

## **Ethnic Factors in One Company** **L'ethnicité dans une compagnie**

George Lach

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[See table of contents](#)

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Article abstract

The purpose of this research project was to visualize the impact of ethnic factors within Canadian National Railways Company. Attention was particularly focused on possible discrimination. Here are presented the research results which seem to be of general interest bearing on such issues as education, language, mobility, promotion, and discrimination.

# Ethnic Factors in One Company

George Lach

*The purpose of this research project was to visualize the impact of ethnic factors within Canadian National Railways Company. Attention was particularly focused on possible discrimination. Here are presented the research results which seem to be of general interest bearing on such issues as education, language, mobility, promotion, and discrimination.*

## Introduction

In 1963, Canadian National asked the Social Research Group\* to make a study of ethnic factors and their significance within the company. Professors Raymond Breton (then of McGill University and now at Johns Hopkins University), Howard Roseborough (McGill University) and Albert Breton (University of Montreal) with Georges Dahman did the study. My intention in this article is to present some of the findings and some comments.

CN hoped, when the work was commissioned, that we would obtain some information about discrimination: its forms; how employees and others perceive it; how extensive it is — all, of course, with the further hope of deriving some indicators that could guide us in taking any necessary corrective action. We also wanted to know more about the attitudes of French Canadians to our company as a place in which to work; something about the way in which the « dissatisfaction » of French Canadian employees might differ from the dissatisfaction of Others; something about language use and attitudes to language. Again, it was our hope that we would learn what we might stop

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\* I am indebted to Lorne P. Leonard and others in Canadian National for help in preparing this review of the Social Research Group's study.

doing or might begin to do that would result in a less uneven distribution of ethnic groups within our company.

I had better make it clear at the outset — and for this no blame can be attached to the Social Research Group — that the study gives insight into the ethnic differences within industry but it does not readily suggest action that a company might take. The reasons for this will become apparent as the findings are presented.

#### HOW THE STUDY WAS CONDUCTED

Some 1,100 CN employees completed a questionnaire in the course of an interview at their homes. 748 people, not employed by CN, also completed questionnaires. The 1,100 CN employees were not a random sample in the usual sense. To study discrimination, it was necessary to learn of the experience and attitudes of rank and file workers, their direct supervisors, and of bosses at higher organizational levels. For this purpose, a sample of organizational units was selected.

Two other points should be noted about the CN respondents. The white collar sample (699 employees) was drawn from eight cities — Moncton, Quebec City, Montreal, Ottawa, Toronto, Winnipeg, Edmonton and Vancouver. The blue collar sample (393 employees) was restricted to Montreal, Quebec City and Moncton. The outside respondents were individuals who live and work in the same eight cities as the CN white collar employees.

#### ASSUMPTIONS INVOLVED IN THE RESEARCH DESIGN

Three assumptions were made by the researchers about the characteristics of the employer/employee relationship in a business firm. First, that recruitment is based on skill; secondly, that work is performed on a contractual basis in terms of economic rewards for skill and performance; and thirdly, that employees of similar skills would have similar backgrounds and training.

Given the above, it was argued that if the ethnic groups in CN are not proportionately represented, the explanations are likely to be: a) that a favoured group is receiving preferential treatment; or b) that a disfavoured group was discriminated against; or c) that a disfavoured group might be less able to perform higher level jobs because its mem-

bers are less well trained, or have inappropriate skills, or are less suited to the work because of cultural differences.

Of course, there are other assumptions made by the researchers, including some that have entered into their classification of the levels of positions held by our employees. I am sure that to a sociologist their classification is impeccable. A railroader, however, needs time to get used to the notion that a cashier or stenographer is a member of the group described as « lower management ». Moreover, the salaries of top positions in « lower management » reach the same level as salaries of top positions in « middle management ». And salary movement on a job would often be larger than the movement from a job in « lower management » to a job in « middle management ».

« Senior management » is a CN definition that is related to salary, not to the nature of the position. It includes professional and specialist jobs in addition to those having a managerial content.

#### FINDINGS OF GENERAL INTEREST

It would not be possible in this article to cover the whole scope of the lengthy report made by the Social Research Group and I propose to concentrate on those items which appear to me to be of more general interest. I have brought them together under headings dealing with education, language, mobility, promotion and discrimination.

Finally, I have tried to present an overall summary which may serve to communicate some of the findings in a different framework from that used by the Social Research Group.

#### Education

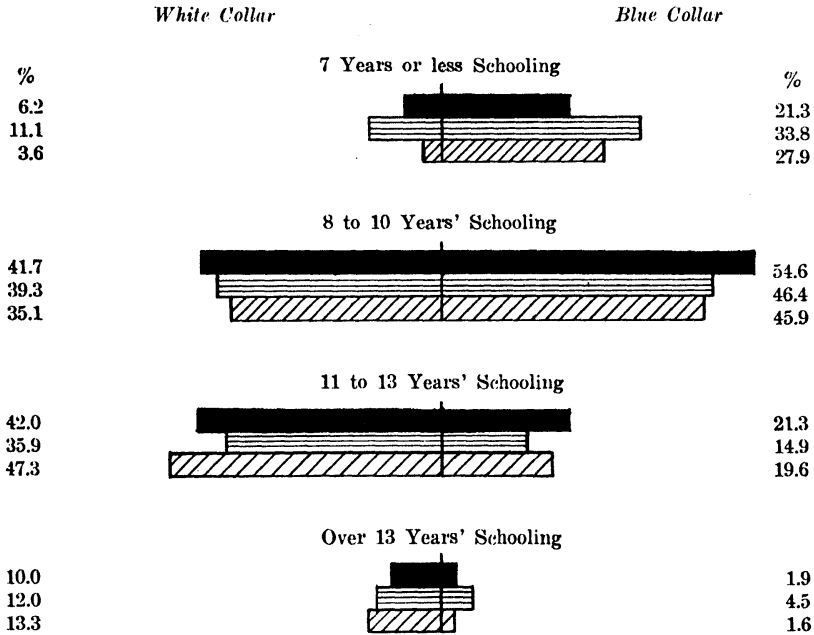
As we might expect, our information about education is confusing, chiefly because the French and the English educational systems are somewhat different.

