation

529. In this chapter we describe government recruiting policies and assess the federal Public Service as an employer competing for staff in the whole Canadian labour market. Our attention is largely confined to the two recruiting programmes which are designed to attract and prepare the key men on whom the Public Service will depend in future years. The policies and routines of recruiting are continually changing; we have examined all developments up to the end of 1967.

Statistical data

530. Our data is of two types: statistics about "hard facts" such as university and Public Service records; and statistics about opinions and attitudes expressed by Francophone university undergraduates, candidates for Public Service positions, and university personnel. Data in the second category indicate future patterns of participation by reflecting the degree of success of the Public Service's campaign to attract talented young recruits. Moreover, these opinions are essential to the Public Service's own evaluation and continuing modification of its recruiting system.

A. Language and Recruiting

531. The Civil Service Act of 1961 provided, for the first time since the amendments in 1882, that "an examination, test or interview under this section shall be conducted in the English or French language or both at the option of the candidate." But the Act said clearly that the function of language in staffing policies was to allow a department or a local office "to perform . . . functions adequately and to give effective service to the public."[1] It made no provision for the use of French as a language of work.

[1] Civil Service Act, S.C. 1961, 9-10 Eliz. II, c.57, ss.38, 47.

Preference for bilingual candidates

532. A number of members of Parliament felt that the reintroduction of the right to be interviewed and examined in one's chosen language was not enough to attract more Francophones or bilingual Anglophones. Alexis Caron, for example, urged that a general preference for bilingual applicants be written into the Civil Service Act.[1] In April 1962, the Civil Service Commission issued a memorandum on language requirements and subsequently founded a Language Bureau. The regulations issued in March 1967 under the Public Service Employment Act provided that bilingual candidates should have preference in competitions for posts in the national capital region.[2] The focus was still on language of service to both Anglophones and Francophones, and the regulations again showed little consideration for Francophones' rights to work in their own language.

Language of service

533. The criterion of language of service did not evolve in the Public Service until after the responsibility for engaging personnel and defining standards was transferred from government departments to the Civil Service Commission by the Civil Service Act of 1918. In contrast with the earlier patronage system, this development was a by-product of the rationalization and centralization of the Public Service. But participation by Francophones in the decision-making processes of the Public Service—something previously facilitated by patronage—was neither envisaged nor assured by the principle of service to Francophones in their own language.

534. The decentralization of responsibility for personnel policy which followed the Glassco report did not weaken the authority of the Civil Service Commission (subsequently the Public Service Commission) in respect to language. It still had responsibility for establishing and amending the language requirements of Public Service positions and the language policy in recruiting programmes. In recent years, the Public Service Commission has accelerated its efforts to develop a bilingual Public Service. Besides organizing a Language Bureau to provide a more specific focus on the problem, it has improved the language competence of its own staff and has increased its recruitment of Francophones.

B. Supply and Demand

The labour market

535. The labour market for Canadian university graduates has not yet been adequately studied and analyzed. Our researchers were able to gather only fragmentary evidence from a variety of sources, particu-

[1] Canada, House of Commons, *Debates*, 1960-1, 4th session, VIII, 8574.

[2] See §§ 353-4

larly publications of the Economic Council of Canada, the Quebec Royal Commission of Inquiry on Education in the Province of Quebec (the Parent Commission), and the Canadian Universities Foundation,[1] as well as unpublished material from the Civil Service Commission, the Dominion Bureau of Statistics, and the departments of Labour and the Secretary of State.

536. Nearly all of this material dealt with the supply of rather than the demand for university graduates in the labour market. The one pioneering study in the latter field—an analysis of projections made by a small number of firms representing several types of industry—excluded the federal Public Service.[2]

537. Analysis of this sort, applicable to the whole labour market, is vital to an appraisal of the Public Service's competitiveness in the recruitment of new graduates. Our review of the work already done indicates that little is known about supply and demand as such, so our observations are confined to generalities. We do know that, in both the Public Service and industry, present shortages are likely to get worse. The greatest demand is and will be for scientists, qualified professionals, managers, technicians, and skilled workers.

Recruitment of new personnel

538. The supply of potential recruits to the Public Service is augmented by qualified university graduates already employed elsewhere and by the graduates of foreign universities, but by far the largest proportion is made up of recent graduates of Canadian universities. We classified these institutions as English-language, French-language, and bilingual, but the distinction must be treated with caution because science courses at bilingual universities are usually identified with the "English side."

Relative lack of Francophones

539. We found little indication that the relative lack of Francophones among the professionals and other qualified personnel in the Public Service can be eased quickly. The demand is so great that chances of hiring qualified Francophones away from other employers are small. Immigration contributes significantly to the number of Anglophone public servants but has never supplied a like proportion of Francophones. There have been recent efforts to increase immigration of qualified people from France but, as far as we can foresee, the Public Service's intake of Francophone graduates will continue to be largely limited to the output of French-language universities in Canada.

[1] Wolfgang M. Illing and Zoltan E. Zsigmond, *Enrolment in Schools and Universities 1951-52 to 1975-76*, Economic Council of Canada, Staff Study No. 20 (Ottawa, 1967); *Report of the Royal Commission of Inquiry on Education in the Province of Quebec*, II (Montreal, 1965); *Financing Higher Education in Canada*, the report of a Commission to the Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada (Toronto, 1965), Chap. XX.

[2] B. A. Keys and H. H. Wright, *Manpower Planning in Industry: A Case Study*, Economic Council of Canada, Staff Study No. 18 (Ottawa, 1966).

Table 42. Students' Fields of Specialization and University Language Group

Percentage distribution of degrees and diplomas granted by Canadian universities from 1962 to 1965, by field of specialization within each university language group

	University language group	Number	Specialization					
			Arts[1]	Social sciences	Natural sciences[2]	Commerce	Others	Total
Bachelor	English	59,046	55.4	5.2	32.5	5.1	1.8	100
	French[3]	13,721	64.2	3.5	25.4	5.9	1.0	100
	French[4]	22,779	78.5	2.1	15.3	3.5	0.6	100
	Bilingual	3,176	67.6	8.3	14.5	8.6	1.0	100
	All language groups[3]	75,943	57.5	5.0	30.5	5.4	1.6	100
	All language groups[4]	85,001	62.0	4.5	27.3	4.8	1.4	100
Master and licentiate	English	7,173	32.0	18.3	41.6	7.7	0.4	100
	French	3,938	49.1	19.5	11.1	20.3	0.0	100
	Bilingual	539	57.5	32.3	10.2	0.0	0.0	100
	All language groups	11,650	39.0	19.4	29.8	11.6	0.2	100
Doctorate	English	1,207	10.9	8.0	80.8	0.1	0.2	100
	French	140	49.3	7.1	43.6	0.0	0.0	100
	Bilingual	133	36.8	33.1	30.1	0.0	0.0	100
	All language groups	1,480	16.9	10.1	72.7	0.1	0.2	100

All university degrees	English	67,426	52.1	6.6	34.4	5.3	1.6	100
	French[3]	17,999	60.8	7.1	22.4	9.0	0.7	100
	French[4]	26,857	74.0	4.7	14.8	6.0	0.5	100
	Bilingual	3,848	65.1	12.5	14.4	7.1	0.9	100
	All language groups[3]	89,273	54.4	7.0	31.1	6.1	1.4	100
	All language groups[4]	98,131	58.6	6.3	28.2	5.6	1.3	100
Diploma	English	9,484	28.4	17.2	44.0	9.3	1.1	100
	French	11,029	31.8	4.2	53.8	5.8	4.4	100
	Bilingual	475	0.2	32.9	38.1	28.8	0.0	100
	All language groups	20,988	29.5	10.7	49.1	7.9	2.8	100
All university degrees and diplomas	English	76,910	42.2	7.9	35.6	5.8	1.5	100
	French[3]	28,828	49.7	6.0	34.4	7.8	2.1	100
	French[4]	37,886	61.7	4.6	26.2	5.9	1.6	100
	Bilingual	4,323	58.0	14.8	17.0	9.5	0.7	100
	All language groups[3]	110,061	49.7	7.7	34.5	6.5	1.6	100
	All language groups[4]	119,119	53.5	7.1	31.9	6.0	1.5	100

Source: Herbert Taylor, "The Output of Canadian Universities and Colleges 1962-5," a study prepared for the R.C.B. & B.

[1] This category includes degrees in letters, education, philosophy, etc., as well as degrees in arts.

[2] This category includes biological, physical, and engineering sciences and mathematics, etc.

[3] Excluding *baccalauréats ès arts* granted for Quebec's *cours classique*.

[4] Including *baccalauréats ès arts*.

Although there are some Francophones attending English-language universities, their numbers are not large enough to increase the supply of Francophone graduates significantly.

Comparative value of degrees

540. We have made no studies of the comparative value of the degrees and diplomas granted by French- and English-language institutions to determine, for example, whether the *baccalauréat ès arts* granted for Quebec's *cours classique* is equivalent to a "pass" degree or an honours degree in English-speaking Canada. The Public Service Commission does not consider the *baccalauréat ès arts* as equivalent to the undergraduate degrees (B.A., B.Sc., etc.) granted by the English-language and bilingual universities. In the work milieu of North America, where the B.A. degree is the basic sign of recognition of the university graduate, Francophones with diplomas rather than degrees are likely to be penalized. We do not offer any opinion as to whether this is just or unjust, but the fact is that a Francophone's access to the work world has been limited by these judgements about French-language educational institutions.

Degrees and diplomas

541. Canadian institutions of higher learning awarded a total of 119,119 degrees and diplomas (including *baccalauréats ès arts*) between 1962 and 1965 (Table 42). Because of the differences between the French- and English-language educational systems, it is not always possible to compare the various types of degrees. However, we can say that the most significant disparity was between doctorates, where the English-language institutions clearly dominated.

Specializations

542. Table 42 also shows the type of educational specialization of each group of universities. In the three academic years studied, English-language institutions were consistently stronger than French-language ones in the sciences, and stress on the sciences increased with the level of the degree. The relative lack of emphasis on the sciences in the French-language institutions remained constant up to the doctoral level. However, there was some degree of specialization in commerce and the social sciences. The two bilingual universities, Ottawa and Laurentian, tended to follow the pattern of the French-language institutions.

543. As a result, the proportion of graduates in natural sciences from French-language universities is lower than the proportion of graduates in all specializations (Table 43): only 15 per cent of the bachelor's degrees and only 6 per cent of the doctorates in the natural sciences are granted by French-language universities, compared with 18 per cent of the bachelor's degrees and 9 per cent of the doctorates in all specializations. On the other hand, 39 per cent of the advanced degrees (masters or licentiates and doctorates) were given in the arts and social sciences, compared with 31 per cent of the advanced degrees

in all specializations. Obviously, if an employer is determined to recruit a Francophone scientist, he will find himself in vigorous competition with other employers; just as obviously, if he wants to recruit a scientist without regard to language, a relatively large number are to be found in the English-language universities.

Modernization and reform

544. Our studies were carried out too early to take full account of the modernization of Quebec's educational system, begun after 1960 and speeded up after the publication of the Parent Commission report. Presumably opportunities for Francophone students to specialize in the sciences and, after qualification, to find suitable work in industry will increase considerably in the near future. Yet the changes agreed upon in Quebec are so extensive that the transformation of the educational system will take time.

C. University Graduates and the Public Service

Two graduate recruiting streams

545. At the time of our study the two main streams of graduate entry to the Public Service were the Junior Executive Officers and Foreign Service Officers programme (JEO-FSO) and the scientific and technical programmes (ST). The former was open to all university graduates and the latter restricted to graduates in biology, physics, chemistry, engineering, and related fields. Tables 44 and 45 show the number of initial applicants related to the total number of graduates eligible for these two programmes in 1962-5.

546. Few graduates of French-language universities applied to join the JEO-FSO programme: barely half the proportion of graduates from English-language colleges and universities. The still higher proportion from bilingual institutions is skewed by the dominance, within this small group, of the University of Ottawa. Since Carleton University, in the same city, also sent a relatively large proportion of its graduates into the Public Service, the government's recruiting success in this instance can be attributed to the location of the university.

547. It is striking that the proportion of Francophone and Anglophone graduates in the natural sciences applying for the ST programmes is nearly the same. The rates of application of both are significantly higher than the highest rate for the JEO-FSO programme.

Implications

548. It appears that young Francophone and Anglophone scientists have similar attitudes towards working for the federal government; only one in 10 actually expresses an interest in such work. Among non-scientists, however, young graduates of French-language institutions are

Table 43. University Language Group and Students' Fields of Specialization

Percentage distribution of degrees and diplomas granted from 1962 to 1965, by university language group within each field of specialization

	University language group	Specialization							
		Arts[1]	Arts[2]	Social sciences	Natural sciences[3]	Commerce	Others	All special-izations[4]	All special-izations[2]
Bachelor	English	74.9	62.0	80.4	82.9	73.7	86.4	77.8	69.4
	French	20.2	33.9	12.6	15.1	19.6	11.0	18.1	26.8
	Bilingual	4.9	4.1	7.0	2.0	6.7	2.6	4.1	3.8
	Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	Number	43,664	52,722	3,792	23,163	4,107	1,217	75,943	85,001
Master and licentiate	English	50.6		58.3	85.9	40.7	100.0	61.6	
	French	42.6		34.0	12.5	59.3	0.0	33.8	
	Bilingual	6.8		7.7	1.6	0.0	0.0	4.6	
	Total	100.0		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
	Number	4,542		2,257	3,477	1,349	25	11,650	
Doctorate	English	52.8		64.0	90.6	100.0	100.0	81.6	
	French	27.6		6.7	5.7	0.0	0.0	9.4	
	Bilingual	19.6		29.3	3.7	0.0	0.0	9.0	
	Total	100.0		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
	Number	250		150	1,076	1	3	1,480	

All university degrees	English	72.5	61.1	72.0	83.6	65.6	86.7	75.7	68.7
	French	22.3	34.6	20.3	14.4	29.4	10.8	20.0	27.4
	Bilingual	5.2	4.3	7.7	2.0	5.0	2.5	4.3	3.9
	Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	Number	48,456	57,514	6,199	27,716	5,457	1,245	89,073	98,131
Diploma	English		43.5	72.3	40.6	53.0	17.8	45.2	
	French		56.5	20.7	57.7	38.7	82.2	52.5	
	Bilingual		0.0	7.0	1.7	8.3	0.0	2.3	
	Total		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
	Number		6,201	2,250	10,294	1,660	583	20,988	
All university degrees and diplomas	English	69.2	59.3	72.1	72.0	62.6	64.7	69.9	64.6
	French	26.2	36.7	20.4	26.1	31.6	33.5	26.2	31.8
	Bilingual	4.6	4.0	7.5	1.9	5.8	1.8	3.9	3.6
	Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	Number	54,657	63,715	8,449	38,010	7,117	1,828	110,061	119,119

Source: Taylor, "Output of Canadian Universities."

[1] This category includes degrees in letters, education, philosophy, etc, as well as degrees in arts; but it does not include *baccalauréats ès arts.*

[2] Including *baccalauréats ès arts.*

[3] This category includes biological, physical, and engineering sciences and mathematics, etc.

[4] Excluding *baccalauréats ès arts.*

much less interested in government work: only one in comparison with two Anglophone graduates in 30 gives serious consideration to such work as a first job.

Table 44. Applicants to the JEO-FSO Programme

Percentage distribution of all degrees granted[1] and of applicants to the JEO-FSO programme, by university language group, 1962-5

		University language group			
	Number	English	French	Bilingual	Total
Degrees granted	89,073	75.7	20.0	4.3	100
Applicants to JEO-FSO programme	4,990	82.5	11.1	6.4	100
Applicants as a percentage of graduates	5.6	6.1	3.3	8.3	

Source: Taylor, "Output of Canadian Universities."

[1] The data exclude holders of *bacalacuréats ès arts*. Their degrees were not given the status of university graduation by the Civil Service Commission.

TABLE 45. Applicants to the ST Programmes

Percentage distribution of degrees granted in natural sciences and of applicants to the JEO-FSO programme, by university language group, 1962-5

		University language group			
	Number	English	French	Bilingual	Total
Degrees granted in natural sciences	27,716	83.6	14.4	2.0	100
Applicants to JEO-FSO programme	2,609	84.2	14.5	1.3	100
Applicants as a percentage of graduates	9.4	9.5	9.5	5.6	

Source: Taylor, "Output of Canadian Universities."

D. Attitudes in Universities

549. Figures such as those given above obviously imply broad types of attitudes. They say nothing about the appeal of a Public Service career in comparison with a career in private industry, but show unmistakably that science graduates are more drawn to the federal Public Service than are arts graduates.[1] In order to obtain a direct sample of opinions, we polled Francophone undergraduates in their final year, candidates for the JEO-FSO and ST programmes, teaching staff, and placement officers at several Canadian universities.

Francophone students' views

550. Group interviews were conducted with senior Francophone students in a variety of faculties at Laval, McGill, and the University of Montreal.[2] The fundamental opinion expressed was that the work world was largely under "Anglo-Saxon" control. The students said they thought Anglophones had easier access to professional education of a type that perpetuated their domination of the business world, that they had a monopoly on powerful posts, and that they had more money available for research. The students felt that the few Francophones in responsible positions in English-language organizations were merely occupying *postes de façade*. At the same time, they recognized that the Francophone part of the economy was relatively underdeveloped and they resented being shut out of the Anglophone work world.

Attitudes towards Public Service careers

551. There were also expressions of limited optimism, but such observations did not countervail the overall lack of confidence expressed by our respondents about their future as Francophones in the Canadian labour market. Almost no interest was shown in the possibility of working for the federal Public Service. The students rarely mentioned it spontaneously and, when asked for their opinions, only a few responded favourably and then only with reservations.

552. Even those Francophone students who had actually applied for work in the federal Public Service were unenthusiastic.[3] However, the same was generally true for Anglophone students; when asked how they regarded the Public Service as a lifetime career, only about a quarter responded positively.[4] The only significant difference between Francophone and Anglophone applicants to the Public Service was in

[1] John J. Carson, "Competition for Quality," an address delivered to the Annual Conference of the University Career Planning Association, Carleton University, June 12, 1967.

[2] André Thibault, "L'élite universitaire canadienne-française et la fonction publique fédérale," a study prepared for the R.C.B.&B.

[3] André Jeannotte and Herbert Taylor, "Survey of Applicants to the 1964-1965 University Programmes of the Civil Service Commission," a study prepared for the R.C.B.&B.

[4] Appendix III, Table A-28.

the reasons given for their applications: most Anglophones cited the challenge of the work as their reason; Francophones stressed the benefits and security of working for the government.[1]

Recruitment difficulties

553. Recruitment of Francophone public servants increased substantially in 1966, the year after our survey. There were undoubtedly several reasons for this, particularly the government's policy statement on bilingualism and the Public Service's determined efforts to implement it, and a decline in employment opportunities in Quebec. Nevertheless, we think our observations accurately represent the outlook of Francophone students at the time and indicate the extreme difficulty of the Public Service recruiter's task, caused partly by the students' awareness of unattractive facts about Public Service work, and partly by their inaccurate notions about the work. In any event, our concern is with the response to recruiters for the Public Service.

Attitudes of university staff

554. Many students approached university placement officers to find out about Civil Service Commission examinations: 47 per cent of the Francophone and 37 per cent of the Anglophone students.[2] (The placement officers are usually members of the university administration but, at the time of the survey, those we interviewed at French-language universities were employees of the National Employment Service.) Fewer students consulted members of the teaching faculty: only 25 per cent of the Francophones and 30 per cent of the Anglophones.

555. Few placement officers encouraged the students to pursue work in the Public Service; about two-thirds of the students said they were neither encouraged nor discouraged by placement officers. Faculty members, on the other hand, urged 52 per cent of the Francophone and 61 per cent of the Anglophone students to consider Public Service work, and actively discouraged 11 per cent and 9 per cent respectively.[3]

556. Obviously, university staff members cannot advise students adequately about careers in the Public Service unless they keep in touch with it. The most effective, if not the most thorough, way to do so is through personal contacts with former students in the Service. Our investigators found the extent of such contract varied widely.[4] In general, English-language universities were more in touch with the Public Service in this way than were French-language institutions. But communication operates in two directions and, while French-language universities

[1] *Ibid.*, Table A-29.

[2] Jeannotte and Taylor, "Survey of Applicants."

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] Miriam Moscovitch and Hillel Steiner, "Attitudes and Influence of University Personnel on Civil Service Recruiting," a study prepared for the R.C.B.&B.

may not have kept in touch with the Public Service, the Service could have done more to inform them of its openings and opportunities.

Professorial contacts with the Public Service

557. It appears that placement and administrative officers at English-language universities maintained little contact with graduates who had entered the Public Service, but half of the teaching staff reported that they were kept informed of job openings. Science professors had more frequent and fruitful contacts with government officials than did those teaching arts subjects. Many such contacts resulted from professional exchanges between university and government scientists. The recruiting processes for science graduates were quite different from those for other graduates; the former are often interviewed by government recruiting officers in their laboratories, a practice not feasible for students in the humanities.

558. Staff at French-language universities had no significant "old-boy network" of former students, nor any close links with professional colleagues in the federal Public Service. Of all 76 staff members interviewed, only one—an arts professor—said he received information about job openings from former students. The explanation for the lack of information was that former students do not hold posts that permit them to be well informed of openings for recent graduates, and that they never propagandize to attract other students.

559. The Francophone science professors had even less contact with the Public Service than one might have expected, considering their professional interests. As one said, "You haven't got this kind of contact; you do not participate in the system of recruitment in Ottawa; you feel outside the system." Another professor said the only significant interaction took place when Anglophone friends in the Public Service passed on news about a job opening for a qualified bilingual candidate.

560. The Universities of Toronto and Montreal presented the sharpest contrast in the degree of liaison between universities and the Public Service. The former maintained close contacts, the latter, few connections. McGill, though situated in Quebec, was much like the other English-language institutions. Relations between professors and the federal Public Service were mainly dependent on the professors' general attitudes towards the government and the cultural and linguistic character of the Public Service. For example, most Anglophone professors felt that the new emphasis on bilingualism and biculturalism might limit the careers of their students, although the science professors minimized its influence. At the same time, Anglophone placement officers tended to favor the general requirement of bilingualism as an employment prerequisite.

Francophone university staffs' views of Public Service careers

561. Francophone placement officers felt that, although interesting careers were possible within the federal Public Service, there were many disadvantages; in particular, they felt that working in English and living in Ottawa held no attraction for a Francophone. Everything offered by such a career could be found in Quebec, either in private or in public employment. They saw security of employment as the one great advantage of federal careers, but they expressed general pessimism about the probability of radical change in the language situation.

562. Scientists recognized the possibility of an interesting career in Ottawa for a Francophone—particularly in view of the excellent working facilities, attractive salaries, and fringe benefits. However, our respondents also saw disadvantages. One summarized the position as follows: "In the present context I don't believe that a French Canadian graduate can stay there; the atmosphere is too poor. There are advantages from the point of view of money and possibilities for research, but the Anglo-Saxon milieu and irregular promotions work against the French Canadian."

563. Although the scientists noticed a change in the federal government attitude resulting from new emphasis on bilingualism and biculturalism, they suspected that this might be more apparent than real. They agreed that there were now more openings for Francophones, but they pointed out that promotions were still as limited as in the past. They attributed this situation to the "natural" tendency of Anglophone superiors to consider their Anglophone colleagues when it came to promotion. Also, Francophones usually remained outside the community of Anglophone scientists.

564. In any event, "bilingualism is a completely secondary factor that will not change the attraction of scientists to Ottawa." The problem of the milieu seemed more fundamental: "the man who chooses the federal sphere must integrate himself into the national—the English —milieu." Any posts outside Quebec involved difficult adjustments.

565. Most of the staff members of French-language universities held much the same views but they did not all draw the same conclusions. In general, arts professors said that a Francophone graduate could have a satisfactory professional career in Ottawa, despite all the traditional drawbacks, and we gather this is what they told their students. But many Francophone scientists and placement officers said that they would not suggest careers in the federal Public Service to their students. The main reasons given applied particularly to science graduates: slow advancement would be one of Ottawa's disadvantages, whereas "the local needs in Quebec are much greater," and therefore, "it is very easy to place students."

566. The social science and arts professors implied that, for them, Ottawa was the centre of things, where one could learn from highly skilled colleagues and where the recent political importance of bilingual abilities and Francophone recruitment had improved the chances for a young graduate to do well for himself. Nevertheless, like both their scientific colleagues and their students, they were skeptical about the degree to which recent political agitation had brought about any real change in the basic fact of working life in Canada: "Anglo-Saxon" dominance.

Overall skepticism

567. They pointed out that career success for a Francophone in Ottawa was probably dependent on his assimilating to the Anglophone style of thought. A new recruit from Quebec in Ottawa would be living in "a foreign country," where the lack of good educational facilities for Francophone children was one of many problems.

Ottawa's "foreign" character

568. In summary, our survey of attitudes established that students and staff at French-language universities viewed the federal Public Service with no enthusiasm at all. They mentioned the considerations that guide the decisions of Anglophones—opportunities in one's profession, the far-reaching scope of government, and the new importance of bilingual abilities—but all of these were secondary to them. What really mattered to Francophone students and their advisers was the general phenomenon of the "Anglo-Saxon milieu." They intensely disliked the "foreign" character of the Ottawa-Hull area. A Francophone recruit would have to choose either to assimilate to it (and lose his cultural roots) or to hold out against it (and become a perpetual outsider). Given the thoroughly "English" cast of the capital area and the federal authorities there, few felt that the two cultures had any real chance of coexisting in Ottawa.

E. University Recruiting Programmes

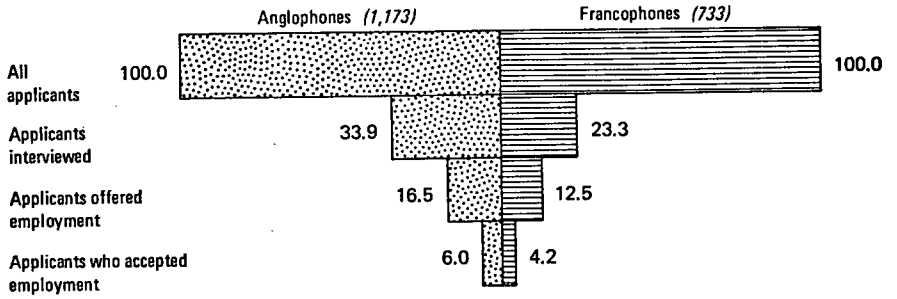
569. The recruitment of staff involves the department of each individual's preference, the Public Service Commission, and the Treasury Board. Although policy changes like the regulations of 1967 on bilingualism have a bearing on procedure, we are satisfied that the methods of recruiting which we studied[1] are not likely to undergo fundamental change in the near future.

