

The Status of Industrial Relations as an Academic Discipline Within Canadian Universities

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Résumé de l'article

Cet article a pour objectif d'exposer la situation des relations industrielles dans les programmes d'enseignement des universités canadiennes. À cet effet, nous avons retenu les trois indicateurs suivants: le nombre et le contenu des programmes universitaires portant spécifiquement sur les relations industrielles; la nature des unités administratives responsables de ces programmes; et enfin, le statut des personnes qui enseignent les cours de relations industrielles à l'intérieur de ces programmes.

Contrairement à une étude antérieure réalisée conjointement par le Ministère fédéral du travail et la Fédération des doyens des facultés d'administration qui portait sur les cours de relations industrielles en vigueur au Canada, notre recherche s'est plutôt intéressée aux programmes de relations industrielles. De plus, nous nous sommes limités aux programmes complets d'études pré-graduées et graduées, laissant ainsi de côté les programmes courts tels les certificats et les diplômes. La raison de ce choix repose sur notre objectif de faire le point sur la discipline des relations industrielles et nous croyons que l'un des principaux critères de reconnaissance disciplinaire d'un champ d'étude est l'émission, par les universités, de diplômes sanctionnant des programmes complets d'études pré-graduées et graduées (baccalauréats, maîtrises et doctorats). Nous avons également laissé de côté l'étude des programmes d'études sur le travail (*Labour Studies*) qui sont très populaires à l'extérieur du Québec mais dont la plupart sont généralement de type «certificats». Quant au choix d'inclure les programmes d'administration, il repose sur le fait que les facultés d'administration gèrent des programmes d'études complets qui contiennent fréquemment des options «relations industrielles» ou «ressources humaines». De plus, un examen de la liste des membres de l'Association canadienne des relations industrielles révèle que la plupart des membres universitaires proviennent de facultés d'administration. Les résultats de cette recherche sont issus d'une enquête menée auprès des quatre unités administratives portant l'appellation «relations industrielles» de même qu'auprès des 49 facultés d'administration membres de la Fédération canadienne des doyens de facultés d'administration au début de l'année 1990.

The Status of Industrial Relations as an Academic Discipline Within Canadian Universities

Jean Boivin

This paper presents empirical evidence on the limited status of industrial relations as an academic discipline within Canadian universities. A survey conducted among the four "independent" Industrial Relations units and thirty two Business Administration faculties used the three following indicators: the number and content of academic programs dealing with industrial relations; the institutional status of academic units responsible for the administration of these programs; and the academic status of the persons involved in the delivery of industrial relations courses.

In a paper prepared for the Study Group on Industrial Relations Theory as part of the 1989 IIRA Congress held in Brussels, Professor Noah M. Meltz concluded that "IR has achieved only limited standing as an academic discipline" and this, despite the fact that industrial relations seemed to have met the basic definition of a "discipline" i.e. "a subject that is taught: a field of study" according to Webster's *New Collegiate Dictionary* (1979, p. 32), or "the studies collectively embraced in a course of learning, a branch of learning, a branch of instruction, a science, or an art, or the training resulting from a course of such studies" according to Funk and Wagnalls' *New 'Standard' Dictionary of the English Language* (1946, vol. 1, p. 721) (Meltz 1989a).

The purpose of this paper is to provide empirical evidence to illustrate the limited status of industrial relations as an academic discipline in Canada. In order to do so, we will describe the situation of industrial relations within Canadian universities using three complementary indicators: First, the number and content of academic programs dealing with industrial relations; secondly, the institutional status of academic units that are responsible for the administration of these programs; and

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finally, a broad picture of the academic status of the faculty involved in the delivery of industrial relations courses.

In order to gather information on these three indicators, a short questionnaire was sent in the Spring of 1990 to the four autonomous Industrial Relations academic units, as well as to all faculties of Business or Administrative Studies in Canada. The return rate was 100% for Industrial Relations units and 73% (36/49) for Business units. The 13 institutions that did not return the questionnaire were generally among the smallest ones in terms of faculty size. For example, our study covers the 18 largest Business faculties in Canada. However, not all of the questionnaires were completed according to our expectations. In particular, we were able to obtain significant information on only 32 Business programs. As regards the status of academic faculty, for reasons that will be explained below, the information on all the indicators was usable in only 24 of the 40 cases (3/5 for Industrial Relations programs and 21/35 for Business programs).

In contrast to a previous study conducted in 1979 by Labour Canada, which had reviewed all academic units involved in the delivery of all Industrial Relations *courses* (Labour Canada 1979), the primary objective of this research was to gather information on *programs*. Such programs are more likely to be found within autonomous Industrial Relations departments or within faculties of Business Administration, and that is why we chose not to survey other academic units (even though it is well known that Sociology departments usually offer one or more courses on the sociology of work or labour, Economics departments offer labour economics courses, Psychology departments typically offer an industrial psychology course, and Law faculties offer labour law courses).

By "academic program", we mean an integrated set of courses and/or training in a field of study that leads to a university official conferral of a degree that bears specific identification with the field of study in question. At the university level, we find two general categories of programs: undergraduate and graduate. Undergraduate programs can be either full or short. Full undergraduate programs are named Bachelor's of Arts or Bachelor's of Science. Short undergraduate programs usually take the form of one-year or 30 credit Certificates. Graduate programs include Master's and Doctorate programs. Master's programs are sometimes oriented towards research, in which case we find a mixture of course work and research; or they can be more oriented toward the practical application of the discipline, in which case the emphasis is almost exclusively on course work (although some practical programs also include a short essay). Doctorate programs are heavily centered on a major research project, although students must also demonstrate that they have a thorough knowledge of the field of study through the

successful completion of a comprehensive examination early in their program.