#### THE GENERAL PICTURE

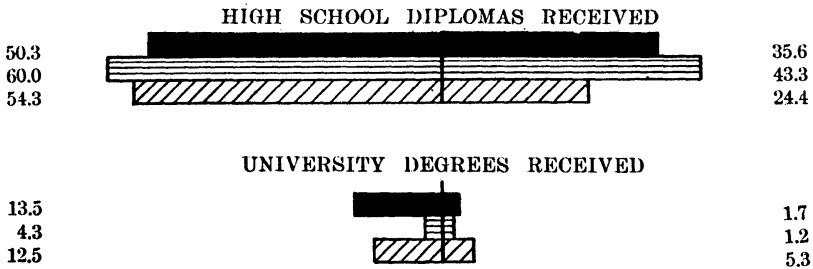
We ourselves sent a questionnaire to all employees and 72% responded, both in Quebec Province and elsewhere. From this, we discovered the following:

Chart I

YEARS OF SCHOOLING AND ACADEMIC STANDING  
BY ETHNIC ORIGIN AND BY WHITE AND BLUE COLLAR



Note: Where % do not add to 100%, difference is due to incomplete data.



LEGEND:       English       French       Other

- a) One employee out of eight of English origin had up to seven years' schooling compared with one employee out of three of French origin.
- b) 55% English Canadians had eight to ten years' schooling, French Canadians 45%.
- c) 29% English Canadians had eleven to thirteen years' schooling, French Canadians 18%.

We also found from our own survey that the years of schooling of our supervisory, professional and technical groups did not show such a wide difference between the French and English.

Thus it appears that English employees are better educated, or, more objectively, had a longer exposure and presumably a better « fix ». (See Chart 1)

However, these results are radically different from the picture that the Social Research Group uncovered.

Their sample, it should be noted, was drawn from eight medium and large-size cities. Moreover, these cities are administrative centres at which the more educated employees are likely to be found. Finally, it seems to be a reasonable assumption that both results probably exaggerate educational levels: only the very successful boast of being under-educated.

#### SCHOOLS ATTENDED

The type of schools attended appears to be much the same for both groups except for the difference due to the classical colleges and « other » schools.

#### DIPLOMAS OR DEGREES RECEIVED

Fewer English white collar workers received diplomas from high school or from an art and craft school or from a college. But 14% of English white collar workers received a degree from a university compared with 4% of the French sample and 13% of the sample of Other ethnic groups.

#### STANDING AS A STUDENT

Whereas 80% English and other white collar workers say that they were average students, only 70% of the French white collar workers describe themselves in that way. 27% French white collar workers

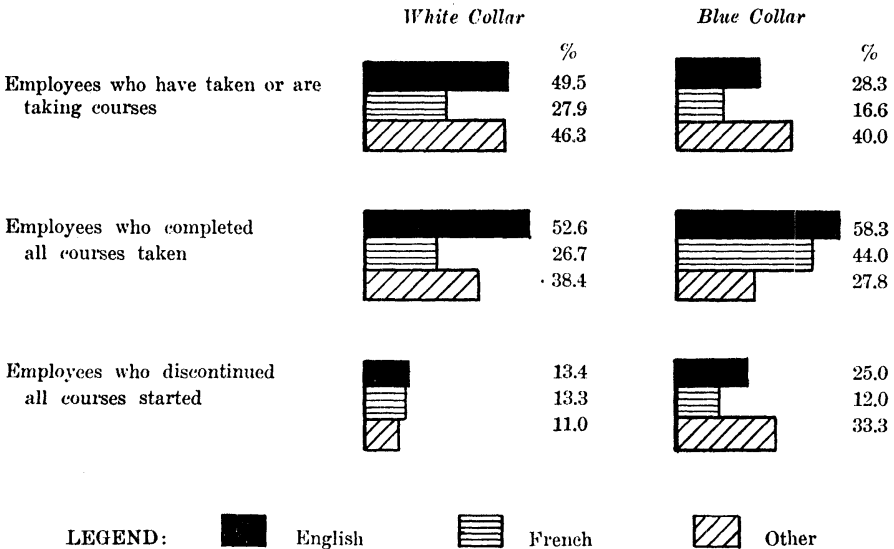
say they were above average. Is it the English tendency to understatement that allows only 15% of the white collar workers to be immodest enough to describe themselves as above average?

Blue collar workers tell the same story: 6% English claimed to have been above average against 16% French.

**COURSES PURSUED SINCE JOINING THE COMPANY**

Chart II

**COURSES TAKEN, COMPLETED OR DISCONTINUED BY CN EMPLOYEES**  
Distribution By Ethnic Origin and By White and Blue Collar



Fewer than three out of ten French white collar workers said that they have taken or were taking courses in a school, university, or by correspondence against half the English white collar workers. Among blue collar workers, the proportion is again nearly double — English 28%, French 17% — and, as might be expected, the Other ethnic groups were much higher, 40%.

Reasons given for taking courses also vary. 94% of English and Other groups say that they are taking courses because of personal interest or self-improvement. Only 64% of the French Canadian group give these reasons.

Among white collar workers, the proportion of English Canadians who have completed courses is twice that of French Canadians (53% against 27%).