570. We expected there would be relatively fewer Francophone than Anglophone graduates involved in the recruiting process, and we found in fact that, over a period of three years, there were 4,692

Recruiting response

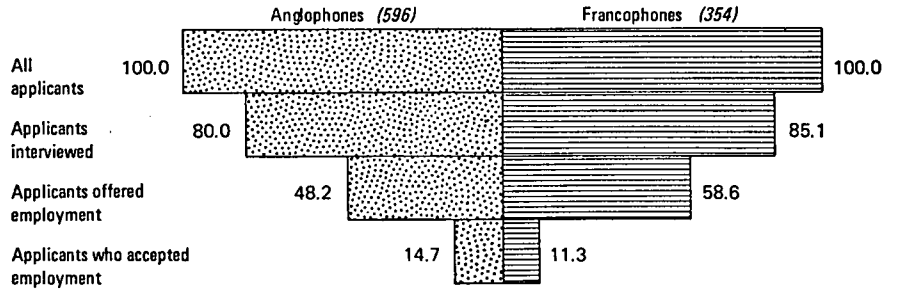
[1] Frank Longstaff, "Statistical Analysis of the Applicants and their Experience with Recruiting," a study prepared for the R.C.B.&B.

Figure 6. Recruitment to the JEO-FSO Programme—Canada, 1962–5 (Percentages)



Source: Longstaff, "Statistical Analysis of the Applicants."

Figure 7. Recruitment to the ST Programmes—Canada, 1962–5 (Percentages)



Source: Longstaff, "Statistical Analysis of the Applicants."

Anglophones in the JEO-FSO stream and 2,384 in the ST stream, compared with 733 and 354 respectively for the Francophones—only a seventh of the Anglophones' total.[1] The disparity was greater at the end of the recruiting process: nine Anglophones were hired for every Francophone. Figures 6 and 7, showing the development of the recruiting procedure for the two programmes, lead to the following conclusions: the majority of all applicants offered employment ultimately refused it; relatively more Anglophones than Francophones were offered employment and accepted it; and the ST programmes reflected the least difference between Anglophone and Francophone response to recruiting.

Tests and interviews

571. The highest rate of elimination in the JEO-FSO programme occurred before the applicants were interviewed and after they had written a general intelligence test. The test was of the multiple-choice type; FSO candidates had to compose an essay as well, but holders of post-graduate degrees were exempted from the test. The ST programmes had no equivalent to this first filtering process, and the large majority of candidates were interviewed. In the JEO-FSO programme, proportionately more Francophones than Anglophones failed at this first level; but in ST programmes, more Francophones than Anglophones were interviewed.

Employment refusals

572. The drop-out rates at the end of the process are also highly significant. Offers of employment were accepted by only a minority of successful applicants: among the JEO-FSO applicants, 67 per cent of the Francophones and 64 per cent of the Anglophones declined; among the ST applicants, 81 per cent of the Francophones and 70 per cent of the Anglophones refused.

Shortcomings of the General Intelligence Test

573. We analyzed the Civil Service Commission's General Intelligence Test—which eliminated 60 per cent of all Anglophone and 72 per cent of all Francophone candidates in 1962-5—to find out whether it was "culture-biased."[2] Even though it could be taken in French, the test was originally prepared for Anglophones. Thus, no norms had been established for the Canadian university population taken as a whole, or as being composed of two linguistic populations, so it was impossible to know whether the test was fair. In any case, it is an

[1] This proportion is in the process of changing. In 1966 there was a marked increase in the number of Francophone candidates: 556 applied for the JEO-FSO programme in that year alone, compared with a total of 733 for the years 1962-5.

[2] Bernard Tétreau and Hillel Steiner, "The Entrance Test and Selection," a study prepared for the R.C.B.&B. Academic quality is obviously one factor that will affect the outcome of this test. However, our data indicate that the Francophone candidates were at least as well qualified academically as the Anglophone candidates in the period surveyed.

established postulate of psychometrics that no instrument can be culturally neutral, and the assumption underlying this particular test is that there is but one culture in Canada.

574. We also found that the test results were misapplied: they were given to interview boards before the applicant's appearance. This is known as "contamination" in testing—permitting an earlier test result to condition an examiner's mind before a later stage of selection, instead of having both decisions made independently and then compared. The degree of contamination has recently been increased by the practice of altering an applicant's score according to his academic degrees, which are already taken into account in the selection process as educational qualifications..

575. In summary, we found serious technical flaws in the Civil Service Commission's General Intelligence Test and in the use made of it. This does not necessarily mean that the Public Service is selecting the wrong people or rejecting the right ones, but the examining body owes it to itself—and to those examined—to make sure that the intelligence test is correctly designed and used.

Candidates' opinions

576. We surveyed the applicants in 1964-5, when 420 Francophones and 2,923 Anglophones applied for the two programmes.[1] Virtually all the respondents of English mother tongue wrote the intelligence test in English, and so did 18 per cent of those of French mother tongue; the rest of the Francophones wrote it in French. Their opinions of the quality of the language in which the multiple-choice questionnaire was formulated were mostly favourable.[2]

577. For 21 per cent of the Francophones but only 4 per cent of the Anglophones, the section on general knowledge was the most difficult part of the test. This would be where cultural bias would show up most overtly, as a matter of content rather than style and presentation. Members of university staffs considered the general knowledge section unsuited to the French-language education system. They recommended that, if the written test must be maintained, it should concentrate on questions within those academic realms common to students of each language. The candidates generally felt that any cultural bias favoured the Anglophone applicants.

Interviews

578. However, there were differences in reaction to the interview stage of the recruiting process. Less than 23 per cent of the Francophone candidates were interviewed exclusively in French. The large majority, 71 per cent, were interviewed in both languages, and the

[1] Jeannotte and Taylor, "Survey of Applicants."

[2] Their opinions on the cultural adaptation of the Civil Service Commission publicity material are given in Appendix III, Table A-30.

candidates said that the linguistic and cultural bias of the recruiting officers—mostly Anglophones themselves—proved frustrating to them. Asked if they had had practical difficulties in conversing with the interviewers in English, 22 per cent of the Francophones said they had. On the other hand, 91 per cent of the Anglophone applicants were interviewed exclusively in English, and only 9 per cent were interviewed in both languages.

579. Matters of culture are obviously more difficult to assess. Responses are likely to be based on positive and negative attitudes to specific issues. Table 46 shows our best indicator of the general phenomenon of rapport between candidate and interviewer: significantly, more than a third of the Francophones felt that they were unable to bring out their strong points in the interview; only 17 per cent of the Anglophones had complaints of this sort. The difficult areas of questioning concerned foreign affairs and domestic matters of national unity, culture, and ethnic topics.

Table 46. Applicants' Satisfaction after the Interview

Percentage distribution within language groups of applicants to the JEO-FSO and ST programmes of the Civil Service Commission, by opportunity to bring out strong points in the interview—Canada, 1965

Opportunity	Language group	
	Francophone	Anglophone
Great	21.8	49.5
Satisfactory	39.9	27.5
Little	35.1	16.8
No opinion	3.2	6.2
Total	100.0	100.0
Sample	*190*	*665*

Source: Jeannotte and Taylor, "Survey of Applicants."

580. Almost 22 per cent of the unilingual Francophones were told by interviewers that it was very important to know English, while only 3 per cent of the unilingual Anglophones were told that it was very important to know French. This must be understood in the context of a situation in which 42 per cent of the Francophones, compared with 5 per cent of the Anglophones, were already confident of their fluent bilingualism (Table 47).

Table 47. Importance of Knowing the Two Official Languages

Percentage distribution within language groups of applicants to the JEO-FSO and ST programmes of the Civil Service Commission, by their evaluation of the importance attached by the interviewers to knowledge of the other official language—Canada, 1965

Importance attached to knowledge of the second language	Language	
	Francophone	Anglophone
Great	21.5	3.3
Average	17.5	13.8
Little	4.0	13.8
None	3.0	39.8
Not applicable[1]	41.5	5.1
No opinion	12.5	24.2
Total	100.0	100.0
Sample	*197*	*665*

Source: Jeannotte and Taylor, "Survey of Applicants."

[1] In these cases, applicants were bilingual.

581. Taking all these aspects of the interview together, it is understandable that only a minority of all candidates—and fewer Francophones than Anglophones—felt their interest in the Public Service increased by meeting a recruiting officer face to face (Table 48). The interviewers failed to evoke greater interest in most candidates. Their influence was not felt where it was most needed, but rather among those who had been most strongly interested before being interviewed.

Table 48. Interest in the Federal Public Service after the Interview

Percentage distribution within language groups of applicants to the JEO-FSO and ST programmes of the Civil Service Commission, by interest in the Public Service after the interview—Canada, 1965

Interest	Language	
	Francophone	Anglophone
Increased	15.4	27.7
Unchanged	52.2	57.6
Less	26.9	13.8
No opinion	5.5	0.9
Total	100.0	100.0
Sample	*198*	*665*

Source: Jeannotte and Taylor, "Survey of Applicants."

Refusal of offers

582. After the "offer" stage of recruiting, the numbers were badly depleted. Of the original 3,343 applicants in 1964-5—420 Francophones and 2,923 Anglophones—only 146 Francophones (35 per cent) and 935 Anglophones (32 per cent) were offered posts; 69 per cent of the successful Francophone candidates and 30 per cent of the Anglophones refused the posts.

583. The most common reason given for turning down a firm offer of employment was the decision to do postgraduate study. The Francophone students we surveyed did not often cite matters of language or culture as reasons for rejecting Ottawa's offers; we conclude that these considerations played their part earlier in the recruiting process.

F. Summer Employment Programmes

584. Besides its two programmes for recruiting university graduates, the Civil Service Commission developed two summer employment programmes for undergraduates.[1] The general summer job system has been running for some years and is open to students at any university or classical college in Canada. In 1964 a special programme to attract Francophone undergraduates was begun. Both are regarded as recruiting devices for full-time employment after graduation.

General programme

585. The general summer job programme had no overt or accidental reference to problems of language and participation in the Public Service. Language requirements were specified for very few positions, and bilingual abilities did not confer advantages on participants. Furthermore, no effort was made to move students from one geographic or cultural milieu to another. Indeed, the reverse was true: the application form stated, "As far as practicable, preference will be given to a candidate applying for a position in the province in which he resides." Once hired, a student was the responsibility of the department to which he was assigned; the department determined what he was to do and presented him with only its own routine.

Francophone programme

586. Because this system apparently did not have any effect on recruiting Francophones to the Public Service, the special programme was created. This was new in 1964, and we could not go into its nature and degree of success thoroughly. Its objective is to encourage Francophones to follow careers in the federal Public Service, particularly in the federal capital. All French-language universities in Quebec and the University of Ottawa were invited to participate.

[1] Paul Pichette, Miriam Moscovitch, and Franco Pillarella, "Les programmes d'emplois d'été pour étudiants universitaires dans la fonction publique fédérale," a study prepared for the R.C.B.&B.

587. The Civil Service Commission administered the special programme, and the departments' only contribution at the start was to indicate the number of summer jobs vacant. Students were recruited with the collaboration of university authorities and selected by interview. A Civil Service Commission officer acted as a mentor to the students, greeting them on arrival and directing them to the departments where they would work, acting as a counsellor throughout the summer, and conducting "debriefing" meetings. At the end of the summer, promising individuals were invited to appear before a Public Service board to be interviewed for permanent employment, bypassing other formalities.

Work patterns

588. Within a department, a small group of trainees would be under the supervision of a Francophone official. They were not expected to contribute to the department's work so much as to learn its policies and methods and to discuss them informally with senior officials. The trainees were to have access to all the main branches and key officials in the department and were to be encouraged constantly to use French as their language of work.

589. The first group of students, in 1964, numbered 12; the following year there were 45, chosen from 150 applicants—a response the Public Service considered excellent. Our researchers interviewed the 45 students in the 1965 programme.

Students' criticisms of the Francophone programme

590. The participants judged the special programme a failure that year. They felt that useful lessons would be learned by the Civil Service Commission for the future but that the stated objectives had not been achieved; with some exceptions, they felt no different from the ordinary summer help. They had virtually no opportunity to discuss policy and methods with responsible officials, and it was not always possible to get access to branches other than those where large numbers of Francophones were already employed. There were many language problems, and French could not be practically used as a language of work. The students complained that nobody seemed to be aware that they were in Ottawa under special circumstances; they often found the Public Service's methods inconsistent with the academic disciplines to which they were accustomed. However, the majority said the experience had been helpful to them and suggested that the programme would improve if their recommendations were implemented.

591. The summer employment programmes, particularly the special one for Francophones, could do much to improve the Public Service's appeal as a potential employer, but their success depends on their implementation within the departments. The plans of the Civil Service Commission are good but have not been sufficiently implemented. The

response of the Francophone students augurs well for the future: a sympathetic attitude among Francophone students can be expected, but the departments will have to show more co-operation if the plan is to work.

G. Summary

592. The rationalization of the federal Public Service along lines of efficiency and merit in the years after 1918 destroyed the old system of patronage under which there were always a number of Francophone civil servants appointed by Francophone cabinet ministers. No procedure or doctrine was evolved to replace the old system and, with few Francophones in the guiding councils of the Public Service, its explicit qualifications and implicit assumptions became more and more unfavourable to Francophones.

593. The only replacement offered for the patronage system has been the practice evolved in response to the need for communication with the large sector of the Canadian population that does not speak English. This practice naturally failed to make the Public Service a bilingual institution, since it simply provided for a few "bilinguals" here and there to serve a Francophone public in French.

594. That young Francophone graduates should differ from their Anglophone colleagues in their response to the Public Service is, therefore, easily understood. They know its history of indifference to the French fact and are therefore reluctant to seek employment in Ottawa. Their suspicions of widely discussed reforms that are less than radical stem from the failure of previously announced reforms to change matters significantly. The situation is aggravated by the traditional shortage of graduates from French-language universities, particularly in scientific and technical fields. The renewed industrial development of Quebec has multiplied the number of professional, scientific, and technical jobs available in the provincial administration and in business within that province, with the result that the federal Public Service faces more competition than ever before for the services of scarce Francophone university graduates.

595. The climate of opinion at French-language universities is neither wholly hostile nor unchangeably mistrustful, as the increase in recruitment in 1966-7 shows. However, the recruiting service of the administration needs to examine its procedures to make sure that Francophones are not penalized. So long as interviewers fail to establish confidence and communication with Francophone students, they are likely to dis-

courage competent applicants. Also, since the Public Service Commission testing devices do not take into account the two major cultures of Canada, they are undoubtedly eliminating able people without even an interview.

596. The summer employment programme for Francophones, in spite of its initial difficulties, could be useful in recruiting future Francophone public servants. However, at least two large-scale reforms will have to be made if the Public Service is to be able to pick the graduates it wants.

597. It is not enough to tell public servants that they may speak French if they wish; the whole milieu will have to be changed if the Public Service is to become a bilingual institution. At present, when a Francophone comes to work in a setting where English has always been the only language of work, he faces many difficulties and frustrations. He may find that there is no typewriter with French accents; the service personnel are likely to speak only English; most documents in circulation and publications in the library will probably be in the English language; and co-workers will almost all be unilingual Anglophones. Clearly, it will take more than a new Public Service Commission regulation to make Francophones feel at home in the federal government. It is not surprising that the difficulties persist, despite many efforts to improve the situation.

598. Although the decision of both Francophones and Anglophones to enter the Public Service—or any other type of employment—is influenced by many personal and social considerations, the character of the institution itself is often the most important factor. This is particularly true for those at the higher educational and occupational levels, because a choice of work is often available to them. This chapter deals with the careers of Francophones and Anglophones in the federal Public Service; we shall consider the incentives and deterrents for potential entrants in terms of career possibilities, and examine the real dimensions of participation of the two official-language groups. Our approach is based on two principles: first, as a federal institution, the Public Service should be equally accessible and attractive to the trained and talented of both groups; second, those who have joined the Public Service should receive equal treatment.

Equal accessibility

599. The historical development of federalism in Canada has reflected a continuing predominance of the Anglophone sector, resulting in the growth of federal structures in which the Canadian duality has been poorly expressed. The Public Service is almost totally Anglophone in its language of operation and administrative style. In responding to what have been the realities of power in Canadian society and the overwhelming technological dominance of the English language in North America, the federal administration has not provided equal access to Francophones who want to develop their occupational skills and talents while working in their own language and expressing their own cultural identity.

600. Until recently, the inconsistency between the ideal of equal access and the fact of Anglophone dominance in the federal Public Service was rarely questioned within the federal administration. There

have always been prominent figures, both within and without the orbit of federal politics, who were fully aware of the weakness of the Francophone presence in Ottawa. Over the years, many—Henri Bourassa and Armand Lavergne, for example—unceasingly pushed for greater partnership and participation, but their arguments were largely ignored. When they could not ignore these arguments, federal leaders—Francophones and Anglophones alike—usually countered them by suggesting the superiority of English technology and training, the lack of French interest in the federal sphere, and the absolute necessity of preventing representational and patronage claims (which were usually equated) from encroaching upon the merit system. Now the situation is changing: Quebec's recent evolution has produced, on the one hand, Francophones who are more conscious of their own power as a cultural group to challenge the dominance of the other culture in the Public Service, and, on the other, some Anglophones who are sensitive to Francophone disaffection with federal institutions. There is also an awareness, at least within some sectors of both the Public Service and the wider Canadian community, that the pattern of Anglophone dominance hinders the development of adequate staff resources and generally militates against effective federal administration.

Equal treatment

601. The second aspect of the problem involves the fate of those who have become public servants: how can the federal administration ensure that personnel are encouraged and advanced on the basis of factors related to job performance only? In their work roles, men and women are identified not only in terms of what they do and how well they do it, but also by personal factors—age, sex, ethnicity, and language—that may colour judgement and block the rational assessment of ability although they do not affect that ability.

Self-confirming stereotypes

602. The problem of providing equal opportunity is universal. Wherever persons of different languages and cultures work with and for each other, patterns of differential participation in the work process develop. The patterns are based on the realities of group differences in types of training and skills. But they also tend to be based on stereotypes that suggest which people are suitable for what work and what social status. To a certain extent, the stereotypes merge with the realities of genuine cultural difference and even reinforce them; in this sense they are self-confirming. They can colour the whole environment of an organization. A supervisor who looks at subordinates of different cultural and linguistic backgrounds in terms of stereotypes will decide, on the basis of these stereotypes, whom to encourage and whom to ignore. As a direct result, some will become dynamic and self-confident, and others will become reticent and alienated. The upshot is not simply that people of ability or potential ability are overlooked (though this frequently

happens), but that the environment itself partly determines who has ability by giving different labels to different types of people.

603. Admittedly, stereotypes influence the fate of minorities in all large-scale organizations. Yet for the federal administration the problem of attaining the ideal of cultural equality is particularly important. Canadian public institutions ought to embody the common purposes and goals of Canada and provide models for private organizations to follow. The federal administration is a huge organization containing large numbers of competent persons from the two major linguistic groups; the country's human resources are wasted if the skills of all its employees are not developed and used.

604. In spite of differences in the extent to which they are available, people of many different linguistic and cultural backgrounds do pursue careers in the federal bureaucracy. Inside the Public Service they are subject to formal and informal practices that assist some in advancing faster and farther than others. The collective fate of each cultural and linguistic group in the federal Public Service has important implications —it determines in part how well the federal administration is able to understand and serve the needs of a culturally heterogeneous Canadian population and it influences the feelings of Canadians of different backgrounds about federal institutions and symbols. Furthermore, prospective participants learn directly or indirectly what happens in the federal Public Service to people like themselves. Naturally, what they hear greatly influences their interest in seeking government employment.

Plan of this chapter

605. In this chapter we describe the general pattern of participation of Francophones and Anglophones in the federal administration and we consider the background characteristics, training, and motivation of those Francophones and Anglophones attracted to government employment, the major contingencies affecting the progress of their careers, and their satisfaction with job, career, and community. As well, we look at the effects of linguistic and cultural issues on the activities and attitudes of government personnel. In our opinion, these topics deserve detailed consideration because they all bear on the administration's problems of attracting and retaining personnel of various cultural and linguistic backgrounds and of developing and using the full range of their talents.

A. Measurement of Participation[1]

606. One of the main barriers to equal partnership in the federal Public Service is that the French language, although fairly well established as a language of service, is rarely used as a language of work and

[1] Our findings are from Johnstone, Klein, and Ledoux, "Public Service Survey," which divided public servants into three groups according to mother tongue.

is almost completely absent from the middle and upper levels of the Public Service in Ottawa. This situation raises several questions. Are Francophones participating effectively at all levels of the federal Public Service, or are they concentrated at some levels? Do they enjoy the same status—as measured by salary and occupation—as Anglophones? In other words, are there enough Francophones in the right places in the Public Service to make French a viable language of work and to give French-speaking Canada an effective voice in government?

Participation of language groups

607. We shall concentrate on providing a solid basis of fact about the participation pattern of the language groups.[1] We shall compare public servants of English and French mother tongues and, in most cases, of other mother tongues as well. Although those in this last category are called upon to work in English or French at home, they are an identifiable, if variegated, category. They make up 9 per cent of the total Public Service and differ markedly from both major mother-tongue groups. However, 97 per cent of them reported that English was the language in which they could best do their work.[1]

Statistical basis for comparison

608. Our statistical basis for comparison among linguistic categories is their physical presence in the federal departmental Public Service:[2] 69 per cent for those of English mother tongue, 22 per cent for those of French mother tongue, and 9 per cent for those of other mother tongues. The 22 per cent of public servants who are of French mother tongue may be compared with their proportion in the total Canadian labour force—26 per cent in 1961. Our discovery that, for example, only 6 per cent of the staff of the Unemployment Insurance Commission are of French mother tongue leads us to say their participation is relatively low or weak and that, at 28 per cent, it is relatively high in Public Works. But our use of these measurements does not reflect support of a system of proportional representation, and we do not wish to apply this sort of standard. The percentages are used solely as a convenient rough guide.

1. Geographic distribution

609. The distribution of public servants according to mother tongues varied among the regions of Canada according to the geographic distribution of the linguistic communities.[3] Except in Quebec and the federal capital, a very small minority of public servants were of French mother tongue; in Ontario, the western provinces, the Yukon, and the North-

[1] Chapter VII, Table 31.

[2] *See* Table 49. The term federal "departmental Public Service" is used here to indicate that the text does not include data on Crown corporations and other non-departmental agencies. Comparative data on some of these entities is contained in Appendix IV.

[3] *See* Appendix III, Tables A-31 and A-32.

west Territories, their numbers were exceeded by those whose mother tongue was neither French nor English. Those of English mother tongue on the other hand, were a minority only in Quebec, and they were a large and influential minority in the Montreal region, where a third of the province's population lives.

Geographic concentration of those of French mother tongue

610. Such a geographic concentration of public servants of French mother tongue is not surprising and may be regarded as one of the bases that could support a system in which the language of work would be French in some work units. But it is significant that even where personnel are not drawn from the local population—that is, in the overseas missions—only 16 per cent of the staff—a considerably smaller proportion than in the departmental Public Service as a whole—were of French mother tongue.

2. *Departmental distribution*

611. Participation by those of French and English mother tongue varied from one department to another (Table 49). In 1965, the proportion of public servants of French mother tongue ranged from 6 per cent in the Unemployment Insurance Commission to 50 per cent in the department of the Secretary of State. These figures suggest that special characteristics of the departments, especially their need for certain types of personnel, account for the relative size of the group who have French as their mother tongue. For instance, the departments of the Secretary of State and Justice employ large numbers of translators and lawyers respectively—groups in which Francophones either predominate or are relatively numerous. In other departments where a specialized and functional need for the French language was not defined by the federal government, the proportion was significantly lower.

612. Only 11 of the 25 administrative units studied had a proportion of staff of French mother tongue greater than or equal to the proportion—22 per cent—in the Public Service as a whole. Many units were significantly below this level, so there was little possibility that Francophones would find them attractive as places to work.

3. *Principal factors of status*

613. Determining the proportions of the language groups in the Public Service is not as meaningful as discovering how successfully they are participating. A measure of this participation is shown in our findings concerning comparative earnings, occupations, and educational levels.

Table 49. Mother Tongue of Federal Departmental Public Servants

Percentage distribution of federal public servants within departments, by mother tongue—Canada, 1965

			Mother tongue			
	Total number[1]	*Sample*	French	English	Other	Total
Agriculture	6,255	*751*	12.7	70.6	16.7	100
Citizenship and Immigration	2,618	*202*	19.5	62.0	18.5	100
Civil Service Commission	713	*104*	22.9	76.4	0.7	100
Defence Production	2,121	*329*	18.2	81.1	0.7	100
Dominion Bureau of Statistics	2,093	*195*	32.2	59.9	7.9	100
External Affairs	1,680	*248*	24.0	71.2	4.8	100
Finance	4,954	*354*	25.1	67.1	7.8	100
Fisheries	1,263	*97*	15.5	82.4	2.1	100
Forestry	971	*103*	19.9	70.9	9.2	100
Industry	297	*175*	20.0	76.0	4.0	100
Justice	269	*42*	41.2	58.6	0.2	100
Labour	644	*79*	32.7	56.0	11.3	100
Mines and Technical Surveys	2,512	*458*	11.5	78.0	10.5	100
National Defence	25,025	*1,301*	21.0	72.4	6.6	100
National Health and Welfare	3,144	*452*	18.9	63.2	17.9	100
National Revenue	14,702	*779*	23.9	*70.2*	5.9	100
Northern Affairs and National Resources	1,662	*146*	6.8	74.6	18.6	100
Post Office	24,717	*1,026*	28.8	61.1	10.1	100
Public Works	5,706	*305*	27.5	62.5	10.0	100
RCMP (civilian staff)	1,251	*54*	19.9	68.1	12.0	100
Secretary of State	877	*84*	49.6	39.1	11.3	100
Trade and Commerce	1,324	*186*	18.5	74.8	6.7	100
Transport	10,504	*756*	17.2	73.5	9.3	100
Unemployment Insurance Commission	9,016	*205*	6.1	88.5	5.4	100
Veterans Affairs	10,733	*600*	26.0	71.2	2.8	100
Other departments	2,241	*127*	42.8	43.4	13.8	100
All departments	137,292	*9,159*	21.5	69.4	9.1	100

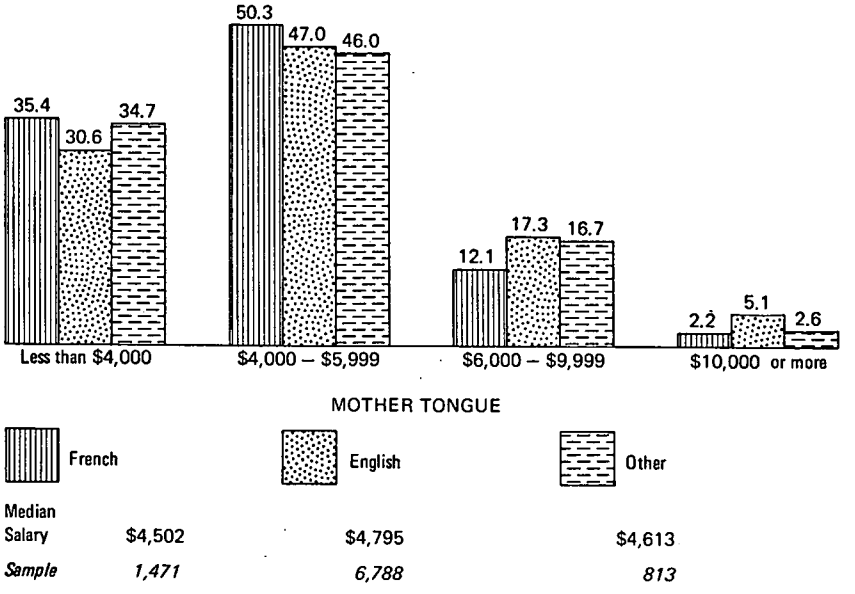
Source: Johnstone, Klein, and Ledoux, "Public Service Survey."