For the purposes of this research, we have only surveyed full undergraduate and graduate programs that bear the name "Industrial Relations" or "Business" (or any other synonym for the latter name such as "Commerce", "Business Administration", "Administrative Studies", etc.), thus leaving aside Certificates and programs of Labour Studies. The reason for excluding short programs stems from the main objective of the study which is to assess the state of industrial relations as an academic discipline. We believe that in order to be considered an academic discipline, a field of study should be systematically organized around full undergraduate and graduate programs and not only be involved in the dissemination of knowledge through short undergraduate programs such as Certificates, even though these can be of very high quality.¹

The reason for excluding Labour Studies programs was partly due to scarcity of resources (this survey was conducted by a single researcher and was not funded) and also because Labour Studies programs are usually of the short undergraduate type, a category which we had already decided to exclude from the analysis.² As to the justification for Business programs, it is a well known fact that many Business Schools include Industrial Relations and/or Human Resource Management in their curriculum and there is no question that these academic units offer the whole range of graduate and undergraduate programs. Moreover, an examination of the membership list of the Canadian Industrial Relations Association reveals that, outside autonomous Industrial Relations units, most "academic" members are located in Business Schools.

INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS PROGRAMS

Only five universities offer full undergraduate and/or graduate programs that bear the name "Industrial Relations". They are: Laval (Québec City), Montréal, Université du Québec à Hull, Toronto and Queen's (Kingston). Laval and Montréal offer all three levels of instruction, i.e. Bachelor's, Master's and Ph.D., while Université du Québec à Hull offers a Bachelor's and a Master's degree. Toronto and

1 For additional information on IR Certificates and other related topics, see T. Hercus, 1990.

2 It should be noted that a few full undergraduate programs in Labour Studies exist at some Canadian Universities such as Woodsworth College's Labour Management Relations Program and Erindale College's Industrial Relations Program both from the University of Toronto. Although these are full undergraduate programs, it was impossible to trace their location with the methodology used in this study.

Queen's provide only graduate programs, with Toronto offering both a Master's and a Ph.D., while Queen's offers a Master's.

At Université Laval, the Department is the largest Industrial Relations academic unit in Canada with a staff of 30 full-time professors. It is one of the seven Departments in the Faculty of Social Sciences. This Department is also the locus of the only Industrial Relations Journal in Canada (*Relations industrielles/Industrial Relations*). The Department is responsible for the administration of the various graduate and undergraduate programs under its responsibility and it has complete control over the hiring and appointment of its faculty, after academic positions have been awarded to the Department. In this regard, however, the Industrial Relations Department does not have complete autonomy, since it must compete with the six other Departments of the Social Sciences Faculty for the allocation of its resources.

The School of Industrial Relations at Université de Montréal is the second largest autonomous institution with a staff of 15 full-time professors. It is affiliated with the Faculty of Arts and Science and, like Laval, has full responsibility over the administration of its graduate and undergraduate programs and total control over hiring and appointments, after academic positions are made available by the Faculty.

The Industrial Relations Module of Université du Québec à Hull is the only academic unit affiliated with a Business School that is offering both a Bachelor's and a Master's degree in Industrial Relations. The Module has a status which is equivalent to that of other units such as "Accounting", but it does not have the power to make appointments on its own. The ten professors that are actually working full time for the Module of Industrial Relations have been appointed through the Department of Administrative Science to which all Modules relate for the appropriation of their resources.

The Centre for Industrial Relations at the University of Toronto is in a very unique situation in Canada. It has complete autonomy and control over the Master's and Ph.D. programs that are under its responsibility but it depends in part on other administrative units for the appropriation of its academic resources. Full-time professors associated with the Centre's programs are "cross-appointed", which means that although they are necessarily appointed through one of the "regular" academic units such as a Department (Economics, Sociology, etc.) or a Faculty (like Law), half of the faculty member's teaching load is done at the Centre for Industrial Relations. Obviously this situation is not one of full administrative autonomy like in the three previous cases, but it is nonetheless a less precarious arrangement than the one prevailing at Queen's as we will see below. In fact, although the original appointment is always made outside the Centre, it does not mean that the Centre is completely dependent on

what other units have to offer. It is even possible for the Centre's Director to be involved in the selection process for the appointment of new faculty. Ten full-time faculty are thus participating regularly in the Centre's activities.

The School of Industrial Relations at Queen's University is responsible for and has control over the Master's program. However, it depends almost completely on other academic units, namely Business, Economics, and Law, for the acquisition of its teaching resources. Although every year the School schedules a series of compulsory and elective courses on its own, it must rely on resources available in other units for the delivery of these courses. If the Director or a Dean of one of these units decides that a professor who has regularly taught an important course in the Industrial Relations program must stop teaching this course, there is nothing that the Director of the School of Industrial Relations can do. He/she would have to accept whatever other faculty was assigned to teach the course. As of the date of this survey, the School of Industrial Relations had only two tenure-track positions available. Even the Director was not appointed through the School but, instead, had to hold a position within one of the three academic units mentioned above.