Discontinuance of courses is about the same among all white collar workers but much less frequent for French blue collar workers than it is for English or Other employees.

**ATTITUDES**

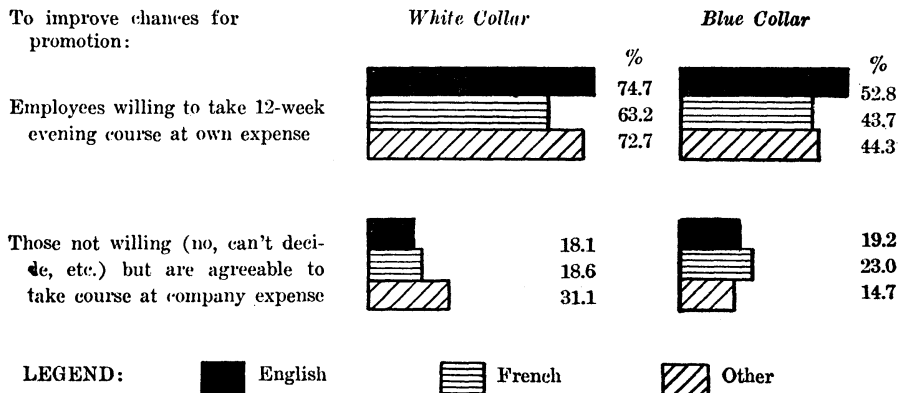
How do employees see education in relation to promotion? A larger proportion of French white collar workers say they were refused a promotion because someone else had more education (French 17%, English 9%, Others 8%). Although 25% of the English group and 17% of the French group think education gets too much importance in promotion decisions, some 60% of both groups agree that the right importance is attached to education as a factor in promotion.

In both these areas we are, of course, sampling attitudes. I suppose we move into even more tenuous territory when hypothetical questions are put:

« Suppose you could increase your chances for promotion by taking a 12-week evening course for which you would have to pay the fees — would you take the course ? »

Chart III

**WILLINGNESS TO TAKE COURSES TO IMPROVE CHANCES FOR PROMOTION**





The response of the English and Others is more positive in both the white and blue collar samples; though when those who answered « no » or « can't decide » were asked if they would take such a course if the company paid the fees, the pattern changes. In this case, the Others are most positive in the white collar sample and the French are slightly more positive in the blue collar sample.

### Language

Several aspects of language use were studied, including distribution of language skills within the company, language use at work, language preference, and satisfaction with use of language. In some of these areas we had replies from the questionnaire that the company had sent to all its employees. (See Chart IV)

So far as the French white collar workers are concerned, 27% stated that they use French at work occasionally or never and the remaining 73% use it at least more than half the time. In the blue collar sample, 85% use French more than half the time.

When it comes to preference, 53% (from our own questionnaire) prefer to use French; 23% would prefer to use both languages; and 24% would prefer to use English at work. These percentages mask a differential between levels. 40% of higher paid French Canadians would prefer to use English on the job.

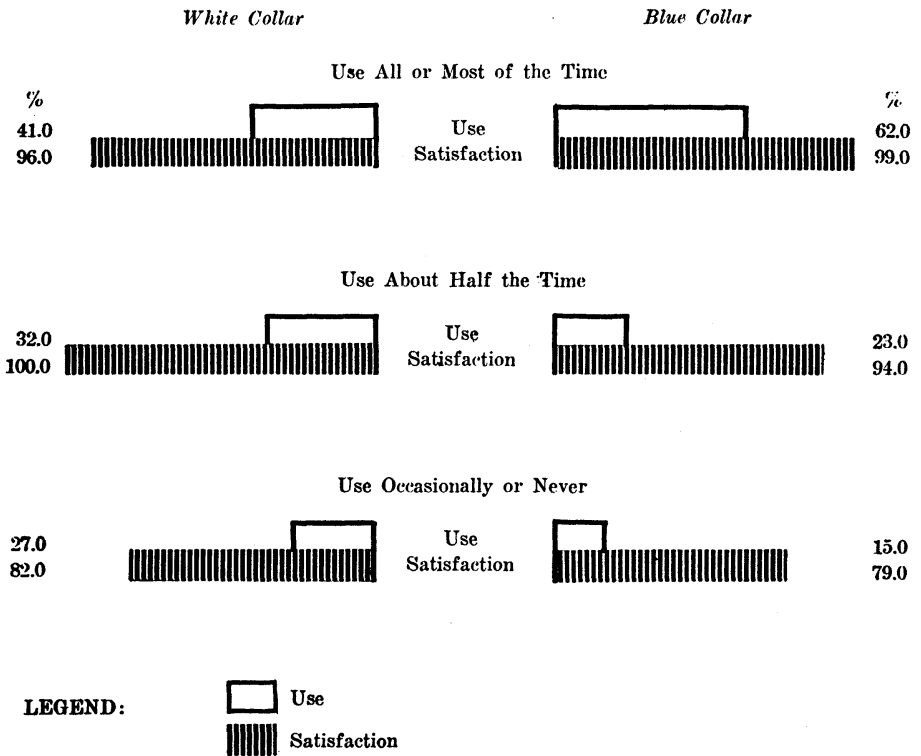
What are the satisfaction levels in the light of usage or preference? Of those who use French all or most of the time, the Social Research Group report that 96% (white collar) and 99% (blue collar) are satisfied or do not feel that it matters. Not surprisingly, in view of what we have seen on preference, 100% of the white collar workers who use French about half the time or more are satisfied and 94% of the blue collar workers. Very surprisingly, of French Canadians who use French occasionally or never in the work situation, 82% of the white collar workers and 79% of the blue collar workers stated that they are satisfied or do not feel it matters.