[1] These figures are taken from *The Composition of the Civil Service of Canada, September 1964*, a statistical report prepared by the Civil Service Commission.

Salary

614. The median salary of those of French mother tongue was 6 per cent less than that of public servants of English mother tongue and 2 per cent less than that of public servants of other mother tongues (Figure 8). There were disproportionately few public servants of French mother tongue earning the highest salaries (Figure 9). In fact their proportion declined steadily as salary level increased. Although their proportion in the departmental Public Service was 22 per cent, relatively more of them earned less than $6,000 a year and relatively few earned more. As a result, while it might have been possible for the French language and culture to thrive at lower-income levels, their viability was greatly reduced at the higher levels, where those of French mother tongue were outnumbered almost ten to one.

Figure 8. Salary Levels of Departmental Public Servants—Canada, 1965 (Percentages)



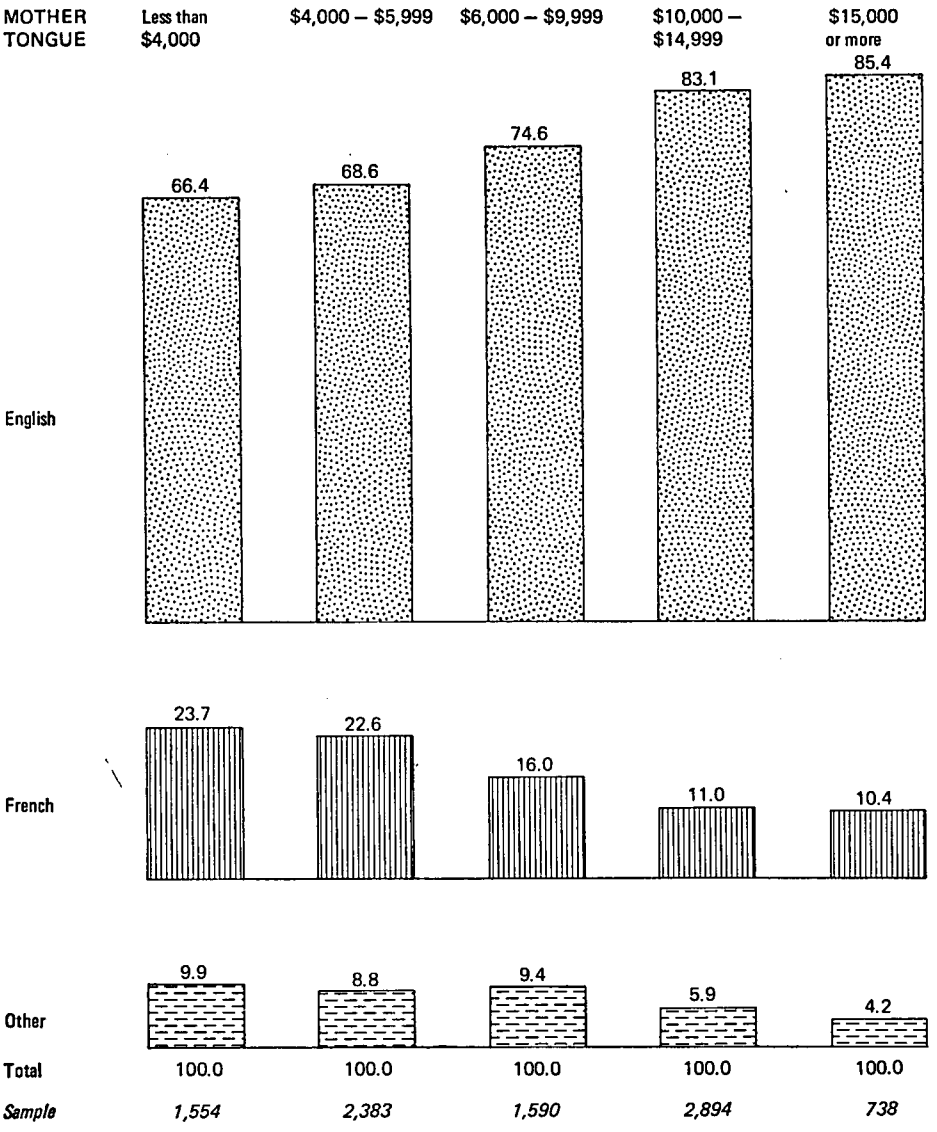
	French	English	Other
Median Salary	$4,502	$4,795	$4,613
Sample	*1,471*	*6,788*	*813*

Source: Johnstone, Klein, and Ledoux, "Public Service Survey."

Departmental variations

615. As mentioned above, the number of public servants of French mother tongue varied considerably among departments, regardless of salary levels. Only in two of the 22 larger departments and agencies did they make up more than 22 per cent of the staff earning $10,000 or more—the departments of the Secretary of State and the Post Office

Figure 9. Mother Tongue of Departmental Public Servants, by salary levels—Canada, 1965 (Percentages)



Source: Johnstone, Klein, and Ledoux, "Public Service Survey."

(26 and 45 per cent respectively).[1] At the level earning less than $10,000 a year, 10 out of the 17 departments and agencies for which data were available had staffs that were more than 22 per cent of French mother tongue. They are obviously concentrated in the lower levels of the federal administration.

Appointments by Order-in-Council

616. The Francophone presence was relatively strong, however, in senior and high-paying posts filled by appointment through Order-in-Council. Although participation generally dwindled at each successively higher salary level of appointments covered by the Civil Service Commission, in positions such as deputy minister, head of a Crown corporation, or chairman of a board or commission, over which the government of the day has direct influence, there was a reassertion of a Francophone presence. Many of these "political" positions were filled by Francophones who "parachuted" in from outside the federal Public Service.[2]

Differences in starting salary

617. Salary at any point in a man's career is related to his initial salary, rate of advancement up to that point, and length of service. Our data indicated that the first two factors—especially the differences in starting salary—accounted for most of the differences in current salaries. Employees of French mother tongue tended to enter the Public Service in lower-paid positions than the average. Of those recruited between 1961 and 1965, 14 per cent of the personnel of English mother tongue and 12 per cent of those of other mother tongues, but less than 8 per cent of those of French mother tongue started at salaries of $5,000 or more a year.[3]

Rate of advancement

618. Only the personnel of French mother tongue who were recruited between 1961 and 1965 had an advancement rate higher than the rates for those of English and other mother tongues.[4] For all other periods of entry—except 1951 to 1954, when the rates of advancement were identical—the rate was lower for the French-language group. Comparing the increments of those who began at the same salary level, those of English mother tongue had an advantage over those of French and other mother tongues at the lower end of the scale, while of those starting at higher levels (excepting only those of French mother tongue who started at the $6,000 to $8,000 level), those of other mother tongues moved upwards most quickly.[5] In short, it was only recently and among those entering at the lower ranks of the middle level

[1] Appendix III, Table A-33.
[2] *See* §§ 746-51.
[3] Appendix III, Table A-34.
[4] *Ibid.*, Table A-35.
[5] *Ibid.*, Table A-36.

($6,000 to $8,000) that the French-language group had outpaced those of English and other mother tongues in annual pay increases.

619. Our findings further showed that public servants of French mother tongue were generally at lower salary levels than their peers of English and other mother tongues who had the same level of education[1] or who were in the same occupational categories.[2]

Education and salary

620. Looking at education alone, we can observe that, at all levels, those of English mother tongue receive the highest salaries and those of French mother tongue receive the lowest—except in the category with ten years of schooling or less, where those of French mother tongue received higher salaries than those whose mother tongue was neither English nor French. It is particularly significant that their disadvantage was greater at the higher educational levels. The median salaries of university graduates were $2,077 below and $669 below those of English and other mother tongues respectively. Thus, feelings of dissatisfaction at having been left behind by their peers are likely to be most intense among university graduates of French mother tongue.

621. With lower starting salaries and generally lower rates of salary increase, public servants of French mother tongue receive a significantly lower average annual income. Even when the comparison was restricted to those with the same level of education or occupation, they were generally behind those of the two other language groups.

High-status occupations

622. Occupation partly determines income, but it also indicates status. Table 50 summarizes the occupational distribution of public servants according to language group in the departmental Public Service. Those of English mother tongue made up 69 per cent of the total. At the managerial and professional and technical levels, the proportion is similar, except among lawyers. But those of English mother tongue are underrepresented in other occupations, which do not require as high qualifications and which are less highly paid, with the exception of craftsmen, who are overrepresented.

623. The situation was exactly reversed for those of French mother tongue: except for lawyers and social scientists, there were fewer than 22 per cent—the overall average—in every job category in the top quarter of the Public Service. In the other occupations—the 75 per cent requiring less skill and paying less—more employees of French mother tongue than the overall average occupied each category except that of craftsmen; it was only in this category, which accounted for 10 per cent of the Public Service employees, that those of English mother tongue exceeded their overall average.

1 *Ibid.*, Table A-37.
2 Appendix V, Table A-79.

Table 50. Occupation and Mother Tongue

Percentage distribution of federal departmental public servants, by occupational category and by mother tongue within each occupational category—Canada, 1965 (*Sample = 9,159*)

		Mother tongue			
	%	French	English	Other	Total
Managers	10.4	19.9	74.9	5.2	100
Professionals	14.4	14.4	74.2	11.4	100
Engineers and scientists	4.9	11.8	72.0	16.2	100
Physicians, etc.	2.0	12.1	77.8	10.1	100
Lawyers	0.2	33.5	52.2	14.3	100
Social scientists	1.3	22.6	68.8	8.6	100
Others	6.0	15.0	76.6	8.4	100
Clerks and sales	39.8	24.7	67.9	7.4	100
Service	9.5	22.0	62.3	15.7	100
Transport and communications	10.7	25.6	66.8	7.6	100
Craftsmen	9.7	18.9	71.8	9.3	100
Labourers	4.8	23.9	58.7	17.4	100
Others	*	*	*	*	*
All occupations	100.0	21.5	69.4	9.1	100

Source: Johnstone, Klein, and Ledoux, "Public Service Survey."
*Statistically insignificant.

624. Among the public servants of English mother tongue, 27 per cent were in managerial and professional and technical occupations, compared with 19 per cent of the public servants of French mother tongue and 23 per cent of those of other mother tongues. These proportions are similar to those of the total labour force for the same occupational categories. In fact, in these occupations, those of French mother tongue are proportionately as numerous or more numerous in the Public Service as in the total labour force.

4. Some related characteristics

Educational attainment

625. Public servants of French mother tongue placed last in educational attainment, whether measured by length of formal schooling, the incidence of university degrees,[1] or the incidence of university training (Table 51). Employees of English mother tongue had the highest

[1] This is so even when *baccalauréats ès arts* are included in the bachelor's category; the Public Service Commission does not recognize them as such.

average number of years of schooling. Among those whose mother tongue was neither English nor French, there were relatively more men with university degrees, but their average salary was still below the average salary of those of English mother tongue, no doubt partly because the public servants of other mother tongues also included a high percentage of people with eight years of schooling or less.[1]

Table 51. Education and Mother Tongue

Percentage distribution of federal departmental public servants within mother-tongue groups, by number of years of schooling and level of education attained—Canada, 1965

	Mother tongue			
	French	English	Other	All public servants
Schooling				
8 years or less	19.7	11.2	21.6	14.0
9-10 years	29.3	24.0	21.6	24.9
11-12 years	33.5	38.3	26.8	36.2
13 years or more	17.5	26.5	30.0	24.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Median years of schooling	10.1	10.8	10.6	10.6
Level of education				
No university	82.5	81.0	74.6	80.8
Some university but no degree	7.4	7.0	8.6	7.2
Bachelor's degree[1]	3.3	6.2	9.1	5.8
Master's degree	2.3	2.3	2.4	2.3
Doctorate	0.9	1.4	2.7	1.4
Other university degree	3.6	2.1	2.6	2.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Sample	*1,473*	*6,829*	*814*	*9,116*

Source: Johnstone, Klein, and Ledoux, "Public Service Survey."

[1] Includes *baccalauréat ès arts.*

626. The position of public servants of French mother tongue was quite straightforward: there were fewer university-trained men, fewer university graduates, and fewer qualified postgraduates than in either of

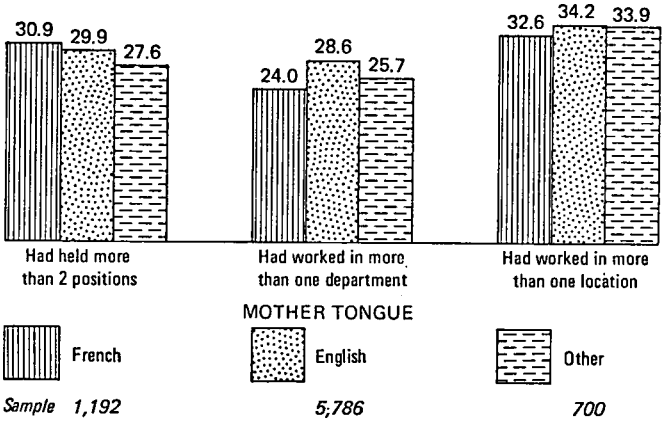
[1] A later volume of this *Report* will discuss in more detail the participation of Canadians of other ethnic origins in the Public Service.

the other groups. At the other end of the scale, 49 per cent of the French-language group had Grade x standing or less, compared with 35 per cent of those whose mother tongue was English and 43 per cent of those of other mother tongues. However, this educational gap appeared to be closing between generations.[1] In median years of schooling, men 45 years of age or more whose mother tongue was English had an advantage of one year over their colleagues of French mother tongue in the same age groups. However, their advantage narrows to 0.6 year for those under 25 years of age. If it continues, this trend should reduce that part of salary differential now related to educational differential.

627. The modern North American in public or private employment is expected to be willing to take on new jobs, switch employers, or move from one region of the country to another to further his career. In interviews, we were told time after time that Francophone public servants, as a group, hampered their own career opportunities by being reluctant to move. This widespread belief is, in part, contradicted by our survey data (Figure 10): all three categories seemed to have a similar willingness to change jobs or to move from one department to another. In fact, among staff earning $10,000 or more per annum, those most likely to change positions or departments were those of French mother tongue.[2]

Mobility

Figure 10. Mobility[1] of Male Departmental Public Servants—Canada, 1965 (Percentages)



Source: Johnstone, Klein, and Ledoux, "Public Service Survey."
[1] Standardized for years of service.

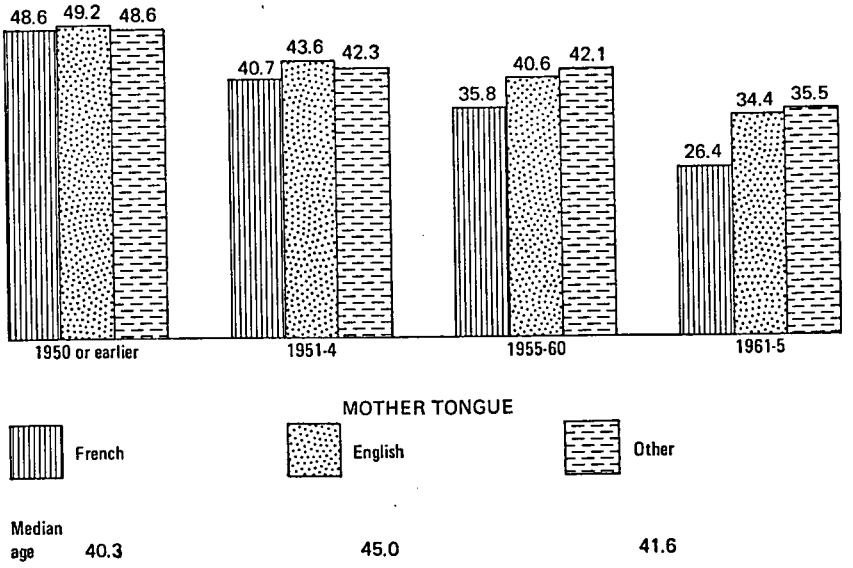
[1] Appendix III, Table A-38.
[2] *Ibid.*, Table A-39.

628. Public servants of French mother tongue had as high a rate of geographic movement as those of English and other mother tongues, but what this means is not entirely clear. Their moves may have been restricted to within Quebec or between Quebec and the federal capital. In any case, within their own linguistic and cultural setting, the Francophones were as willing to move as the Anglophones. However, if a truly mobile public servant is one who can be despatched to any region of the country, then Anglophones clearly have more scope for movement than Francophones.

Age and year of recruitment

629. Both initial salary and advancement rates were lower for those of French mother tongue than for those of English mother tongue, because they were younger and had had less work experience on entering the Public Service. Age differences between the three mother-tongue groups were quite striking. Public servants of French mother tongue were generally younger than their colleagues, the largest difference being among those most recently recruited (Figure 11). Those of French mother tongue who were recruited before 1950 had almost exactly the same median age as their colleagues, but among those hired since 1961 the difference approached 10 years—reflecting the proportionately larger number of recruits of English and other mother tongues who had held other jobs or pursued higher education before starting

Figure 11. Median Age of Male Departmental Public Servants, by period of recruitment—Canada, 1965



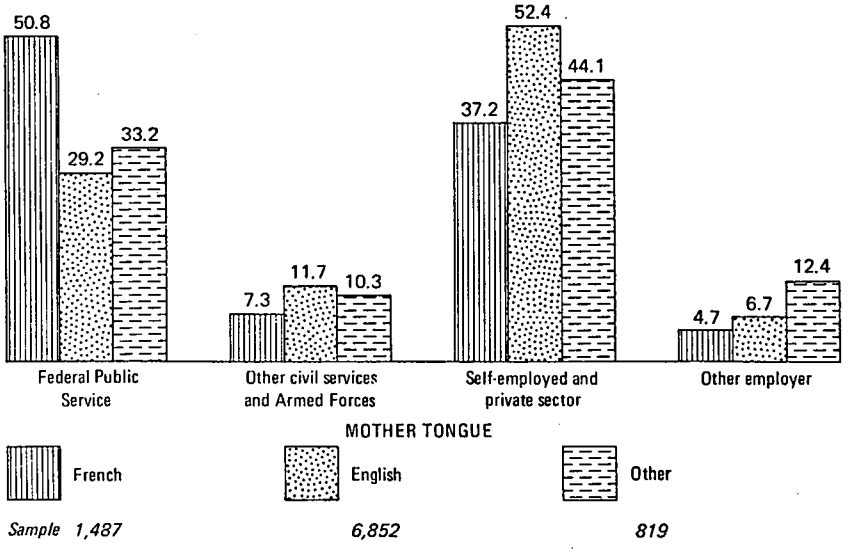
Source: Johnstone, Klein, and Ledoux, "Public Service Survey."

government work. As a result, in 1965, 38 per cent of all public servants aged 20 to 24 had French as their mother tongue, compared with only 16 per cent of those aged 50 to 54.[1]

Previous experience

630. These data suggest that the Public Service in recent years has obtained a good number of young recruits of French mother tongue, but that it has encountered difficulties in attracting or retaining personnel of French mother tongue for higher-level occupations requiring experience. This is confirmed by our data on the previous working experience of public servants. Those whose mother tongue was not French were more likely to have started their careers outside the public sector, but about half of their colleagues of French mother tongue held their first permanent job in the federal Public Service (Figure 12). Among those who had worked outside the federal sector, the French mother-tongue group generally had worked for a shorter period than had those of English or other mother tongues.[2]

Figure 12. First Permanent Job of Departmental Public Servants—Canada, 1965 (Percentages)



Source: Johnstone, Klein, and Ledoux, "Public Service Survey."

Length of service

631. With their early start in government employment, public servants of French mother tongue might be expected to have had longer periods of service. This is not so: the median number of years spent

[1] *Ibid.*, Table A-40.
[2] *Ibid.*, Table A-41.

within the federal Public Service was almost identical for them and for those of English mother tongue.[1] The departure of many employees of French mother tongue who enter at an early age allows their colleagues of English mother tongue to catch up.

632. The younger average age of Francophones and their limited working experience before joining the Public Service undoubtedly contribute to their generally lower status in the federal administration. But these factors do not completely explain the large discrepancies among those with similar levels of education, working in the same field, and with similar starting salaries.

5. Summary

633. The general "English" character of the Public Service is largely a result of its linguistic composition. Those of English mother tongue were clearly in the majority everywhere except in Quebec, where they formed a significant minority. By contrast, those of French mother tongue were a majority in Quebec and a significant minority in the federal capital; elsewhere they were too few to exert any influence as a linguistic or cultural group.

Staff distribution

634. Corresponding with the general staff distribution, few large departments had a proportion of staff of French mother tongue which approached 22 per cent (the departmental Public Service average), let alone 26 per cent (their proportion in the Canadian labour force).

635. The data for the last few years suggest a significant change that may, in time, penetrate the whole Public Service: 38 per cent of public servants in the age group 20 to 24 years old were of French mother tongue; they were receiving pay increases (and promotions) at a rate faster than those in the other language groups. This new trend has not yet dramatically altered the long-standing inequities.

636. We have observed that staff whose mother tongue was French were characteristically younger and less well educated and had had less outside experience than their colleagues of English and other mother tongues. While these phenomena would lead one to expect lower salaries in general for those of French mother tongue, they do not account wholly for the substantially lower salaries paid to university graduates of French mother tongue. Clearly, they are not treated equally with those of English and other mother tongues with the same level of training. Finally, although public servants of French mother tongue entered the Public Service at an earlier age, their length of service was no longer than that of their colleagues in the other two language groups.

[1] *Ibid.*, Table A-42.

637. The Public Service appears to have been an attractive employer for many young Francophones, but it has not been able to hold them. Nor has it been able either to recruit or to retain enough highly qualified Francophones to maintain an equitable balance in the Public Service.

B. Importance of Middle-level Public Servants

Three strata

638. We have identified three levels or strata of public servants, each with its characteristic career patterns and problems of staff development. The lower level is comprised of the large non-officer class. The middle level takes in the great majority of officers, including all professionals, certain technicians, and middle-level managers. The upper level contains the small number of senior executives and policy-makers at the top of the Public Service.

Lower level

639. The lower level—that is, the non-officer group—is by far the largest, comprising almost three-quarters of all public servants. Its staff-development problems, however, are the least difficult. Since educational qualifications have become much more important for placement and promotion in officer-level positions, movement up from non-officer level has considerably diminished. Although this level provides important support functions, especially in clerical, stenographic, and maintenance areas, its recruitment problems are not particularly acute; the manpower for lower-level positions comes primarily from local markets and usually includes all population elements.

Upper level

640. The upper level has been defined as that group of senior officers —roughly 200 strong—who are deputy ministers, assistant or associate deputies, and directors of important divisions in key departments (especially Finance, Trade and Commerce, and External Affairs). A few important experts and advisers might also be included in this group.

Middle level

641. The middle level includes all remaining public servants of officer status. Generally, university education or equivalent professional or technical training is now required for most middle-level positions, although it is still true that some public servants attain such positions without the credentials of higher education. Nevertheless, the Junior Executive Officer (JEO) training programme—a nation-wide recruitment scheme aimed at university graduates—has been the typical entry route for the past 10 years. About one-quarter of all positions in the federal administration fall in the middle level.

Importance of the middle level

642. It is at this level that promising employees are spotted by their superiors and groomed for the future élite positions. The middle level also contains an attractive array of professional and technical careers that do not lead to the top. Finally, in both their specific responsibilities

and general attitudes, middle-level public servants exemplify what it means to work in the federal Public Service. In their ranks are men and women of varied backgrounds and specialties who plan, execute, and publicize the many functions for which the federal administration is responsible.

643. It is well recognized within government circles that the middle level poses special personnel problems. In 1966 the Chairman of the Civil Service Commission of Canada made the following remarks:

> No one will disagree, I am sure, with the notion that the execution of public policy in Canada deserves the best minds and the highest executive, administrative, and professional skills available in the land. The Civil Service Act recognizes this requirement and makes provision for its fulfilment. However, it is an unfortunate fact that the Public Service of Canada has up to now been unable to attract and retain its fair share of competent persons reflecting the two cultures of Canada. We have not succeeded in recruiting, particularly for intermediate and senior positions, a sufficient number of well-qualified citizens from French Canada and it is the Commission's view that this vacuum is detrimental to the public interest.[1]

The "Career Study"

644. In 1965, we undertook a special interview survey of the middle-level public servants. Since this study contributed more than any other specific research to shaping the discussion in the rest of this chapter, a few details on its scope and method are in order. The "Career Study" involved lengthy interviews conducted in five departments selected as a representative cross-section of the federal administration: the departments of Agriculture, Finance, National Revenue—Taxation division, Public Works, and the Secretary of State. Altogether, 306 interviews were conducted; 296 of these—involving 168 Anglophones and 128 Francophones—were judged suitable for analysis. All those in the samples worked in Ottawa, were between 25 and 45 years old, and earned $6,200 or more a year.[2]

Three categories in the middle level

645. The major goal of the "Career Study" was to investigate a wide variety of middle-level career specialties and work settings. Three broad categories of career specialties were distinguished. The first category consisted of professionals, whose training usually extends to the university post-graduate level; examples are lawyers, engineers, accountants, and scientists. The second group were the administrators, including those in positions where the principal activity is the management of operations or the development of policy, or both. Those with profes-

[1] J. J. Carson, "The New Role of the Civil Service Commission," outline of remarks to the Federal Institute of Management, Ottawa, February 1, 1966.

[2] Beattie, Désy, and Longstaff, "Bureaucratic Careers: Anglophones and Francophones in the Canadian Public Service." In this study those of other mother tongues are included in whichever category corresponds to their main official language. In Appendix V the findings of this study may be compared with those throughout the departmental Public Service in managerial, professional, and technical occupations.

sional qualifications who are in supervisory posts and have ceased to practise their occupational specialty are included in the administrator group; examples are administrative officers, personnel officers, and finance officers. The third category included technicians and semi-professionals—those performing specialized tasks related to one of the professions or sciences; examples are computer programmers, translators, and technical officers.

Functions and work settings

646. Work settings can refer to anything from the smallest of work units to whole departments; usually, however, the departmental division or branch is implied. The diversity of the many divisions in the federal administration needs emphasis if only because popular images of the "civil service" picture vast offices full of clerks going through the motions of routine paperwork. There are, of course, a great many routine functions conducted by the federal administration—every department has its personnel and payroll to take care of and forms to process. But the uniqueness and diversity of many of the functions of the Public Service are often overlooked. To understand the problems of staff development, both the routine and the unique in Public Service functions and work settings must be examined. This suggests that a salient variable in federal government work settings is the relative presence or absence of opportunities for creative work.

Opportunities for creativity

647. Creativity will be at a maximum in a setting where public servants develop ideas or test theories, working at their own pace in an autonomous manner and assuming personal responsibility for bringing the various projects to conclusions. In the past, the government of Canada, at least in its domestic operations, was largely concerned with non-creative "housekeeping" activities (for example, providing postal services, collecting taxes). Recently, however, added planning, research, and regulatory functions have markedly increased the number of units where creative work predominates. To provide and retain staff for these new functions, the government must compete as never before with the private sector and other organizations for first-rate professional, administrative, and technical talent.