Thus, even if as few as five universities offer full undergraduate and graduate programs in Canada, in only three cases do we see these programs administered by units that have been granted full academic status by their university, all of them in the Province of Québec. A possible explanation for this relatively greater autonomy, enjoyed by academic units responsible for the administration of Industrial Relations programs in Québec, may lie in the historical roots of the respective academic units. Contrary to the situation prevailing in the rest of Canada and in the United States where industrial relations was originally "viewed as a branch of labour economics" (Meltz 1989a: 11; Barbash 1991: 107), the development of the first Industrial Relations academic units in Québec has taken place within an environment which was totally exempt of the influence of "the mother discipline". For example, at Université Laval, the Economics Department and the Industrial Relations Department were established the same year (1943) as separate units which were both affiliated with the Social Sciences Faculty.

BUSINESS PROGRAMS

As we have seen above, only one Business School in Canada offers full undergraduate and graduate programs in Industrial Relations. In all other instances, studies dealing with Industrial Relations are included in programs in some manner, but to widely varying degrees. What is

needed, then, is a criterion to determine whether these programs are respecting the normative premise upon which the Industrial Relations discipline is based, which is the necessity of balancing the efficiency of the organization with the security or equity needs of the employees.³ We consider that the normative premise is met only when a program offers courses that distinctly deal with the two fundamental aspects of the discipline, the management of human resources and the labour relations function. By distinctly, we mean that courses dealing with labour relations are of sufficient number to cover adequately the various aspects of labour history, the collective bargaining process, and the administration of the collective agreement. For example, the Industrial Relations programs are all structured around three major areas of study: 1) Labour Relations, which centers on the collective bargaining institution; 2) Human Resource Management, which concentrates upon activities related to the "personnel" function and organizational climate, and 3) Public Labour Policy, i.e. the study of the regulatory functions of the State with regard to labour market activities, employment standards, and labour-management relations. In practice, this translates into many compulsory courses in each of the three areas at the undergraduate level, and at least one of each at the graduate level. It also means the possibility for students to choose a certain number of elective courses in order to acquire more specific training and knowledge in any one of these three areas.

It would be tempting to restrict the analysis to Business programs that have a clearly identified concentration or option in industrial relations (IR). However, our survey has revealed that this is not a completely reliable criterion since some Business Schools have opted for a sound general training in all aspects of administrative studies (at least at the Bachelor's level) rather than asking students to choose an option in the third year of their program. Thus, the absence of an IR "concentration" is not necessarily a sign that IR is non-existent in a program. But conversely, the presence of such a "concentration" is an indication that IR does enjoy a clearly distinct identification within the program, which is a reasonable basis for assuming that the normative premise of the field mentioned above has a good chance of being met. Nonetheless, in order to reach a definite conclusion on this crucial issue, one has to examine very closely the structure and content (including course descriptions) of each individual program.

³ For a more detailed discussion of this proposition, see Noah M. Meltz, 1989b, and Jack Barbash, 1989.

INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS CONTENT OF BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION PROGRAMS

Very few, if any, Business Programs explicitly include the three fundamental dimensions of Industrial Relations – Labour Relations, Human Resource Management, and Public Labour Policy – as part of their curriculum. Among these dimensions, the last is usually the most neglected. In fact, we have not found any program that clearly deals with the role of the State as regulator of employment relations. Subjects such as labour market or manpower policies, employment standards, or the legal framework for labour-management relations are usually dealt with as part of either general Economics courses, Human Resource management courses, or general Industrial Relations or Labour Relations courses.

With regard to Labour Relations, many programs offer an interesting range of courses dealing with collective bargaining. The most frequent situation at the undergraduate level is where a first mandatory course treats the origin of labour unions, the certification procedure, labour legislation, and bargaining structures; while a second (often elective) course examines the collective bargaining process more closely and involves students in a bargaining simulation. It is not unusual for the former to be labelled “Industrial Relations” and the latter “Collective Bargaining”. At the graduate level, we often find a mandatory Seminar on Labour Relations as part of an MBA program plus a few other elective courses on subjects such as Settlement of Labour Disputes, Public Sector Bargaining, etc.

As one might expect, it is the Human Resource Management (HRM) dimension which is highly privileged within Business programs, as indicated by the overwhelming number of courses offered in subjects such as: Personnel, Recruitment and Selection, Human Resource Planning, Compensation Administration, Organizational Behaviour, Organizational Theory and Design, Organizational Change and Development, Career Planning, etc. But even then, our study has revealed that the place occupied by Human Resource Management within Business Schools is very often one of a “junior” partner compared with that occupied by other components of Administrative Studies such as Accounting, Marketing, Finance, or Business Policy. As one of our respondents indicated: “Here, IR is a marginal component of HRM which, in turn, is a minor component of our Business School.” Such a finding is surprising in view of the fact that professors who identify themselves as either IR, HRM, or Organizational Behaviour (OB) comprise the second largest group among all Business faculty in Canada. According to a publication of the Canadian Federation of Deans of Management and Administrative Studies (1988: 115), in 1987 the number of IR/HRM/OB faculty working full-time in Business Schools was 289 (or 13% of the

total). This figure ranked second behind Accounting which had 418 (or 18.8%) and was exactly the same as the number of persons in Marketing. It was higher than Finance with 277 (12.4%) and Management/Administration with 222 (10%). It is difficult for someone working within an Industrial Relations department to identify the reasons for this lack of status enjoyed by IR/HRM/OB faculty despite their large representation within Business Schools. One possible explanation may be the lack of unity among the three components that go separate ways without a common sense of direction. This heterogeneity is obvious when one examines the formal titles used by the various academic units to identify themselves. The following are examples of such titles used to describe the same area or field of study: Industrial Relations and Organizational Behaviour; Management of Organizations and Human Resources; Behavioural Sciences and Labour Management Relations; Industrial Relations and Human Resources; Human Resources; Personnel and Industrial Relations; Organizational Analysis.