Thus, what we get from the knowledge we now have about language use and satisfaction is remarkably different from what the press had seized upon at earlier stages in the Quiet Revolution. There does not appear to be gross dissatisfaction about language use at work and a surprisingly high percentage of French Canadian workers say they are able to use their mother tongue at work.

Chart IV

FREQUENCY OF USING AND SATISFACTION WITH USING FRENCH  
AMONG FRENCH WORKERS

By White and Blue Collar



Who are these French Canadians speaking to when they use French at work? Again, it will come as no surprize to find that they are talking to fellow French Canadians. Of the English workers, only 15% of the white collar sample and 17% of the blue collar sample speak French easily at their place of work. Somewhat higher are the percentages for Other ethnic groups — 18% white collar and 50% blue collar. In Quebec, of course, these percentages are again somewhat higher and reach 35% for the English and about 50% for the Other ethnic groups.

This picture must come as no surprize in describing a situation in a company in which English is the predominant language, but it may come as a surprize for outsiders to discover that 16% of our employees of French origin speak French only and 21% of our employees of French origin can write in French only. (Source — CN employee questionnaire).

Again, the question arises, what should the company do now that it possesses such knowledge about language skills, use, preference and satisfaction? Apparently, we may be right to put some effort into teaching French to more English Canadians since clearly only a few of them have skills in both languages, but in the face of so little dissatisfaction is this really an area in which substantial effort can be expected to produce substantial change? A company that intends to redress any imbalance in the ethnic proportions employed will be engaged in many programmes that will increase the use of French and employment of French Canadians. The more this happens, the more French will be used and the more the English Canadian will require a skill in the other language. But to devote resources specifically to the language aspect seems at first glance a matter of lesser concern. However, when a French Canadian's performance has to be in English and is compared with the performance of an English Canadian working in his own tongue and when performance is assessed by a supervisor, frequently an English Canadian who speaks only his mother tongue, some general dissatisfaction with the promotion system is to be expected, and this is referred to later.

### **Mobility**

All employees interviewed in connection with the studies mentioned here are located in one of eight medium or large-size cities. One-third of them had received some part of their primary or secondary education

elsewhere than in a medium or large-size city and therefore at least one-third have moved during their lifetime. Most of the movement appears to have taken place within the province in which they went to school. Generally speaking, one-fifth of English origin employees have moved across provincial boundaries and one-tenth of employees of French origin.

These figures conceal a significant difference between provinces. Employees in Quebec show a past mobility across provincial borders as follows: English Canadians 5%, French Canadians 1%, Others 2%. But in the Maritimes, and this means our Moncton employees, the past mobility across provincial borders has been much higher — English Canadians 18%, French Canadians 20% — and for English Canadians in other parts of the country it is again more than one in five who cross provincial boundaries. French Canadians in those other parts of the country are too few to give us any information.

#### GENERAL ATTITUDES TO MOBILITY

When we look at attitudes we see a different picture, but it should not be forgotten that we are turning from the factual to the hypothetical. Half the white collar employees say they are willing to move *within the province* and it is the same for the two ethnic segments. But the figures drop to just under half (48%) for the English and to just over two-fifths (41%) for the French when they talk about their willingness to move *outside the province*. The same trend is seen in the blue collar responses but the unwillingness to move, either *within* the province or *outside* it, is markedly higher for the French.

The response of the Other ethnic groups is interesting. When it comes to moving *outside* the province, the same proportion is willing to move as those of French origin. *Within* the province, a smaller proportion of the Other ethnic group is willing to move in the white collar sample, but significantly more of Other origin blue collar workers are willing to move compared with French workers.

#### WILLINGNESS TO MOVE

	English	Blue Collar French	Others
Within Province . . . . .	47%	35%	53%
Outside Province . . . . .	44%	30%	31%