C. Background Characteristics of Middle-level Personnel

648. We attempted to learn about the life experiences of typical men and women within the selected departments of the federal Public Service. For middle-level public servants in the Ottawa-Hull area, several questions were relevant. What are the mother tongue, national origin and social antecedents of these Francophones and Anglophones? Where have they come from? What are their educational and work histories?

In general, what sorts of geographic and social mobility have they experienced?

1. Mother tongue, ethnic origin, and country of birth

649. The Anglophones were relatively heterogeneous: 26 per cent were born outside Canada, 11 per cent coming from Britain; 14 per cent had a language other than English as their mother tongue; 27 per cent claimed to be of non-British descent (including 10 per cent of German, Austrian, Belgian, Dutch, Swiss or Scandinavian origin, 6 per cent of Slavic origin, and 2 per cent of Jewish origin).[1]

650. Francophones were more homogeneous: only 7 per cent of the Francophones were born outside Canada, all coming from France or other French-speaking parts of Europe; only 3 per cent claimed to be of other than French origin.

2. Geographic origin

Mobility

651. It is a commonplace that in industrially advanced societies the highly trained and talented are likely to be mobile and that large-scale economic organizations, both public and private, encourage such movement. It is also true that geographic mobility exacts its costs, affecting relations with family and friends and demanding difficult adjustments to new environments.

652. With the widespread geographic mobility of the Canadian population, individuals may easily be born in one locality, grow up and form early attachments in another, and come to maturity in a third one. The most meaningful way to determine the geographic origin of public servants is to look at place of family residence during the years of secondary education. Data on middle-level personnel in Ottawa and Hull indicate a sharp contrast in this respect between Anglophones and Francophones (Table 52). Only 19 per cent of the Anglophones grew up in Ottawa or Hull; 52 per cent, including 21 per cent from foreign countries, spent their formative years outside Ontario and Quebec. Among Francophones there was a strikingly high proportion (51 per cent) from Hull and Ottawa and other parts of Ontario, although less than 7 per cent of the total Francophone labour force lives in Ontario. Only 37 per cent came from Quebec (excluding Hull), the heartland of French-speaking Canada where over three-quarters of the Francophone labour force dwells. These data suggest that the Public Service has some success in recruiting Anglophones from all over Canada and even from many other countries, but that more than half the Francophones it

[1] Appendix III, Tables A-43, A-44, and A45; *see also* footnote to § 644.

attracts are natives of the National Capital region or its environs. It is particularly noteworthy that the capital region serves as a greater source of French-speaking talent for those departments, such as National Revenue—Taxation division (58 per cent from Ottawa and Hull) and Public Works (61 per cent), where routine "housekeeping" functions predominate over creative work settings.[1] Furthermore, of all middle-level Francophones working in Ottawa, 65 per cent of the administrative and technical personnel, but only 21 per cent of those in more creative careers (professionals and scientists), came from Ottawa or Hull.[2] Francophones from Quebec were more likely to be concentrated in work sectors requiring advanced training for the performance of creative work.

Table 52. Place of Origin and Language

Percentage distribution of middle-level Francophone and Anglophone public servants in five federal departments, by place of origin—Canada, 1965

	Francophones	Anglophones	All public servants
Ottawa and Hull	43.0	18.5	22.3
Ontario (except Ottawa)	7.8	23.2	20.6
Montreal	13.3	4.2	5.7
Quebec (except Hull and Montreal)	23.4	1.8	5.4
Atlantic provinces	3.9	8.3	7.8
Western Canada	3.1	23.2	19.9
Foreign countries	5.5	20.8	18.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Sample	*128*	*168*	*296*

Source: Beattie, Désy, and Longstaff, "Bureaucratic Careers."

653. These data illuminate the extent of the Public Service's failure to attract Francophones, particularly those from Quebec apart from Hull, to Ottawa. As a result, the Public Service in Ottawa must draw more than half of its Francophone personnel from Ontario and nearby Hull. This situation does nothing to encourage the development of a truly bilingual and bicultural federal administration.

Difficulties of Francophones from Ontario

654. The relatively high participation of Francophones from Ontario in the federal administration, and their concentration in settings where routine operations predominate, reflect their disadvantaged economic

[1] *Ibid.*, Table A-46.
[2] *Ibid.*, Table A-47.

and educational situation in Ontario. Because of their minority position in a province that until very recently was loathe to recognize anything more than the most minimal claims to their cultural integrity, they have had extremely limited cultural and educational resources at their disposal. As a result, many Francophones from Ontario—receiving part of their schooling in English and almost invariably working most of their lives in that language—have been left suspended between Canada's two main cultures. The men and women who have grown up under such conditions generally have not had the education or received the incentives that would allow them to compete on equal terms in the work world with most of their Anglophone colleagues or their Francophone colleagues from Quebec.

Francophones from Quebec

655. In contrast to the Francophones from Ontario, middle-level Francophones from Quebec have tended to work in the more creative sectors of the Public Service. This is largely because of their sounder educational preparation and more solid cultural base. During the 1940's and 1950's, Francophones from Quebec, like those from Ontario, were often forced to seek employment in the federal sphere largely because of a lack of good prospects for employment in either the private or public sectors of the Quebec economy. However, this situation has changed in recent years. As one of the instruments of the "quiet revolution," the civil service of Quebec has absorbed much of the new talent coming out of the province's French-language universities. It has also induced a number of Francophone federal public servants to leave Ottawa for Quebec City. At the same time, the larger private corporations, though still almost totally under Anglophone direction, have shown themselves much more eager to recruit Francophones for middle- and even top-level positions. Moreover, it is the talented and creative personnel (Anglophones as well as Francophones) who display most dissatisfaction with life in Ottawa and least commitment to the federal Public Service.[1] As a result, departments needing creative personnel must now complete actively for talented Francophones in labour markets that are a good deal tighter than before. In spite of increased recruiting efforts and the expansion of promotion opportunities for Francophones from Quebec, the departments have scarcely been holding their own in the past few years.

656. The high proportion of Ontarians and the low proportion of Quebeckers among the Francophones in the federal Public Service have contributed to the low participation of Francophones and the limited use of French in the middle and upper levels of the administration. If the Service had made due effort to attract a reasonable proportion of Francophones from Quebec, the situation would now be quite different;

[1] *See* §§ 704-14.

there would not be fewer Francophones from Ontario in the federal Public Service, but there would be more Francophones from Quebec. It is clear that Francophones from Ontario can fulfil their role in the Service only if they are properly equipped for it. The federal government must recognize the fact that it has been partly responsible for the political and economic situation of the Francophone community in the Ottawa area. As we have suggested earlier, it has until very recently done little to provide work settings that would induce members of this group to embark on further education. It has also contributed to the cultural stagnation of French-speaking Ottawa, and Hull as well, by insisting that Francophones use English in their work.

657. Recent plans by the Ontario government to open publicly supported schools in which French is the language of instruction will in time help to produce more Francophones who are better trained for work in their mother tongue and more secure in their culture. In the meantime, however, talented Francophones capable of making themselves, their culture, and their language a real presence in the middle and upper levels of the federal Public Service must also be sought in Quebec, beyond Hull. Moreover, mere searching is not enough: there must be work settings in which the French language and culture can be carried into the daily performance of work as a matter of course.

3. Social origin

Family antecedents

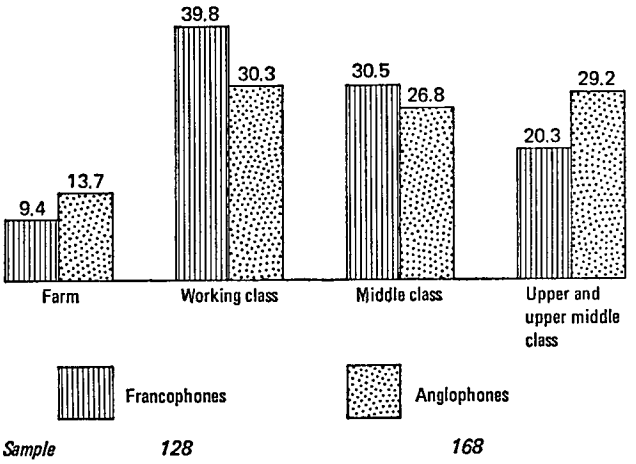
658. To assess the role of the Service in providing avenues of upward career movement we must look at family antecedents of certain groups of public servants. Data on the background of the top 200 or so senior officers of the Public Service—the upper level—indicate that they came mainly from professional and managerial families where a university education and individual striving were taken for granted. A small but significant proportion of senior public servants did, however, rise from farm and working class origins. Recruitment from families of considerable wealth and power was rare. At the middle level, the Public Service had attracted many upwardly mobile Canadians in the five departments surveyed—49 per cent of the Francophones and 44 per cent of the Anglophones come from farm or blue-collar backgrounds (Figure 13).

Desirable attributes

659. While language and cultural handicaps hinder the progress of Francophones, it is safe to conclude that, among Anglophones at least, the factors that count in getting to the top are first-rate academic qualifications—which in the view of the Public Service generally means postgraduate training in one of a select group of universities in Great Britain and the United States; demonstrated ability; and an ineffable

quality usually referred to as "sound political judgement"—that is, intellectual and political perspectives judged by senior officers to be sound.

Figure 13. Social Origin of Middle-level Public Servants in Five Federal Departments—Canada, 1965 (Percentages)



Source: Beattie, Désy, and Longstaff, "Bureaucratic Careers."

Openness of the Public Service

660. From all the data on cultural, geographic, and social origins of middle-level public servants, one conclusion stands out: the federal administration is an open and talent-hungry organization. It draws extensively from all geographic areas (save Quebec) and social levels of the country. Most important, it attracts large numbers of Canadians of non-French, non-British origin, including immigrants who, because they are subject to the insecurities of adaptation in a new land, are often attracted by the security and career stability provided in the Public Service.[1]

661. In general, the Public Service exhibits a healthy openness to the trained and talented of the entire Anglophone community, regardless of ethnic origin. Such attitudes are required by the exigencies of competing in tight job markets where professional, administrative, and technical personnel are extremely scarce. At the time of our study, almost all departmental divisions reported unfilled positions. The Public Service is to be commended for its record in using the skills of Anglophones of widely varying backgrounds. Against this success must be placed its

[1] They are also attracted by what they see as a lack of discrimination against newcomers. Many "new Canadians" and native-born Anglophones of non-British origin suggested that the federal administration generally has a better record than private industry in this respect. *See* § 691.

failure to attract and make room for Francophones—especially those from Quebec who think and act consistently with their own cultural and educational background.

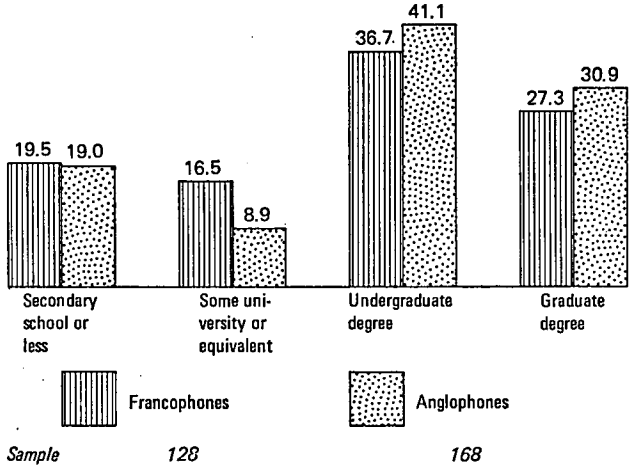
4. Education

662. All large-scale organizations emphasize formal educational qualifications in placing personnel. The federal administration, with its emphasis on objective criteria, probably does so more than most. As the middle ranks expand and organizational rationalization increases, educational qualifications—as against "practical" experience, seniority, or simple patronage—are likely to become even more crucial in determining the outcome of an individual's career.

663. Of the middle-level personnel interviewed, Anglophones have somewhat better educational qualifications—72 per cent have a university degree, compared with 64 per cent of the Francophones (Figure 14)—but wide differences do exist in educational specialization. As

Science and engineeering

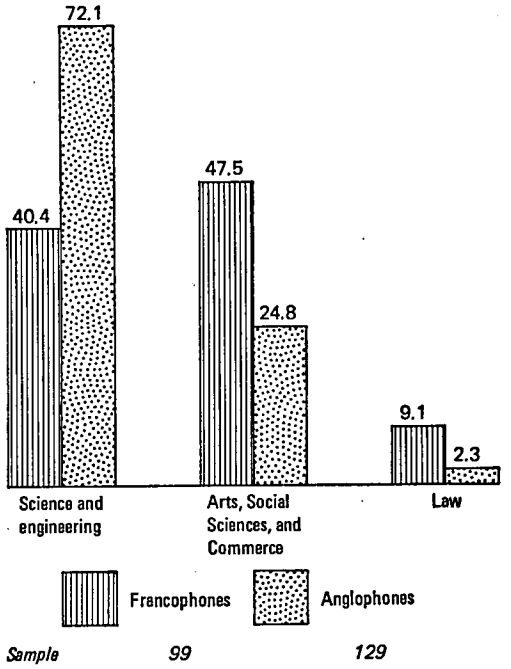
Figure 14. Schooling of Middle-level Public Servants in Five Federal Departments—Canada, 1965 (Percentages)



Source: Beattie, Désy, and Longstaff, "Bureaucratic Careers."

Figure 15 reveals, 72 per cent of Anglophone graduates but only 40 per cent of Francophone graduates in the five departments surveyed have specialized in science and engineering. This suggests one of the major reasons for the greater remuneration received by Anglophones: in the federal administration, as in most large-scale private organizations, graduates in science and engineering command higher average salaries than graduates in arts and commerce.

Figure 15. University Specialization of Middle-level Public Servants in Five Federal Departments—Canada, 1965 (Percentages)



Source: Beattie, Désy, and Longstaff, "Bureaucratic Careers."

664. Until recently, scientific and technological fields were relatively neglected in French-language and bilingual universities.[1] Many Francophone public servants have reacted to this situation by seeking advanced training in the sciences or engineering at English-language universities in either Canada or the United States.[2] As a result, they have on the average done considerably better in both salary and promotions than those who completed their higher education in French-language institutions.[3]

665. The weakness of French-language scientific and technological training is one factor detrimental to Francophones' advancement in the Public Service; so, it would appear, is the weakness of French-language

[1] *See* §§ 542-4.

[2] These statements refer to public servants in the 25-45 age range (as of 1965), who for the most part obtained their higher education during the 1940's and 1950's. The recent developments in Quebec's higher education came too late for these men.

[3] Of course, those Francophones who obtain graduate training in English- rather than French-language institutions gain advantages other than technical training. First, their fluency in English improves; second, their ability to adapt to an English-speaking work environment also increases; and, finally, they receive degrees from universities of prestige in the eyes of Anglophones. At the same time, their ability to do specialized work in their mother tongue tends to diminish.

primary and secondary schooling in Ottawa and other French-speaking parts of Ontario. This weakness is strikingly revealed in a study undertaken for the Commission on the achievement of Francophone and Anglophone high school students in Ontario.[1] A comparison of the two language groups revealed that even when the occupational level of the students' fathers was held constant, the Anglophone students were twice as likely as the Francophones to complete secondary school (five years in Ontario). In other words, even Francophones from families of socio-economic status roughly equal to those of Anglophones were likely to fall behind in educational achievement. Many factors contribute to this disparity, but the study concluded that it was based above all on the difficulties of adjustment that Francophone students in Ontario had to face in attending English-language schools and also on the paucity of resources available (until recently) to the French-language school systems of Ontario. One important consequence of this pattern of educational inequality has been that Francophones from Ontario, who have joined the federal administration in considerable numbers, have generally entered with limited career chances.

5. Previous work history

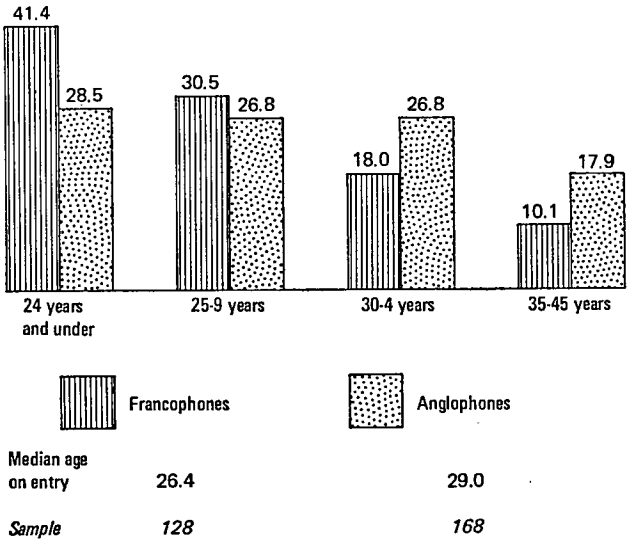
666. The median age of middle-level Anglophones at the time of joining the Public Service was 29 years; Francophones were somewhat younger—26 years. This suggests that a majority of middle-level employees have had considerable working experience before entering the Public Service. However, the difference between Francophones and Anglophones is rather large: Francophones were more likely to join the Public Service directly after finishing their education (41 per cent compared with 24 per cent for the Anglophones) and, as Figure 16 reveals, a much lower proportion of Francophones joined during their 30's and 40's.

Career histories

667. A close examination of the career histories of those who started their worklife outside the Public Service indicates that the decision to join the Public Service often came after the experience of sharp, sometimes unpredictable, disruption of ties to job or local community—for example, after precipitously quitting a job for personal reasons, after a job lay-off, or after immigration. This type of employee often saw the Public Service as a refuge—a place that held more limited prospects for advancement, but did provide stable employment. Anglophones with their greater opportunities and longer experience in the private sector, and with their greater propensity for pulling up stakes and moving to a

[1] A. J. C. King and C. E. Angi, "Language and Secondary School Success," a study prepared for the R.C.B. & B. by arrangement with the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education.

Figure 16. Age at Entry into the Public Service of Middle-level Public Servants in Five Federal Departments—Canada, 1965 (Percentages)



Source: Beattie, Désy, and Longstaff, "Bureaucratic Careers."

new community, were more likely than Francophones to have had this type of disruption in their career histories. However, Francophones who worked in the Translation Bureau had a higher incidence of this kind of job switching than had any other occupational group.[1]

668. The foregoing suggests that a significant minority, especially among the Anglophones, came to the federal administration, not so much to build a career, but rather to stabilize an occupational situation after defeat or disappointment in the private sector. Francophones were less likely to have had such experiences. The evidence suggests that, with few exceptions, they had had stable work histories before joining—or no work history at all—but more difficulties after joining. They were less likely to be geographically mobile before commencing their government careers. Francophones, it seems, joined earlier in their careers and were also much more likely to leave soon after their arrival.

[1] Of all middle-rank personnel surveyed, the translators—a group predominantly of French mother tongue—were the most dissatisfied. To a certain extent, this dissatisfaction seems rooted both in the type of man attracted (often men who once intended to pursue careers in journalism, law, or the church) and in the nature of translation tasks: the work requires considerable intellectual skills, yet often is routine and boring. Another important cause of the translators' discontent was the fact that their work was not appreciated. Demands for translation services have risen sharply in the last three or four years, yet most departments still regard this work as a nuisance—merely an added cost in time and money of carrying out the government's business. *See* §§ 434-51.

D. Work, Community, and Commitment to the Public Service

669. Satisfaction with career and workplace does not necessarily lead to commitment to the Public Service. The factors that hold a man to his job or make him want to leave are complex and varied: personal mood (he may be restless if too long in any job), life-cycle situation (he may be squeezed by mortgage payments and children in college), the meaning of work and workplace, or community ties and cultural attractions. In the "Career Study" we discovered some men who were happy in their work yet completely uncommitted and even planning to leave. Many others were dissatisfied to one degree or another, yet their commitment was unshakable. Generally, these individuals were fearful of risking the stability brought to their lives by jobs in the Public Service—men who truly felt locked into their positions.

Satisfaction and commitment

670. Our discussion of satisfaction and commitment focusses on the attitudes of Francophone and Anglophone middle-level personnel towards work organization and local community—specifically, why they had joined the Public Service, whether they found the system of promotion and career development fair, what they thought of the Ottawa-Hull region as a place to live, and whether they were inclined to continue their careers in the federal administration.

1. Reasons for joining

671. A number of factors are involved in the decision to seek a career in the federal Public Service rather than in other non-profit work areas or in the private sector. Some of the most prominent reasons given by middle-level personnel were the desire to serve the country, or to be at the centre of important national and international events; the advanced level of work or the special nature of problems handled by the government; the lack of other employment within the country where a man may practise his specialty; simple drift or inability to find employment elsewhere; and the desire to avoid the pressures and insecurities of employment in the private sector.

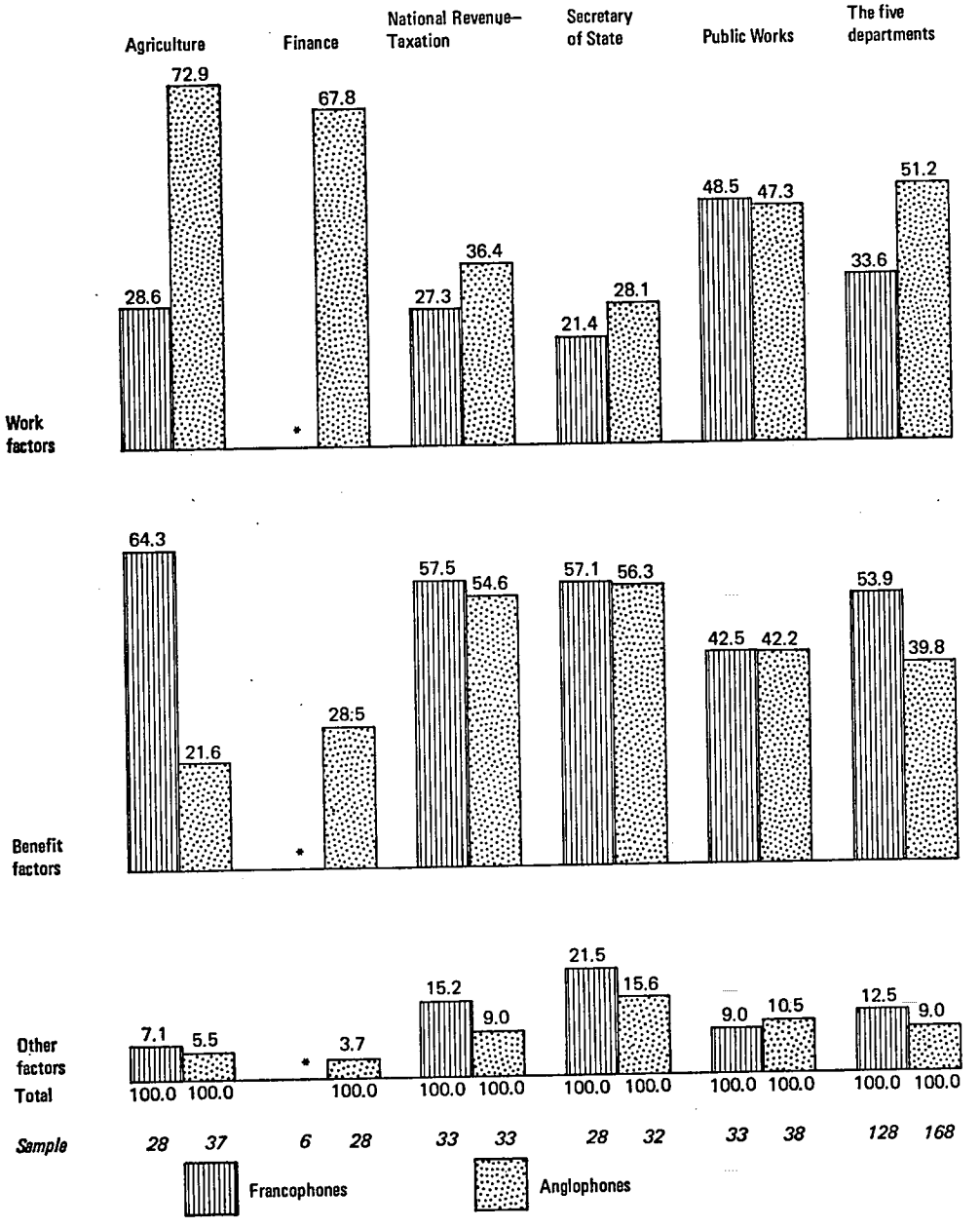
"Work" factors and "benefit" factors

672. The above examples, although not exhaustive, suggest two fundamental motivations: "work" factors such as the opportunities for creativity, self-expression, or simple enjoyment found in one's work; and "benefit" factors such as security, lack of work pressures, or a chance to live in the Ottawa-Hull area.

"Work" factors

673. The most prominent reasons for entering the Public Service varied from one department to another (Figure 17), and the variation reveals a good deal about the essential character of departmental work settings. In the departments of Finance and Agriculture, where research

Figure 17. Main Reason Given by Middle-level Public Servants in Five Federal Departments for Joining the Public Service—Canada, 1965 (Percentages)



Source: Beattie, Désy, and Longstaff, "Bureaucratic Careers."
* Statistically insignificant.

and policy planning predominate, the personnel—mostly Anglophones—were motivated by the opportunities for autonomy and creative work. On the other hand, the departments of Public Works and National Revenue, with their preoccupation with routine service functions, provide fewer opportunities of this nature. Even the professionals in these departments (for instance, the architects, engineers, accountants, and lawyers) had joined primarily for the benefits provided by employment in the Public Service.

Variation between language groups

674. As for variation between language groups, Figure 17 suggests that the Anglophones were generally more oriented towards the creative aspects of their employment: 51 per cent, compared with 34 per cent of the Francophones, joined for work reasons. This difference is consistent with other findings (for instance, the fact that Anglophones are much more likely to have degrees in science and engineering).

"Benefit" factors

675. A further breakdown of the category of those who joined for benefit factors again reveals interesting differences between Anglophones and Francophones. Anglophones were much more likely to state that a desire for fewer job pressures and more security drew them to the Public Service. Many had had adverse experiences in private industry and spoke of wanting to get out; the federal Public Service afforded such an opportunity. Salaries were not as high, but raises and "promotions" (often involving reclassification without change in responsibilities) were frequent. Anglophone professionals, such as accountants in the department of National Revenue—Taxation division and engineers in the Patent Office or the department of Public Works, were particularly likely to be motivated in this way.

676. A strikingly high number of Francophones who cited benefit factors—more than one in five of the middle-level group interviewed—admitted that they joined the Public Service simply because they could not find employment elsewhere. This fact helps to explain the high number of Francophones who valued the security aspects of their employment. Some Anglophones placed great emphasis on career security in the Public Service, but there were virtually none whose accounts of job hunting matched the desperation of those of many Francophones. Few Anglophones exhibited the resigned feelings of being locked into their positions expressed by many Francophones.

677. It was generally the older Francophones who placed such great emphasis on the security aspects of their positions. They tended to be men with inferior professional or technical training who had first entered the job market during the 1940's and 1950's when the chances for Francophones in private industry were considerably more restricted than they are today. A disproportionate number of these men were from Ontario or Hull and the surrounding area in Quebec.