Moreover, we have realized that a certain degree of confusion exists as to the role and place occupied by Organizational Behaviour vis-à-vis Industrial Relations and Human Resources Management. In some instances, our respondents did not know if they had to include faculty teaching OB courses as part of the general IR/HRM faculty contemplated in our questionnaire. In fact, we have reasons to believe that in some cases they did while in others they did not. Such confusion created less of a problem with the questionnaire's section dealing with programs than it did with the section dealing with faculty because in most cases we had access to courses descriptions.⁴

Tables 1 and 2 rank undergraduate and graduate Business Programs according to their degree of coverage of industrial relations.

Of the 32 undergraduate programs for which information is available, less than 50% can be said to contain a significant amount of Industrial Relations. To meet the "significant amount" criterion, a program had to include at least one compulsory and two elective Labour Relations courses. Only 14 Business programs (those listed in the first three categories in Table 1) thus provide their students a decent opportunity to learn about Industrial Relations phenomena at the undergraduate level. We can add McMaster in the latter category because, despite the absence of a compulsory course, an exceptionally large number of elective courses are available: Seven have been reported in this survey but in 1992 eleven such courses were available.

⁴ We had labeled the questionnaire as a survey on IR-HRM without making any explicit reference to Organizational Behaviour.

As regards graduate programs, the results are even more disappointing since only one third (5/15) comply with the same criterion (those in the first three categories of Table 2). We cannot accept as meeting the "significant amount" criterion those programs that include only one or two elective Labour Relations courses.

TABLE 1

**Undergraduate Business Programs According to their
Industrial Relations Contents**

A-	Programs where a specific option in IR-HRM is available	British Columbia, Lethbridge (Alberta), Manitoba, Université du Québec à Montréal, Concordia (Montréal), St-Mary's (Halifax)
B-	Programs with a formal option in HRM only, but which include at least one compulsory and two elective labour relations courses	Saskatchewan, Ottawa, Hautes études commerciales (Montréal), Sherbrooke, Université du Québec à Rimouski
C-	Programs with no formal option in either IR/HRM or HRM only, but which include one compulsory and two elective labour relations courses	Queen's (Kingston), University of New Brunswick (Fredericton), Memorial (St-Johns', NFLD)
D-	Programs with a formal option in HRM, no compulsory course, but two elective labour relations courses	Calgary, Ryerson Polytechnical Institute (Toronto), Université du Québec à Trois-Rivières
E-	Programs with no formal option in either IR/HRM or HRM only, no compulsory course, but some elective labour relations courses	7 courses: McMaster 4 courses: Windsor 2 courses: Simon Fraser (Vancouver), Laurentian (Sudbury), Laval, Acadia (Wolfsville, N.S.), Cape-Breton (Sidney, N.S.), St-Francis Xavier (Antigonish, N.S.), Prince Edward Island 1 course: Western, York, Carleton (Ottawa), Toronto, Laurier (Waterloo)
F-	Programs with no formal option in either IR/HRM or HRM only, and no elective labour relations course	Mount Allison (New-Brunswick)
G-	Information not reported in returned questionnaire	Alberta, Moncton, UNB (St-John)

STATUS OF ACADEMIC FACULTY

We have compared the academic status of the persons teaching within autonomous Industrial Relations programs with that of those

involved in the Business programs. Two criteria were used: 1) The percentage of tenured and tenure-track professors among the overall professorial resources used in the respective programs; and 2) The percentage of faculty holding a Ph.D. in Industrial Relations in each case. As regards the first criterion, we had to cope with the fact that some respondents did not indicate the number of part-time resources their program was using. Thus the results below are based on only three of the five Industrial Relations programs and 21 of the 35 Business programs. On the other hand, the results on the number of doctorates in Industrial Relations include the five Industrial Relations programs and 33 of the 35 Business programs.

TABLE 2
**Graduate Business Programs According to their
 Industrial Relations Contents**

A-	Programs where a formal option in IR/HRM is available	Manitoba, McMaster, New Brunswick (Fredericton)
B-	Programs with a formal option in HRM only, but with at least one compulsory and two elective labour relations courses	Hautes études commerciales
C-	Programs with no formal option in either IR/HRM or HRM only, no compulsory course, but many elective labour relations courses	British Columbia
D-	Programs with no formal option in either IR/HRM or HRM only, no compulsory course, but one or two elective labour relations courses	Two courses: Ottawa, Queen's, Windsor, Laval One course: Simon Fraser, Calgary, Toronto, Western, York
E-	Programs with a formal option in HRM, but with no labour relations course at all	Sherbrooke
F-	No program reported	20 universities