EFFECT OF EDUCATIONAL LEVEL ON MOBILITY ATTITUDES

Chart V

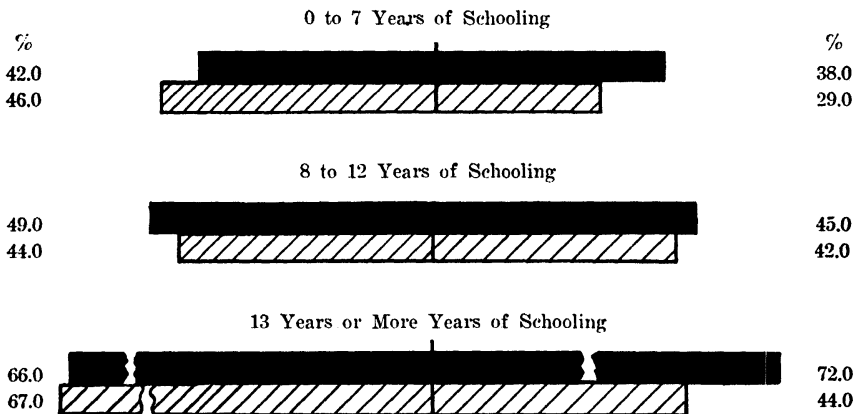
WILLINGNESS TO MOVE

By Years in School, By Ethnic Origin, and By Blue and White Collar

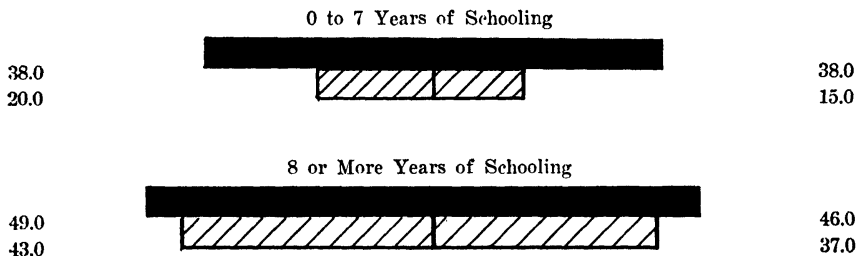
*Would Move Within Same Province*

*Would Move Outside of Province*

1. White Collar



2. Blue Collar



LEGEND:  English  French

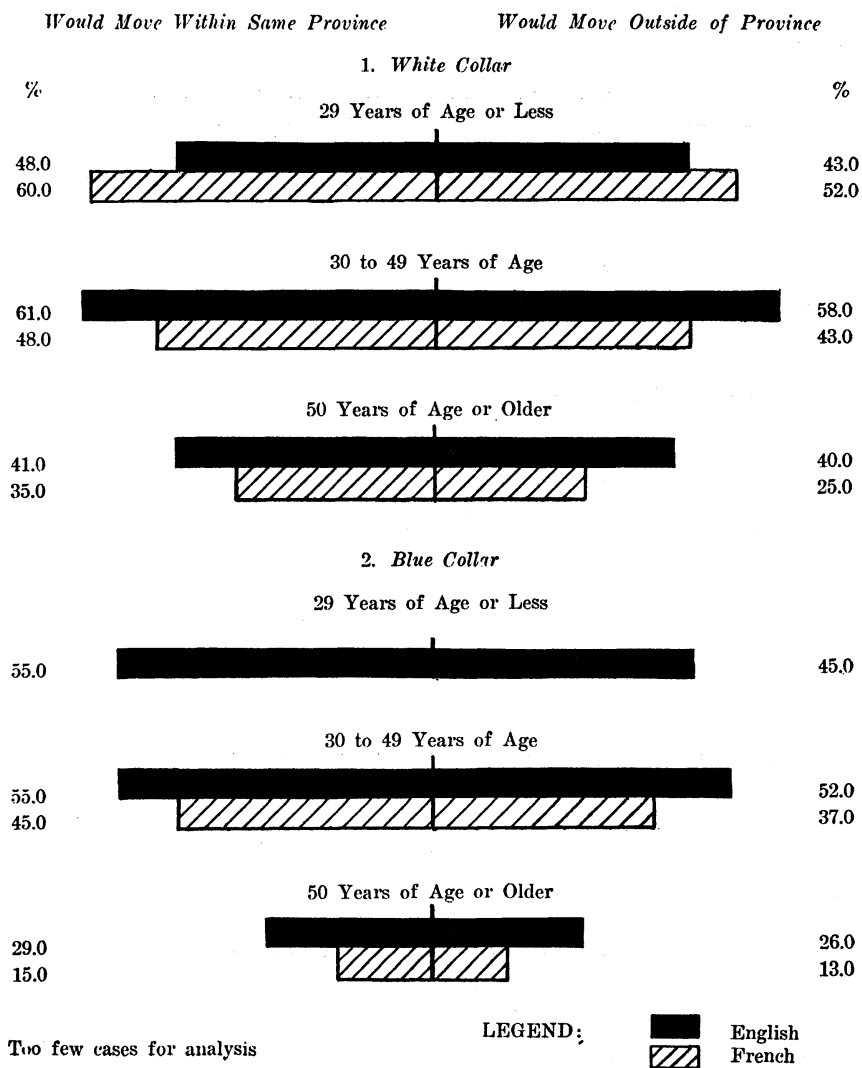
Willingness to move, or rather stated willingness to move, whether within the province or outside of it, increases with the educational level and this is true for both groups. But when it comes to willingness to

move outside of the province, there are marked differences between the English and French attitudes.

EFFECT OF AGE ON MOBILITY ATTITUDES

Chart VI  
WILLINGNESS TO MOVE

By Age Groups, By Ethnic Origin, and By White and Blue Collar



Too few cases for analysis

Younger French Canadians (under 30 years of age) more frequently say they are willing to move than English Canadians of the same age. Over 30 years of age, English Canadians more frequently state a willingness to move.

### MOBILITY AND PROMOTION

When it comes to stated refusal of promotions offered, fewer of the French explain their refusal as due to a reluctance to move outside the province.

« Have you ever been offered and refused a transfer (promotion or just a change) to another job or place in the company? »

	<i>White Collar</i>			<i>Blue Collar</i>		
	<i>E</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>O</i>	<i>E</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>O</i>
Yes . . . . .	21%	12%	19%	8%	9%	13%
Was it because it meant moving out of the city?						
Yes - outside province . . .	53%	40%	44%	—	25%	—
No . . . . .	40%	53%	53%	—	70%	—

### CONCLUSIONS ON MOBILITY

We really did not learn very much about mobility. A good deal of movement, both in jobs and locations, has taken place. From another part of the study, location mobility appears to have a stronger effect on salary than job-to-job mobility.

The willingness to move within the province is about the same for both groups. It tends to increase with education and, for the French sector, decreases with age.