678. Another reason for joining the Public Service frequently cited by Francophones, but rarely by Anglophones, was the desire to remain in the Ottawa-Hull area. About one Francophone in eight cited the desire to remain in Ottawa and Hull as his main reason for joining the Public Service.

Desire to serve the country

679. There were two prominent themes in the motivation of those who joined because of work factors. First, some wished to work in the area of "public service" rather than in private industry, which they mildly disdained. Typically, these men were the sons of upper middle-class Public Service or professional families. As one young finance officer put it: "I came from a civil service family. I suppose to a large extent this oriented my thinking to the civil service or to teaching; more a service than a business orientation. . . ."

680. The idea of public service was not a common theme but was repeated in departments and agencies (for example, the Treasury Board and the departments of External Affairs and Finance) that serve as training grounds for the senior directorate. Indeed, the senior officers in these settings usually seemed to assume this sort of attitude on the part of young officers whose careers were leading to upper-level positions. Paradoxically, even though such attitudes tend to be taken for granted, it was often difficult for younger public servants to be articulate about them. Most felt somewhat embarrassed about voicing what might appear as overly selfless and public-spirited sentiments. Nevertheless, the principle of service is an important part of the ethos of the federal administration, and it underlies the efforts of most of its senior officers.

Desire for professional achievement

681. A second major theme voiced by those who joined the Public Service for work factors was commonly expressed by scientists in the department of Agriculture and specialists in policy planning or research areas. It involved a strong concern with professional accomplishment and recognition. In the department of Agriculture, for example, the professional orientation of the research scientists was strong; their loyalties and ties towards their employing organizations were correspondingly weak. "I didn't care much one way or the other about politics or the federal government, but I entered the department [of Agriculture] because of the research facilities," was a typical explanation given for joining the Public Service by men of this type.

682. Francophones, for the most part, did not share with Anglophones these attitudes towards their careers, although the number of exceptions is growing. The reason is that there were few Francophones in the most creative Public Service work settings, such as those in the departments of Finance and Agriculture. Those who do work in these settings must operate within an English cultural ambience. Creative and

dynamic as such settings are, they do not allow for the best expression of Francophones' creative work because of their unilingually Anglophone nature.

2. The Public Service as a place of work

683. The middle-level public servants surveyed shared ideas on countless aspects of their work environment with men working in other large-scale organizations. But, focussing on their most fundamental ways of viewing the federal administration, only a few major themes emerged. Most of these ideas were based on employment experiences outside the federal Service and also on the extent to which the Public Service work milieu was consistent with other aspects of their lives.

684. Once again, the most noteworthy feature is the wide divergence between Anglophones' and Francophones' conceptions of the federal administration's most salient features. Members of the two language groups shared ideas on many aspects of the Public Service environment, but they viewed different aspects of their environment as being fundamental. Apparently, Anglophones and Francophones have different wants and needs in their immediate employment situation, and different past experiences as bases for comparison.

Comparisons of employment in the public and private sectors

685. A majority of the Anglophones had had experience working in private industry, and images based on comparisons of employment in the private and public sectors had a prominent place in their thinking. As suggested above, many élite-oriented men—especially those in key departments and central agencies—are imbued with the idea of a career of service. Such men usually had wide-ranging intellectual interests, and some had maintained academic ties; often they saw university administration or teaching as possible alternative careers. There was awareness—and sometimes a mild hint of jealousy—of the much higher salaries available in business careers but, for the most part, opportunities in the private sector were shunned. Public servants of this type were not anti-business in any fundamental sense. They recognized the importance of industry in the general scheme of things and often worked well with business leaders, but they felt that the commercialism of the private sector rendered its opportunities and financial blandishments slightly distasteful. Only a small minority of middle-level public servants held this view, but it was a factor in the career orientation of those most likely to move into top-level positions.

686. Few Anglophones in the less creative departments (for example, National Revenue—Taxation division and Public Works) shared this ideal of service. Most had had some experience in the private sector and their thinking about their present employer was permeated with

obvious comparisons. They considered that private industry was much more efficient and dynamic but that it had too many pressures and long hours. Salaries were considerably better in the private sector, but this was balanced by less job security and vacation time and fewer pension benefits. These views undoubtedly suggest clichés about government bureaucracy which nowadays simply do not apply to many areas of the federal administration, but they do reflect the career experience and work situation of a significant minority of middle-level public servants. This is particularly true of Anglophones in two types of career situation—those disenchanted with the federal Public Service and planning to leave, and those who were making little progress but who nevertheless were resigned to stay for reasons of security.

Non-creative work settings

687. Middle-level personnel in the business-oriented professions (accountants, lawyers, and engineers) were the most likely to think this way. There were great numbers of such men in the non-creative work settings of the Public Service, and for a number of reasons they tended to be defensive about their careers and present employment. In the professional circles of accountancy, law, and engineering, the public sector is not considered a particularly desirable field for pursuing a career—salaries tend to be low, staff turnover is high, and many of those recruited are among the least successful in each profession.

688. This defensiveness is apparent in the remarks of an engineer working in the Patent Office: "There is the feeling that because they [the Patent Office] need so many people, they will hire almost anyone they can get. They just keep hiring and hiring and hope they can keep some of them in. They realize that it is a dead-end job and they expect them to go." A lawyer in the department of National Revenue—Taxation division, said:

> I'm not committed [to the Public Service] at all. I have enjoyed the last three years' work here, and might stay if conditions improved somewhat, that is, if further assistance were obtained.... We have a terrific turnover of lawyers here, and right now we're pretty low on them.... But even if you stay there's really not too much here. The most hope I have is to become Senior Counsel some day, doing the same job as now at a maximum of $15,000. I'm working in a field where lawyers [in the private sector] are earning much more than that, so I feel that progress is limited here.

This sort of negative reaction was encountered often in the departments of National Revenue—Taxation division, Public Works, and the Secretary of State.

689. The strongest impression that emerges from these interviews is that as a place to work the Public Service was considered second-rate. The work was often seen as routine and repetitious, the employees and senior officers cautious and uninspired. Even the office buildings tend to

be dull, and many of them are cheaply built as well. Several shoddy wooden structures, relics of wartime austerity, are still being used (for example, the headquarters of the department of National Revenue—Taxation division on Sussex Street). This sort of blunt symbolism was not lost on middle-level employees. One National Revenue public servant, who liked his work but not his work environment, had this to say: "The whole process of the government is grinding [its employees] down to the lowest common denominator. When you walk through these halls all you see is what I call 'the grey men.' " This type of commentary was rare, but the low salaries and dismal work surroundings suggest to many employees that their positions and work in the federal administration are not particularly valued either among professional colleagues in the private sector or in the hightest reaches of the government.

Staffing and promotion procedures

690. The Public Service has a long history of struggle to ensure that decisions on hiring and promotions are free of political influence. Most appointments to all departments are now made within the guidelines laid down by the Public Service Commission and are consistent with the principles of merit and administrative rationality. Unlike private industry—where staffing is generally handled in a more flexible and informal manner—the Public Service Commission has for many years applied numerous formal procedures to minimize political patronage. Middle-level public servants are constantly reminded of these procedures. Most have taken written examinations and faced examining boards prior to their appointments; their promotions or reclassifications usually have involved more applications and examinations. Publicity from the Public Service Commisson inviting applications for new job openings continually crosses their desks.

Anglophones' views

691. Anglophones' reactions to this system were mixed. Most felt that the "competition system" had achieved its major goal: eliminating discrimination and political favouritism in staffing decisions. The 27 per cent of the Anglophones who were of non-British descent were the most impressed in this respect. A few even suggested that they had experienced discrimination in private industry and had joined the federal administration because they expected fairer treatment. But there were numerous criticisms of the slowness and inflexibility in many staffing decisions because of Civil Service Commission regulations. This type of complaint was often heard: "It took them six months to clear the promotion he demanded, and by that time he had decided to join a firm outside." Another aspect of the Civil Service Commission's inflexibility was its remoteness from the actual requirements of the positions for which it was hiring. An administrator with more than ten years' experience said: "Management should be able to hire and fire according to their needs, or else the Civil Service Commission should be made

entirely responsible for the direction of people. If a person meets your requirements, it should be up to you to hire him, and you should not be overruled by a person from the Commission who will not in the future be responsible for the work of the person being hired."

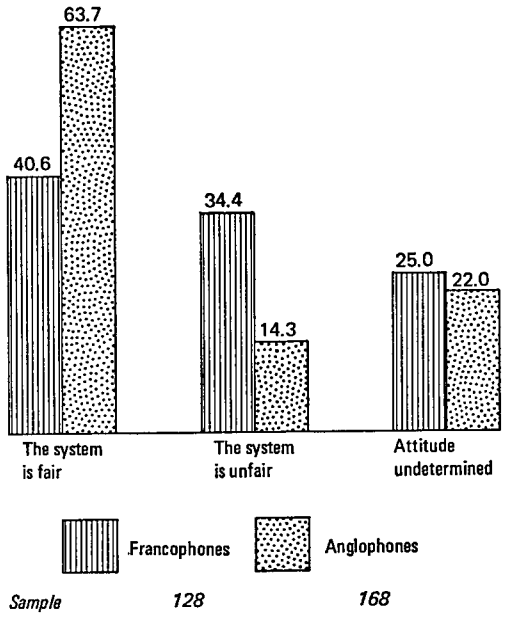
Francophones' views

692. Comparisons of employment in the public and private sectors were seldom voiced by Francophones, and they were not as concerned as Anglophones with the rigidities of the Civil Service Commission. There were fewer opportunities for Francophones in the private sector; if they had had prior working experience, it was more likely to have been in smaller, lower-paying, and less efficient firms. They had their own grievances against the promotion system, but these had to do with discrimination against their language and culture rather than with the slowness of bureaucratic processes.

Promotion system

693. Only 14 per cent of the Anglophones interviewed considered the promotion system unfair (Figure 18), but 34 per cent of the Francophones did. These levels of discontent are not unusually high for such a large-scale organization; but the gap between the two language groups is significant. Anglophones stressed the slowness of the administration in recognizing men of talent: they spoke of "red tape" and the

Figure 18. Attitudes of Middle-level Public Servants in Five Federal Departments towards the Promotion System—Canada, 1965 (Percentages)



Source: Beattie, Désy, and Longstaff, "Bureaucratic Careers."

influence of seniority. Only rarely was discrimination mentioned. When it was, it revealed men who were embittered by the promotion or elevation of Francophones because of what they saw as "political pressures." Anglophones of non-British origin were as likely as those of British origin (64 per cent in each case) to find the promotion system "fair"—which suggests that the federal administration is making good use of the talents of such men.

694. Francophones were more likely to see the promotion system as unfair and to cite some form of cultural or language discrimination as the basis of this unfairness. One group—26 per cent of the total Francophone sample—felt that discrimination or English unilingualism had or would hurt their chances for advancement. Many gave concrete examples of cases where ethnic origin allegedly had influenced decisions on promotions or assignments. Some were bitter and resentful about such treatment; others were resigned to it. In the view of the latter, the system was "English" and it was natural that the "French" would be disadvantaged.

Une organisation anglaise

695. One theme dominated the Francophones' impressions: they saw the Public Service as essentially *une organisation anglaise* and felt that there were special difficulties for the Francophone minority. The most important implication of this "English fact" was that many Francophones had to split work life from family and social life in a much more profound sense than the Anglophones, who might keep the two somewhat separate but did not need to change language and basic patterns of behaviour in the process. In the federal administration, Francophones have had little chance to express their identities as French-speaking Canadians—not simply because they must work in English, but for the more basic reason that the rhetoric, routines, and administrative styles of their workplace are considered to be an expression of Anglophone cultural values. The following comment by a Francophone engaged in recruitment work aptly expresses this alienation: "A Francophone is well aware that the minute he arrives in Ottawa and hangs up his hat, he also 'hangs up' his language and must speak and work in English throughout the day. The Anglo-Saxon method or manner of working is different from the Francophone. They do not have the same way of seeing, settling, or discussing problems."

696. Particularly strong criticism of the promotion system was voiced by three different categories of Francophone employees: older public servants (41 per cent of the 36 to 45 age group felt the system was "unfair," compared with only 23 per cent of the 25 to 35 group); those who admitted they still had trouble with English (44 per cent felt the system was "unfair"); and those in certain very Anglophone-dominated work settings.

Hopeful attitudes expressed

697. Of course, not all Francophones felt this way. Some were more favourable in their attitudes towards the promotion system. They felt that, in recent years at least, it had become relatively fair and that people like themselves would meet no discrimination as long as they had an adequate knowledge of English. Some of this group even suggested that the new emphasis on bilingualism in the federal administration had increased their chances for advancement. Typical of Francophones who spoke this way were long-time public servants who, because of considerations of security or residence, were committed to remain in the federal administration. They would refer knowingly to the "old days"—presumably the 1950's or earlier—when there was little concern about bilingualism and "the English" had all the advantages. These conditions had now passed, and Francophones were afforded more respect. Their futures as bilingual employees seemed considerably brighter. A considerable minority of Francophones—as high as 25 per cent—interpreted the present political climate this way. Such views were based as much on hopes for the future as on present experiences, but they do neutralize long-standing resentments and are an important element underlying the commitment to the Public Service that can be found among middle-level Francophones.

698. Finally, a small proportion of the middle-level Francophones based in Ottawa-Hull were in a work situation that was French in both language and culture (for example, Hull-based veterinary inspectors in the department of Agriculture, and the translators in the Translation Bureau), while others were becoming assimilated—taking over English styles in both speech and thought, in work, social, and even family life.

699. Of those who were alienated, many were hostile. But resignation—particularly among the older, less well-educated, and Ottawa-rooted officials—was common too. These individuals had few complaints; they saw working in English as an inevitable part of making a living, and they took the Anglophone dominance of the federal administration for granted.

3. Living in the federal capital

Community considerations

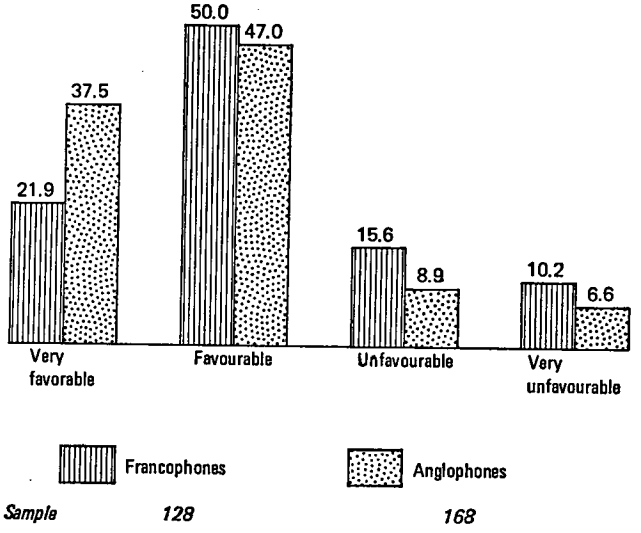
700. Francophone and Anglophone public servants have different views about the Ottawa-Hull area as a place to live. Their feelings about what they consider the advantages and the drawbacks of the metropolitan region influence their career decisions. These questions are becoming increasingly relevant to a discussion of recruitment and staff development in the federal administration. Career decisions are often based as much on community as on work factors. What was relevant

varied widely: housing and neighbourhoods, educational facilities, cultural resources, the accessibility to wilderness or cottage areas, and especially the community's predominant styles of thinking and living—its culture. All these factors have an influence on whether talented men will come to work for the federal administration, and whether they will remain after joining.

Favourable reactions

701. In investigating the influence of the Ottawa-Hull community on staff development, we considered both attitudinal data and the expert opinions of those involved in personnel work. The attitudinal data showed that middle-level public servants generally favoured the living arrangements of the capital region, but "favoured" must be loosely interpreted. As Figure 19 reveals, the most common reaction—

Figure 19. Opinions of Middle-level Public Servants in Five Federal Departments on Living in the Ottawa-Hull Area—Canada, 1965 (Percentages)



Source: Beattie, Désy, and Longstaff, "Bureaucratic Careers."

expressed by about half the members of both language groups—was one of unenthusiastic acceptance of what the metropolitan community offered. Public servants in this category had complaints, but were not overly negative or hostile. Figure 19 also shows that a large minority of Anglophones (38 per cent) were genuinely enthusiastic about the capital region. A significantly smaller proportion of Francophones (22 per cent) felt this way. More illuminating are the reasons underlying Anglophones' and Francophones' attitudes of enthusiasm and tolerant acceptance. Enthusiastic Anglophones tended to emphasize two themes: the

easy availability of the "great outdoors" (for example, proximity to skiing, hunting and fishing, or cottages); and the excellence of schools and local neighbourhoods. "We have a nice house now, and it's a good place to raise a family," was a typical response.

702. Francophones, on the other hand, had little to say in favour of the school facilities (some were quite critical on this point) and fewer stressed the "great outdoors" theme. Instead, the 22 per cent of the Francophones who were enthusiastic about living in Hull or Ottawa were almost all among those who had grown up there. The reason they gave for liking their living situation stressed personal ties to relatives and friends rather than attributes of the community.

703. These attitudes are strikingly commonplace: Francophones and Anglophones alike could have been referring to any provincial city of a few hundred thousand inhabitants. Among neither group was there any enthusiasm for Ottawa in its role as a capital—that is, as a centre where stirring political, cultural, or social events take place or where beautiful buildings, avenues, or shops are found. Anglophones saw no possibility that the city might become a bicultural capital; a few did lament the lack of a vigorous French-speaking community that might give Ottawa a cosmopolitan flair, but the great majority scarcely recognized the Francophones in their midst.[1] In their view, Ottawa—like the Public Service itself—was essentially an English-language cultural environment, and they were comfortable with it just that way.

Critical reactions

704. Predominantly unfavourable opinions of their living situation were voiced by 28 per cent of the Francophones and 16 per cent of the Anglophones; but, here again, there is a significant difference between the criticisms of the two groups. The most prevalent complaints had to do with culture (referring both to artistic activities and style of life) and educational facilities.

705. Only 20 per cent of the Anglophones criticized the lack of cultural or artistic activities, compared with 31 per cent of the Francophones.[2] Many Anglophones with favourable reactions to Ottawa-Hull foresaw an artistic awakening in the capital, often pointing to the coming National Arts Centre. However, while most Anglophones professed to be satisfied with the cultural opportunities in the capital, or said they didn't care about them, those with the strongest orientation towards the arts and intellectual activity were highly critical.

The Ottawa milieu

706. The specific things that bothered this minority of 20 per cent were the lack of professional theatre, art galleries, and a good municipal library. A few referred to the lack of architectural imagination. They

1 About 38 per cent of the population of the Ottawa metropolitan census area is of French mother tongue.

2 Appendix III, Table A-48.

did not find the cultural landscape totally bleak; most could point to some small corner of artistic activity that engaged their attention or even participation. It was not so much the lack of actual cultural facilities as the styles of thinking and living that they criticized. Those concerned about the state of the arts were joined by others less artistically and intellectually oriented who wanted a more lively Ottawa. This group often showed scorn for Ottawa's lack of night life and good restaurants.

707. Others sketched their negative image of Ottawa culture in more general terms. Criticisms of "red tape" and conformity in the Public Service were easily projected into a general disdain for the "civil-service culture" of Ottawa. The remarks of a scientist in the department of Agriculture reflected the feelings of many critical Anglophones: "One thing that bothers me [about Ottawa] . . . is the apparent degree of conformity in thought and action . . . the lack of a feeling of excitement and intellectual challenge. The problem in Ottawa is the lack of excitement which comes from the mixture of people from all skills and all walks of life. . . ."

708. Francophones—especially those who came from Quebec (excluding Hull)—had both a greater variety of complaints and more deep-seated disaffection. About 35 per cent of this group were at best unenthusiastic about the area and at worst disdainful of it.[1]

French-language educational facilities

709. Education was a major issue: 22 per cent of the Francophones interviewed had specific complaints about the inadequacy of French-language educational facilities[2]—a rather high proportion, considering that some were childless and many more lived in Quebec where the right to French schools is not questioned. The education problem is even more critical than this datum suggests. Discussions with senior officers involved with personnel and recruitment problems indicated that education was a major stumbling block in the recruitment of Francophones.[3] Some of the highest ranking Francophone public servants solved the education problem by sending their children to French-language private schools but, of course, this solution could satisfy only a handful. Considerable numbers—no one knows how many—simply would not consider coming to Ottawa because of the city's lack of French-language educational resources. The bitterness engendered over the education question was partly a feeling that the Francophone community in Ottawa was not getting a fair share of the existing resources and that Francophones from Ontario were therefore disadvantaged in competing for jobs.

[1] *Ibid.*, Table A-49.
[2] *Ibid.*, Table A-48.
[3] These discussions were held before the government of Ontario announced, in August 1967, that it planned to develop French-language public secondary schools in the province.

"Anglicization"

710. Whether they complain about education, cultural facilities, local politics, restaurants and night life, or the unfriendly atmosphere of the capital, many Francophones attribute the problem to "Anglicization." Such sentiments were mainly applied to the English-language milieu of Ottawa, but it was not uncommon for the Francophone communities in both Ottawa and Hull to be so disparaged. In this respect natives of Quebec (outside of Hull) were particularly critical; in their view, even Hull and its population had been deadened by the English atmosphere of the capital. Ironically, sensitive Anglophones attributed the general style of life in Ottawa and Hull to the stultifying influence of the "civil-service mentality," while Francophones attributed it to the "English-Ontario mentality."

Summary

711. The majority of both language groups were relatively satisfied with the living arrangements of the capital region. In spite of this, we have concentrated this discussion on the grievances, because community factors are becoming increasingly important in the career choices of mobile, middle-level personnel and because we are convinced that the Ottawa-Hull metropolitan community has serious problems in satisfying the varied social needs of many of the most dynamic and creative of its citizens. While the problem is particularly acute for potential Francophone personnel, this should not obscure the fact that the cultural atmosphere is most unattractive to those public servants—both Francophone and Anglophone—who potentially might fill the most important positions in the federal administration.

4. Commitment to the Public Service

712. The attitudes expressed towards the promotion system as well as the Ottawa-Hull area as a place to live indicated that Francophones were likely to be less committed to the Public Service than Anglophones. Table 53 shows that 27 per cent of the Francophone respondents, but only 14 per cent of the Anglophones, professed to have no commitment to the federal Public Service. The Francophones from Quebec (excluding Hull) showed a higher level of dissatisfaction with the capital as a place to live and they were also more likely to feel uncommitted to their careers in the federal Public Service.[1]

Variations between the two groups

713. Within the two language groups it is evident that a better knowledge of the other official language is related to a desire to remain in the Public Service.[2] Those Francophones who had considerable ability in English were more committed; the necessity of working in English did not markedly hamper their efficiency and consequently their chances for

[1] *Ibid.*, Table A-50.
[2] *Ibid.*, Table A-51.

Table 53. Career Plans in the Federal Public Service

Percentage distribution of middle-level Francophone and Anglophone public servants in five departments, by their desire to continue their career in the federal Public Service—Canada, 1965

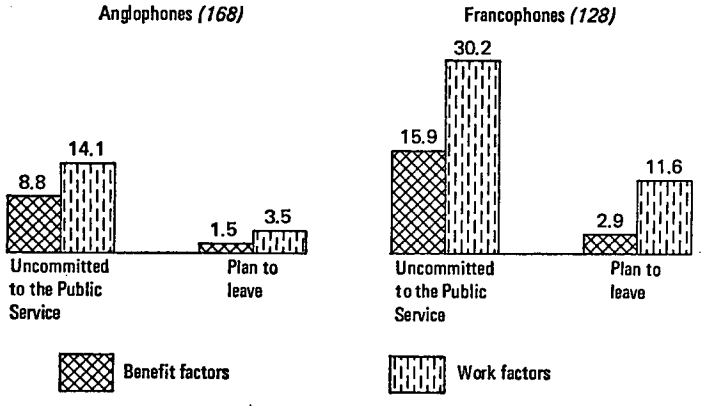
	Francophones	Anglophones
Strongly desire it	40.6	44.1
Desire it with reservations or are undecided	32.8	41.6
Do not desire it or plan to leave	26.6	14.3
Total	100.0	100.0
Sample	*128*	*168*

Source: Beattie, Désy, and Longstaff, "Bureaucratic Careers."

promotion. Those Anglophones who had relatively good ability in French were also more likely than their unilingual colleagues to look forward to a secure future in a Public Service that is going to become more bilingual.

714. Elsewhere it has been suggested that the most creative Francophones—those most concerned with the intrinsic challenges and enjoyment of their work—were likely to be frustrated by the Anglophone domination of both the federal Public Service work setting and the Ottawa-Hull social and cultural milieux. Figure 20 lends further support to this contention: 42 per cent of the Francophones who were attracted

Figure 20. Percentage of Middle-level Public Servants in Five Federal Departments Who Are "Uncommitted" to the Federal Public Service or Who Plan to Leave it, by main reason for joining—Canada, 1965



Source: Beattie, Désy, and Longstaff, "Bureaucratic Careers."

to the Public Service by creative work opportunities were either uncommitted to continuing their Public Service careers or had definite plans to leave. Anglophones who were attracted to the Public Service by an interest in the work were much less likely to be disenchanted. Among those attracted to Public Service careers because of the benefits afforded rather than the work itself, the Francophones were again the more disenchanted. However, the proportions for each language group are low and the differences are not great.

E. Careers in the Public Service

1. Career development

715. Career development is the process by which employees obtain increasingly greater responsibilities while, at the same time, receiving on-the-job training and new assignments that permit the acquisition of useful skills. Until very recently, each department has operated quite autonomously, promoting its own men to fill senior positions or, as sometimes happens, recruiting its senior staff from other departments or even outside the Public Service. With the exception of External Affairs, however, no department has long-term programmes whereby its promising employees are exposed to various situations in order to prepare them for senior responsibilities. As one department of Finance official said when asked about career development programmes, "If there are any career channels it's fortuitous. I don't think there is any deliberate policy. . . . Responsibilities are so heavy in the department that those who respond are promoted very rapidly and moved about within and between divisions." This response suggests a major reason for a lack of long-term programmes: the importance of keeping the organizational structures of key departments fluid at a time when they are being rapidly transformed and are also considerably understaffed.

Career Assignment Program

716. As a response to this lack of career development programmes, the Public Service Commission in 1968 announced its first interdepartmental and service-wide scheme, the Career Assignment Program (CAP).[1] In full operation, the CAP will involve more than 100 officials in three 12-week courses, each course involving about 35 individuals. After the course, the officers will embark on a series of assignments, each of about two years' duration, with at least one of the assignments in a department other than their own. Assignments will be co-ordinated by the Career Assignment Office within the Public Service Commission.

1 Public Service Commission and the Treasury Board, *The Career Assignment Program and You* (Ottawa, 1968).

717. Men up to 50 years of age and earning more than $16,000 have first call on places in CAP, but once the programme is in full operation, it will be primarily addressed to officials in their early 30's earning $11,000 or more, and of proven executive potential. Bilingualism is no initial advantage to the individual candidate for CAP, although the 12-week course is to "be conducted in a fully bilingual manner as soon as possible." Candidates will have to "be or be willing to become proficient in French and English," and intensive language training will be provided for those needing it. By January 1970, the start of the fifth course, all previous and current participants will have achieved at least the third level in the Public Service scale of language ability.