Given the greater administrative autonomy enjoyed by Industrial Relations units, we had anticipated to find a higher percentage of "regular" faculty involved in Industrial Relations programs than in Business programs and a greater proportion of professors with a Ph.D. in Industrial Relations in the former than in the latter case. The results, however, did not confirm either of these hypotheses. First, we found out that 51.5% (51/99) of the overall professorial resources teaching in autonomous Industrial Relations programs consisted of tenured and tenure-track faculty, a figure which is only 10% higher than that for

Business programs which is 41.3% (123/298). One possible explanation for this relative equality in the proportion of "regular" versus "non-regular" faculty in both types of programs may be the substantial number of part-time lecturers that must be hired within some Industrial Relations programs, like Laval and Montréal, to accommodate a very large clientele of undergraduate students. (For example, Laval has more than 1000 students enrolled at the undergraduate level.)

Secondly, the percentage of regular faculty holding a Ph.D. in Industrial Relations is exactly the same in both programs, that is 44.4% (28/63 for Industrial Relations and 76/166 for Business). Two factors might explain this situation. On the one hand, autonomous Industrial Relations programs, particularly at the undergraduate level in Québec, provide a general training in social sciences in the first two years of a curriculum which is spread over four years. This requires the contribution of faculty with a background in other related disciplines such as Economics, Psychology, Sociology, Law, and History. Since three of the five Industrial Relations programs are located within administrative units that have full responsibility for the hiring of new faculty, these units have the maneuverability to hire according to the needs of their programs. As long as a faculty has a strong interest in the study of employment relationships, it does not matter in the end if that person is a sociologist, an economist, a lawyer, a psychologist. On the other hand, since autonomous Industrial Relations academic units are so few in Canada, employment opportunities for people holding a Ph.D. in Industrial Relations have come mainly from Business Schools. This situation is exacerbated by the fact that the number of Ph.D. granting institutions in the field of Industrial Relations is even smaller. Moreover, the growing awareness in industry of the importance of human resource management has led many Business Schools to hire more and more faculty with an academic background in IR/HRM over the last few years, thus explaining the relatively high number of professors with a Ph.D. in Industrial Relations within Business Schools.

CONCLUSION

This survey on the teaching of Industrial Relations in Canada permits us to raise a few important questions about the future of the discipline. First, if one accepts that the fundamental premise upon which industrial relations is based is the balancing of the efficiency needs of the organization with the security or equity needs of the employees, can we expect Business programs to do as good a job as autonomous Industrial Relations programs in providing instruction in this field of study? The evidence revealed by our study has shown that even within Business

programs where serious efforts are made to adequately cover Labour Relations phenomena, we find an overwhelming exposure to HRM/OB activities and very little coverage of Public Labour Policy. This is so because, from a Business perspective, Labour Relations stands as a sub-field of Human Resource Management. One only has to open a textbook on HRM to discover that "Labour Relations" or "Industrial Relations", as it is often called, usually occupies one chapter alongside many other chapters devoted to other "Personnel" activities. By contrast, autonomous Industrial Relations programs include a better balanced ratio of courses dealing with Labour Relations and Human Resource Management, and they also include formal courses on the regulatory role of the State vis-à-vis employment relationships.

Secondly, the fact that the employment relationship is just one of many foci (stakeholders) for Administrative Science probably explains why Business programs have a normative bias in favour of the efficiency principle. On the other hand, because the entire focus of Industrial Relations is on the employment relationship, IR academic programs consider as equal values the equity needs of the employees and the efficiency needs of the organization. This ontological neutrality is really what distinguishes the Industrial Relations and Administrative Science disciplines.

Such ontological neutrality, however, has not necessarily received wide approval throughout the world. For example, in some countries such as France and Italy, the very idea of considering Industrial Relations as a neutral field of study is anathema. Employment relationships in those countries are studied either from a management perspective (within Business Schools) or from an employee or a union perspective (in programs of Labour Studies or Legal and Social Security). Here in North America and perhaps to some extent in Great Britain, the neutrality of Industrial Relations as a field of study has been more commonly accepted, but not to the extent of generating a strong movement in favour of the creation of autonomous Industrial Relations academic units within institutions of higher learning such as Universities. In Canada the trends have been mixed with the addition of new programs at McMaster, Toronto and Université du Québec à Hull and the discontinuation of Industrial Relations units (though not programs) at British Columbia and McGill.

A third issue which is of critical importance for the future of the discipline, and which this research has permitted us to emphasize, is the very definition of industrial relations. If, as some analysts affirm, industrial relations refers to "all aspects of employment relationships", then there should not be any doubt that such a definition includes Human Resource Management and Organizational Behaviour activities as well as Labour Relations activities.

However, as long as the teaching of Industrial Relations continues to take place mainly within Business programs, there will always be a strong tendency to identify Industrial Relations solely with Labour Relations since Human Resource Management and Organizational Behaviour activities are already taken for granted as Business phenomena.

Finally, when one adopts the perspective of Industrial Relations as an independent discipline which should be located within autonomous academic units, it becomes logical to consider such a discipline as the "natural home base" for the study of all aspects of employment relationships.