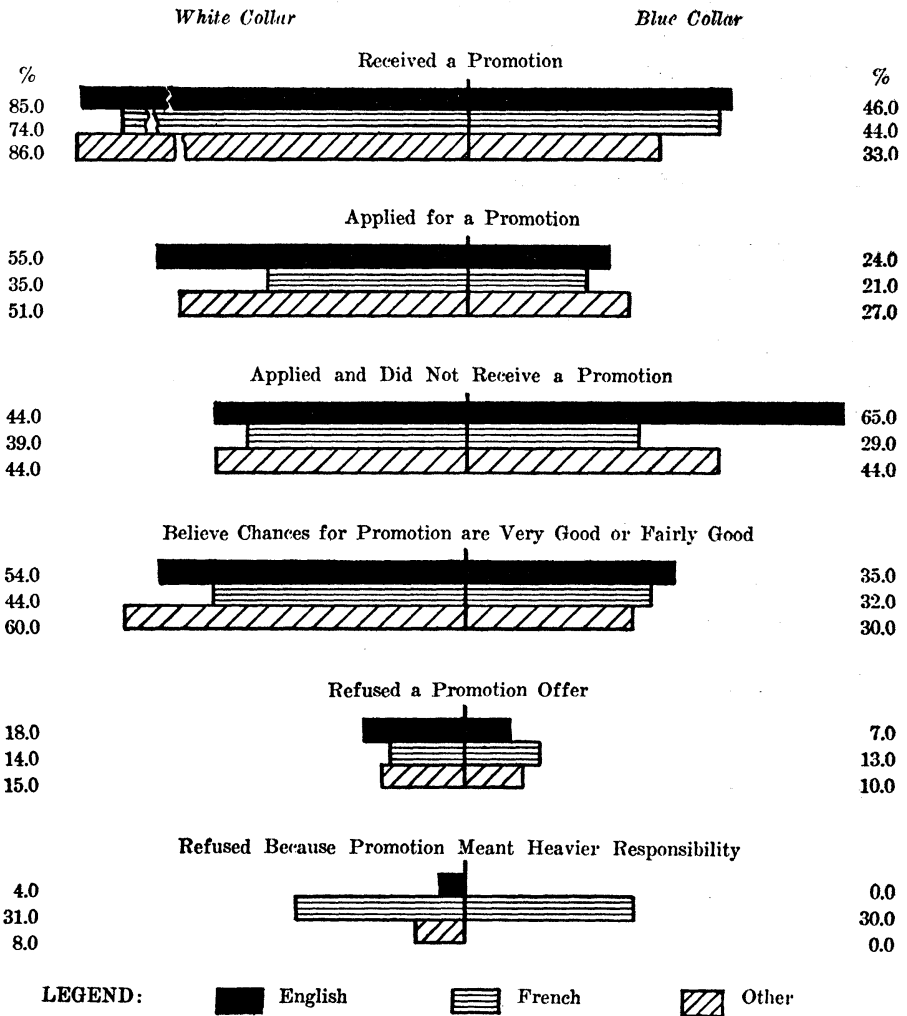
Willingness to move out of the province increases with education more significantly for the French than the English. Younger French Canadians declare more willingness to move than do English Canadians of the same age. French Canadians with the highest educational levels have no wish to leave the province — why should they?

Of white collar workers who have been mobile, 50% have moved into Quebec. In this connection, it should be noted that the headquarters of the company, one of the five regional headquarters and three of the eighteen areas have their headquarters in the province.

Promotion

PAST PROMOTION EXPERIENCE

Chart VII  
 PAST PROMOTION EXPERIENCE  
 By Ethnic Origin and By White and Blue Collar





The following chart summarizes the past promotion experience of both the white collar and the blue collar workers. More English white collar employees have received promotions; more have applied for promotions; and slightly more applied and did not receive promotions. In the blue collar sample, Other origin employees have received fewer promotions than French or English employees and two-thirds of the English blue collar workers applied for an did not receive promotions compared with less than one-third of French employees.

Considerably more French white collar workers, in comparison with the two other groups, have refused promotion because of heavier responsibilities involved.

#### ATTITUDES TO THE PROMOTION SYSTEM

English and Other white collar employees tend to be more satisfied with the CN promotion system than French white collar employees. If, within the French group, we compare blue collar and white collar attitudes, we find more satisfaction among the blue collar workers. This, of course, may be due to the existence of collective agreements which govern or influence promotions among blue collar workers.

#### ATTITUDES TO PROMOTIONS RECEIVED

So far, we have referred to attitudes to the « promotion system ». Satisfaction by respondents with promotions they themselves received is high among all groups but significantly it is highest among the French in both the white and blue collar samples.

#### ATTITUDES TO PROMOTIONS NOT RECEIVED

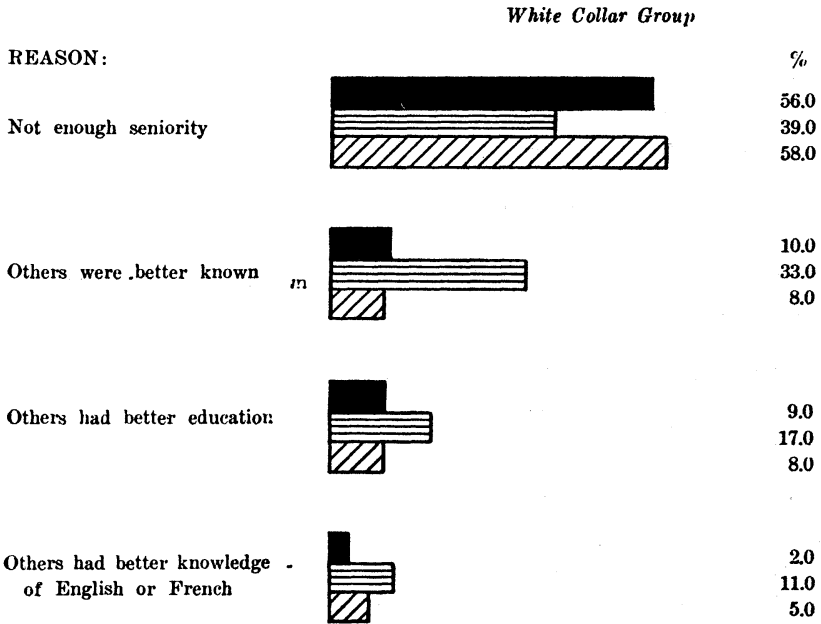
It is also the French group that expresses least concern about *not* having received a promotion.