718. Language and culture have no other mention in CAP, since it was apparently conceived exclusively in terms of individual bilingualism, with no reference to cultural differences or equal partnership between Francophones and Anglophones. However, any system of personnel rotation should play an important role in the practical training of bilingual senior officials by allowing them to spend a couple of years at work in a milieu where the other official language is dominant.

719. As the Public Service operates at present, nearly all Francophones have experience in offices where English is the main language of work. Obviously needed are work settings where Francophones are a preponderant majority, so that all business can be conducted in French and Anglophones can gain practical experience in its use.

720. Until CAP moves into full operation and probably for quite a while thereafter, both horizontal and vertical movement for most officers in the Public Service will remain somewhat haphazard. Not only are some men of proven talent overlooked, but it is hard to single out those with potential early in their careers and to motivate them to aspire to top positions. The lack of clear career channels is frustrating to many middle-level officials. Asked how they would advise a young man considering a Public Service career and wishing to get to the top as soon as possible, a surprising number suggested he might be wise to seek work outside the federal administration, where it would take less time to prove himself; they felt that he would do better in the Public Service by entering in middle life.

Successful careers

721. How do those who have reached the upper level explain their career success? The majority of those who have spent most of their work life in the Public Service (the "non-parachutists") suggested what might be called the "big break" theory. Almost none indicated that their rise to the top involved movement through any well-defined succession of jobs or assignments. Rather, at some stage of his career—usually quite early—a successful public servant is given a key job or assignment that furnishes either crucial experience or exposure to senior officers or

both. From then on movement is rapid. Once a man with potential is spotted, considerable job-switching follows: movement between departmental divisions, new assignments in different cities or an overseas posting, sometimes a switch of departments or a period of time with the Treasury Board. One "big break" may lead to an even bigger one, but such opportunities are still largely fortuitous, and for Francophones they are dependent on a mastery of the English language. If the right man happens to land in the right job, it is likely to be on the basis of a word-of-mouth recommendation from one of his superiors, not on the basis of a full-scale review of his career history with an eye to his responsibilities ten years hence.

2. Comparisons of middle-level Francophones' and Anglophones' careers

722. Data on the middle-level personnel surveyed indicated that Francophones were more likely to follow technical and semi-professional careers and Anglophones professional careers. The two groups were equally represented in administrative careers, but Francophones more often left their original professional specialization for administrative tasks. Technical and semi-professional personnel generally have lower prestige and pay than the professionals. In most departments they are either serving professionals directly or in some way facilitating their work. This means that in most work settings the duties of Francophones were more peripheral to the main goals of the department than those of Anglophones.

Variations in careers

723. As the data on education suggest, Francophones were poorly represented in the scientific, engineering, and technical areas; Francophone professionals were more likely to be lawyers or accountants. The semi-professional Francophones were more likely to be translators. Anglophones, of course, were prominent in almost all occupational areas (except translation), but research scientists in the department of Agriculture and patent examiners in the Patent Office (where almost all hold engineering degrees) were overwhelmingly Anglophone. The Patent Office was a particularly uncongenial work setting for those of French mother tongue.

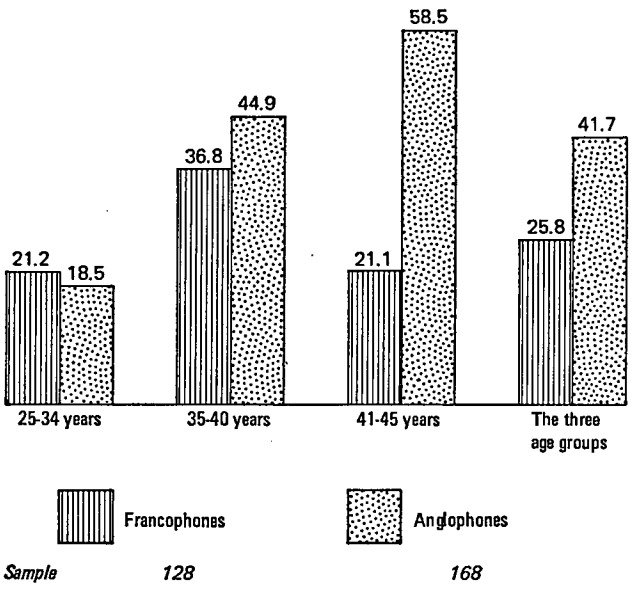
724. The variation of the two language groups at the middle-level is based on both cultural affinities and past educational opportunities. The paucity of scientific and technological professionals reflects the lack of French-language educational resources in these areas during the 1940's and 1950's. It also reflects the fact that this type of Francophone professional has always had more career opportunities available to him in the private sector. He is not as likely to have been forced by

economic circumstances to choose the Public Service as many Francophone technicians, semi-professionals, and administrators feel they have been. Nor has he been forced to remain in the Public Service when he found its atmosphere stifling and its personnel uncongenial.

725. An earlier comparison showed only a slight difference between Anglophone and Francophone levels of education (Figure 14). However, an important age difference does exist. Francophones tended to join the Service earlier but, despite their head start in government employment, they did not have a longer average period of service.[1]

726. There was also wide variation among age cohorts. For example, 39 per cent of Anglophones but only 30 per cent of Francophones were in the relatively high-earning 41 to 45 age group. Figure 21 shows the

Figure 21. Percentage of Middle-level Public Servants in Five Federal Departments Earning $9,000 or More Per Annum, by age group—Canada, 1965



Source: Beattie, Désy, and Longstaff, "Bureaucratic Careers."

influence of increased age on earning power. The younger Francophones and Anglophones fare equally well, but the Francophones fall drastically behind in the 41 to 45 age group. Clearly, most of the

[1] However, a greater proportion had made interdepartmental moves. Appendix III, Table A-52.

Anglophones' salary advantage results from the performance of public servants in the 41 to 45 age group. Why do Francophones of this age slip so badly when the younger Francophones do almost equally as well as Anglophones? In the first place they are not as well prepared educationally, particularly lacking scientific and engineering degrees. Second, Francophone attrition rates are higher.[1] Many leave before they are 40. It is mostly the more talented ones who leave, since those with limited training and a concern for security are more likely to stay in the Service.

3. Francophones' career advancement

727. Various aspects of the Public Service facilitate or block the advancement of Francophones. As we saw earlier, there is an acute shortage of Francophones in higher-salaried positions thoughout the Public Service. This situation has existed for decades, but senior officials in many departments indicated that the political pressures and publicity generated by the issue of bilingualism have had a definite impact. Almost all the officials expressed a keen interest in obtaining Francophone personnel, and many even pointed out that nowadays Francophones with ability were likely to advance more rapidly than Anglophones.

Future of Francophones in the Public Service

728. This changed attitude augurs well for the future of Francophones in the Public Service. The growth of administrative rationality and the new emphasis on bilingualism have eliminated outright discriminatory practices; unconscious biases still frustrate the progress of Francophones, but we found no evidence that conscious discrimination—the denial of positions or promotions to individuals purely because they happen to be Francophones—is still practised. Moreover, bilingualism—a skill still largely monopolized by Francophones—is now taken into account in the selection of candidates for middle-level and senior positions. Some Francophones recognize these new ground rules and are optimistic for the future.

729. In short, there has been an improvement in the conditions of Francophone career development. There is also evidence that the new attitudes and practices have had a significant effect: since 1965 the number of Francophone administrative trainees has risen and, as a result of internal promotions, more Francophones appear to be moving into senior positions.

[1] The expansion of the civil service of Quebec in the 1960's has added to the normal attrition rate of Francophone officers.

Factors blocking progress of Francophones

730. On balance, however, extensive optimism is not warranted. In an organizational structure where the English language and culture predominate, there are still many factors blocking the progress of Francophones. The three most important involve their adjustment to settings where English is dominant, their aversion to making geographic moves outside French-speaking areas, and problems of social relations and sponsorship.

Language difficulties

731. At the senior levels in most large corporations and the federal Public Service in Canada, facility in English is far from being the only criterion for reaching the top, but it is a major one. In positions where much time is spent in committees and consultations and where the writing of lucid letters and memoranda is an essential skill, ease in the use of English is an indispensable qualification.

732. The majority of middle-level Francophones come from Ottawa, Hull, or nearby areas of Ontario where schooling, "outside" work, and communal life are largely conducted in English. About 42 per cent received their secondary school education, 56 received their undergraduate education, and 61 per cent received their postgraduate education either mainly in English or about equally in both French and English.[1] Among those who worked before entering the federal administration, 55 per cent were employed in a mainly Anglophone environment. The proportion jumps to 65 per cent when translators are excluded.[2] As well, at least 96 per cent of middle-level Francophones reported that they had fair or considerable skill in reading and understanding English,[3] and fully 61 per cent of them said that they had no difficulties during their career in the federal Public Service in functioning completely in English. Therefore, on the surface, Francophones who work in the federal capital do not seem to be at a language disadvantage.

733. Such findings mask three things: the substantial proportion who do experience trouble in English; the difficulty, even for those with considerable facility, of working in a language that is not their mother tongue; and the fact that it is among the most talented Francophones from Quebec that we have found the most difficulty and frustration.

734. For many Francophones, especially those from Quebec, entry into the Public Service is often a traumatic step into a strange environment. For instance, while 49 per cent of those from Quebec (excluding Hull) said they had less than a considerable knowledge of English, only

[1] Appendix III, Table A-53.

[2] *Ibid.* Translators formed 18 per cent of the Francophone sample at the middle level. The education, prior work history, and present working language of this group were almost exclusively French. They were also largely isolated in one special work unit—the Translation Bureau—where Francophones predominate. We have therefore left them out of some of the calculations in order to give a more accurate image of the Francophone middle-level public servant in Ottawa.

[3] *See* Chapter VII, Figure 5.

21 per cent of those from outside Quebec were similarly handicapped.[1] We also found that when middle-level Francophones were asked whether the use of English had caused or was still causing them difficulties in the performance of their duties, 39 per cent replied in the affirmative. Of this number, 22 per cent were still trying to overcome their difficulties, and 17 per cent claimed they had just about resolved them. Again geographic origin made a difference: 54 per cent of those from Quebec (excluding Hull), compared with 30 per cent among the non-Quebeckers, had experienced or were still experiencing difficulties. As a result, their talents were not being fully developed; they were unable to participate completely in the work process and to gain the experience and training that lead to competent performance and speedy promotions.

Effect of English-language dominance on Francophones

735. Where one language is dominant, those of another mother tongue are systematically excluded from posts of command unless they become perfectly fluent in the dominant language. Their potential is underdeveloped and they are denied an equitable share of material resources to pursue leisure-time activities and to educate and otherwise prepare their offspring for senior positions.[2]

736. Working in a language that is not one's mother tongue has other consequences, as sociologist Nathan Keyfitz suggests:

> There can be question that this puts the French Canadian at a genuine disadvantage. Even the most attentive speaker of a language not his own will make a mistake now and again, and if he is sensitive this can, at least for the moment, destroy for him that indispensable image of himself as an effective person.[3]

A Francophone in an Anglophone organization develops a sense of frustration and inferiority at not being able to "put across" his ideas. Moreover, in Canada many Anglophones consider a French-speaking Canadian's language a dialect, a style of expression far removed from "Parisian" French and infused with many English elements. It is not surprising that many Francophones become alienated from their work, and are "genuinely unable to do the work as well as the English candidate wherever that work consists in large part of the manipulation of symbols in English."[4]

737. Furthermore, according to Jacques Brazeau,

> . . . as long as they remain less than fluent in the major language, less-than-perfect bilinguals may not benefit fully from the experience which they gain through their second language. Even when they do benefit fully, they may find it difficult to bring these benefits into the areas of their life where

[1] Appendix III, Table A-54.

[2] E. Jacques Brazeau, "Language Differences and Occupational Experience," *Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science*, XXIV, No. 4 (Toronto, 1958), 532-40.

[3] Nathan Keyfitz, "Canadians and Canadiens," *Queen's Quarterly*, LXX, No. 2 (Kingston, 1963), 171.

[4] *Ibid.*

they use their own tongue. For instance, it may be hard for them to discuss in their own language—for the elucidation of their thoughts and the profit of those who are dependent on them for their education—many activities in which they participate. Among minority language groups, then, the fact that much of societal life goes on in another language may set limitations on their experience, the conceptual contents of their languages, and their manipulation of language symbols.[1]

738. All persons of French background, no matter what their level of fluency in English, are penalized by one or more of these factors in settings where the majority are Anglophones. Throughout the federal administration in the capital region, all Francophones are subject to pressures to use English. The fact that it is the Francophones from Quebec who are most likely to experience difficulty should not distract attention from the general conclusion that all Francophones are at a disadvantage in the processes of evaluation and sponsorship that affect promotions in Anglophone-oriented organizations.

739. Both inside and outside the Public Service, a large range of important social activities—public events, entertainment, education, shopping, clubs, and voluntary associations—are conducted in English. This is further inducement for a Francophone to undervalue his mother tongue and also to withdraw support from French-language social and cultural organizations. On the personal level, Francophones confront a disjunction between their working lives and their private lives. Every day they are called upon to switch back and forth between two cultural-linguistic worlds. They are faced with a dilemma: assimilation or an unending struggle for cultural preservation.

4. Entering the upper level

740. It is especially those who have set their sights on a top position who must face Anglicization—integrating their social and even family life into the mainstream of English-language culture. For some this is an unconscious means of adaptation; for others it is a necessary but painful experience. A senior Francophone public servant, a lawyer by profession, who has been at the top in one department and has served in several others told us:

> With the growth in Quebec and the great attraction of working in that province it will remain extremely difficult to attract people here. Because of educational and family problems Francophones are reluctant to come to Ottawa. When I came to Ottawa 16 years ago, the situation was considerably different than it is now. Then there was a definite movement to keep French Canadians out of top positions. To make it I had to work harder than anyone else, but it paid off. *When we moved to Ottawa I told my wife and the children that they could not call Montreal all the time and that they had to learn English.*[2]

[1] Brazeau, "Language Differences and Occupational Experience," 536.
[2] Italics ours.

Geographic movement

741. This testimony illustrates the difficulties experienced by a Francophone family relocating in an English-language environment. Although their pattern of movement within the federal administration is quite similar to the Anglophones', geographic moves are a source of genuine distress. The following comments came from a fast-rising young personnel administrator who had made several moves and knew how disruptive they can be.

> In the Service in general it's like this: in certain fields it is very useful for employees to obtain experience in different geographic areas—especially for the professionals in engineering and administration. So they encourage these people to move in order to acquire experience; French Canadians are not interested in moving, which may be why they have not as many chances as the English Canadians to acquire the same diversity of experience. When they move, English Canadians are assured of an environment that is not foreign to them. This is not the case for French Canadians.

742. This aversion of Francophones to moving to "a foreign milieu" often applies even to Ottawa. Upward mobility in the Public Service sooner or later necessitates coming to the capital; yet, because of the nature of the city, some Quebec-based Francophones—especially those serving in Montreal—will not consider such a move. The loss of their talents to the higher ranks of the federal administration constitutes a serious problem especially in departments, such as Public Works and National Revenue—Taxation division, where large regional bureaux exist.

Sponsorship

743. There are also difficulties in personal and social relations with Anglophone superiors and colleagues. Within the Public Service it is not always possible for Francophones to move easily between the spheres of work and social life. They may not have similar orientations in such spheres as sports, charitable work, and the arts, and as a result they may feel ill at ease, bored, disdainful, or all of these. With such feelings, many Francophones may limit or discard completely the opportunities for social intercourse that develop in their work settings. Where such withdrawal by Francophones is extensive, it restricts their opportunities for informal learning and weakens their commitment to the federal administration.

744. Because of their relative lack of interest and facility in carrying on social activities with Anglophone colleagues and superiors, Francophones are particularly disadvantaged by the system of informal sponsorship prevailing in the Public Service—especially in the key departments which are the training grounds for the élite. Sponsorship is the practice whereby senior men discover bright newcomers, "show them the ropes," give them assignments that provide crucial experience, and recommend them for positions to other senior colleagues. Naturally this process involves a good deal of personal contact outside the work setting and

sociability is important. Chiefs tend to look for prospects among those who think and feel like themselves, and the proper superior-subordinate relationship will flourish only when there is a good deal of social compatibility. This, of course, does not automatically exclude Francophone aspirants—many are "good mixers"—but, among other things, their educational backgrounds may be totally divergent, and they do not always desire to adopt their superiors' work style.

745. Sponsorship cannot be eliminated, nor should it be. This is largely because the essential qualities for a senior public servant—sound judgement of men and events, intuition, sensitivity to political realities, and an ability to motivate others—are things that cannot always be learned in formal courses, but rather are "picked up" in informal situations. Hence, sponsorship is a natural process of career development in all large-scale organizations and is necessary for the growth of a cohesive and responsible senior directorate. Given the existing situation in the Public Service, where Anglophones occupy most senior positions, younger Francophones are disadvantaged; there are now many senior officers anxious to give them every break and encouragement, but this will only partly neutralize the disadvantage. Good will or political pressures or both will catapult some capable men to the top but, if they lack the informal training and contacts that sponsorship provides, their effectiveness will be minimal. This requisite informal training can be obtained only when compatibility and trust exist between superiors and subordinates. It seems clear, therefore, that substantial numbers of Francophones must be placed in the upper levels of the federal administration—and especially in the key ministeries dealing with economic and foreign affairs—before a good supply of younger Francophones will be attracted from Quebec and elsewhere and prepared through the usual means for the assumption of senior positions.

746. There are two means of access to positions at the top of the federal administration—"political" appointments made by the government of the day through the mechanism of the Order-in-Council, and senior appointments controlled by the Public Service Commission. Sponsorship is the usual process whereby men of ability are elevated to senior positions in the federal Public Service, although it is not quite so important for entering the Order-in-Council group as for the positions below this level. A number of people are parachuted into high-level positions in the Public Service in middle or late career.

Parachuting

747. Straight patronage appointments through the Public Service Commission have now been largely eliminated but they occasionally occur through Order-in-Council. Originally, most "parachutists" were appointed for patronage reasons—they were given positions as rewards for loyal service to the party in power. But now other reasons are

uppermost, including representational considerations. With the continued pressures from various regional, ethnic, and other groups, these considerations have hardly diminished in importance. The chance to attract people with expert knowledge or outstanding administrative abilities from the business or academic communities is also a significant factor.

Advantages and disadvantages of parachuting

748. The practice of parachuting, when not abused, can provide an infusion of fresh ability and ideas into the government. It may have the further advantage of keeping the administration responsive to the general public and its elected representatives. On the other hand, when public servants in the career system are bypassed for top positions in favour of outsiders, morale and commitment throughout the hierarchy are likely to be weakened. Even when the newcomers are men of considerable ability, they hinder the development of cohesive policies and administrative procedures. When men of inferior ability are brought in for representational or patronage reasons, there is a further danger. Such appointments depreciate the prestige of those who have made a lifetime career of government service and deface the hallmark of effective government—an orientation towards service to country rather than towards private gain or narrow political advantage.

Francophone representation at the top

749. In spite of these disadvantages, the federal administration has relied heavily on parachuting to obtain senior officers, especially Francophones. The career system has failed to produce adequate numbers of Francophones for senior responsibilities: recruitment from politics, the legal profession, and the business world has always been necessary to provide visible representation at the top. For the most part, however, that representation has been little more than visible. With one or two outstanding exceptions, Francophones have not until recently been included in the ranks of the "inner circle"—that group of 15 to 20 top officials in the departments of Finance, Trade and Commerce, External Affairs, the Treasury Board, and the Privy Council who work closely with the cabinet in developing major policies.

Character of Francophone "parachutists"

750. Francophones promoted or parachuted into the upper level have generally had little impact on the dominant Anglophone ethos of the federal administration. The men available or willing to come to Ottawa have been unwilling or unable to disturb the prevailing patterns of language use or recruitment practices. Also, the Francophone parachutists, like their Anglophone counterparts, are unused to manœuvring within the upper reaches of the federal administration. The result is that few have become dominant figures on the federal scene.

751. In the view of many senior officers the main purpose of parachuting Francophones was to legitimize the federal administration in the eyes of French-speaking Canadians. Appointees were selected who

would be relatively at ease in the "English" atmosphere of Ottawa, but who could provide at least the semblance of biculturalism to what was essentially an Anglophone organization. This is now changing. Some appointees of the last few years are aggressive and able men who clearly do not fit this pattern. But their eventual impact is still undetermined.

5. *The culture of the Public Service*

A British model

752. The cultural ambience of the federal administration is that of a British model adapted to the politics and technology of English-speaking Canada. It is, on the whole, an effective adaptation, but its great limitation is its lack of Francophones and, indirectly, French ways of thinking and operating. Everywhere in the Public Service there is great concern for recruiting Francophones, but the desire seems to be for men who will fit easily into the existing structure. The desire for Francophones was rarely complemented by a willingness to provide the intellectual atmosphere and working conditions for the development of their talents. Furthermore, there was apprehension that the Francophones would behave in the federal Public Service as "French Canadians." There was little recognition of the beneficial impact such Francophones might have in broadening departmental orientations. The department of External Affairs, for example, showed a limited interest in France and French-speaking Africa before 1965. The department of Finance has neglected the later developments in econometrics that have come from Francophone economists, both in France and in Quebec, and its libraries lack the leading French-language economic journals. The greatest drawback Francophone public servants must face is the cultural milieu of the federal administration: it is so overwhelmingly "English" that it is difficult for Francophones to identify with its problems or with the style of life, honour, and prestige of its officers. The result is that some Francophones either give up, drained of ambition, or simply become narrowly ambitious. Neither orientation is conducive to a successful or useful career. The Public Service must recognize the necessity of creating work milieux in which the normal language will be French, where Francophones will constitute a majority, and where their experiences will incline them to stay in the Public Service.

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

A. The Challenge

753. Throughout Part 2 we have presented striking evidence that the partnership between Anglophones and Francophones in the federal Public Service is by no means equal. We now wish to consider the main elements of the challenge of creating an equal partnership. Viewed objectively, the present situation reflects a long history of insensitivity, lack of insight, and neglect at both the political and the administrative levels.

Shortcomings of the present situation

754. While the federal government has a relatively well developed policy of language of service to the public, it has never had a general and coherent policy on the language of work within the federal Public Service. There are few Francophones in certain major sectors of the Public Service, notably in the key industrial, financial, and scientific sectors. Where they are present at the management level, most Francophones do not participate on an equal footing with Anglophones; therefore, the Francophone presence is weak at the key decision-making levels. Where they are physically present, their effective participation is hampered to a greater or lesser degree because they cannot work in their own language and cultural milieu. French has never enjoyed the full status of an official or practised language in the Public Service. As a result, the language and culture of French-speaking Canada have had little opportunity to take root in the vast majority of work situations in the federal administration. The Public Service has not been sufficiently aware of the intellectual traditions of Francophones and of the methods developed in the universities and research centres of Quebec and France. Another problem is that, except in Quebec, the

community settings of federal establishments are at present almost universally inappropriate for the maintenance and development of the French language and culture. This problem is particularly relevant in Ottawa; we touched on the situation in Ottawa in Book I of our Report,[1] and will consider it more fully in a later Book.

Language of service to the public

755. On the strength of these considerations we can, to some extent, answer some vital questions. Is the Francophone public served in its own language? In general the answer is "yes," but with some qualification. For example, there are often long delays in issuing French versions of publications originating in English; Francophone citizens outside Quebec experience difficulties in transacting business orally in French with the federal administration; Francophone-owned enterprises, even those in Quebec, have rarely been able to deal with the federal government in French. On the whole, however, translation services, publications policy, and, to a more limited extent, staffing of posts directly serving the public have provided for a façade of bilingualism.

Language of work

756. Can Francophones use their language in day-to-day functions within the Public Service without penalty to their effectiveness and their careers? Here the answer is generally "no," but again with some qualification. This situation can be explained by the relative scarcity—particularly in the middle and upper levels of the federal Public Service outside Quebec—of people with a good knowledge of French. This in turn results from the absence of sufficient numbers and concentrations of Francophones at these levels and from the striking lack of French-language competence among the Anglophones. Where these conditions are reversed, as in the National Film Board and the CBC, the situation is very different.

Opportunities for Francophones

757. Does the federal Public Service provide full opportunities for Francophones to express themselves in their work and to realize their full potential as individuals? Again the answer is generally "no." Linguistic disadvantages limit the progress of many Francophones, since the majority of those who do advance rapidly and achieve outstanding success must have a knowledge of English and must be able to work in that language. Thus, even when the Public Service bestows its highest rewards on Francophone public servants, it tends to do so by requiring that they abandon their language and cultural expression in their work situation.

Pressures towards assimilation

758. There are exceptions, of course, and their number has increased in recent years; but we found that most Francophones holding positions at the officer level—and many below, as well—were under heavy pressure to operate in English not only in their work, but also

[1] *Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism*, I, § 380.

in their social life and community activities. Indeed, the influence of the Public Service is so pervasive, and the political and cultural resources of the French-speaking community in the federal capital are still so meagre, that most ambitious young Francophone public servants and their families must face the reality of acculturation, often to the point of assimilation.

Participation

759. Finally, is there adequate participation of Francophones at the key decision-making levels of the federal administration? Here again, though there has been improvement in recent years, the answer generally is "no." It is not simply that most Francophones are less effective when they have to work in English—although this does place severe limits on their opportunities. The main reasons for the weak participation of Francophones have to do with the overall administrative system—the processes of selection and promotion, concepts and evaluation of work. In all these ways, the Public Service is overwhelmingly an expression of English-speaking Canada, and it takes several years for a Francophone to integrate himself fully into this milieu.

The costs

760. All these questions go to the root of Francophone dissatisfaction with the Public Service, the ultimate costs of which are both individual and collective. On the one hand, individual Francophones have relatively limited opportunities to realize their full potential; on the other hand, all Canadians are the poorer because the federal Public Service does not draw fully on the intellectual and organizational resources of French-speaking Canada.

761. These conclusions, however, suggest neither total failure nor an absence of positive effort on the part of the federal administration to adapt to the bicultural realities of Canadian life. In fact, there have already been substantial efforts consistent with an objective of a bilingual and bicultural federal Public Service. Most are of recent origin, but some date back as far as 1918.

Prerequisite for equal partnership

762. What has been missing in these developments and what we are attempting to provide is a recognition of the prerequisite of equal partnership, which so far has not been enunciated or even perceived clearly at either the political or the administrative level. This prerequisite—a bicultural Public Service—requires the coexistence and collaboration of the two cultures so that both can flourish and contribute to the overall objectives of government. We submit that this and only this condition can begin to provide for the development of an equal partnership.