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La place des relations industrielles dans les universités canadiennes

Cet article a pour objectif d'exposer la situation des relations industrielles dans les programmes d'enseignement des universités canadiennes. À cet effet, nous avons retenu les trois indicateurs suivants: le nombre et le contenu des programmes universitaires portant spécifiquement sur les relations industrielles; la nature des unités administratives responsables de ces programmes; et enfin,

le statut des personnes qui enseignent les cours de relations industrielles à l'intérieur de ces programmes.

Contrairement à une étude antérieure réalisée conjointement par le Ministère fédéral du travail et la Fédération des doyens des facultés d'administration qui portait sur les cours de relations industrielles en vigueur au Canada, notre recherche s'est plutôt intéressée aux programmes de relations industrielles. De plus, nous nous sommes limités aux programmes complets d'études pré-graduées et graduées, laissant ainsi de côté les programmes courts tels les certificats et les diplômes. La raison de ce choix repose sur notre objectif de faire le point sur la discipline des relations industrielles et nous croyons que l'un des principaux critères de reconnaissance disciplinaire d'un champ d'étude est l'émission, par les universités, de diplômes sanctionnant des programmes complets d'études pré-graduées et graduées (baccalauréats, maîtrises et doctorats). Nous avons également laissé de côté l'étude des programmes d'études sur le travail (*Labour Studies*) qui sont très populaires à l'extérieur du Québec mais dont la plupart sont généralement de type «certificats». Quant au choix d'inclure les programmes d'administration, il repose sur le fait que les facultés d'administration gèrent des programmes d'études complets qui contiennent fréquemment des options «relations industrielles» ou «ressources humaines». De plus, un examen de la liste des membres de l'Association canadienne des relations industrielles révèle que la plupart des membres universitaires proviennent de facultés d'administration.

Les résultats de cette recherche sont issus d'une enquête menée auprès des quatre unités administratives portant l'appellation «relations industrielles» de même qu'auprès des 49 facultés d'administration membres de la Fédération canadienne des doyens de facultés d'administration au début de l'année 1990.

LES PROGRAMMES DE RELATIONS INDUSTRIELLES

Seulement cinq universités canadiennes offrent des programmes complets en relations industrielles. Il s'agit des universités Laval, Montréal, du Québec à Hull, Toronto et Queen's. Laval et Montréal offrent les trois niveaux d'enseignement – baccalauréat, maîtrise et doctorat – tandis que l'Université du Québec à Hull offre le baccalauréat et la maîtrise. Toronto et Queen's se consacrent uniquement aux études graduées alors que la première université offre la maîtrise et le doctorat et la seconde n'offre que la maîtrise.

À l'exception de l'Université du Québec à Hull où le *Module de relations industrielles*, qui compte 10 professeurs réguliers, est rattaché au Département des sciences administratives, les unités administratives des autres universités sont situées à l'extérieur des facultés d'administration.

Le *Département des relations industrielles* de l'Université Laval comprend une trentaine de professeurs et est rattaché à la Faculté des sciences sociales, tandis que l'*École de relations industrielles* de l'Université de Montréal, avec ses 15 professeurs réguliers, est affiliée à la Faculté des arts et des sciences.

Les situations prévalant aux deux universités ontariennes sont plutôt particulières. À Toronto, les dix professeurs réguliers du *Centre for Industrial*

Relations consacrent la moitié de leur charge d'enseignement au Centre et l'autre moitié à un département ou à une faculté disciplinaire telle l'économique, le droit, la sociologie ou l'administration. L'embauche, cependant, se fait d'abord au département ou à la faculté d'origine et le Centre for Industrial Relations négocie avec cette unité pour obtenir la moitié de la charge de travail du professeur.

Quant à la situation du *School of Industrial Relations* de Queen's University, elle est beaucoup plus précaire car, même si on y retrouve deux professeurs formellement rattachés à l'École, toutes les autres ressources dispensant les cours du programme de maîtrise proviennent des trois unités administratives suivantes: le droit, l'administration et l'économique. Le directeur de l'École n'a donc aucun contrôle sur les ressources professorales qui seront responsables de l'enseignement des cours particuliers car l'affectation de la charge de travail se fait dans le département d'origine. Même le directeur de l'École est d'abord embauché par l'une de ces trois unités.

Par conséquent, même si aussi peu que cinq universités, sur la quelque cinquantaine d'universités que l'on retrouve au Canada, offrent des programmes d'études complets en relations industrielles, on ne retrouve une véritable autonomie administrative que dans le cas des trois universités situées au Québec. Une explication possible de cette situation repose sur les antécédents historiques différents des relations industrielles au Québec par rapport au reste de l'Amérique du Nord. À l'extérieur du Québec, l'enseignement des cours de relations industrielles a longtemps été l'apanage de professeurs rattachés à des départements d'économique parce que les relations industrielles étaient considérées comme un appendice de l'économique du travail. Ce faisant, il n'y avait pas nécessité de créer des nouvelles entités académiques pour assurer l'encadrement de ces enseignements. Au Québec, par contre, le développement tardif des sciences sociales a fait que les départements des relations industrielles se sont souvent constitués *en même temps* que les départements d'économique. Par exemple, à Laval, le Département des relations industrielles a été établi et rattaché à la Faculté des sciences sociales la même année que le Département d'économique (1943).