REASONS GIVEN FOR NOT RECEIVING PROMOTIONS

Chart VIII

REASONS ADVANCED FOR NOT RECEIVING PROMOTION

By Ethnic Origin



LEGEND:       English       French       Other

Among white collar employees, the French Canadian gives markedly different emphasis to four possible explanations: they more frequently say « I did not get promoted because others had more seniority, or were better known, or had better education, or better bilingual knowledge ». And we know that these explanations are not, in general, more true to the facts for French Canadian employees than for employees of Other ethnic groups.

### PROMOTION CRITERIA

Two out of five of all ethnic groups in both the white and blue collar samples do not think enough importance is given to the experience of the candidate when the company makes promotions.

A larger proportion of white collar employees than of blue collar employees think that too much importance is attached by the company to education when making promotions.

Whilst the proportion is not very high in the English and Other groups, among French Canadians 21% of white and 25% of blue collar employees do not think the company gives enough weight to seniority in promotions.

Again, though at a much lower level (13%), the French Canadian group think not enough importance is given to ensuring that the supervisor is from the same ethnic group as those he supervises.

Again the question is: what should a company do? This question must be looked at against another piece of information that the Social Research Group supplies. Professor Albert Breton made a regression analysis of many factors that might correlate with salary. Ethnic origin does not. This, taken with some of the foregoing, and some further data in the next section, suggests that the problem is not one of discrimination. But clearly there is a problem.

The « promotion system », whatever that is in the minds of respondents, is suspect. We do not know enough of what respondents understand by it to be certain about the action we should take. More specifically, do those who know of a promotion know enough about the service or education of the man selected? Would it make any difference to their attitude if they did? On the other hand, do these

critical attitudes stem from bad promotions? If so, making the promotion process more visible may not be the direct answer, though it may be the indirect means of improving the selections made.

### Discrimination

An attempt was made to examine discrimination in terms of the allocation of « dirty work » and « special assignments », salary administration and promotions.

The prevalence of unpleasant or dirty work was not found to be very large and there was no indication that discrimination was practised in assigning employees to the performance of such work.

The study of special assignments presents a different picture. Among the white collar sample, French Canadians were found to be the least likely of the three ethnic groups to have been given special assignments or special responsibility. They found higher satisfaction in the experience than Others did, yet somewhat fewer of them want a second bite at the cherry; and more of them definitely do *not* want to repeat the experience. We do not know why.

It seems that the educational qualifications of the English and Other ethnic groups are not criteria in selecting those employees for special assignments, but certainly appear to be criteria in selecting French Canadians. Again, the knowledge of English does not appear to help a French Canadian in being selected for a special assignment, but the knowledge of French seems to favour selection of the English Canadian.

Discrimination in terms of promotion was studied as an aspect of the « parachuting » of an outsider into a work group. Questions were asked about the availability, within the work group, of someone else who would be suitable for the position into which the parachutist had dropped. Again, parachuting was not found to be very extensive though half the units studied had experienced this phenomenon at some time or another. In the majority of instances, the outsider was of English origin. However, in three out of twenty-one work units it was found that an equally competent worker, who was not of English origin, was said to be already available for the job.

In terms of promotion opportunity, it is employees of the Other group who are most frequently seen as the most disfavoured group. Compared with those in Other ethnic groups, the French are disfavoured about half as frequently in white collar units and about one-third as frequently in blue collar units. Employees of the English group were never seen to be in a disadvantageous position.

The Social Research Group arrived at a tentative conclusion that the promotion prospects for an ethnic group are related to the numerical representation of that group in a work unit and it is suggested as a broad generalization that a potentially discriminatory situation comes into existence when an ethnic group forms less than one-third of the work unit. In over half the work groups where the English are numerically the largest, the French and Others are disfavoured. When the French dominate numerically, either alone or with the English, their situation improves a lot. Then it is the Others who are disfavoured. Likewise, the situation of the Others improves when they dominate numerically, either alone or with another group.

Another finding of interest concerns the role of « influentials ». These are not the bosses. They are not the people in authority. They are the employees with status — people who have access to the ear of the boss and whose opinions are likely to be sought by him. They are people who have a great deal of say in the way things are run but are not foremen or supervisors. Not surprisingly, an ethnic group is unlikely to be disfavoured when it is represented among these influentials. On the other hand, it can expect to be at a disadvantage if none of its members is among the influentials.

### Summary

It may be convenient to look at the results of this research in the framework suggested by F. Herzberg and others.<sup>1</sup> Briefly, his thesis, confirmed in other studies,<sup>2</sup> separates out two sets of factors: those that are directly work related and those that pertain to the « environment »

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(1) *The Motivation to Work*, F. Herzberg, B. Mausner and B.B. Snyderman, John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1959.

(2) *Behavioural Science Research in Industrial Relations*, Papers presented at a Symposium conducted by Industrial Relations Counselors, Inc., April 26-27, 1962.

« Who are your Motivated Workers? », M. Scott Myers, published in *Harvard Business Review*, January/February, 1964.

in which the job is performed. In the first set are factors associated with high motivation: they are achievement, recognition, the job itself, growth and advancement. The second set of factors embraces almost everything else: this set is variously described as the dissatisfiers or hygiene factors. Successful efforts to reduce dissatisfaction related to those factors do just that; they do not appear to create positive feelings and certainly are not associated with high motivation.