763. Other countries with two languages and cultures have seen clearly that there can be no equal partnership without the active

participation of both cultures in their administrations. Such participation rarely, if ever, develops on its own in the natural course of events; it is usually the result of positive government measures affecting the structure of the civil service. We do not suggest borrowing the specific structural arrangements adopted in Belgium, for example; but the principle of government intervention can be applied to Canada.[1]

Shortcomings of present federal policy

764. If we have not achieved a bicultural Public Service in Canada, it is precisely because bilingualism in the Service has been individual and not institutional in character. Indeed, the present development of bilingualism and biculturalism in the Public Service is typified by the present policy of the federal administration on matters of bilingualism and biculturalism. That policy envisages the general use of language training to encourage bilingualism and the diffusion of bilingualism throughout the organization (with the encouragement of bilingual senior staff) so that the English and French languages may mix freely in most work situations—where, in effect, each individual would be completely free to use his own language without risking either ineffectiveness or affront. Clearly, this system depends heavily on the bilingualism of individuals, even though no other country with more than one language and culture has ever been able to place sole confidence in such a procedure. The nearest approach is made in South Africa, but there the two linguistic groups are more nearly comparable in size and the great majority of civil servants are bilingual. In the Canadian Public Service, because of the predominance of unilingual Anglophones coupled with the almost exclusive confinement of bilingualism to Francophones, the French language cannot develop in direct competition with English, no matter how effective recruitment and language-training programmes may be.

Development of bilingualism and biculturalism in government organization

765. Full Francophone participation in the federal Public Service requires that it receive as much attention and priority in both policy and administration as other programmes, and administrative functions of federal agencies. In such a context, bilingualism and biculturalism must be developed as organic elements of the federal government's key structures and processes. Career development that emphasizes individual bilingualism has little meaning unless there is a general programme of staff development. Furthermore, the treatment of the problem of bilingualism requires a process of enormous scope, ranging from regulation—for example, with regard to the language used in publications—to sensitive interpersonal adjustments in work situations. It requires simultaneous treatment of language training and language use. We shall present our proposals in this wide perspective. In other

[1] *See* Appendix VI.

words, we shall treat institutional and individual bilingualism as integral elements of an administrative system that is in a constant state of evolution.

B. The Basic Proposal: French-language Units

Recommendation 1

766. The federal Public Service should be transformed so that French will become a functioning language of work. Indeed, the transformation we foresee is similar in scope to the one involved in the introduction some 50 years ago of the merit principle in recruitment and promotion. It took decades for this principle to become a vital part of the operation of the federal Public Service. Today, the imperatives of the political situation demand that the transformation be implemented in a matter of years and months. Thus, in order to give expression to the principle of equal partnership in the federal Public Service, **we recommend that the federal government adopt the French-language unit as a basic organizational and management principle, and that it therefore provide for the creation and development, in all federal departments, Crown corporations, and other agencies, of organizational units in which French would be the language of work; these units would be established in a variety of locations and would be of different sizes and functions.**

767. Implementation of this sweeping proposal will present a unique and difficult challenge to the Public Service. We are fully aware of the careful planning and timing required; but we are convinced that a system of French-language units is in accordance with our terms of reference and, indeed, is the only way of ensuring "the bilingual and basically bicultural character of the federal administration." The greatest obstacle to equal partnership in the federal Public Service is not the gap in educational attainment that still exists between the two linguistic groups. The factor that most impedes a strong Francophone presence is the environment of the Public Service—its underlying assumptions and conventions, its prejudices, and, most important, its language, all of which are overwhelmingly of English-speaking Canada. To some extent, of course, this uniculturalism is based on the realities of American technological dominance. But the imperatives of technology can be contained. It is chiefly the conditions affecting the French language that cause the estrangement of Francophones in the federal administration, for language gives meaning and shape to all other aspects of the work environment.

768. The purpose of the French-language units is to change the work environment of the Public Service by ensuring that French is

fully recognized as a language of work and—even more important—is fully used in both internal and external communication. By the creation in each department of a significant proportion of work areas where the use of French is mandatory, the plan envisions the increasing presence of the language and culture of French-speaking Canada in the Public Service, the development of fully bilingual senior managers and supervisors at the top of the hierarchy, and the encouragement of acceptance and understanding of the French language and culture throughout the system.

The basic concept

769. The essential idea of the French-language unit is that its personnel—both Francophone and Anglophone—will use French as the language of work. This requirement will not entirely exclude the use of English, but it will sharply circumscribe it. Generally, only French will be used within designated French-language units and between these units and the senior officers of their departments. In communication between the French-language units and other units, a policy of receptive bilingualism will apply.

Senior management and supervision

770. Senior public servants in all departments and in the central agencies must be fully capable of planning and supervising the operations of French-language units. Therefore, the heads of all French-language units and all those above them—Anglophones as well as Francophones—will necessarily have to be skilled in both languages, receptively so in the immediate future and fully bilingual in the longer run.[1]

Distribution and support

771. The proportion of French-language units will vary widely throughout the federal organization, and the units will vary as to size, location, and function. However, each department should contain some French-language units, and in each department the major internal services—personnel management, administrative management, libraries, information bureaux, and legal services—will have to develop capacity in both languages.

Criteria of implementation

772. The application of the concept of the French-language unit must also be subject to a detailed knowledge of the special conditions in each department and agency. However, certain considerations should be taken into account in the implementation of the proposed policy. First, the French-language units must perform important and integral functions within departments and agencies—they must be essential to the overall work of the department. We are not proposing a separation of the federal administration into two parallel sectors defined by language: the functional responsibilities of the units themselves we take as given,

[1] This objective of the federal government has already been enunciated by Prime Minister Pearson on April 6, 1966 (*see* Appendix II). The French-language units will provide the institutional setting in which this policy can be realized.

and change in the language régime should not alter their role. The functions remain but the language régime changes; we expect that this change will affect the way the functions are carried out.

773. Ideally, the unit structure should fully provide for upward career paths in the French language. Such prospects need not all be located in one department but should be available within the ranks of a given occupation. Although our priority is to change the working conditions in the middle and upper levels of the Public Service, we also stress the importance of extending the proposals to the entire structure of the Service. The units must also be open to Anglophones who have adequate French-language skills. Finally, the French-language units should be located in Ottawa, in Quebec, and in other communities where the French language and Francophone culture are viable or potentially viable.

774. The creation of French-language units should not have the effect of constraining the choice of Francophones to work in any unit of the federal government. Practices regarding language of service to the public should follow the proposals made in Book I regarding official-language practices. Given these considerations, we visualize three categories or kinds of French-language units: the regional unit, the headquarters unit, and the French-language cluster.

1. The regional unit

775. Regional French-language units should be possible wherever there are sufficient concentrations of Francophone employees. In Quebec, large administrative units could be designated as French-language units, while in Ontario and New Brunswick the units so designated would be smaller.

776. Given such appropriate local environments, these possibilities depend on the extent of federal decentralization or, more accurately, deconcentration. We have not made an exhaustive study of this question, but there are obvious examples of large-scale deconcentration, a recent one being the department of Public Works. Others are the departments of the Post Office, National Revenue, Manpower and Immigration, National Health and Welfare, and Agriculture. The outstanding example is the CBC, with its French-network headquarters located in Montreal. Many other departments have regional units of varying size; hence, a basis for a system of regional French-language units already exists. Moreover, to the extent that the federal government continues the current emphasis on regional problems, we can predict further administrative deconcentration.

777. What we propose is that French-language units be built into the existing regionalized system and expanded where the local environment warrants it. The location, size, and scale of such units will depend primarily on existing administrative structures; specific application will be tailored to the individual conditions of each department. However, deconcentration is not simply desirable administratively, but should also be encouraged because it will lead to Francophones' greater participation and interest in the federal administration.

English-language units

778. At the same time, we must not lose sight of the legitimate rights of language minorities. Certainly, the language of service to the public must follow our proposals in Book I. In addition, within the large regional units in predominantly French-speaking communities, provision should be made for English-language units where members of the minority-language group can participate without relinquishing their language or cultural preferences. These English-language units, like the French-language units in areas with Francophone minorities, will have to be carefully and flexibly planned and constituted with respect to minority rights and administrative realities.

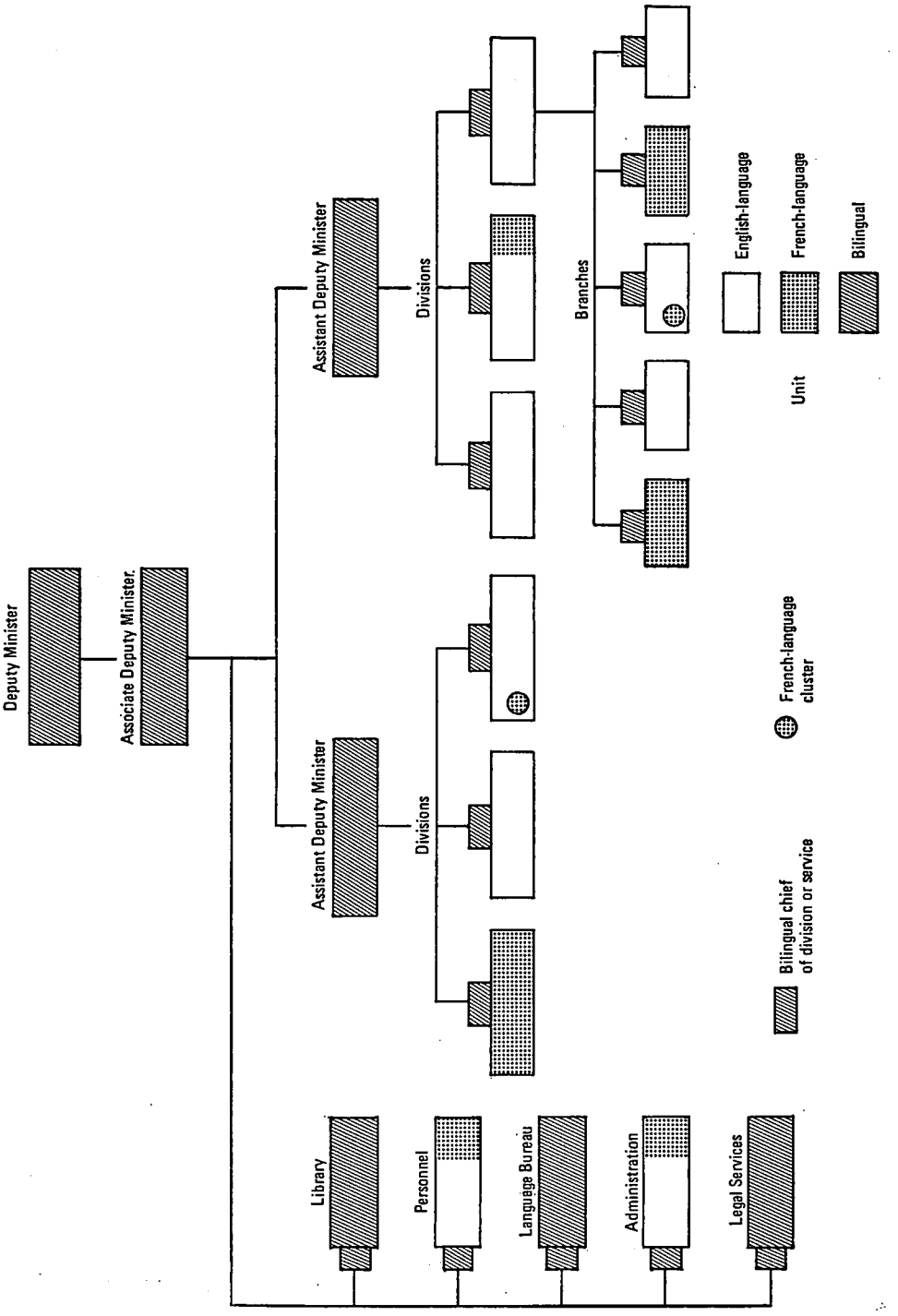
779. One fact will make the proposed change easier. Although regional French-language units have not yet been specifically designated, in some regional offices French is now gaining ground as a language of work. This has come about more as a local response to community environment than as a result of systematic departmental policy. An example which more clearly approaches our proposal has been Canadian National's experimental establishment of French-language units in Montreal and Quebec City.

780. Finally, we observe that the use of French in the regional offices has not led to a bilingual institution at the centre. The regional unit with all of its opportunities will not, by itself, be sufficient. But, if it is a large and important segment of a particular department or agency, it will do much to attract and hold Francophones.

2. The headquarters unit

781. A regional unit cannot provide as high a level of opportunity, especially in the key decision-making areas of departments, as can the headquarters unit. The headquarters French-language unit is therefore designed partly as a means of achieving effective Francophone participation at the highest levels of the Public Service. Most such units, because of existing circumstances, will be located as minority elements in a predominantly English-speaking institution and in a federal capital where the community's predominant cultural environment is at present

Figure 22. Institution of the System of French-language Units in the Headquarters of a Department (theoretical model)



alien to Francophones. The role of the headquarters French-language unit within a department is illustrated in Figure 22.

782. The basic principle is that entire existing units of administration at the branch or division level will be designated as French-language units. These units should exist in each department and should play an important role in the formulation and implementation of policy. However, it is not essential that each department provide complete career possibilities in French, so long as there are sufficient units in the central system as a whole to permit full careers for French-speaking public servants. Therefore, it will be necessary to design career systems in professional and other occupational streams.

3. The cluster

783. The cluster is smaller than either of the units already described. It is designed for situations where complete French-language units would not be practical but where the function does break down organizationally into small work groups. We have in mind, in particular, specialized activities in the social, physical, and biological sciences. Although the cluster is structurally informal and small, it is important because of the essential role of science and research in modern government. These disciplines now constitute a critical area of unequal partnership, partly because of the limited opportunities they offer for working in the French language.

784. One example of a deliberate federal policy consistent with our basic recommendation is the government's decision in June 1967 to encourage the development of what we are describing as French-language clusters. This decision related to professional, scientific, and technical personnel and provided that the Special Secretariat on Bilingualism and the Public Service Commission should work with scientific departments and agencies to identify assignments and projects where Francophones might work in their own language. To facilitate the implementation of the policy, the government proposed that a high priority be given to second-language training of supervisory employees in each unit where such clusters were formed.

Service units

785. The proposed plan requires that the service units of each department develop capacity in both languages. Specifically, we envisage two types of arrangements, based primarily on the size of the unit. In the larger service bureaux responsible for such tasks as personnel administration and administrative services, parallel French- and English-language sections would be formed. This is the first type of arrangement. The second type applies to the smaller service units—those unlikely to have more than six or seven employees at the officer

level and frequently only one or two. The small size of these units would preclude their division into two sections, but we could expect most, if not all, of the personnel to be fully bilingual and to work regularly in both languages. Examples of the smaller units include libraries and legal branches.

786. Whichever type of arrangement is applied, the service unit must remain an entity functioning under one director and using one set of procedures. Directives, for example, would be produced simultaneously in each language but from the same terms of reference and subject to review by a bilingual supervisor.

Recommendation 2

787. The French-language units will thus be of three types: regional units, headquarters units, and clusters. In each department and agency, the auxiliary services used by both groups should have two parallel sections or should be fully staffed by bilingual personnel. These structures are as essential to the reforms which the government has already initiated as to those we shall propose. Finally, we foresee the possibility that English-language units may be needed in areas where French becomes the predominant language of work. Therefore, **we recommend a) that in each federal department, Crown corporation, and other agency, there be established French-language units (regional, headquarters, and/or cluster types) which correspond to existing units in their functions and organizational arrangements; b) that service units be reorganized into English- and French-language sections or in other appropriate ways to provide the normal range of services in both English and French; and c) that, within the larger regional French-language units, provision be made where necessary for the establishment of English-language units organized on the same pattern as the French-language units.**

Francophone presence at the policy level

788. Our first two recommendations provide the basic instrument of institutional bilingualism in the federal Public Service. One further major element still needs to be added: a Francophone presence is required at the highest policy level. Installation and development of the French-language units are unrealistic without a strong Francophone voice at the centre.

Recommendation 3

789. Because the need for active and effective Francophone participation at the highest levels is urgent, we propose an interim measure pending the formation of French-language units. The number of career Francophones in the Public Service can be expected to increase with improvements in staff evaluation, development, and promotion. Our objective, in the meantime, is to ensure balanced Francophone and Anglophone participation at the highest levels of departments, Crown corporations, and other agencies. Therefore, **we recommend that the**

appointments to the posts of deputy minister, associate deputy minister, assistant deputy minister, and equivalent positions in Crown corporations and other federal agencies be administered so as to ensure effectively balanced participation of Anglophones and Francophones at these levels.

790. This is a modification of the traditional view of the merit system. However, we have documented the fact that, in practice, the system is continually being modified, particularly at these levels. The positions included are not numerous and some of them are already excluded from standard appointment processes—that is, they are not formally part of the merit system. Moreover, there is no question that fully competent Anglophones and Francophones capable of filling these positions can now be found either within or outside the Public Service. Our proposal does not signal a new departure but rather provides that demonstrably useful and acceptable departures be used to effect balanced participation of Anglophones and Francophones at the highest levels of the Public Service.

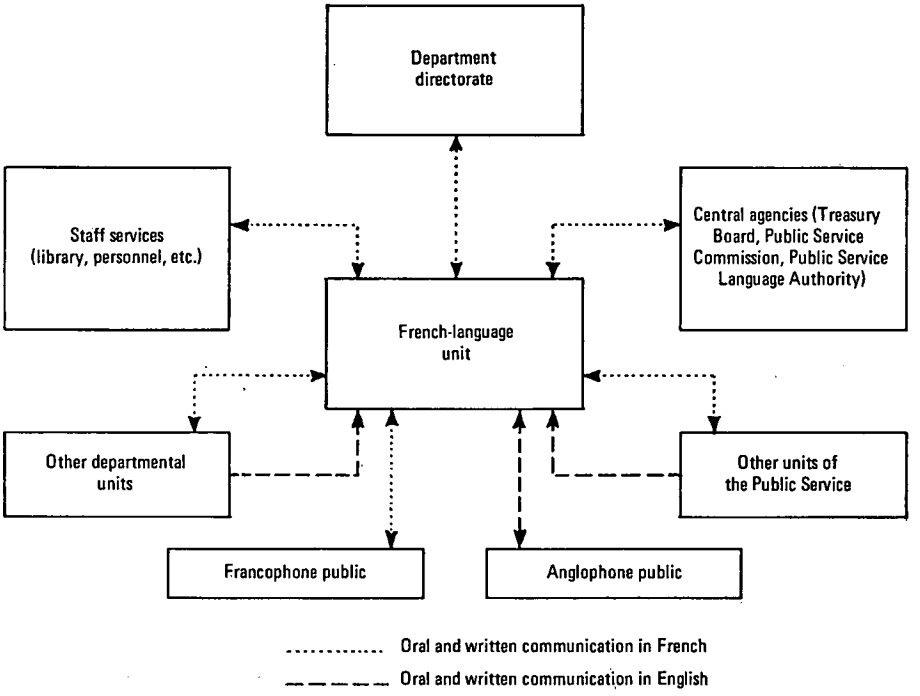
791. The balancing process is not a question of numbers or percentages. The appropriate ratio in one department is not necessarily the appropriate ratio in another. Our proposal does not impose a formal system of quotas or ratios, but this approach might conceivably be used if the proposed adaptation fails.

Recommendation 4

792. The principle of balanced participation should be extended to all federal planning and advisory bodies. For example, a device of growing importance is the task force, introduced to stimulate and advise on major policy or organizational changes. This is an essential area for high-level Francophone participation and a means for recruiting highly competent Francophones for vital functions in the Public Service. Therefore, **we recommend that on all federal planning and advisory bodies, including task forces, there be effectively balanced participation by Anglophones and Francophones.**

793. The objective of the language-unit system is not to hinder the acquisition and use of both languages; it is rather to develop a situation where French will be used as an effective language of work. From this minimal base there will be opportunities for the use of the French language to be extended, since the French-language units will have to be integrated into the overall system. Clearly, individual bilingual competence will be necessary in the communication links between French-language units and other units, and in the development of policy. Bilingualism must be required of all individuals who supervise such units and all internal service agencies must be capable of functioning in both languages.

Figure 23. Languages Used in Communication to and from the French-language Unit



Elements of a bilingual institution

794. To sum up, the elements of a bilingual institution are balanced participation of Francophones and Anglophones up to the highest levels; units whose main language of work is French and units whose main language of work is English, both under the direction of bilingual officers; and service units capable of performing their functions in both languages.

C. The Language Régime

Recommendation 5

795. The system we propose envisages that French will be the language of internal and external communication for French-language units; that is, it will be the main language of work. To ensure this, **we recommend a) the use of French in written and oral communications from the French-language units to other units in the Public Service; and b) the use of either language in written and oral communications originating from within the Public Service and addressed to the French-language units.** The main patterns of communication are illustrated in Figure 23.[1]

Use of French outside the French-language units

796. These adaptations regarding language practices have been devised to facilitate the operation of the system of French-language units. French will also be used in many less formally defined work situations. In a more formal context, horizontal communications between French-language units and other areas of the Public Service will necessarily involve some use of French. The language-unit plan is not intended to confine the use of French but rather to provide the minimum support for its survival in the Public Service.

797. As we recommended in Book I, the language used in external relations with the public will depend on the wishes of the individual or organization communicating with the unit. This, of course, applies to the Public Service as a whole. For the French-language unit it means individual bilingual capacity to the extent necessary for service to the public.

798. In oral communications with other units, the French-language unit will use French; the other units may choose either English or French. However, we recognize that until other units find the bilingual personnel to fill the positions that involve communication with French-

[1] There may well be exceptions to the rule that French be the internal language of work in the French-language units. For example, one such exception might arise from the fact that the federal administration is from time to time involved in complex technical transactions with the Anglophone business community. These negotiations frequently require lengthy submissions, some of which may come within the purview of a French-language unit. In such cases the unit may prefer—and should be permitted —to do its work of evaluation and advice in English. However, this procedure should be considered an exceptional practice.

language units, the latter will undoubtedly be obliged to speak English with their associates in other units. This situation should disappear within a period of two or three years.

799. In the short run we can assume no more than receptive bilingualism in many supervisory personnel. Thus, while a French-language unit will be able to use French in its written and oral communication with, for example, its assistant deputy minister, it should be prepared to receive messages from him in English. Receptive bilingualism may in some cases require translation service, but this would be an acceptable measure until a fully bilingual order can be attained.

800. Nevertheless, the interim arrangements and exceptions noted above should not hinder the implementation of the fundamental principle: that the language of work in French-language units should be French. These units must have immediately available to them French versions of documents and manuals in general or department-wide use. All new notices, directives, and forms must be issued simultaneously in both official languages, and the highest priority must be given to the translation of similar documents in current use. Therefore, **we recommend a) that within two years all notices, directives, forms, and other formal written information and instructions (except manuals) used within federal departments, Crown corporations, and other agencies be made available in both languages and that, effective immediately, new documents of this kind be issued simultaneously in French and English; b) that within five years all manuals now in use be translated into French and that, beginning immediately, all new manuals be issued simultaneously in both languages; and c) that the order of priority for the translation of such documents be determined in accordance with the needs of the French-language units.** Recommendation 6

801. When the same documents are prepared separately in the two languages, they should be available in each region or branch simultaneously, in quantities according to the linguistic composition of the staff. Existing Public Service Employment Regulations require this principle for notices of employment opportunities; our recommendation extends this rule to cover all written communications to department- or Service-wide groups.

802. One element in the work situation which should also receive early attention is employee-employer relations in matters relating to the employees' status, employment, discipline, and general directives for work. French-language personnel services should be available to every Francophone in every department and agency, even those not in French-language units. **We recommend the immediate amendment of the Public Service Employment Act and its Regulations, of collective** Recommendation 7

bargaining agreements between the federal administration and its employees, and of similar laws, regulations, and agreements affecting the Crown corporations and other federal agencies, to require that communication in the general area of employee-employer relations take place in either English or French, according to the choice of the employee.

Language requirements of positions

803. In order to ensure full implementation of the proposed language régime, the language content of positions in the Public Service must be defined, taking into account the existence of the French-language units which we have recommended. All positions should be reviewed and evaluated in terms of their specific language requirements which, once defined, would become an element of both job description and qualification.

804. Three features of the system of French-language units make the adoption of this measure necessary: first, the requirement that the service units of each department use French in their relations with the French-language units; second, the probability that these French-language units will have to follow the rules of receptive bilingualism in their dealings with some other units of the Public Service; and finally, the stipulation that the Public Service as a whole, including the new French-language units, continue serving the public in both official languages. Positions with special language requirements would generally command higher salaries than positions with similar responsibilities but in which only one language is used.

Existing inequities

805. For decades the federal Public Service has been guided by a restricted concept of merit that was doubly inequitable. On the one hand, it ignored the linguistic and cultural disadvantages under which French-speaking public servants laboured; on the other hand, it refused to acknowledge that language skills might be generally relevant to work effectiveness in a bilingual country. Merit, efficiency, and the promotion system were identified with administration in one language and one language only—English.

806. This concept has lost considerable ground in recent years, but it still holds sway in many areas of the Public Service. In any case, we fully expect that the introduction of the language criterion for each post should permanently put to rest the idea that language skills are not linked with efficiency.

Recommendation 8

807. In 1966 the federal administration introduced bonuses for bilingualism in certain restricted categories of clerical personnel. The application of this policy has been subject to certain abuses because of the lack of clearly defined standards. Salary should not be determined by the bilingualism of the individual, but rather by the effec-

tive use of the two languages at work. **We recommend that all positions throughout the federal departments, Crown corporations, and other agencies be classified as to language requirements, and that these requirements be specifically taken into account in the determination of remuneration.** There will be a period of transition during which it will be difficult to fill all positions requiring the use of the two languages. Obviously, a unilingual incumbent will not receive the remuneration provided for a bilingual occupant of the position.

Determining bilingual positions

808. Only those positions where use of the two official languages is part of the daily routine should qualify as positions with special language requirements. Before they assume such positions, potential incumbents must demonstrate, generally by means of formal examination, that they possess the requisite oral and written skills in both official languages. The Public Service Commission has made substantial progress in developing tests of language skill. This work should be extended and accelerated. The evaluation of the language content of each position should be sensitive enough to distinguish between those positions where receptive bilingualism is required and those where full bilingualism is required, with a higher salary allowed for the latter type. Beyond this, evaluation of language requirements should also distinguish between levels of language usage. For example, the elevator operator uses a very limited and highly repetitive oral vocabulary in his work, but an immigration officer needs a far more extensive and varied vocabulary. Similarly, those in planning and policy-making positions require a broader general vocabulary than public servants in purely operational posts. Adjustment in remuneration should not extend to the senior ranks of the organization where knowledge of the two languages will be a requirement for entry; nor should it extend to areas of the Public Service, such as the Translation Bureau, where bilingualism defines the function. Finally, the language requirements for a given position or group of positions should be defined and reviewed by the two new administrative agencies proposed later. Since the language requirements for positions will undoubtedly change with the passage of time, a continuous audit will be needed.

D. Second-language Facilities: Training and Translation

Recommendation 9

809. The language régime we have projected involves an operational need for the acquisition of second-language skills and a new role for translation as an effective communication facility. French-language training would be made available to those Anglophones who expect to assume positions in French-language units, positions in service units

that require bilingual skills, positions in other units that involve dealing directly with the French-language units or the French-speaking public, and senior supervisory positions. English-language training would be made available to Francophones on a similar basis. All training should be tied to the language requirements for the various positions. Therefore, **we recommend that the Language Training Directorate adapt the teaching of French and English to the needs of the French-language and English-language units.**

Recommendation 10

810. In addition, **we recommend that language training for federal public servants increasingly emphasize receptive knowledge.** This recommendation does not preclude the development of full bilingualism, and particularly for those being groomed for upper-level positions (for example, presidents and vice-presidents of the Crown corporations, deputy ministers and assistant deputy ministers, and branch or division heads). The implementation of these proposals should bring about a considerable reduction in the number of students enrolled in second-language training, particularly in French-language courses, and will lead as well to a redefinition of the teaching programme.