LES PROGRAMMES DE RELATIONS INDUSTRIELLES DES FACULTÉS D'ADMINISTRATION

Comme nous l'avons déjà mentionné, seulement une faculté d'administration offre des programmes complets d'études pré-graduées et graduées en relations industrielles au Canada. Dans tous les autres cas, les relations industrielles sont enseignées à des degrés variables à l'intérieur de programmes d'administration. Il nous faut maintenant établir un critère pour déterminer si le contenu «relations industrielles» de ces programmes satisfait la prémisse normative fondamentale de la discipline des relations industrielles, à savoir: le nécessaire équilibre à maintenir entre le besoin d'efficacité de l'organisation et le besoin de sécurité ou d'équité des travailleurs de cette organisation. Nous postulons qu'un programme d'enseignement ne satisfera cette prémisse normative que s'il offre des cours traitant distinctement des deux aspects fondamentaux de la discipline, soit la gestion des ressources humaines et les relations du travail. Plus précisément, nous entendons la présence d'un

nombre suffisant de cours de relations du travail traitant distinctement de sujets tels l'histoire du syndicalisme, le processus de négociation collective, le règlement des conflits et l'administration de la convention collective. Ainsi, les programmes autonomes de relations industrielles mentionnés plus haut sont tous structurés autour des trois champs d'étude distincts suivants: les relations du travail, la gestion des ressources humaines au sein des organisations et les politiques publiques en matière de travail. En pratique, cela se traduit par plusieurs cours obligatoires dans chacun de ces champs d'étude au niveau pré-gradué et au moins un cours obligatoire dans les mêmes domaines au niveau gradué. Cela signifie aussi la possibilité de choisir un certain nombre de cours optionnels afin d'acquérir des connaissances plus approfondies dans l'un ou l'autre de ces trois domaines.

Lorsqu'on examine attentivement les programmes d'administration, on constate qu'aucun d'entre eux n'inclut explicitement les trois dimensions mentionnées plus haut. En fait, c'est le domaine des politiques publiques en matière de travail qui est systématiquement laissé de côté. Des sujets tels les politiques de main-d'œuvre, les normes minimales ou le cadre juridique de la négociation collective ne font pas l'objet d'enseignements spécifiques mais sont plutôt incorporés parmi d'autres cours tels l'économique du travail, la gestion des ressources humaines ou les relations du travail.

En ce qui concerne les relations du travail, plusieurs programmes offrent quelques cours touchant la négociation collective. La situation la plus fréquente est celle où l'on retrouve (au niveau pré-gradué) un premier cours obligatoire traitant de l'origine du syndicalisme, de la législation du travail et des structures de négociation, alors qu'un second cours, habituellement optionnel, traite du processus de négociation et implique les étudiants dans une négociation simulée. On désigne souvent le premier cours «Relations industrielles» et le second «Négociation collective». Au niveau gradué, par ailleurs, plusieurs programmes de MBA incluent un séminaire obligatoire sur les relations du travail et quelques autres cours optionnels sur le règlement des conflits, le secteur public, etc.

Enfin, comme on pouvait s'y attendre, c'est le domaine de la gestion des ressources humaines qui est grandement privilégié dans les programmes d'administration, comme en témoigne la liste impressionnante de cours sur les sujets suivants: sélection et recrutement, comportement organisationnel, théorie de l'organisation, changement organisationnel, formation des cadres, rémunération, planification des carrières, etc. Malgré tout, nous avons été quelque peu surpris par le peu de place et d'importance qu'occupe le domaine de la GRH à l'intérieur des facultés d'administration. Comme nous le soulignait un répondant: «Ici, les relations industrielles occupent une place marginale au sein de la GRH qui, elle-même, n'est qu'une composante mineure au sein de la faculté d'administration». Cette situation est surprenante, puisque les professeurs qui indiquent oeuvrer dans le domaine des relations industrielles, de la gestion des ressources humaines et du comportement organisationnel (RI-GRH-CO) constituent le deuxième plus important groupe après celui des comptables au sein des sciences de l'administration. Une explication possible du statut relativement dévalorisé du groupe RI-GRH-CO tient peut-être de la très grande hétérogénéité de ces trois composantes comme en témoignent les diverses

appellations d'unités administratives regroupant ces professeurs dans les universités canadiennes: relations industrielles et comportement organisationnel; gestion des organisations et des ressources humaines; sciences du comportement et relations du travail; relations industrielles et gestion des ressources humaines; personnel et relations industrielles; analyse organisationnelle. Qui plus est, nous avons été à même de constater qu'une certaine confusion existait quant à la place occupée par le sous-groupe «comportement organisationnel» (CO). Plusieurs de nos répondants indiquaient qu'ils ne savaient pas si les cours et les personnes du groupe CO étaient visés par notre étude. Dans le cas des cours, cela ne présentait pas de problème puisque nous possédions les descriptions des programmes. Pour les professeurs, cette confusion nous a amené à formuler des réserves sur la validité des résultats.

Les tableaux 1 et 2 classifient les différents programmes d'administration selon la plus ou moins grande importance accordée à l'enseignement des relations industrielles (voir texte anglais). Sur les 32 programmes pré-gradués au sujet desquels l'information était disponible, moins de la moitié (les 14 des trois premières catégories du tableau 1) ont satisfait le critère qui consistait à inclure un cours obligatoire et au moins deux cours optionnels en relations du travail. À ce nombre, il faut ajouter le programme de l'Université McMaster qui, bien que ne possédant aucun cours obligatoire en relations du travail, offre un éventail important de cours optionnels. Du côté des programmes d'études graduées, les résultats sont encore plus faibles puisqu'on n'en retrouve que 5 sur 15 qui satisfont au même critère (tableau 2).