In the next chart, I have made a rough grouping of some of the various factors studied by the Social Research Group under the two headings of Motivators and Dissatisfiers. That chart suggests that there are differences in some levels of motivation factors and in some levels of dissatisfiers. These differences are not all in one direction. Nevertheless, the tendency of the data is to suggest that a job in the company is somewhat more likely to meet the motivation and satisfaction needs of an English Canadian than an employee in the Other two ethnic groups.

Chart IX  
WHITE COLLAR WORKERS

<i>Motivators</i>				<i>Hygiene Factors - Dissatisfiers</i>			
	E %	F %	O %		E %	F %	O %
Recognition				Supervision			
Enough recognition of good work	77	59	64	Never had boss disliked by majority of workers	29	32	25
Received « special assignments »	53	33	48	Just enough supervision on job	85	85	79
Responsibility				Salary			
Satisfied with responsibility	84	85	78	Satisfied with present pay	74	76	70
Would prefer more responsibility	63	44	61	Good salary prospects	52	48	53
Advancement				Job offers « good life » for family	78	61	61
Satisfied with promotions received	84	90	79	Social Factors			
Good chances of getting a promotion	54	44	60	Enough opportunity to be with friends at work	80	77	76
Opportunity for Growth				Friendly relationship with boss	91	85	83
It is possible to use skills and knowledge on job	63	58	58	Working Conditions			
Satisfied with opportunity to use skills on job	43	43	33	Does no unpleasant work on job	26	37	21
Good chances of getting job that uses more of skills	53	49	55	Job allows for good vacation	68	56	56
Enough variety in work	78	73	67	Satisfied with opportunity to speak main language at work	99	82	92

This leads me to wonder whether the most practical approach to a course of action would be one that works steadily at building motivation into the work situation while seeking to remove dissatisfactions in the hygiene factors.

## L'ETHNICITÉ DANS UNE COMPAGNIE

Un travail de recherche auprès de quelques employés du Canadien National et de l'extérieur visait à découvrir l'importance du facteur ethnique dans cette compagnie. Plus précisément, on voulait obtenir plus d'informations sur la discrimination : ses formes, son ampleur, la façon dont elle est perçue par les employés.

L'échantillon englobait 1,100 personnes à l'emploi du Canadien National et 748 à l'emploi de d'autres compagnies dans huit villes du Canada. Cependant, l'échantillon comprenant 393 collets-bleus se limitait aux villes de Montréal, Québec et Moncton.

Comme il est impossible de donner dans ce court résumé tous les résultats de l'enquête, nous présentons ceux qui nous semble les plus pertinents.

### INSTRUCTION

a) Un employé sur huit d'origine anglaise a sept années de scolarité alors qu'un employé sur trois d'origine canadienne-française en possède autant.

b) 55% des Canadiens anglais ont de huit à 10 ans de scolarité ; 45% chez les Canadiens français.

### *Cours suivis depuis leur entrée à la compagnie*

Moins de 30% des collets-bleus de langue française affirment qu'ils ont suivi ou qu'ils suivent actuellement des cours dans une école, une université, ou par correspondance. La moitié des collets-blancs de langue anglaise ont suivi ou suivent des cours. La proportion est du double dans le cas des collets-bleus.

### *Attitudes à l'endroit de la formation reliée aux promotions*

Une certaine proportion des Canadiens anglais (25%) et des Canadiens français (17%) prétendent qu'on accorde trop d'importance à la scolarité quand il est question de promotions.

### LANGUE

27% des Canadiens français collets-blancs disent qu'ils utilisent de temps à autre le français dans leur travail. 73% le font assez régulièrement. 85% des collets-

bleus utilisent le français plus que la moitié du temps. Ceux qui utilisent le français tout le temps ou la plupart du temps se disent satisfaits de cette situation.

#### ATTITUDES À L'ENDROIT DE LA MOBILITÉ GÉOGRAPHIQUE

La moitié des collets-blancs des deux origines sont prêts à déménager à l'intérieur de leur province. Cette proportion diminue lorsqu'il s'agit d'un déménagement possible à l'extérieur de la province. 48% des Canadiens anglais déménageraient, alors que 41% des Canadiens français le feraient. La même tendance se retrouve chez les collets-bleus, mais l'immobilisme est plus prononcé, dans ce cas, chez les Canadiens français.

En général le potentiel de mobilité au sein de la province est le même pour les deux groupes. Il tend à s'accroître avec la scolarité et, pour les Canadiens français à diminuer avec l'âge.

#### ATTITUDES À L'ENDROIT DES PROMOTIONS

Les collets-blancs de langue anglaise ont tendance à soumettre leur candidature plus souvent que leurs confrères de langue française. Plus de promotions leur ont été accordées. Beaucoup plus de Canadiens français collets-blancs ont refusé des promotions impliquant des responsabilités plus grandes.

40% des employés indépendamment de leur origine considèrent qu'on n'accorde pas assez d'importance à l'expérience dans les décisions concernant les promotions. Environ 25% des Canadiens français pensent qu'on ne donne pas assez de poids à l'ancienneté. Chez les autres groupes, la proportion est plus faible.

#### DISCRIMINATION

Le groupe d'employés d'origines autres que canadienne-française ou anglaise semble être défavorisé à l'endroit des chances d'avancement. Les Canadiens français se croient défavorisés deux fois plus lorsqu'ils se comparent à ce groupe. Cette conclusion vaut pour les collets-blancs. Les Canadiens anglais ne se voient pas dans une situation désavantageuse.

Sur ce sujet, la conclusion des chercheurs n'est pas définitive. Il est possible que les chances d'avancement d'un groupe ethnique soient reliées à la représentation de ce groupe dans l'*unité de travail* et une situation discriminatoire peut se présenter lorsqu'un groupe ethnique forme moins qu'un tiers des individus compris dans une *unité de travail*.