811. The Public Service Commission is continually re-examining and improving its language-training programme. We are particularly impressed by the fact that, since September 1968, the Language Training Directorate has been phasing out the one-hour-a-day French courses and replacing them with the more intensive total- or partial-immersion courses.

Recommendation 11

812. The Directorate has also been concerned that the vocabulary used in its French courses reflect the usage of French Canada rather than France. But this concern should be carried a step further: the public servant should acquire a vocabulary that is useful in his work. Therefore, **we recommend that the Language Training Directorate accelerate, at all levels of instruction, the development of courses using vocabulary appropriate to the work of Canadian public servants.** Visual material and vocabulary presently being used in the VIF courses[1] should be replaced with materials drawn from work situations in the Public Service.

Recommendation 12

813. It would not be fair to expect that Francophones who have received their professional training in English and who have worked in this language ever since they entered the federal Public Service should overnight become able to carry out their work in French. Such a change from one language to the other, without a period of transition, might well damage the quality of French used in the Public Service. It is one thing to encourage the use of French, and therefore its ex-

[1] *See* § 499 ff.

tension; it is another to ensure that the French used in the federal Public Service is of a quality equal to "international French." At the same time, young Francophones entering the federal Public Service may need appropriate courses to introduce them to administrative French. Therefore, **we recommend a) that the Public Service Commission's Language Training Directorate establish, as a matter of priority, courses to improve the French used by the federal administration, and b) that these courses be made available primarily to those Francophones and fully bilingual Anglophones who have assumed or intend to assume positions within a French-language unit, or positions which require regular communications with Francophones.**

Recommendation 13

814. To provide effective training or retraining in technical French, a knowledge of French terminology is essential. It has been, after all, a relatively unused language in the federal Public Service. Therefore, **we recommend that immediate and urgent attention be given to the preparation of a bilingual glossary of terminology appropriate to work in the Public Service.** Some valuable work has been done in this area in the Translation Bureau and by individual departments, but it needs to be extended significantly and systematized for the Service as a whole.

Recommendation 14

815. In the developmental phase of institutional bilingualism, two requirements—the translation of departmental documents and manuals, and the maintenance of language integrity within the French-language units—indicate that the translation work load will increase. This increased demand may subside, however, as knowledge of French improves and basic documents are translated. In the meantime it will undoubtedly be necessary to strengthen the resources of the translation services and to ensure that the translators' time is not being wasted with unnecessary work such as the translation of letters for filing purposes only. **We recommend a) that the practice, current in many federal government departments, of translating as a matter of routine all letters and documents written in French cease immediately; b) that the federal government increase its support of translation courses at universities; and c) that the programme of financial aid for students of translation be accelerated and expanded.**

Specialized translation skills

816. Problems in translation are by no means confined to the translation load. The quality of translation is often unsatisfactory. Better translators and more reasonable work loads will help the situation. So, too, will the preparation of good glossaries. Consideration must also be given to the organization of specialized skills in translation which relate to the many specialties found in the Public Service. While this difficulty has been partly overcome by the second-

ing of translators from the Bureau to individual departments, it is a problem not only of organization but also of personnel. Therefore, specific attention should be given to the development of translators who have at least some technical knowledge of the field to which the documents they are translating refer. Such translators, who would be highly qualified and well paid, could be responsible for quality control over a number of translators working within the same general subject area.

Recommendation 15

817. One of the most useful measures to improve the quality of the French language in the Public Service would be to encourage the drafting of documents in French. **We recommend that the practice of original drafting in French be encouraged and that there be an end to the federal administration's current practice of originating almost all texts in English and subsequently translating them into French.**

E. Staffing the System

Attracting and retaining Francophone personnel

818. A basic aim of the system of French-language units is to improve the ability of the federal Public Service to attract and retain promising Francophones. But the implementation of this system—and especially the staffing of the first French-language units—is likely to strain the available resources of Francophone personnel. In the regional units, staffing problems should be minimal, since most of the necessary personnel are now available. But in most of the headquarters units and clusters that will be designated French-language areas, only a small proportion of the present staff is French-speaking, so personnel will have to be transferred. For the most part these transfers will be handled through the normal procedures of the Public Service but, if the units are to be viable, their personnel must be able to work in French.

819. Given the present lack of bilingual and French-speaking public servants—especially in middle- and upper-level headquarters posts—substantial numbers of such people will have to be recruited. It might be easiest to do this by encouraging those federal public servants now working in Quebec to transfer to Ottawa and, at the same time, to increase the recruitment of Francophones into the regional offices. But this may prove difficult, since individuals with careers in the regional service are generally older and less mobile than younger university graduates. Furthermore, the regional service may be weakened by the process. Finally, we have observed that a key factor is the limited pool of qualified and available Francophones—a scarcity which, in certain important fields, is acute.

Training in public administration

820. Opportunities for academic training in public administration in Canada are particularly meagre. Some well-developed programmes do exist—for example, at Carleton University, Laval University, and the University of Saskatchewan—and courses in this field are offered at many other universities. However, Canadian public servants are still usually trained in what can only be described as on-the-job apprenticeships. The advanced training they do receive at the graduate and specialist levels is often gained at foreign universities. In France and many other countries, by contrast, training in public administration is highly developed and productive.

Recommendation 16

821. Viewed in the light of the increasingly technical and complex role of government in modern society, an impressive argument can be made for far greater emphasis in Canadian universities on studies of government and public administration. Greater support of research and scholarship is required in these areas, and individual courses and major programmes are needed to sensitize students to the myriad problems of modern government, whether they intend to become public servants or not. The increased role of all levels of government in our social and economic life makes study programmes of this type particularly urgent, and it is essential that the representatives of both provincial and federal governments co-operate with academic officials in their initiation. Therefore, **we recommend that specific discussions among university, federal, and provincial representatives be initiated for the purpose of expanding programmes for teaching and research in public administration.** Such programmes should be designed to provide financial assistance and employment to both undergraduate and graduate students while they are studying. Those enrolled in these programmes should be required to pursue studies in both official languages. The programmes would include the exchange of students between French- and English-language universities, as well as between universities and federal and provincial governments for summer and pre-career employment.

Recruiting Francophones

822. The major staffing problem involves the enlargement of the potential number of French-speaking recruits. There are many difficulties in recruiting this group and some of these factors are quite unrelated to particular staffing and recruitment policies. However, there are a number of inadequacies in present recruiting practices, and this situation must be improved.

Recommendation 17

823. One potential source of Francophone recruits that has not been exploited is other French-speaking countries. Our data on public servants born outside Canada show that up to now these countries

have been at most a minor source. **We recommend that the federal government's recent efforts to recruit qualified people from France and other French-speaking countries be both intensified and expanded.** This will mean applying rigorously the full range of recruiting techniques, including contact with French-language universities outside Canada, advertising in French-language media, and sending specialists in recruiting and immigration to French-speaking countries.

Value of generalists as administrators

824. The current stress in the federal administration—and in all large-scale industrial organizations—is on the recruitment and promotion of personnel with highly specialized qualifications. Those who have received a general education in the field of the humanities are given somewhat lower priority. To be sure, both specialists and generalists are needed; but the relative lack of concern within the federal administration for the education, recruitment, and career development of generalists is, in our view, unfortunate. We suggest that this be reappraised in light of the growing need for administrators intellectually equipped to weigh and assign priorities and to plan and co-ordinate related specialized units—administrators are in effect equipped to meet the increasingly complex and difficult challenges of modern management.

Recommendation 18

825. The relatively greater stress on the humanities in Canada's French-language universities should be viewed more positively. By the same token, there are strong reasons for increased efforts both to recruit Francophones trained in these institutions and to promote them to middle- and upper-level positions. **We recommend that the actual process of recruiting for federal departments, Crown corporations, and other agencies involve more direct contact between senior public servants and placement officers, faculty, and students in French-language universities.**

Recommendation 19

826. The process of evaluation is a key element at every stage of a public servant's career. In its application to the recruit its importance is obvious, but it is no less important at later stages when promotion or transfer is involved. It is for this reason that we think greater efforts should be made by the Public Service Commission and departmental teams to evaluate Francophones in their own language and in accordance with their own cultural characteristics. **We recommend a) that the process of testing and selecting candidates for federal departments, Crown corporations, and other agencies take into account the differing linguistic and cultural attributes of Francophone and Anglophone applicants; and b) that interviews and examinations related to recruiting, evaluation, and promotion of Francophones be conducted in French by public servants fluent in French, unless the candidate or employee opts for English.** This must not imply any restriction on the

examination of the candidate in terms of his competence to work in both languages if the position he is seeking requires it.

827. This recommendation becomes operable with the implementation of our proposals for the establishment of French-language sections in departmental personnel units and in the Public Service Commission. The appointment of bilingual senior supervisors will complete the adaptation of the promotion system to the needs of Francophones. There must also be sensitivity and action consistent with these two recommendations in relation to the recruiting of experienced professional and technical personnel. For example, the tendency to call on Anglophone private management firms as recruiting agents for the Public Service does not and cannot yield effective recruitment from the Francophone population.

Staff development

828. While recruiting and source of supply are fundamental to a staffing policy, an equally important element is staff training and development. In this area the French-language unit is vital to the presence and participation of Francophones at a level commensurate with their capacity. Working in French will substantially reduce, if not eliminate, the barriers to effective work and career improvement created by working in a second language and a second cultural milieu. By encouraging recruitment of Francophones, the programme of French-language units will lead to substantial progress towards equal partnership in staffing—with immense benefit for the Public Service. But it is obvious that Francophones should not be required to work in French-language units, nor should Anglophones work as completely in English as they generally do under the present régime. If the federal Public Service is to be bilingual and bicultural, there must be an increase in the sensitivity of the entire organization to the duality of Canadian life.

Recommendation 20

829. Major problems under the new plan will include developing a thoroughly bilingual management and finding sufficient numbers of bilingual Anglophones. This will mean that a language component will have to be built into staff training programmes. Such training should provide for the systematic intermingling of Francophones and Anglophones in order to expose each group to the language and culture of the other. The present practices of rotating talented personnel, especially those who are considered to have the potential for senior responsibilities, must be extended to Francophones as well as Anglophones; both must be encouraged to spend some of the formative years of their careers working in the other official language. **We recommend a) that the practices of staff rotation in the Public Service be extended to include the movement of personnel with the requisite language skills from one language environment to the other; and**

b) that all Public Service training and development programmes provide for the same opportunities in French as in English.

Recommendation 21

830. To facilitate this type of movement and, even more important, to help remove a major source of frustration experienced by Francophone public servants, we propose that the principle of educational allowances for employees' children be introduced. This practice is not new to the federal administration: Canadian Forces personnel and diplomats posted in other countries or in parts of Canada where adequate educational facilities in their own language are not available are given an allowance to defray the cost of educating their children elsewhere. Given the paucity of French-language elementary and secondary schools throughout much of English-speaking Canada, Francophone public servants and their families have faced similar hardships. This state of affairs is obviously an impediment to the mobility of personnel: not only is it harmful to the Public Service, it is also patently unfair to Francophones who do move away from French-speaking communities in order to make progress in their careers. Therefore, **we recommend that a system of educational allowances be introduced to help defray the costs of elementary and secondary education for the children of Francophone or Anglophone public servants who accept posts in places within Canada where adequate educational facilities in their own language are not available.**

F. Administrative Structures for Adaptation to Equal Partnership

831. In our Book on the official languages we declared that all citizens have the right to deal with all parts of the federal government in either of the two official languages. We recommended the establishment of bilingual districts in areas "where the official-language minority attains or surpasses 10 per cent," and the creation of the post of Commissioner of Official Languages.

Official Languages Act

832. We have been gratified that the federal government has accepted our recommendations in its Official Languages Act,[1] which confers equal status on English and French. It states "The English and French languages are the official languages of Canada for all purposes of the Parliament and Government of Canada, and possess and enjoy equality of status and equal rights and privileges as to their use in all the institutions of the Parliament and Government of Canada."[2] The Act provides for each department, Crown corporation, and other agency to take measures to ensure that "the public can obtain available

[1] S.C. 1969, 17-18 Eliz. II, c.54.
[2] *Ibid.*, s.2.

services from and can communicate with it in both official languages."[1] It also defines the criteria for establishing the bilingual districts[2] and provides for the appointment of a Commissioner of Languages who will be, as we have recommended, the protector of the Canadian public in matters of language.[3]

Application of the law

833. The application of the measures relating to the linguistic aspects of the government's relations with the public has been entrusted to the department of the Secretary of State. The Commissioner of Official Languages will be responsible for overseeing the application of the Official Languages Act and for protecting the rights of the citizen. It remains for us to suggest means for establishing French as a language of work in the Public Service, according to the linguistic régime which we have outlined in this chapter.

834. First, we must decide whether the administration of this linguistic régime should be entrusted to an existing body such as the Treasury Board, the Public Service Commission, or the department of the Secretary of State. We reject this solution, at least for the present. Because the implementation of institutional bilingualism will be such an arduous responsibility, the body chosen would be in danger of allowing itself to be diverted from its present objectives. On the other hand, the burdens of its present functions might prevent such a body from addressing itself to its new task with sufficient speed and vigour. In our opinion, a new body must be created. However, we do not rule out the possibility that, once the régime has been implemented throughout the Public Service and the administrative machinery is operating effectively, the administration of the régime may be entrusted to a presently existing body such as the Treasury Board. By that time the language factor will have been accepted as a basic element of administrative and personnel policies.

Recommendation 22

835. Because the new linguistic régime applies to all federal departments and bodies, we believe that the institution responsible for implementing it ought to have a measure of independence rather than be answerable to any particular department. There are two possible solutions: first, it could be attached to the Privy Council, as the Special Secretariat on Bilingualism was in the past; alternatively, the new body might be given a status similar to that of the Public Service Commission, which reports directly to Parliament but retains a large measure of independence from individual departments and the government as a whole. The danger in this solution is that, because of its relative independence, the body might not be closely enough associated

[1] *Ibid.*, s.9(1).
[2] *Ibid.*, ss.12-8.
[3] *Ibid.*, ss.19-34.

with the Public Service to carry out the required reforms. If this suggestion were adopted, it would be advisable to attach to this organization a consultative liaison committee consisting of five or six deputy ministers of major departments. Whichever solution is adopted, **we recommend the creation of a Public Service Language Authority. This new body will be responsible for: a) planning, implementing, and maintaining institutional bilingualism; b) acting as a guide for the government as a whole and giving encouragement to the individual components of the Public Service, including departments, Crown corporations, and other agencies; c) co-ordinating, aiding, and overseeing the activities of departmental language bureaux; d) defining general translation policy; and e) undertaking continuing research into the programme of institutional bilingualism and evaluating the results of the programme.**

836. This authority will replace the Special Secretariat on Bilingualism. It will supersede the Public Service Commission in dealing with linguistic matters other than formal language training. We considered the advisability of proposing the transfer of the language-training programme to the Language Authority, since there were strong and obvious arguments for integrating the whole process relating to language and culture. The difficulty is that language training is a very important part of career development in the broad sense. Therefore, we concluded that the responsibility for language training should be left with the Public Service Commission for the time being. However, it is possible that experience with this arrangement may lead the authorities to decide that language training should become the responsibility of the Public Service Language Authority.

837. The Language Authority will function like agencies such as the Treasury Board and the Public Service Commission, each of which has, in its own field, general jurisdiction over the Public Service as a whole. The responsibility and jurisdiction of the Public Service Language Authority will also extend to the Treasury Board, the Public Service Commission, and the Crown corporations in matters of bilingualism.

Departmental language bureaux

838. Although the general jurisdiction proposed for the Public Service Language Authority is very broad, the agencies and departments of the federal administration are so diverse in their organization, work methods, and responsibilities that no central agency could alone implement and supervise a uniform linguistic régime.

Recommendation 23

839. The Public Service has already recognized in principle the need for specialized attention in each department. Most departments now have advisers on bilingualism who are concerned with the language question, but they are usually individuals in departmental personnel

branches; many of them have been able to devote only part of their time to language problems. They have no resources with which to work, limited terms of reference, and little or no access to the key levels of decision-making. Therefore, **we recommend that within each federal department, Crown corporation, or other agency, a language bureau, reporting directly to the deputy minister or his equivalent, be created and given the responsibility for planning, implementing, and maintaining a system of institutional bilingualism and for performing within the department the functions assigned to the Public Service Language Authority.**

840. The head of each language bureau will have the rank of branch director. The main functions of the bureaux would be planning and supervising the language régime according to geographic, occupational, and functional requirements; working out procedural systems; facilitating the process of adaptation to the new régime in every way possible; ensuring the maintenance of an up-to-date French-language terminology appropriate to the work of their departments; and representing their departments in liaison with other governmental agencies concerned with language. These last include the Office of the Commissioner of Official Languages, the Public Service Commission, and the Translation Bureau.

841. Each departmental language bureau would be in charge of relations with the Translation Bureau, since only the departmental language bureau would be in a position to know the extent and type of translation services needed after adaptation to the new system. Similarly, each language bureau would supervise the participation of its department's staff members in Public Service language classes, considering applications for such training in the light of the practical value of bilingual skills to each applicant.

Recommendation 24

842. The Language Authority and the departmental language bureaux will be responsible for managing bilingualism within the Public Service. However, it is of paramount importance to protect the language rights provided throughout our recommendations. In Book I we recommended the establishment of the office of the Commissioner of Official Languages as a means of safeguarding the rights of the public. We are convinced that similar steps are justified with respect to the Public Service. Therefore, **we recommend that the jurisdiction of the Commissioner of Official Languages be interpreted as including the language rights of public servants.**

Managing the bilingual institution

843. In the administrative structure for managing the system of institutional bilingualism, the crucial bodies are those we have just proposed—the Public Service Language Authority and the language

bureaux in departments, Crown corporations, and other agencies. To these should be added those bodies that already exist—the Public Service Commission with its important recruiting, staff development, and language-training functions, and the Treasury Board. It goes almost without saying that these two bodies must be among the first areas of the Public Service to adapt to the system of French-language units.

The Public Service Commission

844. For the Public Service Commission it would appear appropriate to consider French-language sections similar to those proposed for departmental service units.[1] This would provide a system of parallel services for Francophones and Anglophones—through recruiting, training, promotion, and complex career management systems such as the Career Assignment Program. "Parallel" here should not be interpreted as separate or independent; the parallel sections would always function under the same regulations and general policies and, of course, would be unified at the top.

The Treasury Board

845. Because of its role and its authority over the whole Public Service, it is particularly important for the Treasury Board to take the lead in establishing institutional bilingualism. In particular it should apply, within its own organization, the full range of measures which we have proposed: establishment of effectively balanced Francophone and Anglophone participation at each management level; creation of a language bureau with responsibilities similar to those of the language bureaux in other departments; liberal use of French-language clusters and parallel sections; and a minimum requirement of receptive bilingual capacity for all senior staff. These provisions, we believe, will equip the Treasury Board to function more effectively as a central management agency for an institutionally bilingual Public Service. Furthermore, in its role as co-ordinator of programmes and policy, it will be in a position to encourage participation by both Francophones and Anglophones and to benefit from a bicultural perspective. Finally, the example set by this powerful body will undoubtedly affect the course of adaptation throughout the Public Service.

846. With these changes in the Public Service, institutional bilingualism will become part of its management functions in two ways. First, the bodies that already have general responsibilities for management—for example, the Treasury Board and departmental administrative services—will be reoriented towards a bilingual régime by internal structural changes and by government policy. Second, the largely new bodies—for example, the Language Authority and the departmental language bureaux—should be established as soon as possible to supervise the régime of institutional bilingualism.

[1] *See* § 785.

G. The Process of Implementation

847. Our terms of reference did not require that we conduct a study of the Public Service as such; an exhaustive study had already been entrusted to another Royal Commission.[1] However, in the course of our inquiry, we have learned much about the structure and modes of adaptation of the Service and we are very much aware of the difficulties involved in instituting a change of the magnitude we propose, a change that introduces a new dimension into all the standard processes of government.

848. It is only with full government support that the Language Authority and the departmental language bureaux, acting together, can achieve the proposed reforms. The Treasury Board and the Public Service Commission should play a consistent and strongly supportive role. The Public Service Language Authority may need to make use of task forces to help establish the French-language units and to apply the language policy in departments.

Preliminary planning

849. The first step in the adaptation process will require preliminary planning by the Language Authority in order to set up implementation targets and timing. The question of whether regional or central units will be given priority would be dealt with in this stage of planning.

Criteria for establishing French-language units

850. The second step will involve the tentative selection of departments where the key adaptation—the establishment of French-language units—might begin. Responsibility for the screening process would be vested in the Language Authority, but close consultation with departments and other agencies would be vital.

851. The first criterion would be the place of the department or agency in the Public Service as a whole. The Treasury Board and the Public Service Commission are of highest importance. Next in priority would be the Privy Council Office and those departments that are dominant within the Public Service (for example, the department of Finance) or that have strong influence on Canadian life as a whole (for example, the department of the Secretary of State).

852. Another important consideration is the degree of regionalization, both actual and potential, in a given department. This criterion follows our emphasis on regional French-language units; a number of departments and agencies would qualify for careful examination, including the departments of National Revenue, the Post Office, Public Works, and Regional and Economic Expansion, as well as Canadian National. Another factor is the existence of a supportive community milieu, the obvious examples being Montreal, Quebec generally, north-

[1] See *Report of the Royal Commission on Government Organization.*

ern and eastern New Brunswick, and northern Ontario. The degree of direct service to the public must also be considered; units whose functions mainly involve direct public contacts would present excellent opportunities for establishing French-language units. These three factors are obviously linked.

Other considerations

853. Still other factors will affect the early establishment of French-language units. Obviously, there must be a sufficient number of Francophones both throughout the department under consideration and within certain key divisions and occupational groups; this is important because it may facilitate rapid organization of French-language units with a minimum of departmental and geographic relocation. The department of External Affairs is one such department. Since bilingual competence must be present at the highest levels, departments and agencies which already have this characteristic will present better possibilities for early adaptation. An additional factor is the prior existence, in rudimentary form or otherwise, of French-language units; clearly, in such cases—which may be found on a large scale and formally in the CBC, experimentally in the CN, and on a smaller informal scale in various regional offices—the basic adaptation has taken place and the overall task can proceed in terms of the supportive measures required.

Detailed planning

854. The third step in the adaptation process can be defined as detailed planning by the language bureaux of the various departments and other agencies in consultation with the Language Authority, the Public Service Commission, and the Treasury Board. This consultation will be particularly important as implementation is approached. Planning at this stage will begin with the provisional designation of French-language units in each department. It will also include the mapping out of the entire apparatus and process of institutional bilingualism throughout the federal Public Service, as defined in our proposals.

Implementation

855. The fourth step is implementation. This will include the formal designation of French-language units; at this stage, formal designation will be a product of the relations between the departments and the Language Authority and will also touch the functions of the Treasury Board and the Public Service Commission as central management and staffing agencies. We suggest that responsibility for designating the units be shared by the department concerned and the Language Authority. The system will have to be staffed through transfers and recruiting, based on a completed inventory of staff which will itself be a factor in the formation of units. Planned communication and translation services will have to be established in order to ensure the language integrity of the units and the system as a whole. Bilingualism, where it is absent, will

have to be developed at the senior supervisory levels within adapting departments by means of intensive but selective language training. In some cases it will be desirable to establish a unit and then to pursue an active transfer and recruiting policy over a planned time period.

856. The third and fourth steps are complex and must be applied with the utmost sensitivity. Our research[1] underlines the necessity of involving departmental staff in decision-making and implementation. The adaptation process will have to be carried out with tact and diplomacy so that the public servants involved will not feel threatened and will react favourably.

Adaptation—a continuing process

857. Finally, the adaptation should be dynamic in the fullest sense of the word. Adaptation is not simply a matter of designing and implanting systems; it will be a continuing process involving evaluation by the Language Authority and language bureaux and consideration of the reactions of public servants at all levels. Resources and procedures for evaluation will have to be developed in an atmosphere of open communication and involvement. We feel that it will be essential for the organizations representing employees to be involved in the process.

H. Towards Equal Partnership

858. A viable partnership between two groups presupposes the organizational existence of each, rooted in its own language and cultural milieu. To make this possible we have devised the plan of French-language units. In our opinion, there can be no equal partnership in the federal Public Service without it, despite the ability of the federal administration to provide service to the public in both official languages as a matter of right.

859. With the equality of the two groups in mind we have proposed certain necessary, almost wholly administrative, steps to establish institutional bilingualism and to ensure its maintenance and development. We have also proposed administrative arrangements and practices that will affect not only these units but also the many individual Francophones throughout the Public Service.

860. Their Anglophone counterparts will also benefit from our proposals. We are thinking, for example, of the thousands of Anglophone public servants whose determination to learn French has been so largely frustrated for lack of opportunity to use the language on the job. The existence of the French-language units will provide these opportunities, even in the many other units where English will remain

[1]Reported in Michel Chevalier, "The Dynamics of Adaptation in the Federal Public Service," a study prepared for the R.C.B.&B.

the dominant language of work. The Anglophone student of French will thus attend his courses with the clear prospect that his daily work will no longer thwart his progress but rather will accelerate it.

861. On another plane, our proposals will do much to alleviate the scarcity of qualified personnel in many occupations in the Public Service. The existence of the French-language units will finally permit the Service to recruit from among the many competent Francophones who know little English, just as it will continue to draw on unilingual Anglophones for the many units whose main language of work will remain English. Under the system we propose, there are no grounds for the fear that in a bilingual Public Service recruitment must necessarily be limited to the relatively few bilingual individuals in the country; on the contrary, the sources of qualified manpower are immeasurably broadened. The service must remain open to Anglophones from all parts of the country; it must also be opened just as widely to Francophones.

862. Until their partnership takes these tangible forms, many people in one or the other of the two language groups will increasingly regard the federal government as "a foreign government," and look elsewhere for their source of political leadership. If the Public Service is to counteract this tendency, it must be, in the fullest sense, equally accessible to the two societies which it is called upon to serve.

863. Doubtless our specific recommendations and other suggestions do not foresee all the difficulties that will arise in the course of the plan's implementation. Nevertheless, it is imperative that the federal government immediately proclaim the system of French-language units as federal policy and set in motion the planning and implementing machinery proposed in this chapter. As in any rapid organizational transformation, the actual implementation of the system will not be easy, and it must be carried out with sensitivity to the feelings and interests of those concerned. The goals of any new administrative order can be subverted by those who are concerned only with meeting the letter of new regulations rather than with realizing the spirit of the plan itself. Those involved in the plan's implementation must be committed to the ultimate goals of institutional bilingualism so that in carrying out their difficult responsibilities they do not compromise its fundamentals. In the federal Public Service, an institution common to all Canadians, equal partnership must not fail.