LE STATUT UNIVERSITAIRE DES PROFESSEURS DE RELATIONS INDUSTRIELLES

Nous avons comparé le statut universitaire des personnes oeuvrant dans les programmes de relations industrielles avec celui des professeurs des facultés d'administration impliqués dans les programmes ayant un contenu de relations industrielles. Deux critères de comparaison ont été retenus: le pourcentage de professeurs permanents et le pourcentage de personnes possédant un doctorat en relations industrielles.

Les résultats relatifs à l'indicateur «statut universitaire» doivent être interprétés avec beaucoup de précaution non seulement à cause de la mise en garde déjà mentionnée relative à l'inclusion ou à l'exclusion du groupe «comportement organisationnel» mais aussi parce qu'il n'a pas toujours été possible de connaître avec exactitude le nombre de ressources professorales travaillant à temps partiel dans certaines universités. C'est pourquoi les résultats qui suivent ne réfèrent qu'à trois des cinq programmes de relations industrielles et à 21 des 35 programmes d'administration.

Étant donné la plus grande autonomie administrative des programmes de relations industrielles, nous nous attendions à trouver des pourcentages supérieurs à ceux des facultés d'administration. En pratique, cependant, les résultats révèlent une grande similitude entre les situations observées. D'abord, on constate que 51,5 % (51/99) des ressources professorales qui enseignent

dans les programmes de relations industrielles possèdent la permanence, comparativement à 41,3 % (123/298) dans les programmes d'administration. Une explication partielle de ce phénomène tient sans doute à la très forte utilisation de chargés de cours dans les programmes de relations industrielles qui attirent une très large clientèle étudiante de premier cycle (plus de 1000 à Laval, par exemple).

Ensuite, la proportion de professeurs ayant obtenu leur doctorat en relations industrielles est exactement la même dans les deux cas, soit 44,4 %. Deux explications possibles peuvent être avancées. D'abord, les programmes de relations industrielles de premier cycle fournissent une formation générale de base dans les sciences sociales qui exigent l'engagement de professeurs provenant de disciplines très variées. Comme ces programmes sont rattachés à des unités administratives ayant beaucoup d'autonomie en matière de recrutement de professeurs, celles-ci possèdent généralement toute la latitude voulue pour engager des ressources selon les besoins des programmes. En autant que les personnes embauchées soient très intéressées par l'étude du travail, il n'est pas absolument indispensable qu'elles détiennent une formation doctorale en relations industrielles.

D'autre part, puisqu'il existe très peu de départements ou d'écoles de relations industrielles au Canada, la plupart des occasions d'emploi pour les diplômés de cette discipline sont offertes par les facultés d'administration. De plus, avec l'engouement récent pour la dimension «ressources humaines» dans les entreprises, on peut s'attendre à ce que les facultés d'administration intensifient encore davantage leur recrutement dans ce domaine.

CONCLUSION

Cette recherche sur l'enseignement des relations industrielles dans les universités canadiennes nous amène à soulever quelques questions sur la place et l'importance de cette discipline. En premier lieu, si l'on accepte que la prémisse normative fondamentale sur laquelle reposent les relations industrielles consiste dans l'équilibre à maintenir entre les besoins d'efficacité de l'organisation et les besoins de sécurité des individus au sein de ces organisations, on peut se questionner sur la capacité des programmes d'administration de fournir un enseignement aussi équilibré que les programmes de relations industrielles. Nos résultats ont révélé que même dans les programmes d'administration où l'on fait des efforts sérieux pour offrir des enseignements de qualité en relations du travail, nous retrouvons une prédominance marquée des cours de gestion des ressources humaines ou de comportement organisationnel et une absence quasi complète d'enseignements sur les politiques publiques en matière de travail. D'ailleurs, peut-il en être autrement lorsque l'on sait que les relations d'emploi (même entendues au sens le plus large possible) ne sont qu'une des nombreuses facettes des sciences de l'administration alors qu'elles constituent l'essence et la raison d'être de la discipline des relations industrielles? Il n'est donc pas surprenant de constater que les sciences de l'administration manifestent un biais inévitable en faveur du principe d'efficacité alors que les relations industrielles considèrent le principe d'équité comme étant tout aussi important que le principe d'efficacité au sein des

de cette discipline dans certains pays d'Europe (France) ou encore son identification (ou sa réduction!) au domaine exclusif des relations du travail (Grande-Bretagne) – n'a pas pour autant amené les universités canadiennes à créer davantage d'unités d'enseignement et de recherche comme on aurait pu s'y attendre.

Enfin, si, comme certains analystes le prétendent, les relations industrielles ont comme objet d'étude «tous les aspects de la relation d'emploi», il n'y a pas de doute alors qu'elles recouvrent tout autant les domaines de la gestion des ressources humaines et du comportement organisationnel que celui des relations du travail. Cependant, tant et aussi longtemps que son enseignement sera dispensé surtout dans des facultés d'administration, on cherchera toujours à les assimiler aux seules relations du travail, puisque la GRH et le CO sont déjà considérés du domaine des sciences de l'administration.

**LES RELATIONS INDUSTRIELLES
ET LES FEMMES
WOMEN AND INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS**

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